

DEDICATED  
TO THE REVERED MEMORY  
OF  
PROF DR M WINTERNITZ, PH D

Rs 20/-

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## FOREWORD

The news of the sudden passing away of Dr. M. Winternitz were most painful for us, who were used to looking upon him as one of the truest and most respected friends of India in the outer world. During my long life and extensive travels, I never met a savant more worthy of respect than the learned Doctor. His deep and broad humanity, brightened as it was with his amazingly wide scholarship, his devotion to Truth and the courage with which he held fast to his idealism in the midst of a growingly hostile atmosphere in Central Europe, are his claims to our homage. In him I have lost a faithful comrade, India has lost one of its truest Pandits and best friends, and humanity one of its most sincere champions.

*Robinranath Tagore*

## The late Professor Winternitz

The death of Professor Moriz Winternitz in January, 1937, has removed from this world a personality that embodied in itself the best traditions of a scholarly mind imbued with an indomitable passion for knowledge and truth. To the students of Indology, it has entailed the loss of a "friend, philosopher and guide." Dr. Winternitz belonged to the small band of Western scholars who devoted a life-time to Sanskritic studies and acted as brilliant exponents of the cultural heritage of India. India will ever remember with gratitude the very eminent services rendered by Dr. Winternitz to her as an interpreter of her ancient civilisation.

One is profoundly struck by the manner in which Professor Winternitz rose superior to the circumstances into which he was born, and all through his scholarly life maintained a unique breadth of vision and generosity of outlook that overcome all bias and prejudices. Born in 1863 in a family with commercial traditions, it was more than an accident that took him off to an entirely new career bearing not even the remotest affinity to the claims of his ancestral avocation. Even his birthplace Horn, a provincial town in Lower Austria, had nothing of the traditions of a seat of learning, and it could not, therefore, have made any tangible contribution to his intellectual make-up. The profound genius of the man early manifesting itself in the promising dawn of his boyhood which developed into a brilliant noon and eventually into a glorious evening was all his own. Yet it is true to say that his latent genius would not perhaps have unfolded itself, at least in the manner it did, had not a combination of very favourable circumstances brought him into intimate contact with some eminent Orientalists that provided the most nourishing soil for a vigorous growth. After finishing his studies at the grammar school of his native town, he entered the University of Vienna in 1880 for higher studies in classical philology.

and philosophy. Here for the first time, under the inspiring guidance of Friedrich Muller and George Buhler, he was initiated into the studies of classical literature and Indology that gave a definite shape to his future academic career.

Prof Winternitz obtained his doctorate in 1885 at the age of 23, when he was still at the University of Vienna. Shortly after, he came across the second great opportunity of his scholarly life that marked a new phase of his chequered career. In 1888 he went over to Oxford to join the post of an amanuensis to assist Prof Max Muller in the preparation of the second edition of the *Rgveda*. The valuable assistance rendered by him in this connection as a Sanskritist Research Assistant to Prof Max Muller should have alone won for him the distinction of a distinguished Indologist, indeed his contribution to the work has been referred to in very eloquent terms of appreciation by Prof Max Muller himself. But Dr Winternitz was pre-destined to win much higher distinctions in life, to which his unexpected transfer to Oxford helped him in more than one way. Of the sixteen years of his stay at Oxford he had to devote about a decade to the preparation of the press copy of the *Rgveda*. The book itself bears unmistakable testimony to Prof Winternitz's capacity for intelligent, enthusiastic, and sustained research in a field, where the zeal of lesser talents would have flagged for the very magnitude of the task. The last six years of his stay at Oxford after the completion of his work in connection with the *Rgveda* attracted him to diverse fields of activities suited to his instincts, and enriched his scholarly equipments in a marked degree. The beginning of these new activities was rather very modest and in fact one that should have proved discouraging to many. In 1891 he was found to accept the post of a teacher at the Oxford High School for Girls. He was even found to act as a private tutor of German and Sanskrit. Before long, however, his services were requisitioned for works of much greater importance, and in 1891 he

was appointed a lecturer in German by the Association for the Promotion of Higher Education of Women at Oxford and a member of the Examining Board of the Indian Civil Service. While he continued in the post of a lecturer in German till 1898, he was called upon in 1895 to undertake some very important library work. The first of these was the cataloguing of the Vedic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library which was later continued and completed by Prof. Berriedale Keith. The second which will likewise go down in history with the name of the eminent Professor was the cataloguing of the Whish Collection of the South Indian Manuscripts at the Royal Asiatic Society, London. About the same time, Prof. Winternitz had set his hands to the task of preparing a General Index to the 49 volumes of the Sacred Books of the East Series. While one should have felt amazed at the versatility of the genius which Prof. Winternitz must have brought to bear upon such diversified tasks, it is impossible to underestimate the extent to which his instinct for research had been stimulated and enriched by the busy years spent at Oxford.

In 1899, Prof. Winternitz was appointed lecturer of Indo-Aryan Philology and Ethnology at the University of Prague, where within three years he was appointed Assistant Professor and was eventually raised in 1911 to the chair for the subject. Here, one might say that Moriz Winternitz owed as much to the University as the University owed to the Professor,—the facilities for research given him by the University being reciprocated by the heightened reputation of its Indological Section. In 1904, Prof. Winternitz was fortunate enough to receive useful patronage from the State in the furtherance of his projects, particularly in connection with the establishment of a Special Library of Indology and Ethnology at the Prague University. It is a matter of regret that the realisation of the idea of this Institution was very materially hampered by the outbreak of the Great War, but for which, it might have blossomed into a worthy gift of

the Professor to future students of Indological studies in Europe. The Post-War period which raised him to higher rungs of eminence witnessed him elected as a Dean of the Faculty of Letters in 1921. He came down to India in 1922 at the invitation of Dr Rabindra Nath Tagore and spent a year in this country as a Visiting Professor at the Vīsvabhāratī. Long before this visit, in fact from the time of his appointment at the Prague University Prof Winternitz had been carrying on research on the *Mahābhārata*. The work that he had done at Oxford in connection with the cataloguing of the South Indian Manuscripts of the Whish Collection created in him an irrepresible urge for bringing out a critical edition of the great Epic. During all these years, Prof Winternitz published a series of very illuminating articles on the study of the *Mahābhārata* assigning to it a place of unique importance in the research work of Indologists and at the same time throwing a flood of light on the imperfections of the existing editions of the Epic. It was mainly at the inspiration of Prof Winternitz that the work in this connection was undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona. About the time of his arrival at Bombay, the Research Institute had been busily engaged in the work. Prof Winternitz paid a visit to Poona immediately on his arrival to see for himself the work that had been going on. The intensity of his feelings regarding the importance of bringing out a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* is borne out not only by his earnestness in connection with the formation of a European Committee by the International Association of Academies for this specific purpose even before the work was actually taken up by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, but also by the fact that he carried sentiments of eager watchfulness and expected culmination even to the last days of his life.

The one other great work which will ever remain associated with the memories of the distinguished Professor is his *History of Indian Literature* (*Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*) written in 3

volumes of about 1600 pages and published over a period of 15 years, the first coming out in 1907 and the last in 1922. It is in a sense the outstanding monument of his Indological studies, and the Encyclopædic erudition evidenced in it constitutes an unmistakable testimony of the fact that none other than Prof. Winternitz could have set his hands to the stupendous task with any amount of confidence. It is as well true to say that a man of the stamp of Professor Winternitz alone could possibly be persuaded though at the fag-end of his life, to prepare an up-to-date English version of the three volumes of his *History*. The last 14 years of his life were devoted to this work, of which a complete fruition was denied to us by the cruel hands of death. We had only two volumes by 1934, but while Prof. Winternitz was working on the third, death took him away from our midst.

• The Professor has lived a life full of years and honours. Although he was relieved of his academic duties in 1934, he never spared himself, and though his health showed marks of decline during the years of his retirement, his attachment to scientific researches never flagged for a moment. It is impossible to recount even the most important contributions made by him to the varied studies of Sanskrit literature throughout his life. The published bibliography records the total at more than 400. The number, impressive as it is, does not perhaps constitute an adequate index to their intrinsic merit. It is therefore well to point out that the writings bear a characteristic quality of the man himself, just as the Professor was naturally sparing of words, so his writings were shorn of superfluities, and his selection of subject was always made with a purpose. He never selected a subject that did not add to the store of our knowledge, and hardly did he ever take up one on which he has not thrown light of his own.

But great as the scholar was, the man was greater. If his researches were based on an indomitable thirst for knowledge, their

influence upon his emotions was profound. / His pursuit of the studies of Sanskrit literature has not been like that of a mere intellectual. It has been reared upon a philosophical instinct that grew as his mental horizon widened, and revealed to him the fundamental unity of mankind leading him to approach the task with genuine sympathy and admiration. Even in his social life, Prof Winternitz carried about him a profound intellectual sympathy and a striking dignity of manners brightened by an unflinching courtesy and a transparent sincerity. The writer had the privilege of coming into contact with Prof Winternitz during his Indian tour, and he has not the least doubt that anybody having the opportunity of being acquainted with the distinguished Professor could not but have felt at once the ennobling influence of a truly great man.

Further interesting details about the life of Professor Winternitz will be found in the learned article immediately following, but before I introduced my readers to the same, I take the opportunity of paying my tribute of respect to the hallowed memory of the illustrious savant who is no more, and pray to the Almighty that the inspiration which he has imparted to all students of Indology in and outside this country by his life-long researches may endure as a living force among us and induce us all to continue the work he has handed down to posterity.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

## Moriz Winternitz

The ninth of January 1937 was a sad one for the science of Indology. In the early hours of this day, Prof. Moriz Winternitz, one of the last "universal indologists",<sup>1</sup> passed away peacefully, as he has been during his life, he also entered the Great Unknown peacefully. Moriz Winternitz was born on December 23, 1863, in Horn, a provincial town of Lower Austria, in the family of the merchant Bernhard Winternitz. When a little boy, he proved extraordinary intelligent and he started reading and writing even Hebrew before entering the elementary school. In 1880, after having finished the grammar-school (Gymnasium) in his native town, he went to the University at Vienna where he began to study classical philology and philosophy. But soon Friedrich Muller who lectured on comparative philology and ethnography, and particularly George Buhler who was, after his return from India, in 1881, inaugurating his indological lectures at Vienna, interested the young student in the sciences of indology and ethnology. Among his teachers, we have to mention also Eugen Hultzsch, a name well-known by his activity in India, who was at that time Privatdozent in the University of Vienna. He introduced Winternitz in the Indian narrative literature and the language of the Pāli Canon. In 1886, Winternitz submitted his thesis on 'Ancient Indian marriage ritual according to Āpastamba, compared with the marriage customs of the Indo-European peoples' and got his diploma of Ph.D (Vienna).

Only two years later, Winternitz became upon Buhler's recommendation Amanuensis of Prof. Friedrich Max Muller at Oxford.

1 An expression used by Winternitz's great teacher, G Buhler. Cf. M. Winternitz, George Buhler und die Indologie, München 1898 (an offprint from *Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 21st and 23rd, 1898), p. 23.

and assisted the famous scholar in preparing the second edition of the *Rgveda* with Sāyana's commentary, from 1888 to 1892. After finishing this great task successfully, he stayed some years more at Oxford till 1898. In 1891 he became a teacher at the Oxford High School for Girls, from 1891 to 1898 he acted as a Lecturer of German at the Association for the Promotion of Higher Education of Women in Oxford and as a private tutor of German and Sanskrit, for some time he was on the examining board for the Indian Civil Service. In 1895, too, he became the Librarian of the Indian Institute at Oxford. It is amazing, how many duties Winternitz took upon himself, without hampering his regular scientific work. He was a man of indefatigable activity, not only in his youthful days, but even in his old age. Surely, he had to earn his living, especially since he had married Fanny Reik in 1892 and had to support a growing family.

In 1899 Winternitz shifted to Prague which belonged to Austria at that time, and was appointed a Lecturer (*Privatdozent*) of Indo-Aryan Philology and Ethnology at the oldest German University. In 1902 he became an Assistant Professor and in 1911 he got the chair of these subjects. Until his predecessor, Alfred Ludwig, who was the first German interpreter of the *Rgveda*, the study of Indology was combined with that of comparative philology of the Indo-European languages at the Prague German University. Thus, Winternitz was the first professor of Indology at that University and we may call him, in the very sense of the word, the founder of indological studies at Prague. His energy was directed to the supply of means of both instruction and scientific work. Many modern indological works were at his request acquired by the Prague University Library of which he was one of the most frequent visitors. In 1904 the Austrian Ministry of Public Instruction agreed to his request to establish a special library of indology and ethnology at the Prague German

University The great war (1914-18) interrupted the development of this institution, but twenty years after its foundation, in 1924, Winternitz was glad to see it changed into an Indological 'Seminar' with a separate room and with better possibilities for further expansion.

In 1905, the loss of his wife was a severe blow to Winternitz. But a good fate gave him, three years later, a second wife in Berta Nagel who was not only a true guardian angel of his home, but also a veritable second mother to his five children. Her death in 1932 was surely one of the causes of his fatal illness.

In 1921, in the month of June, being just elected Dean of the Faculty of Letters for 1921-22, Winternitz could welcome his friend, the great Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, as a guest of the German University at Prague. A year later, in November 1922, he accepted Tagore's invitation to spend a year as a visiting professor at his *Viśvabhāratī* in *Śāntiniketan* during 1922-23. There it was his aim to teach his Indian pupils what the late Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar pointed out as the drawback of Indian scholars and what was one of the few good things India could learn from the Western world, I mean, the critical methods which led the European science from success to success. Not only at *Śāntiniketan* but also at a few other academic centres he spent his time during his sojourn in India, to the people and culture of which he had devoted his life-work. His first trip after having disembarked at Bombay was to Poona to see the progress of the editorial work of the *Mahābhārata*. On his journeys from Kashmir down to Ceylon, he delivered lectures and speeches at many Universities and meetings of learned societies at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, etc., and he discussed the most important problems of indological research with the Indian scholars. Always he was of good health, but on his return journey he fell sick of malaria which put the germ of death into his body.

Within the last fifteen years of his life, many honours have been conferred on Winternitz. He was elected Honorary member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, of the American Oriental Society, of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona, and Corresponding Member of the Society of Eastern Asiatic Art at Berlin. Since the Oriental Institute at Prague had been inaugurated, Winternitz became a Fellow of this Institute and a member of the Committee. He was also a Fellow of the German Society of Sciences and Arts in the Czechoslovak Republic. In 1932 the Hardy Prize was bestowed upon him for his research work. When he celebrated his 70th birthday in 1933, many scholars, pupils and friends honoured him by a *Festschrift* (Leipzig 1933) as well as by a special number of the *Archiv Orientalní* (VI, 1934, No. 1) published on that occasion. He retired from his academic duties in 1934 after having discharged them fully during 35 years, his only aim was to devote all his leisure now won to scientific work. Illness, however, undermined his strength more and more, leading to his sudden death.

Winternitz's literary work was very extensive. Its bibliography<sup>2</sup> comprises 452 items belonging to the most different branches of human knowledge. As we see from his thesis mentioned above, his first interest was devoted to the study of the ancient Indian customs and religion and their connection with those of other Indo-European peoples. At that time there were no, or at least not yet critical, editions of the Indian sources. The scholars, and among them also Winternitz, had to use often manuscripts of the texts for their work. A fruit of these studies is his first critical edition of the *Āpastambīya Grhyasūtra* with extracts from the commentaries of Haradatta and Sudarśanārya, (Vienna 1887), a brilliant example of the methods of text criticism. As the Mantras

<sup>2</sup> Published by O. Stein and the present writer in *Archiv Orientalní*, 6, 1934, pp. 275-291, and 9, 1937, pp. 225-228.

are not given in this Sūtra of the Āpastambins, Winternitz published them separately ten years later under the title *The Mantrapāṭha or the Prayer Book of the Āpastambins* Edited together with the commentary of Haradatta and translated First Part Introduction, Sanskrit Text, Varietas Lectionis and Appendices (Oxford 1897, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, No III, 8) He also enlarged his thesis, based only on the Grhyasūtra of the Āpastamba school, by using other Grhya-texts and published it in 1892 in the Transactions of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna (“*Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell nach dem Āpastambiyi-Grhyasūtra und einigen anderen verwandten Werken Mit Vergleichung der Hochzeitsgebraeuche bei den uebrigen indogermanischen Voelkern*”) Besides these works, he wrote many other smaller essays on the ancient Indian and Indo-European religion, cult, and customs in Journals, e g, on the sacrifice at building (*Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 17, 1887, 37-40), on the Sarpabali (*ibidem*, 18, 1888, 25-52, 250-264), ‘Notes on Śrāddhas and Ancestral Worship among the Indo-European Nations’ (*WZKM*, 4, 1890, 199-212) ‘On a Comparative Study of Indo-European Customs, with special reference to the Marriage Customs’ (*Transactions of the Internat Folklore Congress*, 1891, London 1892, 267-291), ‘Witchcraft in Ancient India’ (reprinted in *Ind Ant*, 28, 1899, 71-83), but also in later years he returned to such topics like “on the choice of bride according to the Bhāradvājaghyasūtra” (*WZKM*, 28, 1914, 16-20), or “on the doctrine of the Āśramas” (*Festgabe H Jacobi*, Bonn 1926, 215-227)

During his stay in England, Winternitz was associated with the *Sacred Books of the East*, edited by F Max Muller He compiled the Indexes to G. Thibaut’s translation of the *Vedānta-Sūtras* (Parts I, II, Oxford 1896, Part III, Oxford 1904) This work, however, was only preliminary to his voluminous *General*

*Index to the Names and Subject-Matter of the Sacred Books of the East* (Oxford 1910, *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol L) to which the publisher gave later the new and appropriate title *A Concise Dictionary of Eastern Religion*. Only a person who is acquainted with the hard work of compiling Indexes of so different topics of such various cultures will appreciate the enormous labour spent on this work and the ability with which Winternitz complied with his task.

In his capacity as Librarian, Winternitz was entrusted with the work of cataloguing Sanskrit Manuscripts in England. When he was leaving Oxford, the result of his work was brought to a conclusion by his successors, in 1902, "*A Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit Manuscripts* (especially those of the Whish Collection) belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" (*Asiatic Society Monographs*, No 2) was published in London, having been finished by F W Thomas. Another *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Vol II, begun by Winternitz, was continued and completed by A B Keith and appeared at Oxford in 1905 /

While working on the Sanskrit Manuscripts, Winternitz recognised the immense value of the South Indian Mahābhārata MSS for the reconstruction of the Mahābhārata text. In his prolegomena "On the South-Indian Recension of the Mahābhārata" (*Ind Ant*, 27, 1898, 67-81, 92-104, 122-136) he indicated the way in which the criticism of the Mahābhārata should proceed. Already in 1897 he had written his "Notes on the Mahābhārata," with special reference to Dahlmann's "Mahābhārata" (*JRAS*, 1897, 713-759). From that time till the end of his life he maintained the line of his life-work viz, a critical edition of the Mahābhārata. In the following year he wrote also his papers 'On the Mahābhārata MSS in the Whish Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society' (*JRAS*, 1898, 147-150) and

on 'Ganēśa in the Mahābhārata' (*JRAS*, 1898, 380-384) In 1899 he made his first 'Proposal for the Formation of a Sanskrit Epic Text Society to be laid before the Indian Section of the XIIth International Congress of Orientalists held at Rome', published in the *Bulletins of the Congress*, No 3, pp 46-49 His next essay 'Genesis des Mahābhārata' (*WZKM*, 14, 1900, 51-77) dealt with the authorship of the great Epic The plan of the Sanskrit Epic Text Society was laid before the public again in *Ind Ant*, 30, 1901, 117-120 In the same year he presented his 'Promemoria ueber die Nothwendigkeit einer kritischen Ausgabe des Mahābhārata, insbesondere in der suedindischen Rezension' to the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna (published in the *Almanach of the Academy* 51, 1901, 206-210) Later on, he dealt with the Sabhāparvan in the South-Indian Recension of the Mahābhārata (*WZKM*, 17, 1903, 70-75), 'The Mahābhārata and the Drama' (*JRAS*, 1903, 571f), the serpent sacrifice of the Mahābhārata (*Kulturgeschichtliches aus der Tierwelt*, Prag 1904, 68-80), and the Brhaddevatā and the Mahābh (*WZKM*, 20, 1906, 1-36) Finally, in 1904 a new 'Promemoria' on the plan of a critical edition of the Mahābh was drawn up by Jacobi, Luders and himself according to a mandate of the Academies and learned societies at Gottingen, Leipzig, Munich and Vienna on the basis of which the International Association of Academies decided to accept a critical edition of the Mahābhārata among its enterprises A fund was established to support the collators of the Mahābhārata MSS financially Alas, all the work was stopped by the war in 1914 Therefore, it was a great satisfaction for Winternitz, when in 1918 the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona resumed the old plan with fresh means The papers 'The Virātaparvan of the Mahābhārata ed by N. B Utgikar' (*Abhl*, 5, 1924, 19-30), 'The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata' (*Indol Prag*, I, 1929, 58-68), 'Die kritische Ausgabe des Mahābhārata' (*Forschungen*

und Fortschritte, 8, 1932, 427f), and 'The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata Ādiṣarvan' (*ABbl*, 15, 1934, 159-175) are his responses to the newly inaugurated work. He himself would have contributed the Sabhāparvan to the great undertaking, but other urgent works prevented him from achieving his cherished object.

It is not surprising that a scholar who had devoted so much interest and labour to one of the most important works of the Indian literature did not reject the proposal made to him by a great publishing house at Leipzig, asking him to write a history of the Indian literature for a series known as the Literatures of the East. Thus the first part of the first volume of his *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, dealing with the Veda, was published in 1905, the second part, devoted to the great Epics and to the Purānas, followed in 1908. The second volume was issued also in two parts, comprising the Buddhist Literature (1913) and the sacred texts of the Jainas (1920). The third and last volume (1922) contains the ornate poetry, the scientific literature, a short sketch of the modern Indian vernacular literature and additions to all the three volumes. But there is a great difference between the three volumes. It was the original aim of the publisher to bring out a literary history for the general reader. With the second volume the popular character of the description receded step by step into the background and the scientific point of view became prominent. This development was quite natural as the subject-matter of the second and third volumes offered much more tough problems which were not yet sufficiently discussed by the scholars and therefore not ripe for a popular treatment. Winternitz himself felt this dissonance and wished to reconstruct the first volume and bring up-to-date the whole work that he saw developing more and more his life-work. As the German publisher, due to the bad financial condition of the post-war Germany, was not able to bring out a revised edition, Winternitz was glad to accept the offer of the Calcutta University where he

had delivered lectures on the most important problems of Indian literary history in 1923 (published in the *Calcutta Review*, 1923 and 1924, and collected in book form under the title *Some problems of Indian Literature*, Calcutta 1925) to publish an English translation in order to make this standard work accessible to all Indian students. The first volume of this revised *History of Indian Literature* which—we may say—is a quite new work, appeared in 1927, the second volume in 1933. Only the first chapters of the third volume were sent to the press when the author had to leave it for ever.

When Winternitz undertook the task of writing a history of Indian literature, he was not aware of all the difficulties he would have to face. But he was the right man to fight against any and every problem. These struggles brought forth many essays, booklets and even books. It is impossible to quote them all, we shall mention only the most important ones. Thus, the result of his preliminary research into the Buddhist literature is his anthology of Buddhism in the *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* edited by A. Bertholet (Tubingen 1908, pp. 214-322). A new revised edition was issued in 1929 as No. 11 of the *Lesebuch* under the title *Der aeltere Buddhismus nach Texten des Tipitaka*. In 1930, he added a second volume (*Der Mahāyāna-Buddhismus nach Sanskrit und Prākṛit texten*) giving specimens of translations of the most important Mahāyāna Buddhist texts (No. 15 of the *Lesebuch*). He wrote also papers on the Buddhist Sanskrit literature (*WZKM*, 26, 1912, 237-252, and 27, 1913, 33-47), on the Jātakas (*Ostas Zeitschr.*, 2, 1913/14, 259-265 and in the *ERE*, 7, 1914, 491-494), on 'Jātaka Gāthās and Jātaka Commentary' (*IHQ*, 4, 1928, 1-14), on 'Gotama the Buddha, what do we know of him and his teaching?' (*Arch. Or.*, 1, 1929, 235-246), on the Pāli Canon, the earlier Buddhism and its history (*Studia Indo-Iranica*, Leipzig 1931, 63-72), on 'Problems of Buddhism' (*The Visva Bharati Quarterly*,

NS II, 1936, Part I, 41-60) / The study of the Jaina Canon brought him in contact with the chief leaders of the Jaina religion, the late Jaina Saint Vijaya Dharma Sūri was his friend, Winternitz was the single European who took part in the ceremonies connected with the consecration of the commemorative temple of this Saint at Shivapuri, Gwalior State, and he described them in the *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, 7, 1926, 349-377, to the regret of all, the only reminiscence of his Indian travels. In that connection, we may mention also his paper 'The Jainas in the History of Indian Literature' (*Indian Culture*, 1, 1934, 143-166). The research work done with regard to the third volume of the *History of Indian Literature* brought forth many further essays, e g, on the Dialogue, Ākhyāna and Drama in the Indian literature (*WZKM*, 23, 1909, 102-137) where he dealt with the problem of the beginnings of the Indian drama, on the Indian narrative literature (*Deutsche Lit-Ztg*, 31, 1910, 2693-2702, 2757-2767), especially on the Tantrākhyāyika (*WZKM*, 25, 1911, 49-62), on the Kṛṣṇa dramas (*ZDMG*, 74, 1920, 118-144), on the Bhāsa problem (*Ostas Zeitschr*, 9, 1920/22, 282-299), on 'Kautilya and the Art of Politics in Ancient India' (*The Visva Bharati Quarterly*, I, 1923, 261-267), on 'Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra' (*Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*, Patna 1926, Part I, 25-48), on new Arthaśāstra MSS (*Zeitschr f Indol u Iran*, 6, 1928, 14-27), on fairy-tales within the narrative literature of the peoples (*Arch Or*, 4, 1932, 225-249), on the Bhāvaśataka (*IHQ*, 12, 1936, 134-137 and 517), again on 'Bhāsa and the Mahābhārata and Kṛṣṇa Plays of the Trivandrum Series' (*Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute*, vol V, 1937, Part I, 1-15), etc. His 'Notes on the Guhyasamāja-Tantra and the Age of the Tantras' (*IHQ*, 9, 1933, 1-10) offered a new insight into that difficult problem.

In his works treating Indian religion and folklore, Winternitz took always notice of the Indo-European and generally e t h n o -

logical relations } During his stay in England he translated Max Muller's *Anthropological Religion* into German (Leipzig 1894) and a year later the work of the same scholar *Theosophy or Psychological Religion* (Leipzig 1895) Besides different smaller papers on ethnological subjects, we may mention his notes on the Malayan popular religion (*WZKM*, 14, 1900, 243-264) When he was appointed also a lecturer of Ethnology at the Prague German University, he wished to throw light on the mutual relations of ethnology, folklore and philology, the result of his reflexions was the paper 'Voelkerkunde, Volkskunde und Philologie' (*Globus*, 78, 1900, 345-350, 370-377) In the essay "Die Flutsagen des Alterthums und der Naturvoelker" (*Mitteil d Anthropol Ges*, Vienna, 31, 1901, 305-333) he compared the myths of the deluge of many peoples of the world in ancient and modern times His booklet 'Was wissen wir von den Indo-germanen?' (Muncheu 1903, being an off-print from the *Allgemeine Zeitung*) gave a clear survey of the problem of the Indo-European people ('Urvolk') and their culture He wrote on mankind, race, and nation (*Monatschrift d Oesterr - Israelitischen Union*, 16, 1904, 4-31) as well as on 'The Unity of Mankind' (*The Visva Bharati Quarterly*, NS I, 1935, Part II, 1-14) more than thirty years later Even in the last years of his life he collected materials for a big work on the modern race questions

In the very beginnings of his scientific work devoted to the marriage customs, Winternitz had to deal with woman of ancient India He returned to this subject in his essay on the widow in the Veda (*WZKM*, 29, 1915, 172-203) and in his extensively planned work *Die Frau in den indischen Religionen I Teil Die Frau im Brahmanismus* (Leipzig 1920) Even this project could not be carried out Surely, there is an inner and close connection of cause and effect between his scientific interest in the Indian womanhood and his courageous fighting for the emancipation of women,

not only in his country and in Europe, but in the whole world. In newspapers and reviews, in lectures and speeches, he defended the aspirations of political equality as well as the economical and cultural progress of women from his humanistic point of view. In many women's associations he was a leading brain till his old age. In recent times, he had the satisfaction that his intentions got their realization at least in many countries of Europe.

It is easily to be understood, that Winternitz as a historian of religion became a moral philosopher too. From his treatise on the ethics in the sacred books of the Indians, Persians and Chinese (*Deutsche Arbeit*, 6, 1906-7, 486-489, 590-592, 619-625) a direct line leads to his booklet 'Religion und Moral' (Prag 1922, *Schriften der Deutschen Gesellschaft für sittliche Erziehung*, No 2), here he surveys the relation of religion and ethics in the history and literature of many peoples and creates the base of the working programme of the German Society for Ethical Education, founded by him and some other friends of his at Prague. According to his ethical principles, Winternitz was a thorough pacifist and condemned the war and an exaggerated nationalism on many occasions. In this connection, we may refer to the special interest shown by him in Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore in a number of papers and public lectures. His booklet 'Rabindranath Tagore Religion und Weltanschauung des Dichters' (Prag 1936, *Schriften d Deutsch Ges f sttl Erz*, No 13), dedicated to the 75th birthday of the poet, was his last reverence offered to the eminent Indian spiritual teacher.

Winternitz's style in his publications was always clear and simple. Nevertheless, he was a master of the word, and always he required of his pupils, too, to use a correct diction in their writings. There are no superfluous phrases, no vast and vague theories disturbing the logical flow of his arguments. He was a man of facts working *sine ira et studio*, and he never

constructed a higher building of conclusions than the substructure of facts allowed

In personal contact, Winternitz was a gentle and noble-minded man. At the first moment, he seemed to be of a reserved nature. Yet under this hard exterior there was hidden a golden heart. Nobody asked in vain for his help or advice.

Winternitz has left this world, but his works are with us and with the future generations, as a well-known Indian saying runs, *na hi karma ksiyate!*

W. GAMPERT.

# WINTERNITZ

## MEMORIAL VOLUME

### The Relation of Hittite, Tocharian and Indo-European

The question of the relation of Hittite to Indo-European presents very substantial interest, and it is worth while examining this issue and the allied question of the relation between Hittite and Tocharian, and the place of the latter in the Indo-European family. Only the more important arguments can be considered, but it is possible thence to derive fairly definite conclusions so far as regards the evidence yet adduced.

#### I *The Indo-Hittite Theory*

The protagonist of the view that Hittite is not to be regarded as Indo-European in the sense in which Sanskrit is, but that Indo-European and Hittite must be treated as branches of Indo-Hittite, is undoubtedly Professor Sturtevant, whose knowledge of Hittite lends special force to his contentions,<sup>1</sup> and who adds weight to his arguments by their moderation. His main points may be examined briefly.

(1) The most important in his view is the retention in Hittite of a sound signified by the signs used for the Accadian spirant, which here for simplicity will be written *b*. Thus Hittite gives *hanti* 'in front' which corresponds with the Greek *anti*, and *eshar*

<sup>1</sup> *Language*, ix 1-11

## 2 *The Relation of Hittite, Tocharian and Indo-European*

'blood', Greek *éar*, while *nebbi* is no doubt the corresponding form to Sanskrit *ninaya*. It is true that the sound is usually written double and Sturtevant doubts the suggestion of W. Petersen<sup>2</sup> that *b* is of different origin in its uses, and that after *a* it serves as a hiatus-filler, a use which may be compared with the regular use of *w* after *u* in this manner. This suggestion is plausible for many cases of its use, while in others it may be held that a *ba* thus generated was transferred to consonantal stems.

It is, however, argued<sup>3</sup> that Indo-European shows compensatory lengthening upon loss of *b* before a consonant, while in Indo-Hittite long vowels and diphthongs with long prior element were shortened before *b*. But the latter proposition is not supported by any cogent evidence, and the former is equally dubious. If Hittite *mablas* 'apple tree' is equated with Latin *mālus* and Greek *mêlon*, as is obvious, it is quite possible simply to assume that Hittite represented the long *a* sound by *ab*, and the same principle can be applied to the identification of the Hittite denominative suffix *ab* and the I E *ā* as in *newab-*, Latin *novāre*, Greek *neân*. It seems quite otiose to seek to explain Greek *búeri* as against *buetós* by the lengthening of the *u* on the loss of the *b* of an I H *subio-*, and the supposed parallel with Hitt *subhai* 'empty, sprinkle, scatter' and *subha* 'roof' appears singularly unconvincing. If Hitt *labha* 'army, battle' and Greek *lāós* are really parallel, it is just as natural to say that *abb* is to represent the *ā* as to ascribe the former to I H *labom* and the latter to *labuos*. Hitt *pahs-* 'protect' is equated with Latin *pāscō*, with again *ab* and *ā* as equivalents.

Sturtevant,<sup>4</sup> at one time dubious, is now a convert to the theory started by de Saussure and developed by others including Kurylo-

<sup>2</sup> *AJP*, lIII 193 ff

<sup>3</sup> *Language*, viI 115 ff

<sup>4</sup> *Language* xII 141-4, contrast vi 149-58

wicz in the *Etudes indoeuropéennes* and E Benveniste in his *Origines de la Formation des Noms en Indo-européen*, which ascribes to primitive I.E. several consonantal schwas, identified as laryngeals by Professor Sapir. Into these conjectures it is unnecessary to enter, for they do not lend any clear support to the thesis here under examination, which would set Hittite up against I.E. instead of ranking it with I.E. Sapir, for example, draws no such conclusion and plainly it could not be drawn.

(2) It is contended<sup>5</sup> that Hittite shows clearly the working of an I.H. rule under which *uw* and *ɔw* became *um*, thus creating pairs of suffixes beginning with *m* or *w* according to the character of the preceding vowel. Even accepting this not implausible theory, it is admitted that in Indo-Iranian we have traces of the rule in the distribution of the suffixes *mant* and *vant*. We are not, therefore, in any degree pressed to see anything in Hittite save the preservation of a state of things existing equally in I.E. Every I.E. speech preserved at any early date presents archaisms of an important nature.

(3) Hittite has no pronoun corresponding to the I.E. stem *to-*. Instead it has a sentence connective *ta* which, with the enclitic pronoun *-a-*, gives e.g., *tan* 'et eum'. In I.E. the forms corresponding to the assumed I.H. *tom* (supposed to be the zero grade of the connective *to* plus accusative *om*, or *to* with the vowel elided) are used only as indivisible wholes, but a trace of the original sense is suggested by the fact that the 'article' takes the initial position frequently in early Greek, Sanskrit and Germanic. The argument is plainly quite unconvincing and it is rather a very significant sign of the non-primitive character of Hittite that it (1) has nothing corresponding to the irregular *so* and *sā* of I.E., and (2) it has developed a *tas* 'et is' which Sturtevant admits to be an innovation.

#### 4 *The Relation of Hittite, Tocharian and Indo-European* •

(4) In Hittite there are many stems in *r/n-*, and from any verb there may be formed a verbal noun ending in *war, mar, tar*, the first two of which correspond with the I.E. infinitives in *wen* and *men*, while the *tar* suffix may be connected with the I.E. instrumental suffix *dbro*, as in the Avestan infinitive *barathbrai*. In I.E. we have traces of neuter nouns with final *r* in the nominative and accusative singular and with *n* before the case endings as in Sanskrit *ahar, abnas*. But the type of formation is moribund. The conclusion that Hittite here preserves the more ancient usage is plainly quite inconclusive. We may equally well suppose that in Hittite the inherited type was developed beyond what was usual in the other speeches.

(5) Hittite has no feminine gender, but merely a distinction between animate and inanimate in the nominative and accusative. In I.E. the distinction between masculine and feminine certainly existed,<sup>6</sup> but it was confined to a limited number of noun types and adjectives. It is then suggested that Hittite points back to a period definitely pre-I.E. when gender did not exist. The fatal difficulty here is that Armenian has no development of the feminine, and the obvious solution is that Hittite and Armenian were spoken among peoples who did not possess the distinction of masculine and feminine and so they lost the slight amount they had inherited from I.E.

(6) I.E., it is suggested, possessed an extraordinary paucity of case distinctions for its personal pronouns, the forms were few and their use was vague, a situation found in Hittite.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately Hittite is definitely not primitive in its pronouns, forms like *ug* for the nominative singular, *amug* for accusative, and *zig* in the second person are significant of contamination and analogical workings. There is nothing to suggest that here we have anything but an

6 Meillet, *BSL*, xxxii 1-28

7 Cf. Petersen, *Language*, vi 188

aberrant development, among people in contact with a foreign speech, of I E pronouns

(7) Hittite is conjectured at an earlier date than our texts to have had a single plural form for each type of stem but no plural case distinctions<sup>8</sup> This, it is suggested, is a more primitive state of things than I E The argument is far from convincing Hittite may easily have lost what other I E speeches preserved It must be remembered that speech does not move from the simple to the complex only, there is every reason to suppose that there is a constant movement which at one time may simplify, at another build up distinctions

(8) In I E it is accepted that, when a dental stop came to stand next a dental stop, there was developed between them a sibilant, which produced, e g, *tst* for *tt* In I E speeches this is not preserved, *st* usually being recorded, as in Greek *oistha*, Gothic *uast*, for which Sanskrit has *vettha*, probably by analogical restoration, while Germanic and Italo-Celtic have *ss* Hittite, however, in some forms preserves, in the peculiarly unsatisfactory denotation *m* which it is recorded, traces of the primitive form, for the various denotations of the third person of the verb 'to eat', which gives us in the first *etmi*, really denote *etstst*,<sup>9</sup> the second *ts* being the regular development of the *t* of I E Similarly we have *atstni* 'you eat' and *etsta* 'he ate' The point is interesting, but a *tst* was patently so unstable a sound that it is easily intelligible that the other I E speeches should not have preserved it The development of *ti* to *tst*, it need hardly be added, is one of the many points in which Hittite is far from primitive

(9) In Hittite we have clear cases where a labio-velar appears as *kw* before a vowel and *ku* before a consonant, e g, *kwentsi* 'he

8 Cf. Petersen, *AJP*, li 259

9 I write *ts* for the usual *z* for the sake of clearness

6 *The Relation of Hittite, Tocharian and Indo-European* •

strikes', but *kunantsi* 'they strike', with which compare Sanskrit *hanti* and *ghnanti*. But it is impossible to base any argument on this, for the appearance of *u* before a consonant is far from rare elsewhere, as in Sanskrit *kuṭra* with which compare *kua*, Latin *scubi*, Greek *kúklos*, where Sanskrit with the usual loss of the labial element has *cakrás*. In Hittite itself we find the loss of the labial element in the particle *-ki* or *-ka*, in the variant *sak-* or *saku-* 'know' and so forth. Once more we are dealing simply with variant treatment of I E elements. There is much that is obscure in the Hittite representation of the labio-velars, thus the parallelism with Sanskrit *grnāti* 'he praises' of *wars-* 'be or become propitious', with *gharma* 'heat' of *war-* 'burn', with *gā* 'go' of *wa-*, *we-*, is far from convincing, but there is no reason to find any special antiquity.

(10) Hittite has an ablative in *ts* and an instrumental in *t*, which may be traced to the weak form of *-tos*, a suffix familiar from Sanskrit *-tas* and Latin *-tus*<sup>10</sup>. From this *ts* we are to derive in the ablative the *t* of *o* stems on the one hand, and the *s* of other stems on the other. But, even accepting this theory there is nothing to divide Hittite from Indo-European. We have merely an archaism. Moreover, we are not compelled to accept the suggested origin from *ts* of the ablative terminations. It is ingenious, but no more than that, and other explanations are current and not less likely.

(11) Little need be said of the argument that Hittite is specially primitive because it is richer in root class verbs than in thematic verbs of either the *dérketi* (Latin *dicit*) or *dikéti* (Sanskrit *diśáti*) type. It is sufficient to point out that both these types are admittedly found in Hittite beside the root class, so that Hittite appears as simply one among other I E speeches.

(12) As little value can be attached to the contention that Hittite is primitive because it distinguishes the nasal infix presents

<sup>10</sup> Sturtevant, *Language* VIII 1-10

and presents with suffix *nu* by placing them in the *m<sub>1</sub>* conjugation, generally with causative sense, while the *nā* presents belong to the *b<sub>1</sub>* conjugation, and have intensive force. It is plain that all three formations are I.E., and that no speech shows effective distinctions of a consistent kind between them.

(13) Hittite possesses the word *nekuts* which must be connected with the Greek *núx*, Sanskrit *naktis*, *naktam*, Latin *nox* and other words for night. Moreover it has the verb *nekutsi* 'he undresses, goes to bed', and the impersonal preterite middle *nekatat*, meaning 'people went to bed, it was bedtime'. This suggests an older period than the isolated words in the I.E. speeches. This is ingenious, but if accepted merely shows that Hittite preserves a verbal form lost in the other speeches and, of course, the priority of the verb to the noun is open to dispute.

• (14) It is claimed that Hittite *uptsi*, used of the sun, 'it comes up' is archaic. Connection with the Greek *hupó* and Sanskrit *upa* is no doubt clear, but that the formation is archaic is in no way proved. Rather it may be claimed to be a Hittite innovation of an easy kind in a language full of aberrations.

(15) Still less value attaches to the fact that while Greek *héstai* and Sanskrit *āste* 'he sits' are isolated, except for compounds and derivatives and a few Avestan forms, Hittite has *esa*, *esari* 'he sits', *ests<sub>1</sub>* 'he sets', and various other derivatives. The claim for primitive character for Hittite is very difficult to follow. It is once more merely evidence that Hittite preserves, like Indo-Iranian and Greek, I.E. material lost elsewhere. What possible conclusion in favour of constructing a theoretic Indo-Hittite can be derived from the fact that Hittite has a root-class verb related to Greek *anágke*, though no I.E. language has such a verb? Is this due to a belief that verbal roots are prior to nouns? Are we to suppose that Indo-Hittite had the verb, which in I.E. was lost? Nothing whatever can be derived from such arguments.

On the other hand, there is abundant reason to suggest that Hittite shows development of I E as established from comparison of the older I E speeches. The impression left by Hittite verb is certainly of this character. It is natural to accept the present of the *hi*-conjugation as a refashioning of the I E perfect, affected strongly by the *mi*-conjugation. The use in Hittite in the true present *mi*-conjugation in the second person present of *-ti* besides *-si* certainly is most naturally explained, as was suggested by Friedrich,<sup>11</sup> as the intrusion of the perfect *-tha*, which becomes in Hittite normally *-ta*, and then takes the form *-ti* by analogy, especially to the original *-si*, which in some verbs is recorded equally as in *epsi* and *epu* 'thou takest', *kwensi*, *kwentu* 'thou strikest'. The preterite active of Hittite seems to be a combination of forms of the *s*-aorist with perfect forms used historically. Thus we have in the second person singular *memista* 'thou didst say', *daista* 'thou didst place', third person *das* 'he took', *nais* 'he led', second plural *naisten* 'ye led'. Of this last form the *n* seems clearly analogical as against I E *-te*. These preterite forms with *s* are confined to verbs of the *hi*-conjugation, and it is a reasonable assumption that I E had beside the present perfect an *s*-aorist which served to express past time for the perfect presents. To the *mi*-presents Hittite has preterites without the *s*, as in second singular *daskes*, third *dasket*, which compare with Greek *élues*, *élué*.

In the medio-passive we find in Hittite a present tense which seems clearly a decayed form of the I E, showing a mixture of primary and secondary terminations. This point is disputed, but the probabilities in its favour are strong. Thus to Hittite *arta* corresponds Greek *órto*, Sanskrit *ārta*, to Hittite *aranta*, Sanskrit *ārata*. That *-ta* and *-nta* are to be traced back to I E *-tai* and *-ntai*, the primary endings, is most improbable, for Hittite as a regular prin-

ciple has *a* for I.E. *o*. In the second plural Hittite *-duma* as in *iyadduma* is clearly to be compared with the secondary *-dhvam* of Sanskrit *ābhavadhvam*, giving an I.E. *dhwem*, the final *-a* owing its existence to the analogy of *-ta* and *-anta*. On the other hand the first plural in *-wasta* may have a primary ending in *-was*, affected by the secondary ending in I.E. *-medhə* which in Hittite would give *-meta*. The first person singular in *-ha* is as usual obscure, but it is plausible to suppose that the primary ending *-ai* was reduced to *-a* by analogy of the other endings, and the mysterious *h* was originally used after vowel stems to avoid hiatus, and then appended to consonantal stems. But that is uncertain, though the natural conclusion is that the present medio-passive of Hittite is less original than I.E. Of the quite secondary character of the preterite of the medio-passive there is no possible doubt. It is formed by appending *-t* or *-ti* to the present, so that we have forms like *estat*, *esantat*, *kisantati*, *iyawastati*, and *kisdumat*, showing once more Hittite as a developed form of I.E.

The *-r* forms of Hittite are added without change of sense as in *artatari* beside *arta*, *esantari* beside *esanta*, *iyahhari* beside *taparha*. It seems impossible to regard this as anything but a specifically Hittite development of the use of the *-r* termination which must have been I.E., as it is found in variant forms in such various I.E. speeches. Anything primitive here seems quite out of place.

With this accords much else in Hittite. The substitution of *a* for *o* is clearly indicative of an important change, while the loss of the dual, and of the subjunctive and optative can be regarded as natural in a speech cut off from contact with the main body of I.E. speeches and developing in contact with people of alien tongues. The natural conclusion from these and the other points above noted is that Hittite broke off from I.E., when the latter was in a fairly early stage of development, but that its value for the reconstruction of I.E. is seriously diminished by the decay which rapidly affected

it when in semi-isolation. The conclusion is important in that it discounts efforts to reconstruct theories of ablaut by building on the phenomena of Hittite either as regards vowel changes or the mysterious *b*. If laryngeals are to come to honour as part of the reconstructed I E<sup>12</sup> it will be necessary to adduce much more convincing proof than conjectures based on the baffling features of Hittite, preserved as it is in a spelling offering abundant possibilities of interpretation.

## II *The Theory of Hittite-Tocharian Unity*

Accepting, as seems inevitable, the view that Hittite is merely another I E speech, it remains to be considered whether it has specially close connections with any other member of the group. The most definite theory on this head is that of W. Petersen who has put forward (*Language*, ix) all the possible grounds for a close connection between Hittite and Tocharian, and has made out a fair *prima facie* case for his views. The essential evidence, of course, can be given only by features of common innovation. No amount of preservation of ancient characteristics is of importance in this regard.

(1) Both languages are admittedly marked by the loss of the aspiration and voice in explosives, so that in Tocharian we have nothing but *p*, *t*, *k* to represent the rich variety of I E, except where there are secondary developments such as that of *t* to *c* in *mācar* 'mother' or *t* for an original *dh* to *c* in *ckācar* from I E *dhughater*. In the case of Hittite, however, the matter is not so simple, for we find (a) explosives written as *t* or *d*, and so forth, and (b) explosives frequently doubled. The former feature seems to be merely graphic, and the unvoiced explosive to have been pronounced in every case. The latter presents greater difficulty, and it is a plausible view that the duplication marked out the sounds as fortes as opposed to lenes,

without any distinction of voiceless and voiced<sup>13</sup> Petersen notes, but, no doubt legitimately, rejects the conjecture of Professor Einarsson<sup>14</sup> that the duplication indicates a diversity of duration, the view being that voiceless explosives are longer than voiced, for the distinction seems far too slight to have been thus appreciated in Hittite. Is there any reason whatever to assume that this change was accomplished in common in the two speeches, Tocharian later losing even the distinction of fortes and lenes? It seems clear that there is no justification for the theory. It is perfectly simple to suppose that the I E distinctions of explosives were simply lost by contact with peoples who had not the same distinction. It is quite true that the Germanic and Armenian sound changes are not parallel, because they consist of shifts of the different orders of consonants, but we have, e g, the conversion of the consonants in Paiśāci Prākṛit as a good parallel to show what might happen to I E speeches spoken in border lands<sup>15</sup>.

(2) There is no doubt that it is natural to connect Tocharian *tkam* and Hittite *tegan*, genitive *taknas* 'earth', and to contrast them with the Greek *kbthōn* and Sanskrit *ksā-s*. Kretschmer<sup>16</sup> holds that the former forms point to an I E *dbeghon-*, which suffered transposition of the initial consonants in Sanskrit and Greek. If this is the case, then no argument regarding the relations of Hittite and Tocharian is possible. If on the other hand the Greek and Sanskrit show the original order, we may assume independent variation in Hittite and Tocharian of an unusual initial consonant group. It is to be noted that they differ in the essential that Hittite has a full vowel between the consonant as opposed to Tocharian

12 Sapier, *Language*, xii 178, Sturtevant, *ibid*, 185 ff, cf Kent, 250

13 *J A O S*, lii 1 ff

14 *Language*, viii 177 ff

15 Etruscan is a speech which has something like tenues

16 *Glotta*, xx 66 ff

That explanation for this reason is more plausible than the alternative views of a dialectical variation in I E or the descent of Hittite and Tocharian from a common derivative of I.E which made the change

Another metathesis performed in common has been suggested by Petersen in the case of Hittite *pahhur*, Tocharian *por* as against Greek *púr*, Umbrian *pir*, Armenian *hur*, and against Old High German *fūr*. He suggests an I E *pu(w)sr*, whence by metathesis *paur*, contracted to *por* in Tocharian, and with a hiatus—avoiding *h* in Hittite. It is difficult to feel any confidence in this suggestion, nor is the doubt diminished by the fact that Tocharian appears also to have a dialectical variant B *puwar* in which the *u* of the word takes its normal first place

(3) In Hittite the only case forms which can be compared directly with those believed to have existed in I E are the nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative singular, and the nominative and perhaps the accusative plural. Thus we have *-s* in the nominative singular, *antuhsas*, *tuzzis*, *assus*, *-n* (I E *-m*) in the accusative, *antuhsan*, *tuzzin*, *assun*, *-as* in the genitive (I E *-os* or *-ās*), *antuhsas*, *-i* in the dative (I E *-et*), *antuhsi*, *assawi*, *-as* (I E *-ōs* or *ās*), *-es* (I E *-es* or *eyes*), and *us* by analogy in the nominative plural. The suggestion therefore is that, when Hittite separated from I E, the latter had not yet developed a plural declension but used one form of all cases, unless the accusative plural is an exception. In Tocharian most of the cases of the noun, six out of nine, are patently secondary, being formed by addition of post-positions to the oblique case at comparatively late periods. In the plural the genitive, which is primary in the singular, is secondary and based on the oblique, leaving in the singular nominative, oblique and genitive, in the plural nominative and oblique, the two in many cases coinciding. The oblique may fairly be traced to the I E accusative, and the loss of the dative may have taken place in Tocharian itself, which

may indeed preserve in such a genitive as *lāntse* 'of the queen' a trace of the I.E. dative in *-ei*

The argument of a common development of Hittite and Tocharian seems most insufficient. There must be remembered the contention of Sturtevant above noted which sees in Hittite signs of an ablative and instrumental from *-tos*, which have I.E. parallels. The simplification of the I.E. in the speeches separately seems the natural explanation of the phenomenon. Nor is Petersen's view really strengthened by the parallel which he draws between the fact that in Hittite all genitives singular and genitives and dative plural end in *-as*, while in Tocharian the *-is* of the genitive singular is added in many cases to the common nominative and oblique form of the plural, e.g. *ñemy*, gen. sing. *ñemyis*, plural *ñemintw-is*. The parallel, though interesting, is far too distant to suggest a common historical origin.<sup>17</sup>

(4) It is pointed out that Hittite has for the first person pronoun the nominative *uk* or *ug*, to which the only parallel is Tocharian *ñuk*, which is secondarily confined to the feminine. The strange *ñ* is no doubt from the plural I.E. *nos*, while the *u* is from the second person, in which Hittite has the accusative *tuk* or *tug*, but Tocharian has not the *k*. That the changes 'must have been made in common' is surely quite unproved. The assimilation of the vowels of the pronouns is a very natural phenomenon, and its occurrence in both speeches separately is natural enough. It would be different if the pronouns showed other important similarities of a distinctive character, but it is not claimed that this is the case nor in fact is it so.

(5) The free use in Hittite and Tocharian of the present suffix I.E. *-sko-* which appears as *s* besides *sk* in the B dialect of Tocharian

<sup>17</sup> The suggestion that the *-ntu* is paralleled to Luvian *-nza* (*-nts*), and comparable to Hittite genitive plurals like *kuenzan* is implausible.

has slight significance, as its I E character is clear from Sanskrit *gáčchāmi*, Greek *báskō*, Latin *cresco*, but that significance is further diminished by the fact that in Hittite the tendency is to use the suffix in an iterative-durative sense as opposed to the prevalent causative sense in Tocharian. Two independent developments of an I E inheritance may simply be postulated.

(6) We have seen that the perfect termination of the second person *-tha* makes its way into the present, invariably is this the case in the *bi-* conjugation which is derived from the perfect, but it occurs also in the *mi-* conjugation which is a true present. Tocharian has invariably *-t* as in *knānat* 'thou knowest', *yat* 'thou doest', the short vowel disappearing as is normal. Here again a common transfer seems wholly speculative.

(7) Nor is the case better with the suggestion that Hittite and Tocharian shared the important morphological innovation of the entry of forms of the *s*-aorist into the preterite active paradigm. The parallel forms are second singular Hittite *-sta*, as above, Tocharian *-st*, as in *weñast* 'thou didst say', third *-s* in both, Tocharian *yāmas* 'he made', second plural Hittite *-sten*, Tocharian *-s*, *weñās* 'ye said'. It is quite possible to hold that the Tocharian form in the last case goes back to *-ste* as does the Hittite, but it remains purely conjectural. That the parallelism should be accidental is said to be inconceivable, but this seems to overstate the position seriously. We have forms like Latin *vidisti*, and it has been urged with energy that there is no innovation, and no *s*-aorist but a morpheme intended to facilitate inflection, the use of which for phonetic reasons is restricted to certain persons.<sup>18</sup> It is not necessary to adopt this doctrine to find the argument derived from the partial similarities of the two speeches quite without decisive force, even apart from the difference in usage, the Tocharian *s*-forms being found in every

18 Benveniste, *Hitt-Festschrift*, II, 230, Meillet, *BSL*, xxxiv 127f.

preterite, while in Hittite they are confined as mentioned above to preterites of the *hi-* conjugation

(8) Still less promising is the theory of innovation in the treatment of the I E first person singular perfect. Tocharian *wenā* 'I said' is said to be the result of contraction of the normal *-a* as in Sanskrit *véda*, Greek *óida*, in case of a vowel stem and the transfer of the vowel resulting to a consonantal stem. In Hittite the same *-a*, it is held, was added to vowel stems, *h* being developed to avoid hiatus, and then *-a* altered by analogy to *-i*, e g, *memabhi*, 'I say', *dabhi* 'I take'. The form, of course, in Hittite is present, in Tocharian preterite, but that can be disregarded as a secondary development. This is doubtless not impossible, but the chance of the two phenomena really going back to a common source seems negligible.

(9) The medio-passives are also called into play as an argument. Here again the divergence is as great as the similarity. Tocharian has developed the rule that *-r* forms are present in use, forms without *-r* preterite. Thus the third singular present is *kalpnātar*, the preterite *kalpāt*, the third plurals are *kalpnāntar* and *kalpānt*, and so on. It seems much more natural to accept independent developments, not common innovation. Phrygian also shows a similar phenomenon of the facultative addition of *-or*.

(10) Nor is it easy to find the development of a single medio-passive, originally without tense-meaning, of forms without *r*. The resemblances between the two speeches in this regard are far from extensive. In the first person singular Tocharian has *-e*, as in *kalpe*, which looks like I E *-ai* as in Sanskrit *bruve*, Old Norse Icelandic *beite*, while Hittite has *-ha*, as in *taparha*, which has to be explained as analogical to the other *-a* endings of the forms. The forms for the third singular and plural *kalpāt* and *kalpānt* may correspond to the Hittite, but it is far from certain that the second plural *kalpāc* corresponds to *-dhvam*. It is clear that the first plural of Tocharian

in *-mat*, e.g. *kalpāmat*, is quite distinct from the Hittite and corresponds to Greek *-metha* and Sanskrit *-mahi*, I E *-medh<sup>o</sup>*. In the second singular Hittite *-ta* as in *pabhasta*, and Tocharian *-te* are supposed to go back to a common *-ta*, a contamination of the two I E secondary terminations *-thes* as in Sanskrit *ádithās*, and *-so* as in proto-Greek *ephereso*. The Tocharian is held to have been affected by the *-e* of the first person. It is much simpler to assume that each speech had its own history, nor is this probability diminished by the fact that the Tocharian uses these forms as past, Hittite as present.

(11) Two common roots are adduced which are not found at least in the same sense in the rest of the I E. speeches. The first is (y)ya- 'make, do', Hittite *iyazzi* 'he does', Tocharian *yas*. The second is ai- 'give' seen in Tocharian *es* 'he gives', and in Hittite with the prefix *pe* in *pe-*, *pai-* 'give', as in *pehhi* 'I give', *pais* 'he gave'. It is suggested that the development of the use of this root goes hand in hand with the loss of I E *dā* 'give', because in both it became indistinguishable from *dhā-* 'place', which alone continued to exist in the sense 'take' in Hittite. The latter observation should be qualified by the reminder that with the prefix *ā dā-* in Sanskrit denotes 'take'. The root, however, is clearly I E, for we have the Greek *aísa*, the lot destined, and so fate, the Oscan genitive *áteis*, 'part', Avestan *aeta* 'retribution', and perhaps the Illyrian proper name Aitor. Similarly the Hittite *eku-* 'drink' is comparable with the Tocharian *yok-*, but we can hardly insist on dismissing connection with *aqua* in Latin. We have again Hittite *kasza* (*kasts*) and Tocharian *kast* 'hunger' with no close cognates. But Hittite *pa-pars-*, Tocharian *pars-* 'sprinkle' remind us of Sanskrit *prsat*, Tocharian *wārp-* 'enclose', Hittite *warpa tuya* of Avestan *varep-*. Without further details it is reasonably clear that there is no such close comparison in vocabulary as to cause us to postulate a common development.

(12) There is a certain similarity between Hittite and Tocharian in the signification of participles. Thus in Tocharian those in *-u* may be passive or active, while those in *-mam* A dialect, *mane* B dialect are not properly middle. In Hittite participles in *-nt* are passive in sense where the verb is active and *vice versa*, pointing to an original indetermination of character. But there is no close parallel, and we need not even ascribe the uses to archaism.

### III *The Dialectical Grouping of Tocharian*

The only conclusion possible in view of the evidence is that the idea of a common development of Hittite and Tocharian is not rendered even probable by the evidence adduced. It remains therefore to consider whether it is possible to group Tocharian, regarded like Hittite as a distinct branch of I E, more closely with some of the speeches than with others.<sup>19</sup>

(1) Nothing definite can be deduced from the fact that Tocharian shows the maintenance of velars and traces of labio-velars, as in *puk* as a variant form for I E *pekw-*, Latin *coquo* 'I cook', as opposed to Sanskrit *pac-*. The advent of palatalization is a later development. There are many other survivals, for example the *-wā* of the first person *prakwā*, *yāmwā*, is akin to Sanskrit *ṛājñau*, Latin *amāvi*, Armenian *cnaw*, and Hittite *-un*. The third plural *weñāre* is comparable with Latin *videre*, but also with the *-er* (*-ir*) of Hittite, *-ur* of Sanskrit and *-ār*, of Avestan. If we compare *ksai-* 'grow old' with Greek *phthínō* as against Sanskrit *ksi-*, we have another archaism. Tocharian as we have seen uses the suffix *-sko* mainly in a causative sense, but it preserves in a few cases traces of the iterative-intensive sense which may have been specifically I E. Archaic also is probably the existence of perfects with and without reduplication, now found dialectically divided, e.g. dialect A *cacal*, B *cāla*, A

<sup>19</sup> Benveniste, *Hitt-Festschrift*, II, 227-40

*śāsars*, B *śārsa*, for there is no reason to deny the existence of both forms in I E, just as Old Latin has *feced* and *fbefbaked* which are of distinct origin, and the Hittite *bi*-conjugation has reduplicated as well as simple forms

(2) Certain facts of morphology are more interesting as evidence of affinity. Thus Tocharian shares with Slav and Armenian a tendency to make participial use of the suffix *-lo*, especially interesting is its expansion to *-lyo* giving Tocharian *yokalle* 'to be drunk' and Armenian *sireli* 'to be loved'. Again, the use of the prefix *p-* with the imperative is held to correspond in form and function to Slav *po*, Lithuanian *pa*, the purpose being to render the imperfect perfective, but later sinking to a normal accompaniment as in *bi-* from *pa-* in modern Iranian. A further point of interest is the suffix *-une* of abstracts, which is like the old Slav suffix of abstracts *-ynja*, Lithuanian *-une*, which is differentiated from Latin *pecunia* by the fact that the *u* there is of the stem. It is also interesting that, while Tocharian is merely archaic in its use of the adjective in place of the genitive, a trait common to Slav as well as Luvian, it makes specially frequent employment of the suffix A *-si*, B *-sse*, which is I E *-skryo*, found in Armenian as *-aci* and in the Slav *-isku*, as well as in Germanic *-iska*. But the Slav parallel admittedly is suspect of being merely a borrowing from Germanic<sup>20</sup> and is therefore not altogether cogent. With Hittite and Armenian Tocharian shares abstention from the use of the comparative affix *-tero*, the positive of the adjective with the ablative serving to express comparison as it may in Sanskrit. It is interesting also to note that in the use of *ne* after the relative-interrogative as in *kus ne* Tocharian recalls Phrygian *ios ni*, but of course we have other traces of this *ne* as in Avestan *aithe-nā*, Thessalian *hone*, and Latin *ne*

<sup>20</sup> There is a Ligurian suffix *-asco -asca*, but that is probably not I E, Krahe, *Hitt-Festschrift*, II 252, 253

(3) From the vocabulary we have seen that no definite affinity to Hittite can be established. Equally is it impossible to see close relations with Indo-Iranian, a case like *lam-lyam*—in B as compared with Sanskrit *layate* is isolated. On the other hand Tocharian definitely shows a general affinity to the European speeches where they differ from Indo-Iranian. Striking is A *alyak*, B *alyek* against *anya* 'other'. Tocharian has *por* 'fire', *salyr* 'salt', Latin *sel*, A *was*, B *yasā*, Latin *aurum*, Old Prussian *ausis*, Lithuanian *auksas* 'gold', *kronše* 'bee', Latin *crābro*, Lithuanian *sirsuo*, Old High German *hornuz*, A *mañ*, B *mem* 'moon', A *mañ*, B *meñ* 'month' from *men-* as opposed to *mes-* of Indo-Iranian but also of Slav, A *lake*, B *leke*. Greek *lékbos*, Gothic *ligan*, *wal*- 'die'. Greek *oulé*, Lithuanian *velys*, Old Icelandic *valr*, Welsh *gweli*, *wal*- 'rule', Latin *valeo*, 'be strong', Old Irish *flaith* 'royalty'. Interesting also is *plāk*—'make accord' with Latin *placeo*, *aks*—'to proclaim' with Latin *prodigium*, Greek *ánōga*, Armenian *asem* 'I say' *saks*—'say' is clearly parallel with Greek *ennépo*, Latin *insece* (imperative), Lithuanian *sakyti*, and it may be with Hittite *sak-* or *saku-*<sup>21</sup>. Significant is *āre* 'plough' and Latin *arāre*, a word of a culture different from Indo-Iranian. The root *tak-* 'touch' is paralleled in Latin *tango*, Greek *tetagōn*, and Gothic *tekan* must be derived from a variant with a sonant initial. *ekro* 'poor' compares with *egeo*, Old Icelandic *ekla* 'privation', and so forth.

(4) Special similarities are believed to exist in the case of Greek, Armenian, the close relation of which to Greek is often now asserted, and Thracian and Phrygian, which are probably closely akin to Armenian, in accordance with the historical tradition, Herodotos already declaring the Armenians derived from the Phrygians. The material adduced is scanty. The word for 'hand', A *tsar*, B *sar*, is comparable with Greek *kbér*, Armenian *jern*, but Hittite *kessera* may be cognate. *ri*, 'town' is reminiscent of Thraco-Phrygian *bría*,

21 Cf. Sturtevant, *Language*, vi 219

and *kercıye* 'palace' of Phrygian *Gordion*, Old Slav. *gordŭ*, Lithuanian *gardas ime*, equivalent of *smrti*, A *imasu* B *ymassu* 'thinking' may be akin to Armenian *imanam* 'I reflect', but possibly Latin *imago* and *imitor* are also in relation *lap* 'top' corresponds to Greek *lóphos* 'crest', A *se* B *soya* 'son' accords with Greek *huiós*, A *swase* B *swese* 'rain' with Greek *húei*, *huetós orkam* 'darkness' seems related to Greek *orphanós*, and ultimately to words such as *érebos* which again is comparable with Sanskrit *rajas śpāl* 'head' is akin to Greek *kephalē*, but also to Old High German *gebal*, and, if *okı* 'and' recalls Greek *aúge*, there is Gothic *auk* not to be forgotten. More important is the coincidence in formation of *kupre* 'if' with Greek *óphra* and Armenian *erb*.

Taken all in all, this evidence seems inadequate to support the thesis of any close relation to these speeches, which remain as before in some measure isolated.

(5) Correspondences with Slav and Baltic are also adduced. A *rake*, B *reki* 'word' correspond to Old Slav *reci* *pik* 'write', Old Slav *pisati* and Iranian *pis-*, 'write' are believed to be independent, and to be a cultural point of importance. B *laks* 'fish' has Slav and Lithuanian parallels but also the Old High German *laks* 'salmon'. B *walke* 'of long duration' has a correspondent in Old Slav *velikŭ* 'great', *sark* 'disease' has Lithuanian *sergú*, but also Middle Irish *sarg* 'malady', *pal* 'celebrate' is cognate to Lithuanian *byla* 'voice' but ultimately also to Sanskrit *bhan-*

Here again the parallels are few, and far from unique in character, and affinity with Balto-Slav must be regarded as unproved.

It is difficult then to accept Benveniste's conclusions on the position of Tocharian. His view that connections with Italo-Celtic are remote is in accord with the view expressed by me in criticism of Pedersen's effort to group the I E dialects<sup>22</sup>. Connection with

Germanic is also slight, nor is it possible to ignore the great differences between Tocharian and Hittite already alluded to, to which may be added the feminine in Tocharian and the development of nominal forms. But any close connection either with the dialectical group of Balto-Slav or that of Greek-Thraco-Phrygian-Armenian seems wholly unproved by the evidence above set out, and the localisation of Tocharian so far as it is based on the linguistic evidence seems hazardous.

We may readily believe that Greeks, Thracians and Phrygians were once in close relations to the northern regions, no one doubts that the Greeks entered Greece from the north, probably the north-west. The Thracians are known to have been settled to the north of the Carpathians, stretching east to the mouth of the Don. The Slavs are usually held to have resided at one time in the Pripyet basin north east of the Carpathians with the proto-Germans on their west. But to find a like habitat for the Tocharians rests on feeble evidence. The word for 'fish' corresponds with that for 'salmon' in Baltic Slav, and Germanic, and the salmon is unknown to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The word for 'bee' is cognate to the term for 'hornet' in these speeches and Latin, adopted probably because of a tabu on the true name, its existence strongly suggests neighbourhood to Slavs, Balts and Germans, as bee-keepers, since the bee is relatively a new-comer to central Asia. The word for 'gold' again seems to go back to *was* as against *aus* of Baltic and Italic. We are reminded of the gold of Transylvania whence the Thraco-Phrygians obtained their ornaments<sup>23</sup> or the fabled riches of the Scythians in the Ural region<sup>24</sup>. Armenian *oski* may be another hint of a former unity. The word for 'salt' again reminds us of the wealth of salt at the mouth of the Dnieper known to Herodotos,<sup>25</sup> while Thracian

23 Herodotos, iv 104

24 Herodotos, i 115, iv 10, 71

25 iv 53

place names often contain the element *sald-*. Between the Dnieper therefore and the Urals once dwelt the Proto-Tocharians, which accords with the lexical correspondences with Germanic on the one hand and Finnish on the other. This area was perhaps the Indo-European home, though earlier the Indo-Europeans may have lived further to the east in the Kirghis steppes, a view which I have elsewhere discussed <sup>26</sup>

Ingenious as is this argument, it is right to hold that it is not made out in so far as it seeks to locate the Tocharians. The evidence, though of interest and not negligible, is too scanty to render the conclusion achieved of more than plausible character. The issue is wholly open to reconsideration. It is necessary to admit that so far as linguistic evidence goes there is no ground whatever on which we can assert with any reasonable assurance that the Tocharians ever lived in Europe or on its borders. Those who claim an Asiatic home for the Indo-Europeans are quite entitled to deny the cogency of the suggestion that we can find in the evidence above discussed any real proof of a western home. Tocharian is known at so late a date that it may easily have borrowed words from many sources and from long distances. The result reached is no doubt negative, but it is better to accept limitations of knowledge rather than adopt theories which rest on wholly inadequate evidence, and which may easily be replaced by other theories of the same unsubstantiated kind.

In the case of Hittite negation of its claim to independence is of importance, because, were the Indo-Hittite theory accepted, a wide reconstruction of Indo-European as at present understood would become necessary. We should, for example, be entitled to work out a new theory of ablaut which would differ considerably from the present doctrines, but which would take into account the vowel system of Hittite as something not to be treated as the mere dege-

neration of an Indo-European speech in conditions unfavourable to its maintenance in integrity. But the latter view seems to possess greater probability, and to render the making of a new hypothesis even more than normally speculative. It is also extremely doubtful whether the evidence of Hittite can effectively be used to impugn our present theory of a rather developed Indo-European speech. No doubt there is a widespread tendency at the present to suggest that the elaborate verbal system constructed, for Indo-European on the basis of comparison of Sanskrit and Greek is a late development, a doctrine popular with those who desire to establish the essentially I E character of Germanic as the speech of the Aryan people, progenitors of the National Socialists of contemporary Germany, as against the more natural conclusion from the consonantal shift in Germanic and its simplification of the verbal system that Germanic represents a speech of I E character as affected by its adoption by a people of alien blood<sup>27</sup>. Hittite, it may be said, supports the view that I E was originally much simpler than Greek or Sanskrit, but it must be noted that the vocabulary of Hittite suggests non-I E origin, and that, if this is so, it is fair to believe that a language, which could accept so largely a strange vocabulary, must have been liable to simplification in the mouths of people who must surely have been deeply influenced by non-Europeans and probably intermingled in blood.

A BERRIGDALE KITCH

27 Cf. Ammann, *Hirt-Festschrift*, II 341, A. Schmitt, *ibid.*, II 343-62.

## Naming a Child or a Person

Very elaborate rules are given in the *Gṛhya-sūtras* about naming a child. In this paper I propose to compare those rules with the practices deducible from the Vedic literature as also to discuss how persons were named in India from very ancient times.

In the *Rgveda* (VIII 80 9) we read 'when you give us a fourth name connected with the (the performance of) a sacrifice we long for it, immediately afterwards you, our lord, take us (forward or towards glory)' Here is a clear reference to the fact that the performer of a *yajña* took a name indicative of that fact and that was his fourth name. Sāyana explains these four names thus: one derived from the *nakṣatra* (at birth), the second a secret name, the third a publicly known one and the fourth an epithet like *Somayāji* (due to one's having performed a *Soma* sacrifice). Later works like the *Vaiṣṇānasasmārta-sūtra*<sup>2</sup> (III 19) prescribe that a man may assume a name after consecration of the sacred fires (such as *Agnicit*, *Vājapeyakṛt* etc). In *Rv* X 54 4 also there appears to be a reference to four names (though Sāyana here takes *nāma* as meaning *śarīra* or *karma*) *Rv* IX 75 2 has 'The son has a third name which is unknown to the parents and which is in the bright parts of the heaven'. This is a reference to the three names of a person, two being his ordinary name and his *nakṣatra* name and the third (which his parents could not foresee) was given for his performance of a sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> In the *Rv*

1 नुरीयं नाम यज्ञियं यदाकुरुस्तदुश्मसि । आदित्यतिर्न आहसे । ऋ. VIII 80 9

2 अग्न्याधानात्परमाहिताग्न्यादि स्वकर्मान्तं प्रकाश नाम भवेत् । वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र III 19

3 दधाति पुत्रं पितोरपोच्यं नाम तृतीयमधि रोचने दिव । ऋ. IX 75 2

4 Vide बौधायनगृह्यशेषसूत्र I 11 4-8 नामास्मै दधाति नक्षत्रनामधेयेन ।

द्वितीयमस्य नामधेयं गुह्यमस्यान्यदभिवादनीयमोपनयनकालान्मातापितरौ संविदितौ भवतः । सोमयाजी तृतीयं नाम कुर्वीतेति विज्ञायते ॥

frequent reference is made to the secret name of a person 'He does know that secret and concealed name given to these cows'<sup>5</sup> (*Rv* IX 87 3) Similarly in *Rv* X 55. 1-2 there is a reference to a secret name (*gubhyam nāma*) In the *Ś Br*, after recommending the consecration of fires (*agnyādhāna*) on the constellation of Falgunis it is said that they are the nakshatras presided over by Indra, that Arjuna is the secret name (*gubhya-nāma*) of Indra and that the Falgunis are called Arjunis in an indirect (or esoteric) way The *Br Up* (VI 4 26) says that the father on the birth of his son bestows on him a name with the words 'thou art Veda' and that name becomes the boy's secret name

In the *Tai S* (VI 3 1) it is said 'therefore a brāhmana who has two names prospers (or is successful)' In another place the *Tai S* (I 5 10 1) has 'Oh Fire Jātavedas, that first name which my father and mother bestowed on me aforesaid, bear it until my return Oh fire, I shall bear thy name'<sup>8</sup> This verse occurs with several variations in other samhitās and it is quoted in several sūtras also In this way reverence was paid to the Āhavanīya fire by one who was about to go on a journey

In the Vedic literature we come across some cases of three names for the same person In *Rv* V 33 8 we find 'Trasadasyu Paurukutsya Gairikṣita', the first being his ordinary name, the second a derivative from Purukutsa (his father's name) and the last

5 स चिद्विभेदं निहितं यदासामपीच्छं गुह्यं नाम गोनाम् । ऋ. IX 87 3

6 अर्जुनो ह वै नामेन्द्रो यदस्य गुह्यं नामार्जुन्यो वै नामैतास्ता एतत्परोक्षमाचक्षते फल्गुन्य इति । शतपथ II 1 2 11

7 तस्माद् द्विनामा ब्राह्मणोर्धुक् । तै. सं VI 3 1 This sentence is quoted in several Grhya sūtras

8 मम नाम प्रथमं जातवेदः पिता माता च दधतुर्यदग्ने ।

तत्त्वं विश्वहि पुनरा मदैतोस्ववाहं नाम बिभराण्यग्ने ॥ तै. सं. I 5 10 1

9 E.g. the काठकसंहिता (VII 3) reads '.. दधतुर्नम्रे ।

तत्त्वं गोपाया पुनर्ददौ ते वयं बिभराम तव नाम ॥'

derived from Giriksita (a gotra) From *Rv* VII 33 10-13 it seems to follow that Agastya was also called Māna and Maitrāvaruna (vide also I 117 11) In the *At Br* (40 5) a king named Sutvan Kairīśi Bhārgāyana is mentioned, where the second name is derived from his father's name and the third is a gotra name In the same *Brāhmana* (33 5) Sunahśepa Ājigarta (son of Ajigarta) is addressed as Āngirasa (a gotra name) Hariścandra (a king) is spoken of (in *At Br* 33 1) as Vaidhasa (son of Vedhas) and Aiksvāka (born in Iksvāku's family) In the *Tāndya Br* (XIII 3 12) we hear of a king Tyaruna Traidhātva (son of Tridhātu) Aiksvāka (descendant of Iksvāku) In the *Śatapatha* (XIII 5 4 1.) Indrota Daivāpa (son of Devāpi) Śaunaka is said to have been the priest of Janamejaya at the latter's horse sacrifice In the *Chāndogya Upanisad* (V 3 1 and 7) Śvetaketu Āruneya (son of Āruni and grandson of Aruna) is styled Gautama In the same *Upanisad* both Indradyumna Bhāllaveya and Budila Āśvatarāśvi are addressed as Vaiyāghrapadya (a gotra name) by king Aśvapati Kaikeya (*Chā* V 14 1 and V 16 1) In the *Kathopanisad* (I 1 1) Naciketas is said to be Vājaśravasa's son and in I 1 11 his father's name is given as Auddālaki Āruni and Naciketas himself is addressed by Yama as Gautama (a gotra name) in II 5 6 This practice of giving three names is in accordance with the recommendation of the *Śatapatha Br* (VI 1 3 9) 'therefore when a son is born (the father) should bestow on him a name, thereby he (the father) drives away the evil (pāpman) that might attach to the boy, (the father gives) even a second, even a third (name)' <sup>10</sup> The same *Brāhmana* has in another place 'therefore a brāhmana when he does not prosper should give to himself a second name, he who knowing thus bestows upon himself a second

10 तस्मात्पुत्रस्य जातस्य नाम कुर्यात्प्राप्मानमेवास्य तदपहन्त्यपि द्वितीयमपि तृतीयम् ।  
शतपथ VI 1 3 9

name does indeed prosper (or succeed)' <sup>11</sup> In the *Drāhyāyana Śrauta sūtra* (I 3 9) reference is made to the fact that a *Yajamāna* (sacrificer) may have three names and that they were all to be recited at certain rites <sup>12</sup>

Usually however a person is referred to in Vedic literature by two names. Sometimes a person is mentioned by his own name and a gotra name e.g. we have Medhyātūthi Kānva (*Rv* VIII 2 40), Hiranyastūpa Āngirasa (*Rv* X 149 5), Vatsapri Bhālandana (*Tai S* V 2 1 6), Bālāki Gārgya (*Br Up* II 1 1), Baka Dālbhya (*Chā Up* I 2 13), Cyavana Bhārgava (*Ati Br* 39 7), Kabandhi Kātyāyana (*Praśna Up* I 1), Patañcala Kāpya (*Br Up* III 7 1). In other cases a person is referred to by his name and another derived from a country or locality e.g. Kaśi Caidya (*Rv* VIII 5 37), Bhīma Vaidarbha (*Ati Br* 35 8), Durmukha Pāñcala (*Ati Br* 39 23), Janaka Vaidaha (*Br Up* III, 1 1), Ajātaśatru Kāśya (*Br Up* II 1 1), Bhārgava Vaidarbhi (*Praśna* I 1), Hiranyanābha Kauśalya (*Praśna* VI 1). In some cases a matronymic is added to a person's name e.g. we have Dirghatamā Māmateya (son of Mamatā, in *Rv* I 158 6), Kutsa Ārjuneya (son of Arjuni, in *Rv* IV 26 1, VII 19 2, VIII 1 11), Kaksivat Auśija (son of Uśik, in *Rv* I 18 1 and *Vāj S* III 28), Prahlāda Kāyādhava (son of Kayādhū, in *Tai Br* I 5 10 7), Mahidāsa Aitarēya (son of Itarā, in *Chā* III 16 7). This practice of mentioning a man by his mother's own name or her gotra name (derived from her father's gotra) was continued till later times, as will be shown hereafter. In the *vamśa*

<sup>11</sup> तस्माद् ब्राह्मणोऽनुष्ठयमाने द्वितीय नाम कुर्वीत राष्ट्रोति हेव य एव विद्वान् द्वितीय नाम कुरुते । शतपथ III 6 2 24

<sup>12</sup> प्रत्येक गृहणीयाद्यजमाननामधेयानि यानि स्युः । द्राह्मण्यणश्रौत I 3 9, on which one interpretation in the *Dhanushāsya* is that they are अभिवादनिय, व्यावहारिक and नक्षत्रनाम ।

added at the end of the *Brhadāranyaka Upanisad*, we have about forty names of sages that are matronymic.

The most usual method of referring to a person even in the *Rgveda* is to give his name along with another epithet derived from his father's name. A few examples may be given. Ambarīsa, Rjṛāśva, Sahadeva and Surādhas are all called Vārsāgira (sons of Vrsāgīr, *Rv* I 100 17). King Sudās is called Pajavana (son of Pijavana) and in the same verse he is said to have been the grandson (naptr) of Devavat (*Rv* VII 18 22). We have in the *Rgveda* itself such names as Trita Vaibhūvasa (son of Vibhūvas *Rv* X 46 3), Trita Āptya (*Rv* VIII 12 16), Dadhyan Ātharvana (*Rv* I 116 12), Purumilha Vaidadaśvi (*Rv* V 61 10), Prthuśravas Kānita (son of Kanita, *Rv* VIII 21 24), Devāpī Ārstisena (son of Rstisena, *Rv* X 98 5, 6 and 8), Trasadasyu Paurukutsi or Paurukutsya (son of Purukutsa, *Rv* VII 19 3 and VIII 19 36), Rjīśvan Vaidathina (son of Vidathin, *Rv* IV 16 13), Srñjaya Daivavāta (*Rv* IV 15 4), Somaka Sāhadevya (*Rv* IV 15 9). A few examples from other Vedic works may also be cited, Samyu Bārhaspatya (*Tai S* II 6 10), Vasistha Sātyahavya (*Tai S* VI 6 2 2-3 and *Ait Br* 40 1), Bhrgu Vāruni (*Ait Br* 13 10 and *Tai Up* III 1), Bharata Dausanti (*Śatapatha* XIII 5 4 11, *Ait Br* 39 9), Kavasa Ailūsa (*Ait Br* VIII 1), Nābhānedistha Mānava (*Ait Br* 22 9), Brahmadata Caikitāneya (son of Caikitāna and grandson of Cikitāna, *Br Up* I 3 24), Satyakāma Śaibya (*Praśna Up* I 1).

We find that sometimes the same speaker is referred to by his own name, sometimes by his gotra name and sometimes by a name which is patronymic. For example, Naciketas is addressed as Naciketas (in *Katha Up* I 1 19, 21, 24, I 2. 3 etc) and sometimes as Gautama (II 4 15, II 5 6). Śvetaketu Āruneya is throughout addressed as Gautama by Pravāhana Jaivali (*Cbā* V 3ff).

In some of the Grhyasūtras the ceremony of giving a name to the child is included in the Jātakarma rite following apparently the

passage of the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa* quoted above (note 10) For example the *Āśvalāyana Gr S* (I 13 Trivandrum ed)<sup>13</sup> says 'when a son has been born (the father) should, before other people touch him, give him to eat from a golden vessel clarified butter and honey in which gold has been rubbed And let (them) give the son a name beginning with a sonant, with a semivowel in it, with a *visarga* at its end, consisting of two syllables or four syllables, of two syllables if he is desirous of firm position, of four syllables if he is desirous of spiritual glory, but in every case with an even number of letters for men, an uneven for women And let (the father) thoughtfully find out (for the son) a name to be used at respectful salutation (at the time of Upanayana), that (name) his mother and father alone should know till his Upanayana' This shows that the boy was to have a public name (*vyāvahārika*) and an *abhyvādaniya* name, which was to be kept secret by his parents and to be used at the time of respectfully bowing to his teacher at the Upanayana Even now boys at the time of Upanayana have a name communicated to them which they are to keep secret The *Āpastamba-grhya-sūtra*<sup>14</sup> similarly prescribes that on the birth of a son the father indicates the

13 कुमार जातं पुरान्यैरालम्भात् सपिर्मधुनी हिरण्यनिकाष हिरण्येन प्राशयेत् 1. नाम चास्मै दद्यु । घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्त स्थमभिनिष्ठानान्त द्व्यक्षर चतुरक्षरं वा । द्व्यक्षरं प्रतिष्ठाकामश्चतुरक्षरं ब्रह्मवर्चसकाम । युग्मानि त्वेव पुसाम् । अभिवादनीयं च समीक्षेत तन्मातापितरौ विद्यातामोपनयनात् । आश्व० गृ० सू० I 13 1 and I 13 4-9 Sonants (ghosa) are the 3rd, 4th, 5th letters of the five classes from कवर्ग to पवर्ग, य, र, ल, व and ह, पाणिनि (VIII 3 86) derives अभिनिष्ठान

14 जात वात्सप्रेणाभिमृश्य.. जाप । नक्षत्रनाम च निर्दिशति । तद्रहस्य भवति ।.. दशम्यामुत्थितायां स्नाताया पुलस्य नाम दधाति पिता मातेति । द्व्यक्षर चतुरक्षरं वा नामपूर्वमाख्यातोत्तरं दीर्घाभिनिष्ठानान्त घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्त स्थम् । अपि वा यस्मिन्स्वित्युपसर्ग स्यात्तद्धि प्रतिष्ठितमिति ब्राह्मणम् । अयुजाक्षरं कुमार्या । आप० गृ० VI 15 1-3 and 8-11 Such names with two or four syllables would be गोप्त्री, हिरण्यदा, द्रविणोदाः, सुदर्शनः ।

naksatra name which is kept secret and that 'on the 10th day after the mother has risen (from the lying-in chamber) and bathed, the father and the mother give a name to the son, which is of two syllables or four syllables, the first part being a noun, the latter part a verb, it should have a long vowel in the middle, or it should contain the *upasarga* 'su', since such a name has a firm basis, thus it is said in a Brāhmana 'A girl's name should have an odd number of syllables' The *Gobbilagrhyasūtra*<sup>15</sup> also prescribes the giving of a secret name at the time of Jātakarma and says that the Nāmakarana is to be performed after the passing of ten nights, a hundred nights or a year from birth<sup>16</sup> It then prescribes that the name to be given on that day must be a word ending in a *krt* termination and must not be *taddhita*, the other requirements are the same except that the names of girls were to end in the syllable 'dā' The *Gobbilagrhya*<sup>17</sup> (II 10 22-25) says that in the Upanayana rite the teacher asks the student what his name is and adds 'the teacher settles for him a name which he is to employ when bowing at the feet of his teacher, (a name) derived from a deity or a naksatra or also from his gotra, according to some teachers' We know from the story of Satyakāma Jābāla that his teacher asked him what his gotra was (*Chāndogya* IV 4 4) It will be noted that in the *Chāndogya* (V 14 1, V 16 1, V 17 1 etc), *Br Up* (III 7, 2), *Kausītaki Up* (1 17) when a person approaches another for knowledge, the latter very frequently addresses him by his gotra name such

15 पुमानय जनिष्यतेऽसौ नामेति नामधेय गृह्णाति । यत्तद् गुह्यमेव भवति । गोमिलीय गृह्य II 7 15-16

16 जननाहशराले व्युष्टे शतराले सवत्सरे वा नामधेयकरणम् । आहस्पत्यं मासं प्रविशासावित्यन्ते च मन्वस्य घोषवदा निग्रानान्तं कृत नाम दधात् । एतदतद्धितम् । अयुग्दान्तं स्त्रीणाम् । गोमिलीय II 8 8 and 14-16

17 को नामासीति नामधेयं पृच्छति तस्याचार्य । अभिवादनीयं नाम कल्पयित्वा देवता-ध्रय नक्षत्राध्रयं वा । गोत्राध्रयमध्येके । गोमिलीयगृह्य II 10 21-25

as Vaiyaghrapadya, Gautama etc. The *Śāṅkhāyana grhya-sūtra*<sup>18</sup> (I. 24) first prescribes the giving of a name at the time of Jātakarma almost in the same words as the *Gobhila-grhya* (but adds that the name may be of six syllables also) and proceeds 'that name only his father and his mother should know. On the tenth day a name be given common use which is pleasing to the brāhmanas'. The *Khādira grhya*<sup>19</sup> (II 2 30-31, II 3 6 and 10-12) prescribes the giving of a secret name immediately on birth, of another name after ten nights, a hundred nights or a year from birth, but adds no further details. The *Khādira grhya*<sup>20</sup> (II 4 12) further lays down that in the Upanayana rites "the student who has been asked by the teacher 'what is thy name' should declare a name derived from (the name of) a deity or a nakṣatra, which he is to use while bowing to his teacher with the words 'I am so and so'". This follows the custom which is referred to even in the *Br Up* (I 4 1), "Therefore even when a person is called he first says 'here am I' and then pronounces his name whatever it may be". The *Hiranyakeśi-grhya-sūtra* (II 4 10-15) is silent about giving a name in Jātakarma and prescribes that on the twelfth day after the birth of a child a name is to be given to a child (and the details are the same as in *Āpastambagrhya*) and adds 'let the father and the mother pronounce that name first. For it is understood 'my name first O Jātavedas' (vide note 8). He should give him two names. For it is known 'therefore a brāhmana who

18 अथ जातकर्म । असाविति नामास्य दधाति घोषव . चतुरक्षर वापि वा षडक्षर कृत कुर्यान्न तद्वितम् । तदस्य पिता माता च विद्याताम् । दशम्या व्यावहारिकं ब्राह्मणजुष्टम् । शाड् खायन ( कोषीतिके ) गृह्य I 24

19 असाविति नाम दध्यात् । तद्गुह्यम् । स्वादिरगृह्य II 2 31-32 The com adds नामापरिज्ञाने अभिचाराद्यसिद्धिः फलम् ।

20 को नामासीत्युक्ते देवताश्रय नक्षत्राश्रय वाभिवादनीय नाम ब्रूयादमावस्मीति । स्वादिरगृह्य II 4 12, the com रुद्रकन्द exemplifies the names derived from नक्षत्र, (such as कार्तिकेय, रौहिणेय, वैश्व ) and the names derived from deities presiding over नक्षत्र (such as आश्विन, याम्य, आग्नेय, मैत्र ) .

has two names has success' (note 7) The second name should be a nakshatra name The one name should be secret, by the other they should call him He gets a third name, thus it is known (from the Vedas)" 21 The *Hiranyakeśi-grhya* tells us that in the Upanayana rite the teacher asks the student his name and the student pronounces his name with the word 'This' and with the words 'Hail, O Savitr etc' he mentions two names (I 5 4-6) 22 The commentator explains that these two are his vyāvahārika name and his nakshatra name The *Bhāradvāja-grhya* I 26 (ed by Salomons) speaks of giving a name only in Nāmakarana and closely follows the *Hiranyakeśi-grhya* The *Pāraskaragrhyasūtra* (I 17) speaks of giving a name only on the tenth day after birth, specifies the details as in *Gobhila-grhya* (II 8 14) and adds "with an uneven number of syllables ending in 'ā', with a Taddhita suffix, in the case of a girl The name of a brāhmana (should end in) *śarman*, 21 that of a Ksatriya in *varman*, that of a Vaiśya in *gupta* " It will be noticed that here for the first time we come across the words *śarman*, *varman* and *gupta* added at the end of the names of individuals respectively belonging to the three varnas The *Mānavagrhyasūtra* 24 (I 18 1-2) says "on the tenth night (after birth) he (the father) should give

21 पुत्रस्य नाम दध्यात् । द्व्यक्षरं ..प्रतिष्ठितमिति विज्ञायते । पिता मातेत्यग्नेभिव्याहरेयाताम् । विज्ञायते च मम नाम प्रथमं जातवेद इति । द्वे नामनी कुर्यात् । विज्ञायते च तस्माद् द्विनामा ब्राह्मणोर्धुक इति । नक्षत्रनाम द्वितीयं स्यादन्यतरद्गुह्यं स्यात् । अन्यतरेरौनमामन्त्रयोरन् । सोमयाजी तृतीयं नाम कुर्वीतेति विज्ञायते । हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य II 4 10-15

22 त पृच्छति को नामासीति । असौ इशाचष्टे यथानामा भवति । स्वस्ति देव सवितरहमनेनासुनोदचमशीय इति नामनी गृह्णाति । हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य I 5 3-6

23 दशम्यामुत्थाय . . .पिता नाम करोति द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा षोष...भिनिष्ठानं कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितम् । शर्म ब्राह्मणस्य वर्म क्षत्रियस्य गुप्तेति वैश्यस्य । पारस्करगृह्य I 17

24 दशम्यां रात्र्या पुत्रस्य नाम दध्यात् । षोषव...स्थं द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा । त्र्यक्षरं दान्तं कुमारोणाम् । तेनाभिवादयितुं त्यक्त्वा पितुर्नामधेयम् । यशस्यं नामधेयं देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रयं देवतायाश्च प्रत्यक्षं प्रतिषिद्धम् । मानवगृह्य I 18 1-2

a name to the son, which should have a sonant at the beginning and a semi-vowel in the middle, a name of two syllables or four (the names) of girls should have three syllables and end in 'dā,' in order that he may bow at the feet (of his teacher), (a name should be given) avoiding the father's (own) name, a name derived from a deity or naksatra tends to fame, but it is forbidden to give the name of a deity directly" (1 e one may be called Rudradatta but not Rudra) The *Vārābhagrhya*<sup>25</sup> after stating the usual rules about the names of males on the 10th day after birth adds "the father's name should be avoided, or the son should have a name derived from a naksatra or a deity or (any other) desirable one, but a brāhmana should have two names, in this way the name of a girl should end in 'ā' and should have an 'a' intercepted, should have an odd number of syllables, and should not be the name of a river, a naksatra, the moon, the sun, the god Pūsan, or it should not be a name ending in 'dattā' or 'raksitā' preceded by the name of a god" Manu also recommends that one should not marry a girl who bears a name which is the name of a naksatra, a tree, a river (III 9) The same *grhyasūtra* (5) refers to the *abhivādaniya* name in Upanayana The *Baudhāyana grhyasūtra*<sup>26</sup> (II 1 23-31) refers only to the giving of a name on the 10th or 12th day after birth, gives almost the same details as to the letters of the name (but allows even six or eight syllables) as in *Āp Gr* and adds 'the name should show that the child is a descendant of a rsi or connected with a deity or he should have one out of the names of the father's ancestors' The *Baudhāyaniya Grhyasēsa-*

25 एवमेव दशम्यां कृत्वा पिता माता च पुत्रस्य नाम दद्याताम् । घोष घनान्त कृतं न तद्धितं द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा त्यक्तपितृनामधेयाक्षरद्वेतेष्टनामानो वा । द्विनामा तु ब्राह्मणो नामैवं कन्याया अकारव्यवधानमाकारान्तमयुग्माक्षरं नदीनक्षत्रचन्द्रसूर्यपूषादेवदत्त-रक्षितावर्जम् । वाराहग्रह्य 2

26 नामास्मै दधाति ।...षडक्षरमष्टाक्षरं वा । ..प्रतिष्ठितमिति विज्ञायते । ऋष्यन्कं देवतान्कं वा । यथैवैषां पूर्वपुरुषाणां नामानि स्युः । अयुगक्षरं कुमार्याः । अमुष्मै स्वस्तीति ।

बौ. गृ II 1 24-31

*sūtra*<sup>27</sup> (I 11 4-18) gives more details about Nāmakarāna on the 10th or 12th day after birth. It says "he bestows on the boy a name by means of a nakṣatra name, he has another and a second name which is used at the time of bowing down (abhivādanīya), which only his father and mother are acquainted with till (the boy's) upanayana. It is known that one who performs a Soma sacrifice should take a third name. To a girl (one should give) a name consisting of an odd number of syllables and ending in a long vowel as Śrī, Somyā. They also recite —the name of a brāhmana should end in śarman, of a Kṣatriya in 'varman', of a Vaiśya in 'gupta' and of a 'Sūdra' in 'bhṛtya' or 'dāsa' or it may only end in 'dāsa'.

In the case of the nakṣatras Rohini, Mrgāśīrsa, Maghā, Citrā, Jyesthā, Śravana, Śatabhisak, Revatī and Aśvayuk, the first vowel undergoes 'Viddhi', and the name Rauhina is given after the the nakṣatra Rohini, others also (are similarly formed). In the case of Tīṣya, Aślesā, Hasta, Viśākhā, Anurādhā, Asādā, Śravisthā the name is the same as the original (nakṣatra) as in Tīṣya (from Tīṣya), the others (also yield the same names). In Phalguni the name of Phālgunā" (results), etc. Sankha-Likhita as quoted in Aparārka prescribes Nāmakarāna on the tenth day after birth and add '(the father) or some other elder in the family should bestow on males a name containing four or two syllables having a sonant at the beginning and a semi-vowel in the middle, in the case of girls (a name) ending in 'ī', if a name is bestowed in this way the family becomes pure'<sup>28</sup>

27 Vide note 4 above for a portion 'अयुगक्षरं कुमार्यै स्वस्तिश्रोसोम्येति दीर्घ-वर्णान्तम् । अथाप्युदाहरन्ति—शर्मान्तं ब्राह्मणस्य वर्मान्तं क्षत्रियस्य गुप्तान्तं वैश्यस्य भृत्य-दासान्तं शूद्रस्य दासान्तमेव वा । अथ नक्षत्राणि रोहिणीमृगशीर्षमघाचित्राज्येष्ठाश्रवणा-शतभिषमेवत्याश्वयुज्यु प्रथमाक्षरवृद्धिं स्याद्रोहिन्यां रोहिण्यार्येति । तथेतराणि । तिष्या-श्लेषाहस्तविशाखानुराधाषाढाश्रविष्ठासु प्रकृतिवत्तिष्यायेति । तथेतराणि । फल्गुन्या फाल्गुना-येति । बौ. गृ. शेषसूत्र I 11 9-18

28 'अन्यो वा कुलवृद्धश्चतुरक्षरं द्वयक्षरं घोष . न्त स्थं पुंसामीकारान्तं स्त्रीणामेवं कृते नाम्नि शुचि तत्कुलं भवति । अपरार्के p 27

The *Mitāksarā* on *Yājñavalkya* 1 12 quotes a passage of Śankha that the father should give a name connected with the family deity *Baijāvāpa*<sup>29</sup> as quoted by *Aparārka* says 'the father gives a name containing one, two, three, four syllables or more without any restriction, which (name) has a krt (termination) and is not a Taddhita, for a girl he gives (a name) ending in 'ī' ". The *Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra*<sup>10</sup> (III 19) after prescribing a name of two or four syllables ending in a long vowel or a past participle ending in 'ta' and having a sonant etc proceeds '(he should give) two names (of which) the naksatra name is the secret one, after a man consecrates the solemn Vedic fires he gets a public name (prakāśa) such as 'āhitāgni' ending in the solemn rite he may have performed'. The same sūtra (1 7) shows that in *Punyāhavācana* when requesting the brāhmanas to pronounce *punyāha* the man's naksatra name, gotra name, his father's name, a matronymic name and his own name should be repeated. Some of the *grhyasūtras* speak of a name derived from a naksatra. In the whole of the Vedic literature hundreds of names occur, but there is hardly any name of a teacher or well-known person derived directly from a naksatra. In the *Satapatha Brāhmana* (VI 2 1 37) we are told of a person called *Āsādhi Sauśromateya* (son of *Asādha* and *Suśromatā*) for whom the heads of unconsecrated animals were put and who on account of that mistake quickly perished. Here the name *Āsādhi* is probably connected with the naksatra *Asādhā*. It appears therefore that in ancient times the Naksatra name was a secret name and so we do

29 वैजवाप. । पिता नाम करोत्येकाक्षरं द्व्यक्षरं त्र्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरमपरिमितं वा कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितम् । ईकारान्तं स्त्रियै । अपरार्कः p 27

30 अथ नामकरणमाचत्वारिंशद्विंशत् .. । दीर्घान्तमभिनिष्ठानान्त घोषवदाद्यन्तर द्विप्रतिष्ठितान्तस्थं मृशक्षरपदस्वरं द्विवर्णं चतुर्वर्णं वा नाम शस्यते यथोक्तं मम नाम प्रथममिति गोत्रनामयुक्तं तदहं नाम कुर्यात् । द्वे नामनी तु नक्षत्रनाम रहस्यमग्न्याधानात् परमाहिताग्न्यादि स्वर्कमान्तं प्रकाश नाम भवेत् । वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र III 19 The printed text is rather corrupt

nōt find it mentioned in most of the Vedic texts Gradually however names derived from nakṣatras became very common and ceased to be used as secret names We find that for several centuries preceding the Christian era, names derived from nakṣatras were very prominent. Pāṇini (who cannot be placed later than 320 B C and may be several centuries earlier still) gives some elaborate rules about names derived from nakṣatras He says (IV 3 34) that names of males (and females also) are derived from Śravisthā, Phalgunī, Anurādhā, Svāti, Tīsyā, Punarvasu, Hasta, Asādhā, and Bahulā (i e Kṛttikā) without adding any termination in the sense of 'born on' Examples would be Śravisthah, Phalgunah etc In another rule (IV 3 36) he states that in forming names from Abhijit, Aśvayuk and Śatabhisak, the termination is optionally dropped, e g , we shall have Śatabhisak, Śātabhisajah and Śatabhisah By VII 3 18 he says the name Prosthapādah is derived from Prosthapada He states (in IV 3 37) that terminations are frequently dropped when names are formed from nakṣatras, e g we have both Rauhinah and Rohinah from Rohini In the Junāgadh Inscription of Rudradāman (150 A D ), we are told that the brother-in-law of Maurya Candragupta was a Vaiśya named Pusyagupta (*EI* , vol VIII, p 43) This is a name derived from the nakṣatra Pusya and used in the 4th century B C We know that the founder of the Sunga dynasty was Senāpati Pusyamitra (*EI* , vol XX, p 54) The *Mālavikāgnimitra* also mentions him and so does Patañjali on Pāṇini III 2 123 His name also is derived from Pusya This is not the place to go into the interesting question of the formation of Buddhist names But a few examples of Buddhist names derived from nakṣatras will be interesting We have the well-known name of Moggaliputta Tissa (from Tīsyā) in which a gotra name and nakṣatra name are both combined A parivrājaka Potthapāda (Prosthapāda) occurs in *Dīgha* I p 187 and III p 1 In the Sāñci Inscriptions of the 3rd century B C (*EI* , vol II, p. 95) we have

such names as Asāda (from Asādhā), Phaguna (from Phalguṇi), Svātīguta (Svātīgupta), Pusarakhita (Pusyaraksita) In the Karle Inscription there is Sātimita (Svātimitra) from Sopara (*E I*, vol VII, p 54) and a nun Asādhamitā (p 56) In the Sarnāth Inscription of Kaniska's time there is a Bhikṣu called Pusyavrdhī In the Palitana Plate of Dhruvasena I dated (Valabhi) Samvat 210 (about 529 A D) there is a brāhmana named Viśākha In the plates of Śivarāja dated (Gupta Samvat) 283 (i e 602-3 A D) we find such names as Pusyasvāmī, Rohinisvāmī, Jyesthasvāmī and Revatisvāmī (*E I*, vol IX, p 288) The Ājñapti of Cārudevī, queen of Pallava Vijayabuddha-Varman was Rohinigupta (*E I*, vol VIII, p 146) It is not necessary to adduce more examples

Another rule stated about Abhivādaniya names was that they should be derived from deities From the times of the *Tai S* (IV 4 10 1-3) different presiding deities had been assigned to the nakṣatras from Kṛttikā (such as Agni, Prajāpati, Soma, Rudra etc for Kṛttikā, Rohini, Mrgaśīrsa, Ārdrā etc) When it was said that the name should be derived from a deity, what was understood according to the commentators was a name derived from the presiding deity of the nakṣatra on which a man was born (e g Āgneya for one who was born on Kṛttikā) In modern times we find people named after the names of deities (e g such as Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śankara etc) But ancient works do not show that that was the usage then In the Vedic literature we hardly find any individual name which is the same as the names of the Vedic gods, Mitra, Indra, Pūśan, etc We no doubt find from the *Tai Up* III 1 that Bhṛgu learnt Bhārgavi Vārūni vidyā from his father who was named Varuna But this is a solitary instance So also we have such names as Indrota (protected by Indra) and Indradyumna (both cited above), but we have in the Vedic literature no human being who is named Indra In the *Praśna Up* (I 1) there is a Sauryāyani Gārgya, whose first name is derived from Sūrya Grhyasūtras like the Mānava (not

24) prohibited the giving of the names of deities to human beings directly. When the practice of giving the names of gods to human beings arose it is difficult to say. It is clear however that it could not have been much earlier than the first few centuries of the Christian era. We have historic examples from the 5th century onwards where persons bore the same names as gods, e.g. in the Eran stone pillar inscription of Budhagupta of Gupta Samvat 165 (484-5 A.D.) there is a brāhmana Indravisnu, son of Varuna-Visnu, son of Hari-Visnu.

There is also another way of deriving names from Naksatras. In some of the mediæval Jyotisa works, each of the 27 naksatras is divided into four pādas and to each pāda of a naksatra a specific letter is assigned (e.g. cū, ce, co, and lā for the four pādas of Aśvini) from which a person born in a particular pāda of Aśvini was called either Cūdāmani, Cediśa, Colśa, Laksmāna. Even so late a work as the *Dharmasindhu* (1790 A.D.) disapproves of such names, as not warranted by Śruti. These names are called naksatranāma, they are secret and muttered into the ear of the brahmacāri at his Upanayana even now.

Manu omits all these elaborate rules about giving a name in the case of males, makes no reference to the naksatra name or abhivādaniya name given to a boy, but gives two simple rules (II 31-32) viz. that the name of a brāhmana should be indicative of mangala, of a Kṣatriya strength, of a Vaiśya wealth and of Śūdra lowness (or contempt) and that to the name of a brāhmana an upapada (addition) should be joined indicating śarman (happiness or blessing), of a king an upapada connected with protection, of a vaiśya indicating prosperity and of a śūdra indicating dependence or service. We find that the Grhyasūtras (except *Pāraskaragṛhya*) are silent about these upapadas added after the names of individuals of the four varnas. Therefore it may be inferred that this practice had come into vogue only sometime before the extant Manu and long after the older

gihya-sutras Even among the Buddhists we find names ending in Śarman e.g. in the Amarāvati Buddhist sculptures the word 'Mugudasamaputasa' (Mukundaśarma-putrasya) occurs (*Arch S of S I*, vol I, p 103) The rule of Manu was not universally observed but there were frequent breaches In the Udayagiri cave inscription of Candragupta II dated (Gupta Samvat) 82 (401-2 A D) there is a Mahārāja Viśnudāsa (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p 21) In *EI*, vol X, p 71 (of 436 A D) we have a Viśnupālitaabhata (a Brāhmana whose name ends in Pālita as that of a Vaiśya should) We find that 'Vadhana' (Vardhana) is added to the names of Śaka kings (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol II, p 16) Brāhmana names ending in bhūti (which should be the upapada of Vaiśyas) and dāsa are found in *EI*, vol XIX, pp 248-49 In the Sabhāparva (30 13) both Śarmakas and Varmakas are described as Ksatriya tribes On the other hand in the Talgunda Inscription of the Kadamba King Kākustha-varman (*EI*, vol VIII, p 24) we find that the original founder of the family was a brāhmana Mayūtaśarman, while his son and great-grandson who had become kings had 'varman' affixed to their names (viz Kangavarman and Kākusthavarman)

A few words may be said about matronymics In the first place they are not at all so many nor so frequent as the other names They were probably mentioned to show the high or pure descent of the persons so described on their mother's sides also Vaiśista (III 19) in enumerating those who are *panktipāvanas* mentions one whose ten ancestors in the father's and mother's families were śrotriyas Similarly Yājñavalkya (I 54) lays down that the wife should be selected from a big family of śrotriyas who have been famous for ten generations In the Nasik Inscription No 2 (*EI*, vol VIII, p 60) Sīri Pulumāyi is described as Vāsithīputa Similarly the Ābhira King Īśvarasena is described as Mādhariputra (*EI*, vol VIII, p 88) Here the mother's gotra names are probably

specially emphasized to show that though the paternal side may not be of the bluest Aryan blood, the mothers were of the best Aryan families. In the Nāgārjunikonda Inscription (*EI*, vol XX, p 6) Sīri Virapurisa is said to be Mādhariputa and his father Sīri Chāntamūla is said to be Vāsithiputa. We find comparatively late writers describing the gotra of their mother's family, e.g. Bhavabhūti says that he was a Kāśyapa while his mother was a Jātūkarni. We learn from a kārikā in the *Mahābbāsyā* that the great grammarian Pāṇini was styled Dāksīputra.<sup>31</sup>

In some of the later smṛtis names derived from the presiding deities of the twelve months of the year are prescribed. The *Laghu-Āśvalāyana smṛti* (published by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona) prescribes (VI 2-3) three names, one derived from the pāda of the nakṣatra on which one is born and so called 'Janmanāma', another called Samvyāvahārika (i.e. in ordinary use) which may be the same as the child's paternal grandfather's and a third name derived from the presiding deities of the months beginning with Mārgaśīrsa. The *Śaunaka Kārikās* (ms. in the Bombay University Library) quotes Garga to the effect that a name derived from the month of birth should be given and says that Kṛṣṇa, Ananta, Acyuta, Cakṛi, Vailuntha, Janārdana, Upendra, Yajñapurusa, Vāsudeva, Hari, Yogīśa, Pundarikākṣa, are respectively the names of the twelve months (*Cāndra*) of the year (from Mārgaśīrsa). The *Nirṇayasindhu* quotes this verse and says that according to the *Madanaratna* these names are meant for months beginning with Mārgaśīrsa or Caitra. These names are being given to this day in various parts but not necessarily in accordance with the month of birth.

31 सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः । महाभाष्ये on पाणिनि I : 20 (vol I, p 75) Pāṇini is also called शालातुरीयः । Vide भामहू's काव्यालंकार VI 62, 'शालातुरीयमतमेतदनुक्रमेण' and the Nogawa plate of ध्रुवसेन II (Gupta 320 i.e. 649-50 AD) where the name occurs राज्यशालातुरीयतन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णात (*EI*, vol VIII at p 192) पाणिनि (IV 3 94) derives the word

Résumé

The above discussion may be summarised thus

- (1) In the times of the *Rgveda* and *Tai S* usually two names were given to a person, one of which was a secret name (vide note 7 above), but the *Rgveda* was not unacquainted with even three or four names for a person (vide notes 1 and 3)
- (2) Throughout the Vedic literature, the names given to a person were his own secular name and one or more other names derived either from his father's or grandfather's name, or from his gotra or from a locality or from the name of his mother. The *Śatapatha* speaks of giving even a third name, but how it was to be formed is not stated. Most of the names of authors whose views are mentioned by such an ancient work as Yāska's *Nirukta* are either gotra names or patronymics e.g. Āgrāyana, Aupamanyava, Audumbarāyana, Kautsa, Gārgya, Maudgalya, Vārsyāyana, Śākatāyana, Śākalya, Schaulāsthīvi, though a few like Carmaśīras and Śākapūni are probably individual names
- (3) It is not quite clear from the Vedic literature how the secret name was given. Hardly any secret name except that of Indra as Arjuna is known as given to any person in the Vedic literature. It is natural that the names being secret do not appear in the texts
- (4) All the Gīhyasūtras (except *Baṇavāpa*) insist on the name given to a boy being one containing an even number of syllables, usually two or four, though even six syllables or eight are allowed by a few sūtrakāras. This rule is deduced from the Vedic usage. Most of the names in the Vedic literature contain either two syllables (like Baka, Trita, Kutsa, Bhrgu) or four (like Trasadasyu, Purukutsa,

- Medhyātīthi, Brahmādatta, Satyakāma), though names of three syllables (like Cyavana, Kavasa, Bharata) or five syllables (Nābhānedīstha, Hiranyastūpa) are not wanting
- (5) Most of the sūtras recommend that the names should begin with a sonant and contain in the middle a semi-vowel. That this is a very ancient rule follows from the fact that even Patañjali (about 140 B C) in his *Mabābbāsyā*<sup>12</sup> (ed by Kielhorn vol I, p 4) mentions the rule that 'the father should bestow on the son on a day after the 10th from birth a name having a sonant at the beginning, a semi-vowel in the middle, (a name) the first syllable of which is not long, or which shows the descent from one of the three male ancestors (of the father) and which is not borne by the adversary (of the father)'
- (6) Some Sūtras (vide notes 16 and 23) prescribe that the name should end in a visarga or a long vowel. This rule is probably deduced from such names as Sudās, Dirghatamas, Prthuśravas (occurring even in the *Rgveda*), and such names as Vatsapri Bhālandana (*Tai S*, V 2 1 6)
- (7) Some grhya-sūtras like *Āpastamba* say that the name should have two parts the first being a noun and the second being a derivative from a verb (generally a past passive participle ending in 'ta'). This rule is derived from such ancient names as Brahmādatta (which occurs in the *Br Up*, I 3 24 and which figures very much in ancient Pāli Buddhist works), Devadatta and Yajñadatta

32 याज्ञिकः पठन्ति । दशम्युत्तरकालं पुत्रस्य नाम विदध्याद्दोषवदाद्यन्तरन्त-स्थमवृद्धं त्रिपुरुषान्कमनरिप्रतिष्ठितं तद्धि प्रतिष्ठिततमं भवति द्वयक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नाम कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितमिति । महाभाष्य Vol I p 4 अन्क means 'descent, family' कैयट explains  
11 as 'पिता तस्य ये त्रयः पुरुषा ताननु कायति अमिधत्ते'.

(which figure very frequently in the *Mahābhāṣya*,<sup>33</sup> *Sabarabhāṣya* as the stock names of persons)

- (8) Most are agreed that a secret name is to be given to the boy by the parents (notes 13, 15, 18, 19) according to some at birth (notes 18, 19), according to others at the time of Nāmakarana on the 10th or 12th day after birth (note 21)
- (9) There is some divergence of opinion as to the secret name among the sūtrakāras Āśvalāyana appears to prescribe that the name with a sonant at the beginning etc is to be one known to all and the parents have to find out at the same time a secret name which the boy is to use at the time of upanayana for respectful salutation, while the *Śāṅkhāyanagrhya* prescribes that the ordinary name (which is required to be only pleasing to brāhmanas) is to be given on the 10th day, while the secret name is to be given at the time of birth and is to have all the characteristic details of being 'ghosavadādi' etc There is a further difference of views *Hiranyakeśigrhya*, *Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra* and *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* prescribe that the nakṣatra name is to be the secret one (notes 21, 27, 30), while others like the *Khādīra-grhya* speak of a secret name but do not connect it with nakṣatras There is a further difficulty Several grhyasūtras like *Gobhila*, *Khādīra* require that there should be an abhivādaniya name (notes 17, 20) This is an ancient practice But these say that the Abhivādaniya was to be derived from a

33 Vide महाभाष्य vol I p 38 लोके तावन्मातापितरो पुत्रस्य जातस्य सवृत्तेऽवकाशे नाम कुर्वते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्त इति । तयोरुपचारादन्येपि जानन्तीयमस्य संज्ञेति । This shows that in Patañjali's time the ordinary name was given immediately on birth and that was the vyāvahārika name

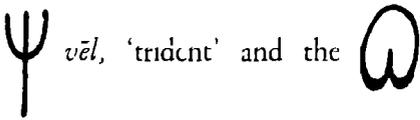
naksatra or a deity and *Gobhila* adds that according to some the *abhivādaniya* name should be derived from the gotra. This latter is supported by the usage of the Upanisads. When the *abhivādaniya* was a gotra name there could have been no secrecy about it.

- (10) The name derived from a deity was originally derived from the deity presiding over the naksatra of birth. Later on the names of gods were directly used as the names of individuals, though this appears to have been originally forbidden.
- (11) The upapadas *śarman*, *varman*, *gupta*, *dāsa* were added at a later date than most of the *grhyasūtras*.
- (12) Some later *smṛtis* prescribe names derived from the names *Kṛṣṇa*, *Ananta* etc. given to the twelve months.
- (13) The names of girls were to contain an odd number of syllables, generally three, and were to end in a long letter either 'ā' according to some and 'ī' according to others. Some said that it should end in 'dā'.

## The Vēlālas in Mohenjo Daro

Elsewhere I have shown how the Paravas,<sup>1</sup> the Kolis<sup>2</sup> and the Tirayars<sup>3</sup> are referred to in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions. In this paper I shall explain those inscriptions that mention another ancient tribe, well known as a caste in South India at present—the tribe of the Vēlālas.

They use two different signs to form the combination *Vēlāl* the


*vēl*, 'trident' and the  *vēl*, 'acacia'. The Mohenjo

Daro people did not pay attention to the quantity of their vowels in their way of writing.<sup>4</sup> But there is no doubt that they read the vowels either short or long according to the meaning of the context,

for they knew metrics.<sup>5</sup> Thus  which originally means a quarter *kāl*, may also be read *kal*, 'stone', 'measure', etc.

This being presupposed, we shall now be able to read some of the inscriptions referring to this ancient people. The first epigraph speaks of one Vēlāla only.



<sup>1</sup> Heras, 'The Minavan in Mohenjo Daro,' *Journal of Oriental Research*, X, pp. 282-87.

<sup>2</sup> Heras, 'The Kolikon in Mohenjo Daro,' *The New Indian Antiquary*, vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> Heras, 'The Tirayars in Mohenjo Daro,' Paper read at the IX All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum *JBBRAS*, 1938.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Heras, 'The Longest Mohenjo Daro Epigraph,' *JIH*, XVI, p. 236.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Heras, 'Mohenjo Daro, the Most Important Archaeological Site in India,' *JIH*, XVI, pp. 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> Photo, MD, 1928-29, No. 7040.

*ist ire vēlāl met, 1 e* “the fence of the Vēlāla who is in the house”  
 This seal was very likely impressed over the soft clay of the fence, thus establishing its ownership

The other inscriptions speaks of the Vēlālas in plural



*Vēlīrir tiru min nad mala adu, 1 e* “those are the middle mountains of the holy Fish of the Vēlālas” Elsewhere I have explained that the Mohenjo Darians formed the plural of male nouns in three different ways, the most primitive form perhaps being in *-ir*, the numeral two, for whatever is more than one is plural in Dravidian language<sup>7</sup> Thus *Vēlir* means the men of the trident, just as *Vēlāl* means the man of the trident But in our sign there is a double plural,

for two strokes  placed on each side of any sign are the

determinative of collectivity, thus  *marumir* means ‘the

men of the tree”,  *ililir*, “the men who are in the house’

Our sign has a double determinative of collectivity  and

therefore it will read *vēlīrir* with double plural termination Such double plural is very common in Dravidian languages and gives more emphasis to the sentence

7 Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization* III, MD, No 130

8 Cf Heras, ‘Karnataka and Mohenjo Daro’, *Karnataka Historical Review*, IV, p 4, Heras, ‘Numerals in Mohenjo Daro’, *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, III

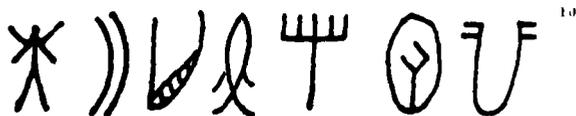
This epigraph speaks of “the middle mountains” This expression seems to refer to some mountains placed between India and another country If this is admitted “the middle mountains” *nadumala* will be the Himālayas which stand between India and

China It is interesting to notice that the sign  meaning

middle is found as  in Proto-Chinese and  in modern

Chinese, both reading *tschung*, ‘middle’

These middle mountains are said to be of the holy Fish This sort of genitive may be called ‘a votive genitive’ The mountains are called of the holy Fish for they were devoted to the holy Fish The holy Fish is the eighth form of God according to the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions” One of the inscriptions says

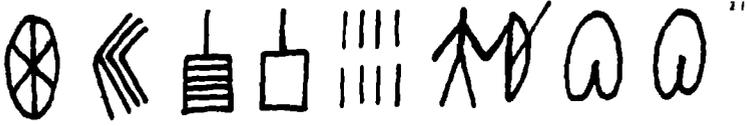


*Adu talī per mīn orida et kadavul, ī e* “that (is) the eighth (formed) god whose one side (form) is the sprinkled great Fish” Now these mountains dedicated to the holy Fish are of the *Vēlālur*, *ī e* the *Vēlālas* This is a real genitive of possession The mountains belong to the *Vēlālas* Supposing therefore that the mountains are the Himālayan range, the *Vēlālas* would be near, say, about the northern

9 Cf Heras, ‘The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions’, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, (Hist & Econ Section), V, pp 8-9

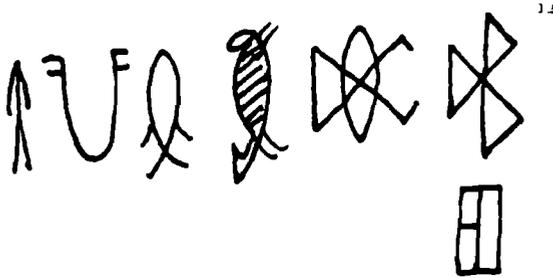
10 Marshall, *op cit*, MD, No 419

side of the present U P and the Punjab This *habitat* of the Vēlālas will be confirmed by the following inscription



Vēlir vilāl et pati cuni arup uyarel, 1 e "the high sun of the harvest of the *linga* of the eight villages of the Bilavas of the Vēlālas "

The expression "the high sun of the harvest" seems to refer to the time when the harvest is reaped This harvest is said to be of the *linga* of the eight villages of the Bilavas It apparently belonged to the *linga* worshipped in these eight villages of the Bilavas From a number of inscriptions it is evident that temples or images of god possessed lands or villages, the revenue of which was dedicated to the worship of the image, in the same way as the large temples of South India at present



nīla nandūr cdu mīn adu Ān val, 1 e , "let the Lord of the Ram and of the Fish of Nandūr that has lands be happy " Or this



cuni ten adu, 1 e "that (is) the palm grove of the *linga* "11

11 Marshall, *op cit*, H No 99

12 *Ibid*, I, pl XII, No 18

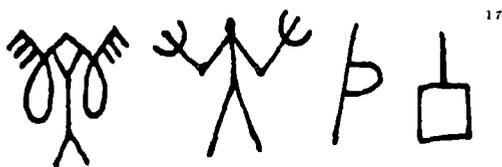
13 *Ibid*, III, MD, No 488

14 For other similar inscriptions, Cf Heras, *op cit*, p 25

That in these villages of the Bilavas the *linga* should be worshipped, it is but natural. For they together with the Kavals seem to have been the original worshippers of this symbol,<sup>15</sup> from whom this strange cult passed to the Mīnas.

These Bilavas are said to be of the Vēlālas, the territory of the Bilavas seems to have been towards the east of the Indus. So these two tribes might easily have lived in contiguous territories. The inscription seems to suggest that the Bilavas were subdued by the Vēlālas. Later on the Bilava territory was annexed to Mīnād.<sup>16</sup>

The following inscription will introduce a king of the Vēlālas,



*patī nila vēlvēlāl taltal mukililmukan, ic* "the ruler (one who draws house of clouds) of the tridented Vēlālas of the moon of the village" This was doubtless the seal of the Vēlāla king. The sign for ruler phonetically reads "one who draws (rules) the house of clouds"<sup>18</sup> Now the Vēlālas are called in a similar way from very ancient times, *kārālar*, the rulers of the clouds.<sup>19</sup>

In this inscription the Vēlālas are called tridented. In fact their name means those of the trident as seen above. The reason of their special attachment to this weapon will be seen below. Besides these Vēlālas are styled 'of the moon'. This denomination shows that there were at least two sorts of Vēlālas. Some were called Vēlālas of

15 Cf Heras, *op cit*, pp 14-16

16 Heras, 'Mohenjo Daro, the People and the Land,' *Indian Culture* III pp 709-710

17 Photo, H Neg 3050, No 15

18 Cf Heras, 'The Story of Two Mohenjo Daro Signs', *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, II, No 1, pp 4-5

19 Pillai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, pp 113-14

the moon May we not rightly deduce from the comparison of these Vēlālas with the two sorts of Paravas<sup>20</sup> that the Vēlālas of the other section were called  *pagal velāl*, i e “the Vēlālas of the Sun”?

The inscription refers to the Vēlālas of one village, the name of which is not given

The name of a king is actually mentioned in this inscription



*Mūmaga kude vēlālir kodī*, i e “the flag of the Vēlālas of the rule (umbrella) of Mūmaga”

The Vēlālas in plural are shown here by the repetition of the sign, according to what we have shown above The umbrella, *kude*, is a symbol of authority and government, for only kings could use it That is the reason why here umbrella means “rule”

The first sign of the inscription phonetically reads *Mūmaga*, which literally means ‘third son’, i e ‘grand son’ But here the name Mūmaga must be taken as a proper name, and therefore, becomes the name of one of the kings of the Vēlālas

Another inscription has an extraordinary reference to the clouds of the Vēlālas Here it is



<sup>20</sup> Cf Heras, ‘The Minavan in Mohenjo Daro’, *Journal of Oriental Research*, X, p 284

<sup>21</sup> Von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr Edward T Newell* pl III, No 23 (Chicago, 1934)

<sup>22</sup> *AS of I, Report, 1928-29*, pl XXXII, No 1, Photo, H Neg 4394, No 11

*Vēlāl mukil adu Minan Min Kadavul adu, 1 e* "whatever is of the clouds of the Vēlālas is of the God of Mīna of the Mīnas" Let us try to disentangle this riddle

The God is said to be of Mīna of the Mīnas. He seems to be the king of the Mīnas. In another inscription he is presented as waging war against the Bilavas and capturing their king



*dug vīlāl vēl ire Minan Min ir mīn ēdu odu kadekodī adu, 1 e* "that (is) the complete month of the Ram of the two Fishes of Mīna of the Mīnas who has the king of the despised Bilavas" This king Mīna, as is evident from this inscription, had two Fishes as a symbol on his flag, and therefore, as we know from another inscription, had the title of Mīnavan<sup>23</sup>

The other part of the inscription refers to the clouds of the Vēlālas. Since as seen above, the Vēlālas are called "the rulers of the clouds", the clouds evidently were a symbol of their power. Therefore, the inscription is a clear acknowledgement on the part of the Vēlālas of their belief that their power and strength proceeds from God. Their association with the Mīnas and their king Mīna in this inscription, seems to point to a recognition of a supreme power. The Bilavas allied with the Vēlālas, according to the preceding inscriptions, were finally subdued by the Mīnas. Such seems also to be the fate of the Vēlālas themselves.

This union with the Mīnas or perhaps the above mentioned union of the Vēlālas with the Bilavas is referred to in the following inscription

23 Marshall, *op cit*, III, MD, No 87

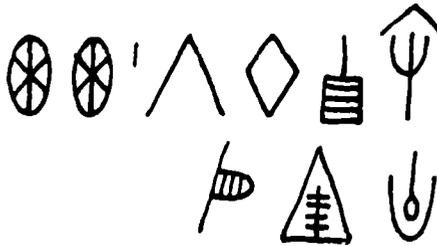
24 Cf Heras, 'The Mīnavan in Mohenjo Daro', *op cit*, p 287



onda en arūp vēlan kalakūrīr, 1 e "the people of the united countries of Vēlan of the harvest counted on one side" Vēlan means "the one of the trident" and is even at present used as a name of Subrāhmanya in South India Vēlan has always been the god of the Vēlālas for he holds the *vēl* after which they themselves are styled <sup>25</sup>

Vēlan is brought forward in connection with the harvest Did he preside over the harvest, or at least over its reaping? This harvest is said to be counted on one side This passage is not easy to explain The mention of one side seems to suggest the existence of another side or party, which had also to do the counting later on

Once more Vēlan is spoken of in this inscription —



The first line of this inscription, contrary to the usage, reads from left to right and the second from right to left Very likely, the first line of the inscription is missing Its reading is as follows (two verses) —

*Īruyarehr/pag il cun/1*

*Vēlanavan ven/kō nil/a*

<sup>25</sup> Marshall, *op cit*, III, M D., No 397

<sup>26</sup> The name of this caste is usually written as *Velāla* Yet some times it is also spelt as *Vēlāla* This seems to be the original spelling considering the meaning of the word and the signs used by the Mohenjo Daro writers

<sup>27</sup> Photo, M D., 1930-31, Dk 10551

which means "the moon (is) over the white mountain of he of Vēlan of the *linga* of the divided house of the two high suns"

The inscription states that the moon is over the white mountain of he of Vēlan. The latter being a son of Śiva in the historic period, he should also be a son of Ān in the proto-historic period. Now Ān

has only one son, styled Ānīl,  literally meaning 'the son of

Ān'. This therefore is not his proper name. It is only a filial designation. Vēlan is not properly his name either. His real name is Murugan, the ancient Dravidian name of Subrahmanya found in one of the inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro, which reads as follows —



The first sign of this inscription is a compound sign. Its elements are —

||| *mū*, 'three'

U *ru*, "noise"<sup>29</sup>

^ determinative of personality corresponding to the termination "-an"

Therefore this sign will read *muru an*, and finally *Murugan*. The epigraph therefore reads *Murugan adu*, "that (is) *Murugan*"

Now returning to the original inscription, we may safely state that he of Vēlan (or Murugan) is Ān, the proto-type of Śiva. Quite properly the White Mountain, one of the Middle Mountains men-

28 Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No 5890

29 Cf Heras, 'Karnataka and Mohenjo Daro', *op cit*, p 4

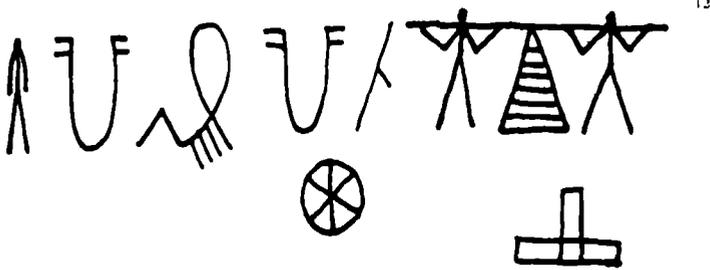
tioned above, is said to belong to Ān, for Śiva is supposed to have his dwelling in Kailāsa, a peak of the Himālayas

The *linga* is said to belong to Ān, which is in accordance with later developments, though this cult is connected with a house divided on account of the rites of the two suns. These two suns are also mentioned in other inscriptions. For instance,



*uyarehr adu, 1 e* "those (are) the high suns" It is therefore evident that there was a sect who worshipped two suns instead of one. At the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to say how this sect originated, but it seems to have been the cause of division of a house or family, as the inscription avers. Perhaps this expression refers to an event similar to the revolution caused in Mīnād by the introduction of the cult of the *linga*.<sup>11</sup>

Very likely, the following inscription also refers to the division of the royal house on account of this strange practice of sun worship



*Kōporutir tirtadu karumukil adu Ān uyarel ūril, 1 e* "In the city of the high sun of the Lord of the rain clouds, the carriers of domi-

<sup>10</sup> *AS of I, Report 1929-30*, pl XXVIII, No 11466 (H). Cf Marshall, *op cit.*, MD, No 490

<sup>11</sup> Cf Heras, 'The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People', *op cit.*, pp 14-16. These two suns may correspond to the two Egyptian forms of the sun, the Gods Khepera and Tun, or morning and evening sun

<sup>12</sup> Photo, MD, 1928-29, No 7221

nation have finished (perished)'' The inscription evidently refers to a change of dynasty in the city of the high sun. Notice that God is called the Lord of the rain clouds, which title discloses some sort of association between this city and the Vēlālas, "the rulers of the clouds''

These few inscriptions suffice to disclose the importance of the Vēlālas in the proto-historic period of India. Moreover, they give us some data to settle the original *habitat* of these people in North India before they were driven towards the south. Finally they show how ancient is the association of God (Ān, Śiva) with the Himālayas.

H HERAS

## Candra-Gomin

Of the very few early important writers who can be claimed for Bengal with great probability, it is fortunate that we possess some account, from Tibetan and other sources, of Candra-gomin, who is recognised as the founder of the Cāndra school of Sanskrit Grammar, and who enjoyed great reputation in the Buddhist world not only as a grammarian but also as a poet, philosopher and Tantric devotee. In his *Vākyapadīya* (11 489-90) Bhartrhari mentions Baiṣṭi, Sauva and Haryaksa as grammarians who went before Candrācārya and who by their uncritical methods contributed not a little to the neglect of the *Mahābbhāsyā* of Patañjali. As this observation accords well with Kahlana's account of the fate of the *Mahābbhāsyā*,<sup>1</sup> as well as with the curious legend recorded in a late Tibetan work<sup>2</sup> of the censure of Patañjali's work by Candra-gomin, it has been assumed that this Candrācārya is no other than our Candra-gomin.<sup>3</sup> B. Liebich who has recovered and edited the *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa*<sup>4</sup> (Sūtra, Unādi

1 It is noteworthy that Kahlana also refers (1 176) to Candrācārya and his grammar and to his reviving the study of the *Mahābbhāsyā* but he places Candrācārya in Kashmir under Abhimanyu (cir third century A.D.) On this passage see F. Kuhlhorn, *IA*, iv, 1875, pp. 107-8, B. Liebich, *Kṣma-tarangini* (Breslau 1913) pp. 270-72.

2 Sumpā Mkhān-po, *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, ed. Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta 1908, pt. 1, pp. 95-6. The story is reproduced in S. C. Vidyabhusan, *Hist. of Indian Logic* (Calcutta 1921), pp. 334-35.

3 H. P. Shastri (*Descriptive Cat. of Sansk. Mss. in the ASB*, vi, *Vyākaraṇa*, Preface, p. 1) does not accept this identification.

4 Edited from Sanskrit Mss., as well as from the Tibetan version, with full indices, Leipzig 1902. The *Gana-pāṭha*, as well as the *Langānuśāsana*, which is quoted by Puruṣottama-deva in his *Varna-deśanā* (Eggeling, *India Office Mss. Catalogue*, ii, no. 1039/1475a, p. 295), Ujvaladatta (ed. Aufrecht, iv 1), Sarvānanda (on ii 6 62) and Rāyamukuta on Amara (R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report 1883-84*, p. 468), is missing. But the Cāndra *Gana-pāṭha*, as well as a *Upasarga-ṛitti*, exists in Tibetan. A short *Varna-ṛitti* by Candra-gomin is published by S. K. Belvalkar in his *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (Bombay-Poona 1915), p. 117 (Appendix 1). Cf. *JASB*, 1908, pp. 549f. A *Pārāyana* by Candra is quoted by Kṣira-svāmin in his *Kṣma-*

and Dhātu-pātha), as well as its *Vṛtti*,<sup>5</sup> is of opinion<sup>6</sup> that Candra wrote both the text and the commentary and that he flourished probably in the period between 465 and 544 A D The work is probably earlier than the *Kāśikā* of Jayāditya and Vāmana, for this commentary on Pāṇini appropriates without acknowledgment the thirty-five original Sūtras of Candra's grammar which had no parallel in Pāṇini,<sup>7</sup> but which Kayyata distinctly repudiates as un-Pāṇinian

*tarangini* (cd Liebich, x 82) Liebich has given a bibliography of *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa* and its accessory literature in *Nachrichten der Göttingischer Gesellschaft*, 1895, pp 272-321, summarised in *IA*, 1896, pp 103-5

5 Ed B Liebich, Leipzig 1918 In the colophon it is called the work of Dharmadāsa, but Liebich takes it as the name of the pupil who wrote down the master's words Liebich has given a detailed study of the *Vṛtti* in his *Zur Einführung* pt iv (Analyse der Cāndra vṛtti)

6 WZKM, xiii, 1899, pp 308-15 and *Das Datum Candra gominis und Kālidāsa's* (Breslau 1903) The chief ground is that the sentence *ajayad gupto* (M<sup>s</sup> *ṣṛto* or *japto*) *hunān* in the *Vṛtti* (i 2 81, p 43) mentions the victory of the Gupta over the Hunas as an illustration of the use of the Perfect to describe an event in the life time of the author The identity of Jarta or Japta, as given by manuscript evidence, is, however, not clear, and the conjecture that it is a mislection for Gupta is problematic A B Keith appears to think (*Sanskrit Drama*, Oxford 1924, p 168) that Jarta refers to a Jāt prince! Belvalkar (*op cit* p 58), however, approximates Liebich's dating further to 470 A D, assuming that the victory over the Hunas refers to their defeat by Skandagupta S Lévi (*BEFEO*, iii, 1903, pp 38f), relying on the mention by Yi tsing (Takakusu, *I-tsing*, p 164, 183) of a great man named Candra Kouan (=official) or Candradāsa, who lived, like a Bodhisattva, in his time in Eastern India and composed a musical play about Viśvāntara, would identify this Candra with Candra-gomin This identification would place Candra gomin sometime before Yi tsing, although it must be admitted that the reference is not free from doubt Minayeff, on the other hand, believes (Liebich, *Pāṇini*, Leipzig 1891, p 11) that Candra gomin lived as early as the beginning of the 5th century N Peri (*Extrait du BEFEO*, 1911, p 50, note 2) places Candra-gomin in the beginning of the first half of the 7th century while S C Vidyabhusan (*loc cit*) is of opinion that the Tibetan source (Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, p 146), in making Candra a contemporary of Śīla, son of Harsavardhana, would place him at about 700 A D But this late date would bring the Cāndra-grammar too near the accepted date of the *Kāśikā*, which makes use of the Candra-grammar For a recent discussion of the whole question see Liebich, *Ksra tarangini* pp 264f

7 Shown first by Kielhorn in *IA* 1886, pp 183-85, see Liebich, *Konkordanz Pāṇini-Candra*, Breslau 1928

All accounts agree that Candra-gomin was a Buddhist, and this is supported not only by his honorific Buddhistic title Gomin, but also by the Mangala-śloka of the *Vṛtti* which pays homage to Sarvañña. The Tibetan tradition does not distinguish the grammarian Candra-gomin from the philosopher Candra-gomin, who wrote a work on Logic, entitled *Nyāya-siddhyāloka*,<sup>8</sup> as well as from the Tantric writer of the same name to whom thirty-six miscellaneous esoteric texts are ascribed in the *Bstan-hgyur*.<sup>9</sup> According to this account<sup>10</sup> he belonged to a Ksatriya family in Varendra,<sup>11</sup> resided for some time at Candradvīpa<sup>12</sup> and met the Mādhyamika commentator Candra-

8 S C Vidyabhusan, *op cit.*, p 336

9 He is called Ācārya, Mahācārya or Mahāpandita. The texts include not only mystic Stotras in praise of Tārā, Mañjuśrī and other personalities of later Buddhist hagiology, but also works on Tantric Abhicāra as well as a few magical tracts apparently of a medical character (such as Jvararaksā-vidhī, Kustha-cikitsopāya, etc.) For the texts see P Cordier in the work cited below, pp 11, 124, 267, 301, 302, 303, 304, 321, 331, 335, 355, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363.

10 Tāranātha, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, übersetzt A Schiefner (St Petersburg 1869), pp 148-58 and Sumpā Mkhān-po, *loc cit.* But S C Vidyabhusan (*loc cit.*) would distinguish the logician Candra-gomin from the grammarian of the same name, assign a much later date to the former, and credit the latter with some of the Tantric Stotras, although in his *Mediaeval School of Indian Logic* (Calcutta 1909) pp 121-23, he does not draw any such distinction. Tāranātha has much that is legendary to relate of Candra-gomin and ascribes to him a large number of hymns and learned works.

11 Tāranātha (*op cit.*, p 148) 'born in Varendra in the east', P Cordier (*Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibl Nationale*, Pt II, p 302) 'inhabitant of Barendi in Eastern India', Sumpā Mkhān-po, *op cit.*, pp xci, 95, 139 'born in Varendra in Bangala'. S K Chatterji believes that the surname *gomin* corresponds to the modern Bengali cognomen *gū*. A A Macdonell (*IA*, 1903, p 376) thinks that Kashmir was Candra-gomin's native place, but this is perhaps due to a misapprehension of Kahlana's reference.

12 According to Sumpā Mkhān-po, Candra-gomin settled in Candradvīpa after his exile from Varendra. In a work of Candra-gomin in the *Bstan-hgyur* (Cordier, p 362) he is expressly called Dvaipa. This place has been identified by Sarat Chandra Das and H P Shastri with Candradvīpa in Backergunje, while S C Vidyabhusan and H P Shastri would place it generally in the district of Barisal, but P C Bagchi (introd to *Kaulajñāna-nirmaya*, Calcutta 1934, pp 29-34) is in-

kirti at Nālandā,<sup>11</sup> where he became a pupil of Sthiramati. Apart from the Tantric Vajra-yāna Sādhanaś mentioned above, Candra-gomin is credited with some Sanskrit Stotras on Tārā and Mañjuśrī,<sup>12</sup> a drama called *Lokānanda*<sup>13</sup> and an elegant but insipid religious Kāvya entitled *Śiṣya-lekha-dharma*<sup>14</sup> in the form of a letter to a pupil. None of these works, if they really belong to the

clined to think that Candradvīpa signifies the entire coast-line, but if it is taken to refer to a particular locality, he would identify it with the island of Sandwip in the district of Noakhali. There is no philological difficulty in deriving the word Sandwip from Candradvīpa. See also *IC*, II, pp 150 f where identification with Bāklā Candradvīpa in Backergunge is advocated. It is tempting to suggest that the island, connected with the semi-historical Matsyendranātha and Buddhist Tantric cults, is probably mythical, but its actual location in eastern Bengal appears to be borne out by its mention as the seat of the Candras in the Rāmpal Copper-plate of Śricandra (*EI*, XII, pp 136-142, N G Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, pp 2, 3, 7). Cf D R Bhandarkar in *IC*, I, p 724.

• 13 Tāranātha (p 155) tells us that Candra's grammar superseded Candrakīrti's *Samantabhadra*, a grammar composed in Ślokaś, and made it disappear.

14 The Tārā cult, to which Yuan Chwang refers, must have been prevalent in the 6th century (see G de Blonay, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la déesse Bouddhique Tārā*, Paris 1895, pp 3, 5, 17f). Hirananda Shastri, 'Origin and Cult of Tārā' in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* Calcutta 1925 thinks that the cult does not date further back than the 5th century. On Candra-gomin's *Āryā-tārā-antarvālī-vidhi*, see S C Vidyabhushan, *Introd. to (Sarvajñamitra's) Sragdharā-stotra in Bauddha-stotra-samgraha* (Bibl Ind., Calcutta 1908), pp xx f.

15 M Winternitz, *Geschichte d ind Literatur*, III, pp 183, 399, A B Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p 168. The drama is known only in the Tibetan version in *Bstan-hgyur*. It is a Buddhist work dramatising the story of a certain Manicūda who handed over his wife and children to a Brahmin as an act of supreme generosity. The author of this drama cannot be the same as the dramatist Candaka or Candraka who is placed by Kahlana under Tuñjina of Kashmir and who is quoted in the *Anthologies*.

16 Ed I P Minayeff in *Zapiski*, IV, pp 29-52, with the Tibetan text added by A Ivanowski. It is said to have been written to a prince named Ratnakīrti in order to persuade him to forsake the world. The Sanskrit text has 114 verses in different metres, whose chief theme is the misery of existence, written in the artificial kāvya-style. It contains a verse which is ascribed to Candra-gomin in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāsitāvalī* (no 3368) but the verse is missing in the Tibetan version. This verse is attributed to Candra by Yi-tsing. See H Wenzel in *JRAS*, 1889, pp 1133f.

grammarians Candra-gomin, is of much consequence. The *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa*, however, is a much more remarkable work, which had currency at one time in Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet and Ceylon. Although there is no material divergence nor anything original (excepting the thirty-five rules mentioned above), it is not a mere copy but an attempt at a recast and improvement upon the rules of Pāṇini. As against the eight chapters of Pāṇini, it has six chapters of four sections each, the matter of Pāṇini's first two chapters being distributed over the whole book. The Sūtras being derived from Pāṇini, the work is in no sense un-Pāṇinian except in the fact that it re-arranges the rules, occasionally simplifies their wording, reduces and modifies the Pratyāhāras, makes some changes in the terminology, distributes the Sañjās and altogether omits, as Buddhist writers do, the Vedic rules<sup>17</sup>. Its want of any striking originality or independence, however, must have proved fatal, and the system almost disappeared in the later history of Sanskrit grammar.

S K Dī.

17 In the matter of the *Dhātu-pāṭha* Candra agrees pretty closely with Pāṇini, classifying the roots similarly into ten groups, but within the classes he groups them according to the voices of verbs. Liebig points out the interesting fact that the *Dhātu-pāṭha* of the *Kātantra* is in reality that of the Candra system as modified by Durgamīha, the genuine *Kātantra Dhātu-pāṭha* being preserved only in Tibetan and lost in Sanskrit. The Unādi words are disposed of in three books by Candra independently of Pāṇini, the suffixes being arranged according to their final letter, and the words being sometimes derived in a different way.

## Vyādi and Vājapyāyana

Vyādi and Vājapyāyana were two grammarians older than Kātyāyana, as shown by his reference to them in his *Vārttika* <sup>1</sup> The former was the author of an extensive work called *Samgraha*, no longer extant, <sup>2</sup> which Patañjali mentions, and on which, as attested by long-established tradition, he based his 'great commentary' on Pāṇini. These two grammarians seem to have differed from each other in their views respecting certain important details. One of the differences was in regard to the import of words and is fairly well known. In fact, it is in pointing out this divergence that Kātyāyana mentions both of them. Many writers on Sanskrit grammar since have referred to this difference, <sup>3</sup> and it has also been noticed in modern works on the subject <sup>4</sup> It is proposed here to refer to a second point of divergence between them which does not appear to be so well known now. But since it relates to the import of propositions or, more strictly, sentences, it is necessary to start by restating briefly the nature of the first difference, which concerns the meanings of words.

Students of modern Logic are familiar with the question as to whether terms are to be understood in extension or in intension. A

1 See *Vārttikas* 35 & 45 on Pāṇini, I, ii 64 (Keilhorn's edition of the *Mahābhāṣya*, pp 242, 244). For some interesting remarks on the probable date of Vyādi, see Goldstucker's *Pāṇini* pp 209-11.

2 See Punyārāja's com on *Vākya-pāṇīya*, ii 484. From the way in which he introduces stanzas 267 & 268 of the second *kānda* of the *Vākya-pāṇīya*, one would conclude that they are taken from this work of Vyādi.

3 Cf Helārāja on *Vākya-pāṇīya*, iii 2, Punyārāja on *Ib*, ii 155 and *Sarva-darśana-samgraha*, ch xiii.

4 For example, in the *Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus* by Dr P C Chakravarti, p 185.

controversy of a very much allied character, viz, whether words mean a *dravya* or *jāti* occupies an important place in ancient Indian works<sup>5</sup> According to Vyādi, they signify *dravyas*, while according to Vājapyāyana they, including proper names, signify *jātis*<sup>6</sup> It should, however, be carefully remembered that neither view excludes from the complete significance of words either of these two aspects of things The question, as Patañjali points out,<sup>7</sup> is only which of the two aspects should bear more emphasis and which less Those who maintain that the meaning is *dravya* imply that it is the primary sense of the word and that *jāti* is the subsidiary Similarly those who hold that the meaning is *jāti* imply that that is the primary sense and that *dravya* is the subsidiary By *jāti* is to be understood an essential quality which is common to two or more things We may take it as equivalent to what is called a 'universal' in English Some hold that this quality is only an abstraction, others regard it as objectively real, but this is a distinction which is not of consequence for us now According to Vājapyāyana then, a word primarily stands for an attribute or *viśesana* The precise conception of *dravya*, which is the import of a word according to Vyādi, is more difficult to determine But we shall, for the moment, take it in the sense in which it is commonly taken, viz a *vyakti* or a particular instance of a class, say, a cow called Khanda or Śābaleya That is, a word stands for the *viśesya* here and not for the *viśesana* as in the previous view<sup>8</sup>

5 Cf *Nyāya-sūtra*, II ॥ 55-66 and *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, I ॥ 30-6

6 According to Pāṇini, the meaning may be either the one or the other See *Mahābhāṣya*, vol 1, p 6 *Kim punarākṛtib padārthab, āhosut dravyam? Ubbaya-mityāha*

7 Vol 1, p 246 *Na byākṛti-padārthikasya dravyam na padārthab, dravya-padārthikasya vākrur na padārthab Ubbayor ubhayam padārthab Kasyacit tu kimcit pradhāna-bhūtam kimcit guna-bhūtam Ākṛti-padārthikasyākṛtib pradhāna-bhūtā dravyam guna-bhūtam, dravya-padārthikasya dravyam pradhāna-bhūta-mākrurguna-bhūtā* Cf Sabara on *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, I ॥ 33

8 See Helārāja's com on *Vākya-padiya*, III ॥ I

It is natural to expect, from this divergence in their views about the meaning of words, that Vyādi and Vājapyāyana differed in their views regarding the import of sentences also, and this is what Helārāja avers in the beginning of his commentary on the third chapter of the *Vākya-paḍīya*<sup>9</sup> The former, he says, took *bheda* as the import, while the latter took it as *samsarga*<sup>10</sup> It should be observed that, as in the case of the meanings of words, neither thinker leaves out the other aspect of the import entirely in interpreting a sentence, only, in the view that holds *bheda* to be the import, *samsarga* is regarded as implicit in the sentence, and the reverse is taken to be true in the other view<sup>11</sup> Now the use of the terms *bheda* and *samsarga* for the meaning of propositions is not at all uncommon in Indian philosophical literature According to the interpretation ordinarily given of these terms in Advaitic works,<sup>12</sup> both refer to relations among the things signified by the various terms constituting a proposition, but they are applicable to different types of it The first applies to propositions like *dandena gām naya*, which present to the mind a manifold of inter-related things—the things being those that are denoted by the constituent words The second applies to co-ordinate propositions<sup>11</sup> like *nilam utpalam*

9 See com on III 5 (Benares edition, p 11) From the manner in which Helārāja speaks, in more than one place, of this *kānda*, it is to be regarded not as a portion of the *Vākya-paḍīya*, but as an Appendix to it See pp 54, 73, 76 of the Trivendrum edition of it

10 We should note that this discussion has reference entirely to empirical usage The ultimate import of a sentence according to Vaiyākaranas, including presumably Vyādi and Vājapyāyana, is what is called *pratibhā* Cf Punyārāja on *Vākya-paḍīya*, II 422 and Helārāja on III 5 (pp 10-11)

11 See Kaiyata's *Pradīpa* on II 1 1, *Vārttika* 2 (Benares edn vol II, p 13) *Tatra bhedah samsargāvinnābhāvūtāt anumīyamāna-samsargah sāmartyam, samsargavā bhedāvinnābhāvyanumcya-bhedah*

12 Cf Sureśvara's *Vārttika* on *Br Up* p 246, St 902, *Nāskarmyasiddhi* III 26 (Bombay Sanskrit Series) and *Ista-siddhi*, p 32 (Gackwad Oriental Series)

13 Cf com on *Nāskarmya-siddhi*, III 3 *Abhinna-vibhakti-nirdista* and not *bhinna-vibhakti-nirdista* as in the previous case

which present to the mind a single thing, of which the qualifying features are indicated by the constituent words. The import here is thus an identity in difference. In the former case, the words not only retain the diversity of their meaning but also point to different objects, in the latter, the words, though they do not lose that diversity, point only to one object.

Now this interpretation will hardly hold in the present case<sup>14</sup> for, since it assumes that *bheda* and *samsarga* have reference to two distinct classes of sentences, they cannot form the basis for a difference of view between two thinkers. It is clear that, if it should constitute the basis of such a difference, each view must refer to *all* sentences or at least to *one and the same type* of them, and this is exactly what we find stated by Helārāja in the passage referred to above<sup>15</sup>. According to him, the import of a sentence is *bheda* in Vyādi's view and *samsarga* in Vājapyāyana's view. As explained, there, *bheda* should be understood as equivalent to 'exclusion' or 'dissociation' and *samsarga* to 'inclusion' or 'association'. Now in Vyādi's view, as we know, the meaning of a word is *dravya*, and its main function is to distinguish the thing it means from all similar things. Thus a 'cow' means here not so much what is characterised by 'cowness' as what is distinguished from a 'horse' (say). When words with such function combine to form a sentence, they come to signify a thing not as possessing certain attributes but rather as excluding some. In Vājapyāyana's view, on the other hand, words signify qualities, and when such words combine to form a sentence, the import becomes inclusion or a combination of the qualities which they respectively connote.

14 Attention may, in this connection, be drawn to the present writer's note on the *Naiskarmya-siddhi*, III 2 (p. 255).

15 See Note 9. *Tatra Vyādi-mate bhedo vākyaṛthab, padavācyānām dravyānām dravyāntara-nivṛtti-tātparyena abhidheyatvāt jātī-vādinō Vājapyāyanasya tu mate samsargo vākyaṛthab, sāmānyānām samślesā-mātra-rūpatvāt vākyaṛthasya*

We get a clearer explanation of the same in Pārthasārathi Mīśra's commentary on the last section of the *Sloka-vārttika*,<sup>16</sup> which treats of the import of sentences. In discussing this topic, Kumārila introduces the terms *bheda* and *samsarga* as representing two of the views held in regard to it, and Pārthasārathi's explanation there may be translated as follows: "(In the sentence *gaub śuklab*), according to those who hold that a word points to the universal, the first word connotes 'cowness' merely, and the second, which is syntactically related to it, signifies its association with the quality of 'whiteness'. Hence the import of the sentence is (stated to be) 'inclusion'. And as that (i.e. *samsarga*) is one, the words constitute a syntactical unity. According to those, on the other hand, who hold that a word points to the particular, since the first word itself denotes cows of all colours, viz. white, black and so forth, there will be tautology if the second word, although it does not cease to indicate the connection (of the cow) with 'whiteness',<sup>17</sup> is understood as intended to signify it. It should accordingly be explained as negatively qualifying the cow in question or as denying all other colours of it. Hence, alternatively, the import of the sentence is (stated to be) 'exclusion'."<sup>18</sup> One of the points to be noted here

16 See p. 854 (Benares edition). Kumārila refers to them here for the purpose of refutation.

17 So the aspect of 'inclusion' is not left out. Analogously we may say, as indeed Pārthasārathi himself adds immediately after the passage translated above, that in the first view, 'exclusion' is implicit, the reason being that a sentence (e.g. *Gaub śuklab āniyatām*), when taken in its practical context, must necessarily refer to an individual as in the second view. See Note 11.

18 Patañjali also explains these two terms under II. 1. 1 (p. 364), but, since he is there considering the meaning of compound words and derivatives and not of sentences the explanation is not directly useful for us here. But the principle underlying it is the same. The example *gaub śuklab* selected by Pārthasārathi to illustrate both the views may suggest that they apply only to co-ordinate or appositional propositions, but the one, chosen by Patañjali, viz. *rāja-purusah* shows that it need not be so.

specially is the meaning of *dravya*. We tentatively took it as equivalent to a particular instance of a class. From the above explanation, it is clear that it stands really for a class, only it means not *all* cows but *any* cow. In the above sentence, the first word denotes the whole class of cows, and the second, the whole class of white things. But when the two are taken as syntactically one they, by mutual restriction, signify neither any cow nor any thing that is white, but any white cow. These explanations of *bheda* and *samsarga* correspond to what in modern Logic are described as the class and the attributive views.

It will be seen that these meanings of *bheda* and *samsarga* especially of the former, are entirely different from those assigned to them above on the authority of certain Advaitic works. It is difficult to say how the same words came to be interpreted thus differently. We know that there were several views held by Indian thinkers in regard to the import of propositions, as in the case of so many other problems, and the interpretation in question probably goes back to a view different from those alluded to by the Vaiyākaranas and the Mīmāṃsakas.

## From the Great Goddess to Kāla

The Sanskrit dictionaries distinguish *kāla* thus

1 *kāla*, dark blue, black,

2 *kāla*, time, fate, death, god of death.

Kāla is also an epithet of Śiva, and Kālī is a form of Durgā. The first problem is to know whether Kāla means the Black god only and Kālī the Black goddess, or if those names allude to Time also, the destroyer of everything. This question is but one aspect of a more general problem: are *kāla* 'black' and *kāla* 'time, fate' two distinct words, or are there two different senses for the same word?

This is a very important problem for the history of Indian thought. Several authors have supposed<sup>1</sup> that Skt *kāla* has been borrowed from the Dravidian *kār* 'black', and this origin is a likely one. If 'black, time, fate, death, etc.' were different senses of the same word, it would be necessary to ascribe a non-Aryan origin to an essential element of the religious and philosophical vocabulary.

In a recent article *The name Kalki (n)*, published in the *Adyar Library Bulletin*, vol I, part I, p. 21, n. 1, Prof. F. Otto Schrader has clearly adopted a position.

"There is in Pāli, by the side of the Sanskrit *kāla* 'time', a non-Aryan word for 'black', viz., *kāla*. But neither this nor Sanskrit *kāla* 'black' can have a common origin with Sanskrit *kāla* 'time', because the latter word was originally (in *Rgveda* X, 42, v. 9 and the older Brāhmana literature) used only in the sense of a definite or recurrent time (like Vedic *ṛtu*) and but later employed in the abstract sense and that of the great Destroyer which led to its association with *kāla* 'black'."

This reasoning is not very convincing. *Kāla* 'time' is a late comer in Vedic literature. Because it has a definite meaning in certain religious texts, one cannot assert that it may not have been given a wider sense in the spoken language. It is in the Brāhmanas

1 See C. Regamey, 'Bibliographie analytique des travaux relatifs aux éléments aryens dans la Civilisation et les langues de l'Inde', *BEFEO*, 1935, index, s. v. *kāla*

only that *kāla* is used, regularly enough, in the sense of *rtu*. It appears only once in later *Rv*. But in *Atharvaveda*, XIX, 53 and 54, it means already Time, the power of which is connected with Fate and the order of the world.

“Kāla generated yonder sky, Kāla also these earths, what is and what is to be stands out sent forth by Kāla

all worlds by the *brāhman* having conquered, this Kāla goes on as highest god’

*AV*, XIX, 53, 5 and 54 in fine

‘Black’ and ‘time, fate’ are not the only senses of *kāla*. The *Divyāvādāna*, p 617, reads thus tadyathā vastram apagatakālakam rajanopagatam rangodake praksiptam samyag eva pratigrhnyāt evam eva prakrtir bhiksuni tasminn cvāsane nisannā caturāryasatyāny abhisamayati sma<sup>2</sup>

A similar formula is found again in *Digh Nik* (I, p 110) seyyathā pi nāma suddham vattham apagatakālakam sammad eva rajanam patiganhcyya, evam eva brāhmanassa Pokkharasādissa tasmim yeva āsane virajam vitamalam dhamma-cakkhum udapādi

The latter quotation has been translated by T W Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p 135) in the following way

“And just as a clean cloth from which all stain has been washed away will readily take the dye, just even so did Pokkharasādi, the Brāhmana, obtain, even while sitting there, the pure and spotless Eye for the Truth”

Pāli *kālaka* and Skt *kālaka* mean not only ‘black’, but also ‘stained (adj), a stain (nt)’ and the extracts that we have just quoted link evidently together the notions of physical and of moral stain, of dirt and of sin. The opposition of the two colours white and black is doubled by the contrast pure and impure.

One may probably connect with the same root Skt. *kalka* ‘foulness, baseness, guile, sin’, and *kalusa* ‘dirty, impure, turbid dirt, impurity’. If the origin of those words was an Aryan one, we could not without some difficulty connect *kalka* with *kāla*, but the moment one admits as the origin of those words a non-Aryan root *kāl*, every obstacle disappears. The quantity of the vowels, we know, can vary in borrowed words

<sup>2</sup> Plato makes a similar comparison in *The Republic*, IV, 429 d, e

'Dirty, guile, sin' suggest 'unlucky'. *Kali* is a die or the side of a die marked with one dot, and looked upon as inauspicious, by extension *kali* means the fourth and worst age of the world and *Kalki* (n) is the name of a mythical personage who is to appear during the Kali age. It seems impossible not to bring back all those words to the same root. *Kalki* (n), by its formation, can be compared to *kalka*. But other ideas have intervened in the formation of this derivative.

Marc Collins has connected with the moon the Skt. words *kāla*, *kalā*, *kalpa* and he has explained the sense of *kāla* 'dark, black, god of death' in connexion with the Dravidian name of the new moon.<sup>3</sup> The same semantical relation can be observed in different Indochinese and Indonesian tongues. In Cham, *klam* means 'evening, night, darkness' and refers particularly to the nights of the second half of the moon. One can compare to the Cham word Bahnar *klam*, Dayak *kalam*, Malay *kelam*. Without entering into a discussion here about the problem of the relations between the Dravidian and the Austric languages, let it suffice to observe that a root *kāl*, meaning 'black, obscure' may have been used to describe the dark fortnight of the lunar month and, by extension, the ultimate age of the world, that which leads to destruction and to death. This gives us new reason to connect with *kāl* 'dark, black', not only *kali* 'the fourth and worst age of the world', but *kāla* understood as Time, the destroyer and the god of Death.

In short, we find in India a dualistic system where two series of notions oppose each other

white	pure	auspicious	bright fortnight	propitious god
black	impure	inauspicious	dark fortnight	terrible god and especially the God of Death

3 'On the Octaval System of Reckoning in India', *Dravidic Studies*, n. 4, 1926.

If the root *kāl* meant all that is black and terrible, it may have served to describe the other terms belonging to the same series. The applications of such a principle in the religious domain are wider than is believed generally

In the *Aśokāvadāna*, the nāgarāja Kālīka is evoked by king Aśoka during his pilgrimage to the holy places. The texts say that the king of the nāga went to Śākyamuni as he sat by the Bodhi-tree and began to praise him<sup>4</sup> In the *Mahāvamsa*, the same dragon appears before Aśoka, who subdues it and loads it with chains, it is called "Mahākāla, king of the nāgas, the power of which is marvellous, who has seen four Buddhas and lived throughout a kalpa"<sup>5</sup> Here we have a Buddhist personification of Kāla, Time, in the shape of a nāga Unlike that of Zrvan akarana, its reign does not last for ever, but the length of it is that of a *kalpa*

One could trace in Hinduism and even in Indonesia the mythical figure of Kāla personified in the shape of a serpent It will suffice to note here that in Iran the monstrous and fiendish serpent which is put to death at the end of world can also be found According to the *Bundahisn*, the fight against the evil powers ends by the destruction of both Druj Angra Mainyu and the Serpent (Až, that is to say Aži-Dahāk) Chained by the means of the girdle-formula (afsāriha) the serpent is finally burnt to death in the melted metal<sup>6</sup>

In parallel with the traditions which show *Kāla* in the shape of the serpent, other beliefs associated him with the horse, either because the horse is his *vāhana* or because he appears like a horse himself

In the first *Kālasūkta* of the *AV*, "Time drives (*vah*) a horse with seven reins, thousand eyes, unaging, possessing much speed,

4 *Dṛvyāv*, p 392 Cf J Przyłuski, *Légende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, pp 113, 114, 255

5 Cf *Mahāvamsa*, V, 87-92 In another part of the *Mahāv*, chap 31, v 17 ff Kālanāga seems to enjoy sovereignty over all the nāgas

6 Analysis and critical study of the sources in Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran*, p 218

him the inspired poets mount, his wheels are all beings" (*AV*, XIX, 53, 1) In the following verse, it appears that Kāla "includes all those beings",<sup>7</sup> so it is difficult indeed to distinguish the god, the wheels and the horse

In later literature and iconography, Kalki is pictured as a horse, as a god with a horse's head or as a god riding on a horse.<sup>8</sup>

According to the Jainas, wicked kings named Kalkin and Upakalkin appear periodically during the periods of decline (*dubhsamā*) every 1,000 years comes a Kalkin, every 500 years an Upakalkin.<sup>9</sup> Here *Kalkin* means probably 'wicked, unlucky', that is to say, it has the same value as Skt *kbala* 'wicked person, rogue'. We know that in borrowed words, *k* and *kb* can alternate.<sup>10</sup> By their periodicity the Kalkin and Upakalkin of Jainism are evidently in relation to Kālī and to the theory of the ages of the world.

In the Purāna, Kalki or Kalkin is an independent personage no more he is absorbed in Viṣṇu, an *avatāra* of whom he becomes. In the *Viṣṇupurāna*, four *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, named Kapila, Cakra-vartin, Vyāsa and Kalki succeed one another periodically during the successive *yugas*. In the *Kalkipurāna*, Kalki has become Viṣṇu's tenth *avatāra* and his legend has been partly modelled upon Kṛṣṇa's.<sup>11</sup> But before he has become a kind of Messiah and is identified with Viṣṇu, Kalki has probably had something to do with the destruction of the world, ever since the origin he is probably one of the forms of god of Death and of Time which destroys everything. And in the later forms of his legend, even, he remains connected with the Kālī age and with the end of the world.<sup>12</sup>

7 This extract is discussed in Lanman-Whitney's *Atharva-Veda*, VIII, p. 987

8 Abegg, *ibid.*, p. 47 and plates

9 Abegg, *Messiasglaube*, p. 140, Blüch., 'Is Kalkiūja a historical personage?' *IA*, 48, 1919, pp. 123 ff.

10 Note that in Cham, *kbāl* means 'mischievous, wicked, pernicious, fatal'; *kbalam* 'illness'

11 Abegg, *ibid.*, p. 140, n. 5, 137, 39 ff.

12 Otto Schrader tries (*ibid.*, pp. 23 ff.) to explain Kalkin by *karka* 'white'

In short, a non-Aryan root attested in Dravidian has been borrowed by Indo-Aryan under different forms *kāl-*, *kal-*, *khal-*, *kāl-*, and this diversity in sounds added to the convergency of the senses is explained by the non-Aryan origin of this root. Between *kāla* 'black' and *kāla* 'time, destiny', then, a series of intermediates can be exposed, which form an uninterrupted chain *kālaka*, *kalka*, *kalusa*, *kali*, *kalki*, so that one passes gradually from a concrete 'dark blue, black' to abstract and general notions 'time, fate, death'.

The question remains to be answered why a non-Aryan root, probably borrowed from the Dravidian, has attained such an importance in the religious vocabulary.

In the first section of the *Ādīparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, Sañjaya says to Dhṛtarāstra "Time createth all things and Time destroyeth all creatures". Elsewhere I have indicated that the double figure Kāla and Kālī is similar to the couple Jara and Jārā and that these doubles, like the hermaphroditis Zrvan, are closely connected with a myth more ancient, I mean, than that of the Great Mother, goddess of reproduction and of death, all-powerful as Destiny.<sup>13</sup> The excavations at Mohenjo-daro have proved that the Great Goddess was adored in India long before the Aryan conquest. She appears in Vedic literature at first under the name of Aditi which shows some connexions with the Near East.<sup>14</sup>

Later on, this unique figure shows a tendency to appear in different shapes, under the influence of different cultural tides. In some societies and particularly among the non-Aryan populations, the Great Goddess was still worshipped in her feminine shape. Elsewhere, under the influence of the patriarchal institutions, a mas-

and 'white horse' and concludes "Our inquiry, then, lands in the alternative either both names, Kalkī and Kalkin, have emerged through the Prākṛt from a now lost Sanskrit original Karkin, or the incapability of explaining the earlier name Kalkī (of Aryan or Dravidian origin) has caused the formation of its etymologically transparent double."

<sup>13</sup> *IHQ.*, X, 1934, p. 429.

<sup>14</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 413-414.

culine god takes her place. It seems likely that in the non-Aryan populations the Great Goddess, which orders destruction and generation, goddess of Death and of Desire, should at an early date have been given the shape of Kālī, the word being understood in its many acceptations—black, terrible, etc. On a parallel line with this, when a masculine god is seen to take the place of the goddess, Kāla is also worshipped, who is at the same time the Black, the Terrible and Time the destroyer<sup>15</sup>. But notwithstanding the difference in sex, Kālī and Kāla are equivalent figures and which continue that of the Great Goddess. Their identity arises from the comparison between the Buddhist texts. In the verse 12 of the *Catalogue of the Yakṣa* of the Mahāmāyūrī, the tutelary genius of Benares is Mahākāla whereas in the *Candraḡarbhāsūtra*, 1, the patroness of the same city is Mahākālī<sup>16</sup>. Kāla and Kālī appear here as local divinities. But their relation to Aditi prepared them to play the part of universal gods. In the Kālasūkta of the *AV* Kāla is already the highest god. In the school of the Kālavāda he remains still an independent god, Fate or Time. Elsewhere he disappears finally in the wake of another great god. Among the Śaivas, Kāla has become an epithet of Śiva, in Vaiṣṇavism, Kalkī has become an avatāra of Viṣṇu.

We must refrain from simplifying this evolution where the local worships, the non-Aryan influences and contributions from the Near-East have had a share. The ideas attached to Kālī and to Kalkī(n) are in relation to the theory of the four ages of the world and this theory seems to have spread from the Near-East over India and over Greece. It is up to a certain point under this influence, probably, that a moral dualism, founded upon the oppositions—white—black, bright—dark, pure—impure, etc. has developed in India.

Indian eschatology includes two distinct myths (1) the myth

<sup>15</sup> It is not unnecessary to note that in *AV*, XIX, the *Kālasūkta* comes immediately after the *Kāmasūkta*.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Lévi, 'Le Catalogue géographique des Yakṣa' *JA*, 1915, I, p. 120.

of the awful god which presides over the destruction of the world (2) the myth of the god of salvation who guides the Just to the abode of Bliss. The fact that the former god has taken the shape of a black serpent whilst the latter has sometimes been conceived as a white horse<sup>17</sup> is in conformity with the principles of Indian dualism. In the most ancient texts where the name of Kalki(n) can be found, that is to say in Jaina literature, Kalki(n) is a nefarious being. This is why we have endeavoured to explain his name by the means of the non-Aryan root *kāl* 'black'<sup>18</sup> and why we cannot agree with Prof. O. Schrader's opinion that Kalki(n) must be brought back to *karka* 'white'. Besides, we have just seen that Indian eschatology is founded upon a theory of the ages of the world where the final period, which bears the name of Kālī, possesses ever since the origin a clearly marked unlucky quality. It is at a late period only that the terrible god and the solar god, the Destroyer and the Saviour have both been absorbed by the universal god. In certain texts, Kalki and the Horse are still described as two distinct avatāras of the god Viṣṇu.<sup>19</sup>

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17 Cf. Otto Schrader, *ibid.*, p. 23.

18 Abegg, *ibid.*, notes rightly that the records which picture Kalki as a destructive god with an animal shape come from the South of India, where the Dravidian element is predominant.

19 Abegg, *ibid.*, p. 51.

I have already proposed in 1929 to bring back to the same non-Aryan root the series *kālī kāla kalki*, and I have noted that in Santālī *kal* means foe, poison, snake and in general everything that is dangerous and must be avoided (*RHR* Jul.-Aug. 1929, pp. 8-9). I gave these senses after Campbell's *Dictionary*. P. O. Bodding's *Santal Dictionary* (Oslo 1935) brings back Santālī *kal* to Hindi *kāl*, and Prof. Otto Schrader writes "Santal *kal* 'time, age' and 'fate, death', etc., (see Bodding's *Dictionary*) and also *kal* 'snake' (cf. Sanskrit *kāla-sarpa*) are evidently but loan-words from the Indo-Aryan of which there are so many in Santālī" (*The name Kalki(n)*, *ibid.*, p. 21, n. 1). Things are not so evident. It is possible that the Santālī language may have grown poorer in the interval between the compilation of Campbell's and Bodding's dictionaries, as the former gave a much wider sense to *kal*. Any affirmation would be unwise until the comparative study of the Mundā tongues, founded upon lexicons that we do not yet possess, has thrown some light upon their relation to each other and to the Dravidian tongues.

## Sanskrit Works on the Game of Chess

Though the game of chess is generally supposed by scholars to be of Indian origin and reference to the game is found in various Indian works from a very early period, Sanskrit works dealing with and describing it are comparatively rare. As a matter of fact no early Indian work on the subject is known, and until very recently the world of scholars had knowledge of very few Indian descriptions of the game. It was only in 1936 that the text of an independent treatise (the *Caturangadīpikā*) describing the game in detail was published for the first time. But no attempt seems to have yet been made to prepare a bibliography of similar other little known works still existing in manuscript in different parts of the country. This is, however, essential for a thorough, systematic and critical study of the extant literature on the subject for investigating the origin and development of the game which enjoys a world-wide popularity. As a contribution, therefore, to such a bibliography an account is given here of the mss and printed editions of Sanskrit texts on the subject that have come to my notice.

*Caturangadīpikā*<sup>1</sup> and the *Caturangataranginī*, a ms<sup>2</sup> of which is reported to exist in Nepal, are the two known works which deal with the earlier form of Caturanga—the four-handed chess. The former is attributed in the only known ms of it, dated 1701, Śaka era (1779 A D), to Mahāmahopādhyāya Śūlapāni who is supposed to have been identical with the famous Smṛti writer of that name who flourished in Bengal in the 15th century.

The question of authorship of a little-known work on a popular subject of which few mss are available, has, however, to be determined with the utmost caution in view of the fact that later works are not infrequently passed under the names of earlier and more famous people with the object of gaining recognition. As an instance

1 Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No XXI

2 *Op Cit*, Introduction, p III

in point we might mention the names of a number of apparently late ritualistic works like the *Dharmapūjāvidhi* attributed to Raghunandana, the well-known authority on Brahmanic rites in Bengal

Besides, the work under discussion refers to and quotes from works associated with famous names like Vyāsa, Yama, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Agastya, Gautama<sup>3</sup> not any of whose known works are found to have anything to do with Caturanga. Neither is there any tradition connecting any of them with the game in any way. This may appear to be rather curious and apparently raises a point of doubt with regard to the genuineness of the work.

A small work in seven verses dealing with double-handed chess for which great antiquity has been claimed is the *Buddhibalasaptaka*<sup>4</sup>. It has been assigned to the pre-Muhammadan period (10th—12th century) owing to the absence of any Perso-Arabic terms in it. But more positive evidence is required before any definite conclusion is arrived at in this respect, as the use of Sanskrit terms in the place of Perso-Arabic ones may be due to late coinage.

Another small work which has the appearance of old age being supposed to be in the form of a discourse given by Kṛṣṇa to Rādhā is the *Buddhibala* or *Śatarāñjakutūbhala*, several mss. of which are found in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The work complete in ten verses is being edited by the present writer in the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat Series, Calcutta.<sup>5</sup>

The work called *Śatarāñjini* which has been attributed to Kṛṣṇarāma and described by R. L. Mitra<sup>6</sup> is a bigger one, of which a

3 The term *Gurucarana* by which the author apparently refers to his preceptor is cursorily taken by the editor, Mr M. Ghosh, as the personal name of an author who is supposed to have inserted certain prose passages in the work (Introduction to *Caturangadīpikā*, p. xxxiv).

4 Published along with the *Vilāsamanimanjari* for which see below.

5 The text accompanied by an anonymous commentary has already been published in the monthly organ of the Parishat (Vol. XX, pp. 297-304).

6 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner*, No. 1546.

portion seems to be preserved in a ms. in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal where the names of the work and the author are respectively given as *Caturangaracanā* and Gīrdhara, son of Śankara and grandson of Śiva, the astronomer. The last two lines of the work, as quoted by Mitra, constitute the second half of the sectional concluding verse<sup>7</sup> which occurs *mutatis mutandis* at the end of each of the three sections found in the ms of the Society. The work, which belongs to *Buddhi-śāstra* (fol 2B, 3A, 4A) is stated to have been composed only for children (fol 3A). The author refers to his father, uncle and grand-father as well as to his paternal home on the Godāvāri.<sup>8</sup> The family appears to have been a learned one. Besides the present work Gīrdhara was the author of at least one more work, e g, the *Gaṅḍīphākhelana* on the game of cards, which has already been published in the *Kāvya-mālā* (Vol XIII, pp 81-84). The *Munditaprabhasana*<sup>9</sup> of Śiva Jyotirvid and the *Gotrapravara-maṅḡarisāroddhāra*<sup>10</sup> of Śankara Daivajña, son of Śiva may very likely be respectively the works of his grand-father and father. It is not known if Śankara Daivajña, author of the *Śāligrāmapariksā*<sup>11</sup> is identical with the father of our author.

The *Caturangavinoda* attributed in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* (I 177) to the prolific writer Vaidyanātha Pāyagunde (18th century) appears from the name to pertain to chess. The ms referred to in

- 7 ज्योतिर्विच्छिन्नसूत्राङ्गरसुतश्चकेऽवलम्बकमाद्  
यान सत्तुरगस्य सद्गिरधर सौख्यप्रदं श्रीमताम् ।  
आलस्यापहरं विदा च जयदं तद् यो नरो जानते  
स क्रीडन्ननिशं न यात्यपरसत्कार्यं मुदायौऽपि सन् ॥ Fol 4B
- 8 गोदोसरतटनिकटे प्रकटं पुटभेदं च गोलाख्यम् ।  
तलासीत् सुबुधस्तत्सून् स्तो नृसिंहशिवौ ॥ Fol 4A—B

9 R L Mitra—*Notices of Sans mss* I 125, Peterson—*Report of operations in search of Sans mss*, 2, 83

10 Peterson—*op cit*, 4, 246

11 *Descr Cat Sans mss Ind Office Library*—III 1804

the said work, however, is noticed by Buhler<sup>12</sup> in the section of kāvyā without referring to the name of the author

The *Vilāsamanīmañjarī*, which in four chapters deals with one hundred problems of the game, is a very late work having been composed towards the end of the 18th or even the beginning of the 19th century during the time of Bajī Rao II. The work, however, enjoyed a popularity not usually noticed in the case of Sanskrit works composed so late. We have clear indications of this popularity in the fact that quite a fair number of mss.—larger than those in the case of any other work on the subject—are known of it. Four mss. have been utilised by G. R. Kulkarni Haldikar who has edited the work with a Marathi translation<sup>13</sup>. There are two mss. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, both of which are incomplete containing chapters I and III with the two initial verses of chapter IV, accompanied all through by notes in Marathi. One ms. of apparently the same work was noticed by R. G. Bhandarkar<sup>14</sup>. Besides, it appears to have been translated, into English wholly or in part, as early as 1814<sup>15</sup>.

Reference may be made here to a few works no details of which are available and no mss. of which are known to have ever been described or noticed. Of these *Caturangadīpikā* refers to the *Caturangapaddhati* and the *Divyamālikā* or *Mālikā* while the anonymous commentary on the *Buddhibalasaptaka* mentions and quotes from the works of Lakṣmana and others.

The *Viśvakosa* (Encyclopaedia Bengalensis) refers to three

12 *A Catalogue of Sanskrit mss. contained in the private Libraries of Gujrat, Kathiāvād Kachch, Sind and Khāndés*, II 84

13 School and College Book Stall, Kolhapur, 1937

14 *Report on the search for Sans. mss. in the Bombay Presy* 1882-3, No 408

15 Trevengadacharya Shastree—Essays on chess, adapted to the European mode of play. Translated from the original Sanskrit, Bombay, 1814. Referred to by Weber in *Monatsberichte der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1873, p. 717

works of this latter type on this subject, e g , *Caturanga-kerālī*, *Caturangaprakāśa* and *Caturangakerīdana* It is also stated there that one Trivengācārya Śāstri who flourished in Southern India about 700 years ago was an expert in the game who imparted much valuable instruction on the subject

Besides these, there are works which incidentally describe the game Of these the description found in the *Tithi-tattva* of Raghunandana is best known<sup>16</sup> It was first brought to the notice of scholars by Sir William Jones through an English translation published in the *Asiatic Researches* (vol II, 1799, pp 159 ff) It was translated into German by Weber<sup>17</sup> H P Sāstri published the text with a fresh English translation in the *JBORS* , (1921, pp 60 ff) This description which is in the form of an interlocution between Vyāsa and Yudhisthira is found incorporated in the *Caturangadīpikā* Another description appears to be contained in a ms in the Raghunāth Temple Library of Kashmir,<sup>18</sup> where it is stated to have been taken from a work called the *Jayakaumudī* This is also stated to be in the form of an interlocution between Vyāsa and Yudhisthira A small description given by Nilakantha towards the end of his *Nītimayūkha* was translated by Weber (*op cit* , 1874, pp 705 ff)

Though the number of works noticed above is by no means encouraging, still a critical and comparative study of them is expected to throw light on the growth and development of the game in different parts of India

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16 Manuscripts containing this description and apparently passing as those of an independent work are also known (R L Mitra—*op cit* , II 539, *JBORS* , 1921, p 60)

17 *Monatsberichte* etc, 1872, pp 59 ff

18 Stein—*Catalogue of the Sans mss in the Raghunath Temple Library of His Highness the Mahārājā of Jammu and Kashmir*, p 88

## Omniscience

[In this paper the questions principally discussed are (1) whether the Yoga inference of omniscience, with *sātiśayarva* as *probans*, should necessarily be discarded, (2) whether the advaitins resort to *śruti* is really helpful, and (3) whether the conception of omniscience is intelligible or reconcilable with the demands of human freedom. A negative answer is given to each question. Omniscience is tenable in the last resort only through identification with the *svarūpa-jñāna* that is Brahman, this is really to say that everything is known since there is nothing to know.]

The creator, sustainer and destroyer of the universe seems naturally endowed not merely with omnipotence but also omniscience, for right action goes in the wake of right knowledge, and the Lord, as we conceive Him, is He who can do everything and that aright. The very texts which establish *Īśvara* declare His all-knowingness too. For those to whom Scripture does not count, inference may avail. If on the analogy of finite acts of complexity and skill requiring intelligent creators, we infer a supreme creator for the infinitely complex world, we have necessarily to postulate complete knowledge too as an attribute of this creator. The very existence of a creator may be denied by many. With these one need not be concerned for the moment, for their refutation *in extenso* may be found in the criticism of the *ārambhavādins*, *parināmavādins*, and *samhativādins*. Even the *Sāṅkhyas* cannot but ascribe some potency to the proximity of spirit though they deny all activity to it, and from such a position it is not impossible to argue that the more perfect the spirit's knowledge, that is to say, the more perfectly the spirit is itself, the greater its potency to actuate matter, hence the Yoga inference of the omniscient. There are differences of degree in the apprehension of whatever is not directly presented to the senses, such differences must have an upper limit, where the maximum of apprehension is reached and there can be no further surpassing, for whatever is surpassable must have a limit of surpassability, e.g. dimension, the *āmalaka* is bigger than the cherry, and the *bilva*

fruit bigger than the *āmalaka*, these increasing dimensions have an upper limit in space (*ākāśa*) whose dimension is unsurpassable<sup>1</sup> It is not merely that we stop somewhere, but that this limit is unsurpassable; else the argument will only lead to adepts and divinities whose knowledge is much greater than that of ours, without taking us to an omniscient Lord Where a creator is admitted, it is impossible to stop short of the grant of omnipotence and consequently also omniscience, it is not possible to do all without knowing all It is true that the potter has perfect knowledge of the pot only in some of its aspects, he knows not who will buy it or what use it will be put to, but the potter-analogy is not on all fours, for the Lord is the creator of *everything* and the internal ruler in all actions, His activity unlike the potter's, is unlimited, His knowledge too must therefore be unlimited It should also be remembered that even the potter has a general knowledge of the purchaser, use, etc., only human beings are likely to purchase of him and each type of vessel is capable of only a certain kind of use, more or less restricted, with this the potter-analogy becomes much less unsatisfactory

One may still urge that finite agents and cognisers require instruments such as the body and organs, that an omniscient Lord would similarly require instruments and that with the grant of such instruments there should be recognised limitations and defects consequent on them No example given is intended to be unduly pressed, in so far as there is agreement in respect of being intelligent creators the analogy should be taken to have served its purpose, else there being complete identity between the illustration and what is illustrated, there could be no inference at all Of course it is possible to differentiate the present inference from others, in the majority of syllogisms where a pervasion is asserted it is possible on the

<sup>1</sup> See *Yoga Sūtra*, I, 25 together with *Vyāsaśāstra* and *Tattvavaiśārādī*, the example of supreme dimension given here is the *ātman*, *ākāśa* is taken from the inference as given in the *Tattvaśāstrī*, p. 20, (Madras University)

ground of experience to exclude certain attributes as otherwise accounted for, as inconstant or as contradicted by another *pramāna*, in the present syllogism, there seems to be no such possibility of exclusion, when agency in the world is seen to go with intelligence it is seen to be concomitant with parviscience as well, and there is no known means of excluding the latter concomitance from the pervasion. A possible reply is that there is contradiction of the *pramāna* that apprehends *Īśvara*, the *dharmin*, it is absurd to infer an attribute which conflicts with the valid knowledge of the *dharmin*. This, however, is unsatisfactory, since all that inference of the creator gives us is only an intelligent cause, on the ground of the world being a diversified effect, it is not as if an omniscient *Īśvara* is somehow apprehended and omniscience denied of him later. Nor is it worth arguing that an intelligent creator being granted, it is desirable because of parsimony to assume a single creator, who would thus necessarily have to know all, for, if we are going to infer from the basis of experience, we should infer a multiplicity of creators co-operating, as in making a chariot or building a house, a plurality of finite co-operating intelligences seems more legitimately inferable than a single creator, in the face of such unequal alternatives how can parsimony work?

Neglecting these unsatisfactory answers it is yet possible to go back to the original inference and maintain its validity. Parviscience as such is merely negative unlike omniscience, we have to examine its extent in every case, the parviscience of the potter is not the same as that of the carpenter, so that it is not possible to claim invariable concomitance between agency and parviscience, there is such concomitance, however, between agency in respect of some effect and knowledge of that effect, and He who creates the entire world of objects must necessarily know all that is to be known, no intelligent agent is such in respect of that of which he is ignorant. It is also possible to show conflict with Scriptural

declarations of omniscience, but if the pervasion itself has to be maintained by scripture, that is to give away the case for inference, except as subsidiary to Śruti, and this desperate course we need not yet adopt

The opponent may still urge that the probativeness of the *probans* is in doubt, we say that pots etc., have intelligent creators, is it because they are diversified? Or is it rather because we know them to be such as can be made by people like us? This, however, is not a serious objection. No doubt our cognition primarily is of the form "Those are of the class of things which persons like us make," but we conclude that they are such as can be made only by persons like us, i.e., intelligent agents, this restrictive pervasion can come only through analysis and the discovery of a common property in them, this property we claim is the suggested *probans*, *vicitra-ṛacanātmakatva*.

Another suggested syllogism runs thus. Merit and demerit should be perceptible to some one since they are objects of cognition like the cherry in the hand, he to whom merit and demerit are objects of perception is the omniscient Īśvara. This is not sound, since what determines perceptibility is not cognisability, but sense-contact, that is to say, the object must be capable of being perceived and must be present, merit and demerit are not capable of being in sense-contact, hence the inference must fail. An Advaitin who is not interested in discrediting inference altogether may attempt to get over the difficulty by insisting on probativeness, thus. Whatever is cognisable must be immediately cognisable by some one at some time or other, we may use inference or appeal to scripture, but these are of use only as supplementing, confirming or culminating in immediate experience. Merit and demerit, which the Mimāṃsakas admit apparently as explaining all that has to be explained, must be capable of being thus experienced by some one. Since they are not experienced by finite cognisers, we postulate an infinite cogniser,

i.e., an omniscient being. As for perceptibility being determined by sense-contact we do not admit that, what is characteristic of perception is immediacy, and such experience may come through sense-contact, or through the functioning of manas as in the immediate realisation of what is revealed by a trustworthy person, or by Scripture. Nor can it be urged that manas is a sense-organ, since we are not bound to admit this. In respect of what is perceptible by the senses manas requires their aid, but elsewhere it is capable of immediate experience in and through itself. If Īśvara were dependent on the senses there would be the difficulties consequent on the functioning of the senses only in respect of certain objects, and there would also have to be the postulation of a body, leading to the admission of samsāritva, nor could the body be alleged to be assumed at will, as for volition embodiment would be necessary and *vice versa*, thus involving reciprocal dependence, nor could volition and embodiment be eternal for Īśvara, since there is no pramāna for this, and eternal embodiment would mean eternal bondage for the Being elsewhere said to be eternally free. All such difficulties, however, are avoided where Īśvara is said to know merit and demerit which are not bāhyendriya-yogya, through the manas, which, being an 'internal sense', is not restricted in its capacity to what is present.

This is not the procedure of the author of the *Tattvasūddhi*. The last of the inferences he mentions in the *pūrvapakṣa* is the first in the present order, the Yoga argument as indicated in the *Vyāsa-bhāṣya* and developed in the *Tattvavaiśāradi*. Perhaps the earliest advaitin to notice this argument and discard it is Prakāśātman,<sup>2</sup> who alleges inconstancy of the problems, sātīśayatva, in respect of weight, attachment, aversion and pain. The present work omits weight, possibly on the ground that as a likely exception it has been noticed and disposed of even in the *Tattvavaiśāradi*. The other exceptions

apparently stand. The qualities of attachment, aversion and pain, these too admit of grades each surpassing the one below. Hence there must be a supreme attachment, a supreme aversion and a supreme pain, and Íśvara must be these, an obviously absurd conclusion, for the Lord is free from all these. Since the objection appears final, our author abandons all inference, takes refuge in Scripture and appeals to texts like "yah sarvajñah sarvavid". It is worth while investigating (1) whether the inference should really be abandoned, and (2) whether the recourse to Scripture leaves us in any better plight.

1 (a) The *probans* if sufficiently delimited would appear not to allow of exceptions to the pervasion. Rāga, dvesa and duḥkha are admittedly defects, the two former are classified by the Yoga under kleśas or hindrances, and the Lord in the Yoga definition is He who is untainted by kleśas.<sup>3</sup> The *probans* may be modified in this way, kleśa-pādavācyā-bhinnatve sati sātīśayatvāt, i.e., since it admits of grades while being other than what is denoted by the word kleśa.<sup>4</sup> The word "kleśa-pādavācyā" is used to indicate that there is at least this one element common to all the kleśas that have to be excluded from the *probans*. With the suggested qualifications we can avoid the threatened *reductio ad absurdum*.

Gurutva (weight) does not come under kleśa, but it offers no genuine exception, says Vācaspati Mīśra, since it does not really admit of grades as more and less. The weight of any whole is but the sum of the weights of its parts, the result of a numerical addition is erroneously conceived as an increase of grade, each part has its own weight, not thus can it be said that for each object there is a cognition and that the cognition of all is a mechanical aggregate of the cognitions of the eachees. The latter is sātīśāyī in a sense in

3 YS, I, 24

4 I owe this suggestion to MM S Kuppiswami Sastriar

which the former is not. Cognition is not a manifold, it is of a manifold, whose extent varies with the degree to which enveloping darkness has been overcome and the single cognitive energy is able to pierce through, the degrees of cognitive excellence are dependent not on the addition or subtraction of objects, but on the grades of removal of darkness, not thus is it with properties like weight.

Rāga, dvesa and duhkḥa, being of the nature of avidyā or darkness, belong to that which is removed, not that which removes.

(b) It is arguable that even thus they may be partial manifestations of a universal rāga, dvesa or duhkḥa. It may also be contended that the refusal to admit such universals betrays intellectualist bias blind to a sane psychology, which cannot but recognise the affective and conative aspects of life in addition to the cognitive. These aspects too are relative wholes not made up of parts, but revealing themselves in the parts, hence these parts too lead to the inference of unsurpassable rāga, dvesa and duhkḥa. Admitting such an argument at its face-value, it is still possible to maintain that the conclusion is an *istāpatti*, since what Īśvara removes or helps to remove in the way of kleśas may be considered unsurpassable kleśa, so that when there is the removal, there is no feat of a fresh obstacle. There is no necessary identification of Īśvara and the kleśa, for *ex hypothesi* the former is the remover and the latter the removed. There is a necessary dualism here, but of this even the advaitin does not fight shy, since short of the Absolute he admits both Īśvara and Māyā. While niratīśaya-jñāna is of the nature of the former, niratīśaya-rāga etc. fall under the latter.

(c) Even thus the intellectualistic bias is dominant. Why should cognition be exalted at the expense of emotion? Why should the latter be removed by the former? It is not as though such a conclusion is inevitable or even desirable for advaita, for, Brahman is not merely vijñāna, but also ānanda, and what is ānanda bereft of emotion? The thoughtful advaitin has to admit the force

of this and proceed to show that *rāga* and *dvesa* are condemned (as for *duhkha* it is self-condemned) not because they are emotions but because they are defective emotions. It is not love that is objectionable, but love that ties one down to more or less limited objects, fettering the flight of the soul to supreme bliss. Bliss would not be such were it not the goal of supreme love, but attachment or *rāga* is at a great distance from this *parama-premā* because of the finitude and diversity of its objects. Once the defining walls are removed *rāga* may fulfil itself in *premā*. And since the supreme love cannot be an unsatisfied hunger, *Īśvara* should be conceived both as *parama-premā* and *parama-premāspada*, the unity of love and the beloved. Anything short of this is called *rāga* and treated as a hindrance (*kleśa*) to realisation. *Rāga* can be sublimated, in so far as there is sublimation, the application of inference to it to prove an unsurpassable limit therefor, and the identification of this limit with *Īśvara* are acceptable consequences.

The case of *dvesa* is different. It is based on division, its aim is not unification but the increase of multiplicity. In principle it is not different from *gurutva* which is disposed of in the *Tattvavaiśārādī*. The hatred felt towards a community is not different from the sum of hatreds towards A, B, C, etc., the components thereof. Our emotive life like our cognitive life does not contain two faculties, one unifying and the other diversifying. It is always a reaching out for unity, coming up against and conquering a number of hindrances. Hatred and aversion are paralleled by delusion and doubt. Both pains clearly belong to the sphere of what is to be removed.

It may now be said that there is never any mechanical addition, that any whole (even an arithmetical whole) has some properties other than those of the parts added up, as otherwise the process of addition would have made no difference to the parts and would so far have been irrelevant, and that the sharp division into what removes and what is removed is inconsistent with ultimate non-dualism.

Two answers are possible. Attachments and aversions relate not to the eternal, but to products, with parts which are capable of being added to or taken away from. Where an apparently superior limit has been reached it will still be possible in theory to increase this limit by the addition of another part, the supposed *kāsthā* will no longer be *niratisāya*. Hence the inference in question is not applicable to these. But it is arguable<sup>5</sup> that *anavasthā* which is pointed out as the defect may also apply to the indefinite addition of parts. If the addition cannot be indefinite there need be no uncertainty as to the superior limit. Further, why should it be assumed that *rāga* applies only to products? Is it not the expression of *icchāśakti* which may claim to be co-eternal with *jñānaśakti*? This brings us to the second reply. Sublimation is possible of *dvesa* as well as *rāga*, so that in the end we are not left with a dualism, but the process takes different forms in the two cases. Attachment has to advance from the finite to the infinite, aversion has to shift its direction from the finite to finitising. The seeker of release has to turn away definitively from *samsāra*. This process may be called aversion, it differs from *dvesa* in this, that while the latter moves away from one or other manifestation of *avidyā*, because of attachment to another manifestation of *avidyā* (i.e., one's own finite self), the former, though a product of *avidyā*, moves away from *avidyā*, it is a case of crossing over death by means of *avidyā* (*avidyayā mṛtyu-tarāna*). The postulation of superior limits for *rāga* and *dvesa* and the identification of these limits with *Īśvara* need have no terrors for the *advaitin*.

But it may be asked "why should the increase of excellence take the form of sublimation?" Because, we reply, any other process would be only of the nature of more or less mechanical addition and would neither support nor be supported by the inference of an un-

5 See *Vijñānabhikṣu's Vārtika* on *YS.*, I 25

excellible limit, and sublimation will not differ from addition except in so far as the latter ceases to be mechanical

When all this has been said, it must be recognised that the ideal of omniscience involves the transcendence of the distinction of knower and known. If to know is also to be, no person can be an all-knower except in so far as objects have ceased to be as such for him, and the subject-object division has been transcended. Such a one will be an all-knower since there is nothing to know, *Īśvara* is *sarvajña* because He is *vedya-varjita*, so long as a world of knowable objects is left over against Him, the possibility of ignorance is unresolved except through an act of faith which declares that nescience in both the causal and effected conditions is under His control, and hence cannot constitute a limitation to His knowledge.

Nor is its being an act of faith the only defect of this procedure, it conflicts with other seemingly inevitable postulates. If the Lord knows all, He knows the future too, if He knows it, it is predetermined and there is no freedom for us to choose and act whether for elevation or otherwise. The possibility of knowing the future is explained by the *advaitin*<sup>6</sup> in this way: the future is in the womb of *māyā* which will evolve in accordance with the *adrsta* of the *jīvas*, the future course of evolution appears to *Īśvara* as a preliminary plan, there is nothing inconsistent in this, since *māyā* is subject to the control of *Īśvara*. The moot questions are still left unsolved, what place there is for voluntary effort to affect a course of evolution which may now seem inevitable, and whether the possibility of such change does not limit the Lord's knowledge.

One possible development of the notion of the Lord's control of *māyā* is along the lines suggested by William James. God and man are like the expert chess player and the tyro pitted against each

6 *Tattvaśuddhi*, p. 22

other, God's omniscience gives him the ability to checkmate the tyro whatever move he may make, though He does not know the particular move or moves that will be made. Even this ingenious analogy can give no consolation to the humanist, who can and will say that this freedom to be inevitably checkmated is but illusory freedom. It is also possible to urge that knowledge of the future since it is *of the future* is necessarily different from knowledge of the present and that the limitation to human freedom comes only from conceiving the knowledge of the future on the analogy of and in the same terms as knowledge of the present. This is on the face of it plausible but does not take us far, the future, we hold, differs from the present in being contingent, is knowledge of the future also contingent? If so, the Lord's omniscience does not really deserve the name. If the knowledge is not contingent, the content cannot be really contingent. We have to deny either our freedom or the Lord's knowledge of all in the sense in which we understand knowledge. The advaitin may reply that since in the last resort we are identical with Īśvara, the perfection of the Lord is our own perfection and our freedom suffers no real limitation. What advaita asserts as a rule is, however, the identity of Brahman and the Jīva, not of Īśvara and the Jīva, some distinction being always maintained between the latter two, whether as prototype and reflection or in other ways, some varieties of advaita no doubt affirm that release is the attainment of Īśvaratva, but this is irrelevant for us who are concerned with the freedom of human beings here and now, not when they have attained release. The position, however, contains the core of the truth, that we are free to realise our oneness with the perfectly free Īśvara, that the realisation of this oneness is inevitable for all, by ways more or less arduous or devious. Īśvara would be omniscient, as aware of this inevitable end, but of the slips and backslidings, fears, hopes and aspirations on the way, one need not postulate knowledge for the Lord.

Even such a position is not wholly satisfactory, there is, to say the least, conflict with the usual explanation of the scriptural terms sarvajña and sarvavit, the latter being said to mean knowledge of all things in their particularity<sup>7</sup> How can there be knowledge of the future in its particularity if there be no awareness of the detailed strivings, advances and backslidings of the jīva? Such difficulties are necessarily incidental to the notion of omniscience, which, like the notion of knowership, has to be transcended by the knowledge which is the svarūpa of reality, which is necessarily of all, since it is all and there is nothing outside it

Some advaitins have tended to identify sarvajñatā with svarūpa-jñāna They have maintained thus that there is no unintelligibility in the Lord's knowledge of merit and demerit or indeed of any content since his cognition does not have to depend on the senses, external or internal, or on a body, His knowledge they say is svarūpa-jñāna<sup>8</sup> Though this leads to dispensing with the notion of Him as knower (jñātr), knowledge of all does not become impossible, since, as the material cause of all, He is consciousness non-different from all<sup>9</sup> Here again we have a wavering between two notions—Īśvara and Brahman The latter is jñāna-svarūpa, it is also the material cause of the universe If in defending a certain conception of Īśvara one flies to Brahman, it is a conclusive proof of the final inadequacy of the former It is not that Īśvara is omniscient because of svarūpa-jñāna, omniscience as a quality of one who is up against all things and is the knower of all things is a necessary postulate made by us who know little and yet are aware of our knowing little, this postulate being an extension from parviscience is necessarily defective and calls for transcendence in what is neither omniscience nor parviscience but scientia, the wisdom that is Brahman's svarūpa This is the truth in the waverings of the dialecticians That is why of six

7 *Mundaka*, I, 1, 9, Śankara's bhāṣya

8 *Tattvaśuddhi*, p 21

9 *Ibid*

scriptural texts quoted in the *Tattvasūddhi* we find that only two are directly relevant to the topic of omniscience, and that of these, while one predicates knowledge, the other<sup>10</sup> speaks of the nature of Brahman as the knowledge by whose light all else is manifest. Omniscience as knowership is not real since there is nothing to know, Omniscience as knowledge is real, but there is nothing to know. The former is not the latter, but necessarily fulfils itself in the latter.

S S SURYANARAYANA SASTRI

10 "Tasya bhāsā sarvam idam vibhāti" *Svet* VI, 14

## Indian Elements in the Coin Devices of the early foreign Rulers of India

The medley of figures used as coin devices by the Bactrian Greek kings of India and their successors, the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Kusānas prove that these alien chiefs not only drew from the mythology of their own respective religious systems to which they belonged, but also utilised many and various deities connected with the pantheon of the people conquered by them. The gods and goddesses appearing on the Indo-Bactrian Greek coins are no doubt mainly Hellenistic in origin and decidedly Praxitelean in character as noticed long ago by Gardner<sup>1</sup>. Many of the devices adopted by the Bactrian Greeks were retained by the Śakas but in most cases, these were given a new orientation which transformed their original character substantially. Gardner noticed some of these striking changes and remarked, "A careful consideration of these facts will convince us that by some means or other Maues and his race secured the services of artists who had been instructed by the Greeks, but were not restricted by Greek traditions"<sup>2</sup>. The Pahlava rulers, though to a certain extent imitators of the Greeks, mainly used devices which were pre-eminently Parthian in character. The Kusānas especially the Kaniska group of kings, on the other hand, brought in features in which the Hellenistic element was least recognisable. As has been shown by Stein, many of the reverse types are borrowed from Zoroastrianism, while the others are made up of Indian and Greek divinities—the term Greek, however, being applicable to the last class in name only<sup>3</sup>.

1 Gardner, *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India*, p lvii

2 Gardner, *op cit*, p lviii

3 Thus, Salene and Helios, on the coins of Kaniska though the names

But what is of interest in the study of the reverse devices of these foreign coins is the gradual inclusion of purely Indian types among them. Some times, the Indian character of the type is self-evident, while at other times it can be inferred after a careful scrutiny of the device. The reason for this Indianisation is to be sought in the contact of the conquerors and the conquered as also in the custom of using the tutelary divinities of cities as devices on coins minted there. We shall pick up some of these Indian elements in the composition of the types of these rulers and try to explain their real character.

The history of the contact of the Seleukidan rulers of Syria with north-western India is well-known. It is presumable that the origin of the device of the four elephants drawing a chariot used by Seleukos and some of his successors in their coins can be traced to one of the terms of the treaty of Seleukos I with Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty. The cock on the reverse side of the coins of Sophytes (Sopeithes), the king of the Salt Range, a contemporary of Alexander the Great might have been Indian in origin, the imitations of Athenian owls on which these light weight drachmae were based bore on them the figure of an eagle. The cock as an emblem of the Brahmanical war god Subrahmanya-Kārttikeya is well known to us and the bust of Sophytes on the obverse of these coins is shown as the bust of a warrior clad in helmet and cheek plate. As regards the coin devices of the early Bactrian Greek rulers of India, we do not find purely Indian elements till the time of Demetrios, the son of Euthydemos I. The square shape of some of his copper coins proves that it was he who for the first time introduced this

of the Greek moon goddess and the sun-god respectively, really represent Mao and Miro, the Zoroastrian Moon and Sun gods, their figures being perfectly identical.

pre-eminently Indian feature in the Indo-Greek money<sup>4</sup> Again, the inauguration of bi-lingual coins which were meant for the use of their Indian as well as of the Greek subjects is to be attributed to this ruler and his younger contemporary and rival, Eukratides. Elephant's scalp worn as a head-piece by Demetrios on some of his silver and copper coins as well as elephant's head with upraised trunk and a bell round the neck in the dotted circle used as an obverse device on certain copper coins of the same king are presumably Indian features whose early appearance on this coinage is interesting. The types used by Eukratides, such as the mounted Dioskouroi, the palms and piloi of the Dioskouroi, Apollo and Nike are mainly drawn from Greek mythology, but there is one device used by him in re-striking some of the copper coins originally issued by Apollodotos Soter which has particular bearing on our topic. It has been described thus, 'Zeus sitting on throne to front, holds wreath and palm, to right of throne forepart of elephant and to left a pilos, above his indistinct monogram Kharosthi legend *Kavisīye nagara devata*'<sup>5</sup> The symbol which according to Whitehead is a pilos could not be deciphered by Gardner who described it as a 'conical object', but Rapson is definite that it stands for a mountain<sup>6</sup> The two symbols, viz, the head of an elephant and the mountain accompanying the central device as well as the Kharosthi legend are of particular interest inasmuch as they can be explained by certain remarks made about the capital city of Kāpīśā by Hiuen Tsang. Rapson was the first to connect these two symbols with Hiuen Tsang's passage which runs thus, 'To the south-west of the capital (Kāpīśā) was the *Pi-lo-sho-lo* mountain. This name was given to the

4 The description of a certain supposedly square-shaped copper coin of Alexander the Great as his Indian issue has been rightly rejected by numismatists *Cambridge History of India*, vol I, p 388

5 R B Whitehead, *Punjab Museum Catalogue of Coins*, vol I, p 26

6 *Cambridge History of India*, vol I, p 555

mountain from its presiding genius who had the form of an elephant and was therefore called *Pi-lo-sho-lo*'<sup>7</sup> Julien thought that some such Indian word as *Pilusāra* meaning 'elephant-solid' (*Pilu* from Persian *bil* = elephant), was its original and Rapson explained these two symbols, one as the mountain *Pi-lo-sho-lo* and the other as the elephant-shaped tutelary god of the mountain as also of the city of Kāpiśa.<sup>8</sup> If one further considers another observation of Hiuen Tsang in connection with his description of Kāpiśa and Watters' remarks on it one can go a step further and explain the central device of the seated figure as well as the elephant head, on the coins Hiuen Tsang tells us, 'Above forty li (roughly 6 to 7 miles) south from the capital (Kāpiśa) was the city called *Si-pi-to-fa-la-tzu*' Julien and St Martin suggested *Sphītavaras* and *Śvetavaras* respectively as the possible Sanskrit original of the name of the city Watters says 'The last character *sse* or *tzu* is probably a Chinese word in the sense of temple. The other characters may stand for *Śvetavat* one of the epithets of Indra the god who rides a white (*śveta*) elephant. Thus the name of the city would be *Śvetavat-ālaya*, the Abode or Shrine of Indra'<sup>9</sup> If Watters is correct in laying down the value of the Chinese word just mentioned, it is possible to identify the central device of the coins as 'Indra enthroned with the partial representation of his mount *Aṛāvata* (the white elephant) before him. *Śvetavatālaya*, according to the descrip-

7 Rapson, *op cit.*, p 556

8 Watters remarks on the authority of Hiuen Tsang, 'This was the name of the tutelary god of the mountain and of the mountain itself, and it was the name given to the Aśoka tope erected on one of the rocks of the mountain' Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, vol I, p 129. Shall we be justified in trying to identify the conical shaped symbol, not as the mountain, but the stūpa *Pi-lo-sho-lo*, said to have been erected by Aśoka? The mountain is usually represented on coins as a three- or multi-peaked object, whereas this particular device appears as a mound or a stūpa. In any case, Rapson was quite justified in his main hypothesis.

9 Watters, *op cit.*, p 126. The lexicographers lay down such words as *Svetabhū*, *Svetavāha*, *Svetavah* as epithets of Indra.

tion of Hiuen Tsang, was evidently a suburb of Kāpīśā in the 7th century A D and its very name indicates that it had Indra as its tutelary deity Now, in the *Mahāmāyūrī* list of the Yaksas it is stated in one place (v 83) that Yaksa Lankeśvara was the special object of worship in Kāpīśā (*Lankeśvaraśca Kāpīśyām*) while at another place (v 94) Yaksa Nalakuvera is mentioned as such (*Kāpīśyām Nala-kuvera*) Sylvain Lévi, has drawn our attention to one Chinese interpretation of Lankeśvara which is *Kien tseu tsai* i. e. 'strong king' (solide souverain)<sup>10</sup> This epithet of 'strong king' would fit in with Indra, the king of the gods (*devarāja*) and thus at the same time would be attributable to the throned deity of the coin type in question<sup>11</sup> But the two *Mahāmāyūrī* passages prove that Kāpīśā had at least two Yaksas as its presiding deities, viz , Lankeśvara and Nalakuvera Another passage in the same text, however, is of particular importance in this connection The author while referring to the tutelary Yaksas of certain places in the north-west of India explicitly mentions that Indra was the Yaksa of Indrapura The passage runs thus —

शिव शिवपुराहारे शिवभद्रश्च भीषणे ।  
 इन्द्रश्चेन्द्रपुरे यक्षः पुष्पकेतु शिलापुरे ॥  
 दाहको दाहकपुरे कपिलो वसति वणुषु ।  
 मण्डिभद्रो ब्रह्मवत्याम् पूर्णभद्रश्च भ्रातरौ ॥  
 प्रमर्दनश्च गन्धारे तक्षशीलायाम् प्रभञ्जन ।  
 खरपोस्त महायज्ञो भद्र (छर्द) शैले निवासिकः ॥<sup>12</sup>

Of these localities, Varnu, Gandhāra, Taksaśīlā, Bhadra (Charda)-Saila can be definitely recognised and all of them are to be located in the extreme north-west of India Lévi has correctly pointed out that Śivapura is mentioned as a village of the north (*Udiccyagrāma*)

<sup>10</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, p 52

<sup>11</sup> Nalakuvera of the other passage cannot be connected with Indra, mythologically, he was the son of Kuvera, the Yaksarāja, the guardian deity of the northern quarter

<sup>12</sup> *Mahāmāyūrī*, verses 28-33

in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (on Pāṇini, IV, 2, 3). As regards, Bhisana, Indrapura, Śilāpura and Dārukapura, he says that they do not appear elsewhere. Attention, however, may be drawn to the resemblance of the name Indrapura with the *Śvetavatālaya* of *Sī-yu-ks* and if we are correct in assuming that they refer to the same locality, (cf Hastināpura or Gajasāhvaya, the capital of the Kuru kingdom) we shall have no hesitation in placing this Indrapura very near Kāpiśa. On the basis of this hypothesis, our explanation of the coin device inaugurated by Eukratides will find confirmation. Rapson rightly remarks that 'the coin type, thus inaugurated became characteristic of the house of Eukratides in the Kabul valley; it is found on coins of Heliokles, Antialkidas (fig 1), Amyntas and Hermaeus. A very unique tetradrachm of Antialkidas in the collection of the British Museum has a reverse device which has a special bearing on the one in question'.<sup>13</sup> Whitehead describes it thus, 'On the reverse an elephant with its trunk at the salute, Nike on its head, and a bell round its neck, walks to the left. By its side, portrayed on a heroic scale, stalks "Zeus"'. He further correctly emphasises that 'apparently this quaint design shows the elephant-deity and his elephant indulging in a victorious march past.' All these considerations leave little doubt with regard to the identification proposed by us of the coin type, Indra, the king of the gods, and his mount Airāvata, (in a sense, the god himself in his theriomorphic form) were specially suited to be used as a proper device of coins issued by a monarch, the former symbolising the divine royal power while the latter standing for the solid stability of the realm. That the Indra cult was not unknown in parts of northern India can be proved from literary and archæological sources. The cult of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa developed at the expense of

<sup>13</sup> It is not in Gardner's *Catalogue*, but is described by Whitehead in his 'Notes on Indo-Greek Numismatics', in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, pp 325-6 pl xv, fig 5. Fig 2 in the accompanying plate.

various other pre-existing cults, the one of Indra being among them, and it is definitely proved by the story of Kṛṣṇa's *Govardhana-dhārana* as narrated in the *Harivamśa* and some *Purānas*. In the *Bṛhatsambitā* chapter on *Pratimālakṣanam* Indra's image is described thus,—

शुक्लश्रुतविषायो द्विपो महेन्द्रस्य वज्रपाणित्वम् ।  
तिर्यग्ग्ललाटसंस्थ तृतीयमपि लोचनम् चिह्नम् ॥ 42.

Cunningham thought he had lighted upon a very old temple of Indra (c 5th cent A D) among the ruins of numerous temples at Sirpur, C P.<sup>14</sup> The vigorously carved relief of ample proportions on the right facade of the Bhaja cave showing Indra riding on his elephant holding with its trunk upraised a branch or a flower is too well-known to be mentioned in detail.<sup>15</sup> Sakra or Indra is one of the most important acolytes of Buddha in the Buddhist mythology, in the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra as well as the indigenous one of Mathurā, he is very often (in the Indrasāla-guhā scene for example) depicted wearing a basketlike headdress and in company with his mount and other attendants.

Indra, the king of the gods, could very easily be identified by the Bactrian Greeks with Zeus of the Greek mythology. Rapson is thus quite justified in remarking "In this case, as also in others recorded by the historians of Alexander, the Greeks sought to identify the Indian divinities with their own. They evidently regarded the tutelary deity of the city of Kāpiśi as Zeus."<sup>16</sup> So, in the Indo-Bactrian Greek money, enthroned Zeus and *devarāja* Indra are often confused and it will be better to describe those figures as Indra where he is accompanied by an elephant or a partial representation of an elephant. Even in the latter case, Nike, the Greek goddess

14 *ASR*, VII, p 168

15 Note the very striking similarity in attitude of the elephant here with that of the same in the coin-type of Antialkidas, mentioned above

16 *Cambridge History of India*, vol I, p 556

of 'victory, is very often placed in the out-stretched right hand of this Indra-Zeus'<sup>17</sup> Again, even in the other type, that issued by Antialkidas, noticed above, Nike is placed on the head of the elephant by whose side the deity strides to left. The Śaka king Maues copied in toto the usual Indra-zeus type of Antialkidas and if one notices the description of the obverse device of coin no. 13 of Maues in Gardner's *British Museum Catalogue* (p 70), one cannot but infer that it is a faithful copy of the reverse of Antialkidas a type coin. Maues, however, introduced a new orientation in this device, for, in the obverse of his coins Nos 11-13 (fig 3 of the accompanying plate) we find the same enthroned deity with a long sceptre in his left hand, while his right hand is placed on the shoulder of a human figure ('small winged female figure' according to Gardner, but the wings and the female character of the figure are not quite clear from the plate) who, as has been rightly suggested by Gardner, 'seems to be an embodiment of the thunderbolt!'. This reminds us of the Indian practice of sometimes representing the attributes in the hands of divinities as personified beings, *Cakra*, *Gadā*, *Samkha*, the usual attributes of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu are very often depicted thus when they are known by the name of *āyudhapurusas*. As the weapon thunderbolt is behind its personified representation in this coin of Maues, so in most cases, the actual weapons *cakra* etc are carved behind their personified representations on whose heads or shoulders the deity's hands rest.

On the basis of our main hypothesis, it will be possible for us to suggest that the device 'elephant's head with a bell round his neck' used by Demetrios on some of his copper coins and other Indo-Greek and Śaka rulers like Menander and Maues (fig 4) was

17 Cf the first three types of Antialkidas, *PMC*, vol I, pp 32-4, this type became so very popular with him, that he used it also as the reverse device of some of his silver drachmae which belonged to the Attic standard of weight bearing Greek legend only and which were thus meant for circulation in the Bactrian portion of his kingdom, cf *ibid*, p 36, no (v)

associated with this elephant deity, peculiar to Kāpiśa and its environs.<sup>18</sup> We are not certain whether the elephant used as a device on so many coins of these kings is in any way connected with it, but if any connection between the two could be proved, then one could demonstrate the extreme popularity of the device. Elephant is used as a device in the coins of Antimachos Theos,<sup>19</sup> Heliokes,<sup>20</sup> Lysias, Antialkidas, Archebios, Apollodotos Soter,<sup>21</sup> Menander, Zoilos, Maues,<sup>22</sup> Azes, Azilises and Zeionises. It is worth noting that barring the satrapal coins of Zeionises elephant is not used as a device in the Indo-Parthian series of coins.

The next device of outstandingly Indian character is the so-called dancing girl appearing on the obverse of certain copper coins of identical fabric issued in the Indian portion of their dominions by Pantaleon and Agathokles. These coins are characterised not only by their complete resemblance to the indigenous double-die coins localised by Cunningham at Taxila but also by the fact of their being the only two types of early alien bilingual money having the Indian legend in Brāhmī script, Kharosthī being otherwise used in the bulk of this class of coins. Gardner describes this device as a 'female figure with long pendants from her ears, clad in oriental dress with trousers, holds in her right hand a flower'<sup>23</sup>. In another

18 *PMC* vol I, p 13, no 21, p 62, nos 507-14, p 98, nos 5-9

19 Type no 2, in *PMC*, I, p 19, it should be observed that while elephant appears on the reverse, Nike who is so frequently associated with the Kāpiśa deity figures on the reverse

20 Two types—Bust of king elephant and elephant bull, *PMC*, vol I, p 29

21 Elephant Bull—used both in round silver drachm of attic weight and square silver drachm of Persian or Indian weight. Rapson remarks that the elephant and bull 'may have symbolised the tutelary divinities of cities'

22 Running elephant with uplifted trunk seated king or deity and running elephant with uplifted trunk Humped bull, note the attitude strikingly similar to the Kāpiśa elephant

23 *British Museum Catalogue*, pp 9-10, pl III, 9 & pl IV, 9 Fig 5 of the accompanying plate

plâce, he remarks 'the earliest of the clearly Indian types to make its appearance is a dancing girl, wearing long hanging earrings and oriental trousers, on the money of Pantaleon and Agathocles.'<sup>24</sup> From after this, it has been the custom amongst numismatists to describe this type as 'the dancing girl', a few scholars however, denominated it in a different manner. Thus, Foucher would like to find in it Māyā, the mother of Buddha in the nativity scene,<sup>25</sup> whereas Coomaraswamy at first suggested that it was Laksmī but later was somewhat sceptical about it<sup>26</sup> Of these two suggestions, the latter is more acceptable, because the flower in the right hand of the figure, so far as it can be ascertained from the summary representation in coin, seems to be a lotus. While studying a few originals of this type in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, I wondered whether these female figures did really stand for some horse-faced divinity. The head seemed too longish to be a human one, if one could be sure that it was an equine head, then the figure could be correctly described as YaksiniĀśvamukhī or Kinnarī which is sometimes represented in indigenous art as a woman with a horse's head.<sup>27</sup> But the representation on the not very well preserved copper coins are too indefinite to let us be sure about our suggestion. In any case, it will be better to describe the figure as an Indian goddess possibly Laksmī, (or, if we could connect the lion on the other side with the goddess, she could probably be described as Durgā-Simhāvahini, the lotus also being an attribute of hers) perhaps, associated with Taxila or regions near it. Śrī-Laksmī, however,

24 Gardner, *op cit*, p lvii

25 Foucher, *On the Iconography of the Nativity of the Buddha*, *M A S I*, No 46, p 12

26 *Eastern Art*, vol I, p 178 "The so-called dancing girl on the coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles is of the type of Laksmī (*Padmahastā*) and may be Śrī-Laksmī, but this by itself is hardly definitive and the movement is unusual"

27 Cf the Bodh-Gayā representation of this motif, R L Mitra, *Buddha-Gayā*, pp 155-6 pl xxxiv, fig 2

was utilised by these foreign rulers as coin-devices and different modes of her representation have been found in the Indo-Bactrian Greek and Śaka coins. The obscure king Peukolaos is known from certain copper coins, the reverse sides of which bear a figure which has been described by Whitehead as a 'city goddess with turreted crown to left, lotus in right hand' <sup>28</sup>. It is very likely that it stands for Laksmī with the Hellenistic accretion of the turreted crown. The obverse device of an unique gold coin (classed as 'Indo-Scythian, uncertain' by Gardner) in the collection of the British Museum ought to be studied in this connection. It has been described by Gardner as 'Greek city-goddess, clad in chiton and peplos, wearing mural crown, and holding a poppy-head' <sup>29</sup>. Rapson, who at first doubted the genuineness of the coin, described the same device as a 'city goddess, wearing a mural crown and holding a lotus flower in her right hand with the Kh legend *Pakhalavadi-devada* meaning the deity of Puskalāvati', he also remarked 'she wears Greek dress and the mural crown which is the emblem of a Greek civic divinity, and as guardian of the "City of Lotuses" (Puskalāvati, she appropriately holds a lotus-flower in her right hand' <sup>30</sup>. The city divinity of Puskalāvati was most likely the goddess Laksmī whose Hellenised representations we find in these two coin types (the name of the obscure Greek king Peukolaos seems to have some connection with Puskalāvati, the Greek form of which is Peukelaotis), the figure of the bull with Greek legend *Tauros* and Kharosthi legend *Usabbe* appearing on the reverse side of the gold coin was also a therio-morphic representation of a divinity presumably Śiva <sup>31</sup>.

28 *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, p. 324 & pl. xv, 3

29 Gardner, *op cit* p. 162 & pl. xxix, 15      30 *JRAS*, 1905, p. 787

31 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 557. Rapson remarks on this bull device—"As in the case of the city divinity of Kāpisi, the Greek artist has represented in accordance with Greek ideas an Indian deity who was supposed to bear the form of a bull. Here, Hiuen Tsang says, "Outside the west gate of the city (of Puskalāvati) was a Deva-temple and a marvel working image of the Deva"

Of the two goddesses appearing on the reverse sides of two types of coins of Hippostratos,<sup>32</sup> one at least, viz., the cornucopiae bearing figure might have some connection with the city-deity of Puskalāvati. One of the two figures (one male and the other female, the male figure identified by Rapson as Zeus) the female one, wearing a mural crown and holding a diadem in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm, appearing on the reverse side of certain silver coins of the Śaka ruler Azilises was tentatively identified by Rapson as the tutelary deity of Puskalāvati.<sup>33</sup> With some slight alterations, here and there, the city goddess type was utilised by Maues (*PMC* vol I, p 99, no 15), Azes (*ibid.*, pp 121-122, nos 218-240, here definitely described as Demeter) and other Śaka rulers. In the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra we do not fail to find plastic representations of this goddess. Thus the Loriyan Tangai relief depicting Gautama's *Mahābhīṣkramana* in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta contains the figures of this goddess and Māra as also other divinities clustering round Buddha's figure on horse back, here also she is characterised by the turreted crown and a flower in her hand.<sup>34</sup> A general observation may be made that in such cases, Hellenistic outer garments were used to cloak the original Indian divinity. But even these Hellenistic

(Watters, *op cit.*, I, p 214) If we were sure about any connection of the obverse and reverse devices of this coin, we could have offered the suggestion that the goddess stood for Śiva's consort, but, the theriomorphic representation of the male deity on one side and anthropomorphic depiction of his consort on the other is a priori unlikely. We shall presently see, however, that Śiva's consort seems also to have been utilised as a coin-device by certain Śaka rulers.

32 *PMC*, vol I, p 74, Nos 604-609, Whitehead describes the device as a city goddess to left, carrying cornucopiae. *Ibid.*, p 77, No 631, described as a 'city goddess to left with mural crown and palm'.

33 Rapson, *JRAS*, 1905, pp 788-89, he based his suggestion on the general resemblance of this goddess to the one on the gold coin of Puskalāvati and the possibility of the Kharosthī letter *pa* in the left field being an abbreviation of Pakhalavadi-Puskalāvati.

34 Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art*, fig 53



Fig 1

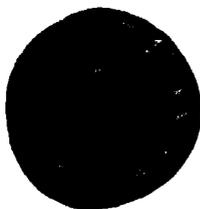


Fig 2



Fig 3



Fig 4



Fig 5



Fig 6



Fig 7



Fig 8

By courtesy of the British Museum authorities

embellishments were soon to disappear and the purely Indian *abhiseka-lakṣmī* was to make its appearance on certain silver coins of Azilises<sup>35</sup> The motif exactly corresponds to the Indian Gaja-Lakṣmī type, so frequently to be found in early mediaeval and modern Indian art, it was also used as a device in a Kosam coin (c 3rd century B C), by Ranjuvula, the Śaka Satrap (c 1st century A.D), Śasānka the Gauda king (7th century A D) and others. Foucher would also like to find in the earlier replicas of this type, the scene of the nativity of the Buddha<sup>36</sup>

It will not be out of place here to refer to a certain goddess figure used as a device in some copper coins of Azes The coin type is no 30 of Azes in the *Punjab Museum Catalogue*, vol I, p. 129, its obverse has been described by Whitehead as 'Goddess Lakṣmī standing to front with flower in raised right hand' Whitehead does not notice the lotus flower on which the goddess is made to stand and a peculiar object to her left The identical device has been described by Gardner as 'Female deity facing, clad in himation, holds in raised right hand, flower, stands on lotus, beside her, lion? (Lakṣmī?)'<sup>37</sup> Gardner was not quite sure whether the object to the left of the goddess was a lion or not, but the forepart of the lion is quite clear from his plate (though it is not so clear in the Punjab Museum specimen reproduced by Whitehead in pl xii, no 308) Copper coins nos 133-36 in Gardner's book (pl xix, iv) and those nos 220-30 in Whitehead's *Catalogue* (pl vii, 222) show on the obverse a lion walking to right and on the reverse a goddess which Gardner was diffident about describing as Demeter (Whitehead thought it was so) The coins are all of copper and thus mostly

35 *PMC*, vol I, p 135 Fig 6 of the accompanying plate It has been described, 'Indian goddess, Lakṣmī standing facing on a lotus-flower with twin stalks and leaves On each leaf stands a small elephant sprinkling water on the head of the deity'

36 Foucher, *op cit*, pp 13 ff

37 Gardner, *op cit*, p. 85 Fig 7 of the accompanying plate

in a very indifferent state of preservation, whatever might be the right identification of the deity here, it is extremely probable that in the other case the female divinity standing on lotus in a graceful Indian pose with a lion by her side is none other than Durgā-Simhavāhini, the consort of Śiva. It is true that the lotus at her feet and the same in her raised right hand would indicate the possibility of her being Laksmī, but its nature is more or less the same as that of the reverse device of the Candragupta I type coins of Samudragupta and the Lion-slayer type coins of Candragupta II. The composite character of the Gupta device—the goddess seated on a lion, holding a lotus-flower or cornucopiae in her left-hand, her right hand holding a fillet and her feet sometimes resting on lotus led Allan to describe her as Laksmī or Ambikā<sup>38</sup>. In the iconographic texts, lotus is in many cases regarded as an attribute of Durgā, Gaurī and Ekānamśā, in a few the original Śakti goddesses. The description of the two handed Ekānamśā in the *Brhatsambitā* (ch 57 v 37) is as follows —

कटिसंस्थितवामकरा सरोजमितरेण चोद्धृती ,

many texts like the *āgamas* give us more or less identical descriptions of two-handed Durgā-Gaurī images (*Dakṣiṇe cotpalam haste vāmahastam pralambitam*). We cannot but be struck with the great similarity of the stance of the coin-device in question, with that of the goddesses described in the texts. Lion as the mount of Durgā is too well-known to be commented on in detail. It is true that the Syrian or Elamite goddess Nanaia is occasionally represented on some Kusāna coins as riding on a lion,<sup>39</sup> but the mode of her presentation there is quite different from the device under discussion. If we can further show that the cult of Durgā Simhavāhini was known in the north-western region in the early centuries

<sup>38</sup> Allan, *Catalogue of the Gupta Coins in the British Museum*, pp lxxii-lxxiii, lxxxiii

<sup>39</sup> Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushans*, pl xxu, fig 19

of the Christian era, we shall have some further proof in support of our hypothesis. Here also Hiuen Tsang supplies us with some interesting and valuable information. He tells us—'Above 50 *li* to the north-east of *Po-lu-sha* (now unanimously identified with Shahbazgarhi) was a great mountain which had a likeness (or image) of Maheśvara's spouse Bhīmā-devī of dark blue stone. According to local accounts this was a natural image of the goddess,

At the foot of the mountain was a temple to Maheśvara-deva in which the Ash-smearing "Tirthikas" performed much worship.<sup>40</sup> It is needless to emphasise that the Chinese pilgrim, though writing during the first half of the 7th century A D, was referring to a far earlier local custom.

Certain copper coins were issued by Maues as well as Azes with a type summarily designated by Whitehead as Poseidon with trident and Bacchante. He describes the reverse device as a 'female figure standing to front between trees (possibly a Bacchante among vines), Gardner describes it as a female figure clad in chiton and himation facing, stands between two vines (Maenad?)'<sup>41</sup> None of these scholars is, thus, quite sure of his identification and from the general character of this device we feel tempted to suggest an Indian designation for it. Coomaraswamy while delineating on the iconographic features of Śrī-Laksmī in his learned article on 'Early Indian Iconography' refers to three varieties of Laksmī type, the third one, described by him, being, "as Padmavāsini Kamalālayā etc, she is surrounded by flowering stems and growing leaves, establishing her environment, and in this case she very often holds one

40 Watters, *op cit*, p 221. Watters thinks that the image or likeness of Bhīmā-devī was apparently a dark-blue rock in the mountain supposed to have a resemblance to that goddess. Julien, however, understood the passage to mean that there was a statue.

41 *PMC*, vol I, pp 100-101, 122, *BMC*, pp 70-71, 89. This type was a favourite one of Maues. Fig 8.

of 'the flowering stems in each hand'<sup>42</sup> There will be no inherent improbability if we suggest that this device is a Hellenised version of the third variety of Laksmī noted above. A glance at the plates accompanying Coomaraswamy's article will convince one that this was a very favourite theme with the early Indian artists. We can compare this coin device with one of later period (c 6th or 7th century A D) appearing on an unassigned or doubtfully assigned gold coin of Gupta style and fabric. This coin was discovered at Mahmudpur (Jessore district, Bengal) and is in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Allan describes this reverse device, thus, "Goddess Laksmī (Smith—simply 'Goddess'), nimbate, standing left holding lotus in out-stretched right hand, behind her a lotus plant and at her feet, a *hamsa* (peacock according to Smith)"<sup>43</sup> In this case, however, the *hamsa* at the feet of the figure would justify us in identifying her as Sarasvatī, the counterpart of Laksmī.

Gardner, long ago, was struck by the peculiar form of many of these types which were 'more distinctive than the style (Praxitelean) in which they were rendered'. He remarked, 'To search out the reasons of these variations of type, reasons to be found probably in many instances in the influence of local Indian or Persian legend or belief, would be a very attractive task'. I have attempted in the preceding pages to partially work out the scheme hinted at by the great scholar. This subject will be more fully treated in my forthcoming work on 'Ancient Indian Coin types'.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

42 *Eastern Art*, vol I, p 178

43 Allan, *op cit*, p 150, pl xxiv, 5

## Going Far or Going Beyond ?

(*Pāragā, Pāragū*)

I know of but one scholarly critic—happily still with us<sup>1</sup>—who has equalled Moriz Winternitz in generous recognition of those who, like myself, have been spending ourselves in research such as entitles us to doubt, that the Buddhism presented to us in most manuals on ‘Religions’, and by Buddhists of South Asia, is indeed the original New Message brought to India and the world by Gotama Śākyamuni, in the 6th century A C Critic, and often disagreeing critic he was His own position had largely been that of the ‘manuals’ and of Hinayāna And was I not trying all I knew to drag him on from that position, and make him, as I saw it, grow in spiritual adolescence in his outlook on this particular religion? He claimed indeed to have been for twenty years on the side of those whom Dr Weller called “us younger men”,<sup>2</sup> in that Winternitz, in his *History of Indian Literature*, II, 1913, affirmed, that “the entire older literature of the Buddhists was nothing but a great collection of collections, and that the different portions of such collections belonged to different times” (This is repeated in the re-written English version of 1933, p 4) And indeed the historical attitude in his article to the Geiger Commemoration volume. “Can the Pali Canon teach us something about the older Buddhism and its history,” as well as its child, “Problems of Buddhism” in the *Viśva Bharatī* of 1936, five years later, might almost deserve to be placed as the preface of every research-student’s notebooks in such studies And I would say the same of his brief introduction

1 Professor James B Pratt

2 *Asia Major*, V, 1930, pp 149 ff

to the 110 excerpts given us in his *Der altere Buddhismus*, of a previous year.

I said "almost deserve", I wish I could delete the 'almost'. But, if what I have in these last years brought forward of 'left-ins', of things overlooked by scholars, let alone Buddhists, so unversed in their own Hīnayāna scriptures, had sufficed to drag him almost to the standpoint of the "younger men", it wasn't far enough. Tenaciously he clung to the last to the position of the "older men" (*wir Aelteren*), who have taken their stand on the belief, that "there has never been a Buddhism without the sermon of Benares"—as it stands!—"the middle path, the four noble truths, the eightfold path, or without *maññi*"<sup>3</sup> In other words he abode in the dangerous position, that the original New Word in a gospel is to be found in church-made formulas. He admitted "the Pāli sources may give but a onesided picture," but insisted, that "without them, other sources gave us a quite distorted picture" Granted! But why lean on the *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* of the formula?

I could illustrate this in detail by showing that, in his selection in the Bertholet Series, named above, he has not picked out a single passage I have myself found as betraying some old stone in, or under monkish superstructure,—found, I mean, as being at odds with the position that is mainly emphasized, and at yet greater odds with the later exegetic teaching. But this were here out of place, and I have done it elsewhere.

Almost does Winternitz's departure close the brave band of the pioneers, of the 'Aelteren'. By these I mean them who were not only the pathfinders but who were, in disclosing the new country unable to discriminate truly the changes that country had

<sup>3</sup> Almost I think he had dropped one or more of these *Sine qua non*'s in his 'Problems of Buddhism', I have mislaid my copy

undergone in taking on its present configuration. It is, for instance, going far in the blazed trail to say, as he did, that not only 'collections' differ mutually in date, but that each has a matter of different dates. But he failed to get further and see, that many technical terms in these can be shown to betray a history words like *dhamma*, *attha*, *bhava*, *nibbāna*. Herein be it for the younger men to catch up his faltering torch.

Let them for instance consider the singular evolution in values undergone by just one of those words *bhava*, and its verb, in the history of early Buddhism i.e., Hinayāna. For Winternitz it was just *Werdelust*, used, he deemed, only in the pessimistic monk-outlook on more life, not as more opportunities (*khana*) in which the further to 'become' or grow, but as mere and deplorable repetition. Herein there arises, in Sutta-study, an interesting point. In such lines as

*virajam asokam sammappañānāṃ bhavassa pāragū*, (*Ang* III, 157)

(he knows the stainless griefless state beyond becoming hath he gone) or

*bhavattha jātimaranassa pāragā*, (*Iti-vuttaka*, §46),

(become ye they who birth and death transcend)

and half a dozen other such, we may take *pāragū* (or *-gā*), literally 'beyond goer', as meaning either expert knower,<sup>4</sup> or transcend-er. The genitive case of the object may incline the translator to choose the latter. But when the broad loose nature of the Indian genitive is kept in view, the meaning may well have been 'in becoming', not 'of becoming', just as we can say 'versed in', or 'expert in' this or that subject. Now take the earlier Buddhist, the early Upanisadic meaning of 'becoming', where was no worsened meaning: 'becoming' used for good luck, prosperity,<sup>5</sup> or consummation, or for

4 Eg, of the Vedas (*Digba*, I, 88)?

5 Eg, in *Digba*, 19'—"tell master Jotipāla I wish him luck (*bhavam hotu!*)"

the further progress of the soul — ‘becomes Brahman,’ or, ‘whither, death to be attained, becomes the soul?’—and we see that, for the early Śākyan missionaries those Pali terms might have meant ‘yon-farers in becoming’, that is, progress in the Way of the worlds towards the final goal, the *pariyosāna*, the *paramattha*. However, I write not as with certainty, for the association of the word *pāragū* with such a monkish sentiment as that of Dhammapada 348.

Let go the past, let go the things hereafter,

Let go the middle things, yon-farer of becoming!  
inclines me to think, that *pāragū* may have been a later term in the sense only of transcendence.<sup>6</sup>

I commend my ‘yon-farer’ or ‘yonderfarer’ to the ‘Jungeren’ (our old English has ‘yongate’ ‘in *such* a way, in *that* way’) if only because it is just a literally truthful rendering, leaving it uncertain whether ‘of’ or ‘in’ becoming is preferred.

Far more earnestly do I commend to them to keep in full view the original, the Śākyan worth in *bhava* as ‘becoming’, as *werden*, not merely in this one little earth-span of life, but in life as a whole, becoming, that is, in the worlds. Herein it is that not a few pioneers in Buddhist research have been heavily handicapped. More or less agnostically handicapped themselves, they have found the modern agnosticism in today’s degenerate Hīnayāna attracting them. And herein they have sorely overlooked how close was the tie in the original teaching between the Śākyan missionaries and the unseen. Seeing in the Founder of it an independent thinker, they have misjudged him as a rebel against the Immanence in the accepted religion of his day, they forget the testimony that men flocked to him to learn of him the fate of departed fellowmen,<sup>7</sup> or that he spoke to them of the unseen, to encourage disciples to

6 Cf. hereon my *To Become or not to Become*, p. 61 f. (1937)

7 *Digha*, Sutta 18.

emulate here the good example set them by some amongst those departed, that so they might hereafter share in their fate (their 'suchness')<sup>8</sup> They ignore the evidence that the urgently enjoined practice of Jhāna was just what is now called psychic training<sup>9</sup> They pass over the description ascribed to king Bimbisāra of the Founder's teaching as not of a secular but a further-world aim (an *attha* not *dittbadhamme* but *samparāyiko*)<sup>10</sup> They have consented to see the Way of the worlds as a tidy set of eight moral qualities of monkish editing, when the Sutta-nipāta, credited as of early date, could have taught them better

He who would practise as the Teacher taught,  
 'T is he may go from hence to the beyond  
 Yea, hence to the beyond 't is he may go,  
 Making the Way Incomparable to become  
 The Way this is for going to beyond,  
 And therefore is it Yonderfaring called<sup>11</sup>

The worthy historian of religion is the man who sees not a less, but a higher value in a man's nature, life and religious quest To have seen a less in these, to have seen man as a creature of a little spell in one earth-life is incompatible with true greatness in the founders of world-religions The pioneers in Buddhist research have not all or always shown themselves in this as fit men to undertake to write about religious history They have themselves not been fully in tune with their great subject This was the case with the fine and indomitable worker whose leaving us this volume commemorates In the pain of bereavement he could write "as I do not believe in any mythological 'future life', there is really no reason for either rejoicing or mourning, but " And there followed a brave list of coming work to be shouldered Well, now he knows better

C A F RHYS DAVIDS

8 *Majjhima*, Nalakapāna S

10 *Vinaya*, Mhv V

9 Cf my art *IHQ*, Dec 1927

11 *Pārāyana*

## Nāgārjuna's List of Kuśaladharmas

The treatises of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism, so far as available to us in Sanskrit, are mainly concerned with the fundamentals of their position and give us little idea of the minor dogmatic details in which they differed from the Hinayāna and from the other Mahāyāna schools. Particular interest therefore attaches to the list of 119 *kuśaladharmas* which Nāgārjuna sets out in his commentary on *kārikā* 7 of the *Vigrahavyāvartanī*. Till recently it was not possible to determine the precise qualities mentioned there, as neither the Tibetan nor the Chinese translation afforded certain equivalents. The former was edited by Tucci in *Pre-Dinnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, XLIX, 1929), where also the Chinese translation was rendered into English. Almost simultaneously an admirable French version of the Tibetan translation was published by Yamaguchi in *Journal Asiatique*, 225 (1929), pp. 1 ff. Since the appearance of these two works the position has been altered by the invaluable discoveries of that remarkable traveller, the Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana, who among other treasures discovered a Ms. of the Sanskrit text of this work, this Ms. he has recently published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXIII, Part III, Appendix. It is in Tibetan script and was, it seems, made by a Tibetan visitor to India early in the twelfth century, in addition to being highly incorrect, with numerous mistakes and omissions, it apparently also includes a certain number of glosses. The printed edition, wisely perhaps, reproduces the text as it stands in the Ms., and it will require much patient work on the various versions to bring it into reasonable conformity with Nāgārjuna's original. The passage with which this paper deals is in a particular bad state, and

I have unfortunately been unable to trace similar lists elsewhere, which would have helped to disentangle the text and would also have enabled me to deal with the historical development of the category. My discussion therefore is based solely on the authorities already mentioned and is restricted to an attempt to throw some light on the nature of the textual problems raised by the Ms. I refer below to the Tibetan translation by the letter T, to the Chinese version by C, to Tucci's work by Tu, and to Yamaguchi's by Y.

*Kārikā* 7 runs

कुशलाना धर्माणा धर्मावस्थाविदश्च मन्यन्ते ।

कुशलं जनाः स्वभाव शेषेष्वप्ये विनियोग ॥

The Ms reads *janasvabhā* in *c*, omitting *vam*, but both T and C read *janāb*, the former construing it with *dharmāvasthāvidah*, the latter nonsensically enough taking it separately as may be seen from Tu. The commentary states that there are 119 *kuśaladharmas*, and proceeds to enumerate them though a number of them certainly do not appear in the Sanskrit text, while C, which in accordance with usual practice numbers each quality, names only 106, its list is printed in the notes to Tu's translation, part II, pp 28 ff.

At first sight the list appears to be an odd collection, the true explanation having been overlooked by Tu and Y. The Ms prefaces its list with the word *ekadeśab* and puts all the qualities from 1 to 81 in the genitive. This is confirmed by T who however places the equivalent *phyogs-gcig* after 81, so that it was mistaken by Y for a part of 81 instead of as qualifying all the previous terms. C has an ambiguous rendering of the expression before starting the list, which was mistakenly translated by Tu by 'they have mind as their own [? one] characteristic', the correct version seems to be 'they are deemed to be *ekalakšana*', the wording being such as to apply to all the qualities, not merely the first eighty-one.

The point of the word *ekadeśa* is that qualities 1 to 81 are only *kuśala* in some of their aspects, in others they may be *akuśala* or *avyākṛta*, 'indifferent'. The remaining 38 qualities are solely *kuśala*, and therefore must not be identified with terms which could in any aspect not be *kuśala*, many of them refer to special attainments on the path to enlightenment. Once this distinction is grasped, the apparent peculiarities of the list disappear.

The following table gives a comparison of the three sources, with the solution I would suggest in each case. All but a few of the qualities have been successfully identified, and it is worth noting with reference to the difficulty of determining the Sanskrit equivalents of technical terms in Tibetan with precision, how often Y, while usually getting near the original in sense, has failed to discover the word actually used. Tu's text of T is evidently corrupt in a few places, and I have corrected these with the help of the Ms. and C, giving Tu's reading in brackets, the mistakes, particularly the confusion of *da* and *na*, are of a type familiar to those who have had occasion to handle the Tibetan translations. C's version has not been given in Chinese to save trouble in printing, as it is easily available in Tu as well as in the various editions of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Its renderings are sometimes of an unusual type, the translation emanating from the sixth century school, which was first located at Lo-Yang and moved later to Yeh. Where it indicates the solution accepted in the final column, I have simply entered 'id' with the number of the quality, as stated in the translation, in brackets. In other cases I have put a query and discussed the rendering in a footnote. It will be observed that in three cases I have come to the conclusion that C has wrongly separated a group of characters representing one quality into two groups and that in one case I have split a group of two characters into two terms of one character each. Where the versions differ in the order of the terms, I have followed the Ms's order.

No	Sanskrit MS	T	C	Suggested Original
1	vijñāna	rnam-par śes-pa	omitted	vijñāna
2	vedanā	tshor-ba	id (1)	vedanā
3	samjñā	ldu-śes	id (2)	samjñā
4	cetanā	sems-dpah	id (3)	cetanā
5	sparsā	re-g-pa	id (4)	sparsā
6	manasikāra	yid-la byed-pa	id (5)	manasikāra
7	chanda	hdun-pa	id (6)	chanda
8	adhimoksa	mos-pa	id (7)	adhimoksa
9	virya	brt.on-hgrus	id (8)	virya
10	smṛti	dran-pa	id (9)	smṛti
11	samādhi	tin-ne-hdzin	id (10)	samādhi
12	prajñā	śes-rab	id (11)	prajñā
13	upeksā	gtan-sñoms	id (12)	upeksā
14	prāyoga	sbyor-ba	id (13)	prāyoga
15	samprāyoga	yan-dag-par sbyor-ba	id (14)	samprāyoga
16	prāpti	thob-pa	id (16-17) <sup>1</sup>	prāpti
17	adhyāśaya	lhag-paht bsam-pa	? (15) <sup>2</sup>	adhyāśaya
*18	pratiṭṭhi	khon-khro-ba med-pa	? (18)	apratigha <sup>1</sup>
19	rati	dgah-ba	id (19)	rati
20	vyavasāya	hbad-pa	id (20)	vyavasāya
21	autsukyā	tsol-ba	id (22)	autsukyā

1 C's 17 does not correspond separately to anything in T or the Ms and must therefore be joined to either 16 or 18. I have preferred the former alternative, the combination meaning 'complete attainment' and translating *siddha* in the commentary on *kārikā* 12.

2 C has *bsi* (Giles, 4087), which stands usually for *vāsanā* in the translations emanating from this school. Probably therefore it read *adhyāśaya* and took it in the sense of *vāsanā*.

3 In Tibetan *khon-kbro* usually represents *pratiṭṭha*, though I have found it in the sense of *parikheḍa*, and as *gha* and *va* are occasionally confused (another case apparently under 24), I see no reason for doubting the restoration *apratigha*. C's *pien ts'ai* (Giles, 2909, 11496), 'talent for wrangling', recurs under 26 (see note 6), corresponding there also to T's *khon-kbro*, presumably therefore it means *pratiṭṭha* in both cases, the negative having dropped out under 18, as has happened in several subsequent cases. Tu considers it equivalent to *pratiḥhāna*, for which the ordinary term is *lo-shuo*, 'joyful speaking' (cp Eitel, *Handbook*, and Soothill and Hodous, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*), but Soothill and Hodous mention *lo-shuo pien ts'ai* as also used for this word, it is however difficult to reconcile *pratiḥhāna* with either T or the Ms.

No	Sanskrit MS	T	C	Suggested Original
22	unmū	rmons-hbreI	? (21)	? <sup>4</sup>
23	utsāha	ʃpros-pa	id (23)	utsāha
24	avyavartya	gnod-pa med-pa	id? (24) <sup>5</sup>	avighāta
25	vasitī	dban dan ldan-pa	id (25)	vaśitā
26	pratipatti	khon-khro	? (26)	? pratighāta, or pratigha <sup>6</sup>
27	avipratūsāra	yid-la gcags-pa med-pa	id (27)	avipratūsāra
28	omitted	hdzin-pa	? (29)	? parigraha <sup>7</sup>
29	Do	mi-hdzin-pa	? (30)	? aparigraha
30	Do	dran-pa	? (28)	? <sup>8</sup>
31	dhrti	brtan-pa	id? (31) <sup>9</sup>	dhrti
32	adhyavasāya	llrig-par zhen-pa	omitted	adhyavasāya
33	anauśvaka	mi-tsol-ba (3)	id (33)	anautsukya
34	ananumūrdhū	rmons-pa med-pa (33)	? (32)	? <sup>10</sup>
35	anutsāra	ʃpo-ba med-pa	omitted	anutsāra
36	prāpanā	do r-du gñer-pa	Do	prārthanā
37	prāndhū	smon la	? (34) <sup>11</sup>	prāndhū

4 This word is a crux. T indicates literally *mohasambandha* (so also Y), which at least suggests a word with the root *mub*. The negative of the word appears under 34, where the Ms has *ananumūrdhū* and T the equivalent of *amoha* and it looks therefore as if a word such as *unmugdhi* or *anumugdhi* were meant, but authority for any form of this sort is lacking. C has *ssu* (Giles, 10271), the equivalent of the root *cmt* and under 34 the negative of the same, possibly a mistake for *huo* (Giles, 5320) or *yu* (Giles, 13559), either of which would show a formation from *mub*.

5 Literally C is equivalent to *anīrsyā*.

6 See note 3, in view of which C would seem to have read here *supratigha*. *Pratighāta* seems slightly more probable than *pratigha* from the Ms's reading.

7 For this and the next term C indicates *alpecchatā* and *analpecchatā*. T, which one would naturally assume with Y to have had *grāba* and *agrāba*, may intend *parigraha* and *aparigraha*, which agrees fairly with C.

8 C shows *vipratūsāra*, which occurs certainly at 73 and cannot therefore be in place here also. T literally gives *smṛti*, which has already been enumerated under 10. The original was perhaps a formation from *smṛ* signifying 'remorse'.

9 The equivalent of C is ordinarily *upeksā*, and if it stands here for *dhrti*, it implies taking the word in the sense of keeping the mind in equilibrium, cp note 35 for a similar use of the word.

10 See note 4 above.

11 C reads *aprandhū*.

No	Sanskrit MS	T	C	Suggested Original
38	mada	rgyags-pa	id ? (35) <sup>12</sup>	mada
39	visayānām viprayoga	yul dan mi-ldan-pa	id (36) <sup>11</sup>	visayānām vi- prayoga
40	anityānikatā	nca-par hbyin-pa ma-yin-pa	id (37) <sup>14</sup>	anityānikatā
41	utpāda	skyc-ba	id (38)	utpāda
42	sthiti	gnas-pa	id (39)	sthiti
43	anityatā	mi-rtag-pa	id (40)	anityatā
44	samarthāgata	ldan-pa (45)	id (41)	samānvāgama
45	jarā	rga-ba (44, dgah-ba, Tu)	id (42)	jarā
46	paritrāsyatī	yons-su gdlun-ba	id (43)	paritāpī
47	arati	mi-dgah-ba	id (44-45)	arati
48	vitarka (pl)	rtog-pa	id (46)	vitarka
49	priti	vdug-pa	id (47)	priti
50	pramāda	dad-pa (dan-ba, Tu)	id (48)	prasāda
51	vyavahāratā	rjes-su mi-mthun-par gzun-ba	omitted	ṛī
52	preś	hdod-pa	id (49)	preman
53	pratīkūla	mi-mthun-pa	id (50)	pratīkūla
54	pradakṣinagrāha	mthun-par hdzin-pa	id? (51) <sup>16</sup>	pradakṣinagrāha

12 C's text is uncertain. The first of the two characters according to the Taisho Issaikyo edition is *lo* (Giles, 7331), 'pleasure', and according to Tu is *luan* (Giles, 7458), the name of a tree, presumably a mistake for the very similar character *leb* (Giles, 7154), 'feel attachment for', 'hanker after'. The second character is *shuo* 'speak'. The printed editions reading suggests *pratibhāna* (note 3 above), but for the other version correspondence with *mada* is possible, but far from certain.

13 Tu omits the negative rightly read by the Taisho Issaikyo edition.

14 *Pu-hsing* 'not going'.

15 This and the next three numbers are much confused in the texts, which cannot be unravelled with certainty. The Ms has before 51 *aprasrabdhī*, which in view of the words appearing again at 69 and of its not being given here in T or C must be an interpolation. Further T takes 52-53 as one term, C as two, like Y. I accept the latter, so that with the rejection of *aprasrabdhī* we can still keep the list in its full number. T's apparent equivalent for 51 comes after 54, but I cannot at present equate it with the Ms at all, *gzun-ba* should represent a form from *dhr* or *bhr* or less probably *grab*, not the Ms's *hāratā*. The first part corresponds to *ananukūla* or possibly *apasavya*. Y conjectures *anuvigrahā*.

16 C's first character, *hsu* (Giles, 4716), 'necessary', 'proper', corresponds here to T's *mihun-par*, and its second, *ch'u* (Giles, 3118), to the root *grab*.

No	Sanskrit MS	T	C	Suggested Original
55	vaiśāradya	mu-hjugs-pa	id (52)	vaiśāradya
56	gaurava	zhe-sa	id (53)	gaurava
57	citrikāra	ri-mor byed-pa	id (54)	citrikāra
58	bhakti	dad-pa	id (55)	bhakti
59	abhakti	ma-dad-pa	id (56)	abhakti
60	śūsrūsā	bsgo-br bzhin byed-pa	id (59)	śūsrūsā
61	sādara <sup>17</sup>	gus-pa	id (57)	ādara
62	anādara	ma-gus-pa	id (58)	anādara
63	praśrabdhi	śin-tu sbyans-pa (64)	? (60)	praśrabdhi <sup>18</sup>
64	hāsa	rgod-pa (63, rgol-pa, Tu)	omitted	hāsa
65	vāc	nag	id (61a) <sup>19</sup>	vāc
66	vispandanā	hgul-pa (mgul-pa, Tu)	id (61b)	vispandanā
67	siddha	grub-pa	omitted	siddha
68	aprasādha	ma-dad-pa	Do	aprasāda
69	aprasrabdhi	śin-tu ma-sbyans-pa	id (62)	aprasrabdhi
70	vyavahāratī	nam-par byed-pa	? (63)	? vyavahāratā <sup>20</sup>
71	dāksya	brtan-pa	? (64)	? dāksya <sup>21</sup>
72	sauratya	des-pa (nes-pa, Tu)	omitted	sauratya
73	vipratīṣāra	yid-la gcags-pa	id (65)	vipratīṣāra

17 In mediaeval scripts *sā* and initial *ā* are often almost identical, cp the similar mistake of *sa* for *a* in 89

18 For the translation of *praśrabdhi* by *śin-tu sbyans-pa* see S C Das, *Tibetan Dictionary*, s *byan-chub* C's *su* (Giles, 10338) might stand for *pratisraya*, for the various renderings of *praśrabdhi* see no 69, Rahder, *Glossary of the Daśa-bhūmikāsūtra*, Eitel, *op cit* Soothill and Hodous, *op cit*, 14b

19 C seems to have joined two characters wrongly here. The first, *fa* (Giles, 3376), can mean 'utter'. Alternatively the two could correspond to 66

20 The Ms has already had *vyavahāratā* under 51. T would ordinarily give *vikāra*, but in view of the Ms may signify *vyavakāra*, for which see La Vallée Poussin, *Abhidharmakośa*, ch II, p 206. Just possibly *vyavakāra* is to be taken to *kr*, in the sense which is found at *Abhidharmakośa*, ch IV, p 130, n 1. Y suggests *visuddhi*, presumably reading *nam-par byan-ba*, which cannot be brought into relation with C, though it might suggest the Ms's reading to be a corruption for *vyavadānatā*. C's *fu* (Giles, 3723) throws no light on the solution, Tu takes it as equivalent to *mraśa* and translates 'covering', the latter being a common sense of *fu* in translations. Its sense of 'over-throw' might however be connected with the above suggestion about *vyavakr*. No adequate explanation is at present possible.

21 T may possibly stand for *dāksya*, though the regular equivalent would be *dhārya*. C suggests *adbira*

No	Sanskrit MS	T	C	Suggested Original
74	śoka	mya-nan	id (69)	śoka
75	upāyāsāyāsa	hkhrug-pa	id? (67) <sup>22</sup>	upāyāsāyāsa, or upāyāsa
76	bhū (?) ta	rgyags-pa	? (68)	? <sup>23</sup>
77	apradaksina- grāha	mi-mthun-par hdzin-pa	? (66) <sup>24</sup>	apradaksinagrā- ha
78	samsaya	tse-tshom	omitted	samśaya
79	samvarānām parisuddhi	sdom-pa yons-su dag-pa	id (70)	samvarānām parisuddhi
80	adhyāśaya	nan legs-par dad-pa (dan-pa, Tu)	id? (71)	? adhyātmasam- <sup>25</sup> prasāda
81	rūpa	hygs-pa	id (72)	bhūrūtā <sup>26</sup>
82	śradddhā	dad-pa	id (73)	śradddhā
83	hrī	no-tshu śes-pa	id (74)	hrī
84	ārjava	gnam-pa	id (75)	ājjava
85	avañcana	mi-hdrid-pa	id (76)	avañcana
86	upasama	ñc-bar zhi-ba	id (77)	upaśama
87	acāpala	tags-bag ma-vin-pa	id (78)	acāpala
88	sapramāda	bag-yod-pa	id (79)	apramāda
89	mārdava	hjam-par (byams-pa, Tu) lta-ba	id (80)	mārdava
90	pratisamkhyāna	so-sor bitags-pa	id (81)	pratisamkhyāna
91	nirvāra	yid byun-ba	? (82)	nirvāra <sup>27</sup>
92	paudāha, or nispaudāhi?	yons-su gdun-ba med-pa	? (83)	nispardāha <sup>28</sup>

22 C implies disorder, confusion, bewilderment, and probably corresponds. The word may be simply *upāyāsa*, and *āyāsa* may belong to 76.

23 The normal equivalent of T is *mada*, and of C *kausīdya*, *māna* may be a possible solution.

24 C means 'not obtaining one's desires' and possibly corresponds.

25 *Adhyāśaya* is certainly wrong, as it has already appeared under 17. C means 'internal faith', the first part of which probably represents 'adhyātma' in view of the Ms, so that T's *legs-par* should apparently be corrected to *lhag-par*. For the conjectural restoration see *Abhidharmakośa*, ch VIII, pp 148, 159.

26 This seems the only way of equating the Ms with T and C.

27 T means 'that which arises in the mind', *manobhava* or the like, which implies the same as *nirvāra*. C indicates *vāra*, but as the qualities from 82 onwards are solely *kuśala*, the negative cannot be omitted.

28 For the same reason as in the previous note, *paudāha* indicated by C must

No	Sanskrit MS	T	C	Suggested Original
93	amada	rgyags-pa med-pa	id (84)	amada
94	alobha	chags-pa med-pa	id (85)	alobha
95	adosa	zhc-sdan med-pa	id (86)	adosa <sup>29</sup>
96	amoha	gtu-mug med-pa	id (87)	amoha
97	asadvat	thams-cad śes-pa- ñid	? (88) <sup>10</sup>	sarvajñatā
98	apratinhsarga	mi-gton-ba	? (89) <sup>11</sup>	apratinhsarga
99	vibhava	hbyor-pa	id (90) <sup>12</sup>	vibhava
100	apatrapyā	khrel yod-pa	id (91)	apatrāpya
101	aparīśraccha- dana	mi-hchab-pa	id (92)	aparicchadana
102	mānana	sems-pa mi-gton-ba (103)	omitted	? manana <sup>11</sup>
103	kārunya	sñin-ŋe (102)	id (93)	kāruṇya
104	maitrī	byams-pa	? (94) <sup>11</sup>	maitrī
105	adinatā	zhum-pa med-pa	omitted	adinatā
106	dirata	dgral bral-ba	? (95)	? a:anā <sup>10</sup>
107	ma na	rdzu-hphrul	? (96)	? <sup>36</sup>
108	nāha	khon-du mi-hdzin-pa	id (97)	anupanāha
109	ali	phrag-dog med-pa	id (98)	amṛyā <sup>17</sup>

be rejected. The Ms is probably to be understood as intending *nirvairaparidāha* to be divided into *nirvāna* and *nispardāha*.

29 The use of *dosa* for *dvesa* in Buddhist Sanskrit is well authenticated.

30 C reads *asarvajñatā*, which occurs as 118 and also as 105 of C's list. T is clearly to be followed here.

31 C gives *pratimhsarga*.

32 Y (p 64, n 1) has misunderstood the Chinese, which takes *vibhava* in the technical sense of the opposite of *bhava*, 'existence'.

33 For *manana* or *manyanā*, which perhaps corresponds to T, see *Trisūkā*, *kārikā* 2, *Abhidharmakośa* ch VIII, p 192, and *Viññaptimātratāsiddhi*, p 225. Y seems to have read *sems-pa gton-ba*.

34 C's *bsi* (Giles, 4073) suggests *priti* rather than *maitrī*.

35 T's term seems to indicate this solution. C's *shé* (Giles, 9790) ordinarily stands for *apeksā* or for 'renunciation', as La Vallée Poussin translated *aranā* by 'absence de passion' at *Abhidharmakośa*, ch IV, p 123, *shé* may signify the same here.

36 T and C show either *radde*, *prātibhāya* or *uskrvāna*, none of which correspond satisfactorily to the remains in the Ms.

37 C and T correspond exactly and indicate *amṛyā* very strongly.

No	Sanskrit MS	T	C	Suggested Original
110	cetasopatya- dāna	sems yons-su med-pa	? (99) <sup>38</sup>	cetaso'paryā- dāna
111	ksānti	bzod-pa	id (100)	ksānti
112	vyavasadu	rnam-par spon-ba	omitted	? <sup>39</sup>
113	āsuratya	des-pa (nes-pa, Tu) ma-yin-pa	Do	asauratya
114	itu bhāgānvaya	yons-su lons-spyod- pahi rjes-su mthun-pa	? (101-102) <sup>40</sup>	paribhogān- vaya
115	punya	bsod-nams	id (103)	punya
116	asamjñisamā- patti	hdu-śes (med-) pahi sñoms-par hjug-pa	id (104)	asamjñisamā- patti
117	nairyānikatā	nes-pai hbyun-ba- ñid	omitted	nairyānikatā
118	asarvajñatā	thams-cad mi-śes- pa	id (105)	asarvajñatā
119	asamskrtā dharmāh	hdus-ma-byas-pahi chos	? (106) <sup>41</sup>	asamskrtadhar- ma (pl?)

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38 C suggests *cetaso vyavadāna* or the like

39 Perhaps *vyavasarga*, cp Rahder, *op cit*, s v

40 C's 101, *li-*, is properly 'benefit', 'advantage', and 102, *néng yung* 'usable', and the two groups may possibly correspond to the suggested Sanskrit, or alternatively *li* may stand for 112 in the sense of 'giving'

41 C literally gives *anityasamādhi*, which suggests a corruption in its text

## Indo-Arica

### 1 The secondary affix *-vya*

The only sure derivatives with the affix *-vya* are the Vedic *bbrātrvya-* “(father’s) brother’s son, cousin > rival,” and the classical *pitruvya-* “father’s brother” Cf. Pāṇini. *pitruvyamātulamātāmaha-  
pitāmabāh* 4 2 36

Vedic *śaravyā* “arrow-shot,” and vedic and classical *śaravya-* “target” are not derivatives with *-vya* It is undoubtedly derived from *śaru* with the affix *-ya* (PW) Similarly *dravya-* “substance < wooden article, wooden” is derived from *dru* + *ya* (cf *darvi-* “ladle, wooden spoon”), *savya-* < *sū* + *ya* and *paśavya-* < *paśu-* + *ya*

Note also the gerundive affix *-tavya* < *-tu* + *-ya* (*-ia*)

The rather late classical *mrgavyā-* “hunt,” may be either a dialectal (MIA) variation of a derivative of *mrgayu-* “hunter” (PW) or a contamination of *mrgavyā-* with *śaravyā-*

The affix *-vya* stands in the same relation to the affixes *-vaya* (*-vāya*), *-viya* (*-vī*), *-vi* and *-va* as the affix *-tya* stands to the affixes *-taya*, *-tīya*, *-ti* and *-ta*

The affix *-vaya*, which has obvious affinity with *-maya* both as numerical and non-numerical affix (cf Pāṇini *samkhyāyā gunasya nimāne mayat* 5 2 47), occurs in the two words, both vedic, *cāturvaya-* “fourfold”, and *druvāya-* “wooden dish” (AV) *druvāya-* can be compared with *dravya-* just as *gomāya-* with *gāvya-*, *nabhasmāya-* “vaporous” with *nabhyā-* (in the adverb *abhinabhyām* “near the clouds”), and *sūmāya-* “well-fashioned” with *savya-*

The affix *-paya* in *katipaya-* is probably allied to *-vaya* and *-maya*

The affixes *-vāya*, *-viya*, *-vī* are attested only in the following

derivatives from *pada-* *padavāyá-* "leader, guide," *padavīya-* "following the footsteps, or track," *padavi-* "leader, guide" (vedic), "way, path" (classical)

The affix *-vi* appears only as a primary derivative, e.g., *ghrśvi-* "lively", *jágrvi-* "watchful" etc. Cf. the primary affix *-mī* (*mi*) as in *bbūmī-*, *bbūmi-*, *ūrmi-* etc., and the secondary affixes *-vin-*, *-min* as in *vāgvīn-* (AV), *vāgmin-* "eloquent", *rgmīn-* "jubilant with praise", *astrāvīn-* "obedient to the goad", *svāmīn-* (<*svā-*) "master", etc.

The secondary affix *-va* occurs in the pronominal derivative *eva(m)* "thus, indeed", OP *ava*, Av *aeva-* "one", and *keśavá-* "hairy", *śradbhvā-* "credible", *añivā-* "slippery" (AV), *śantivā-* "friendly" (AV) etc. The allied affix *-ma* was much more prolific. It appears in the pronominal derivative *-ima* and in *madhyama-*, *ṣarama-*, *carama-*, *druma-*, *upama-*, *pañcama-*, etc.

*-tya* occurs in *ápatya-* "offspring", *āvistya-* "manifest", *nīstya-* "foreign", *sánutya-* "secret", etc. OP *anūśtya* "follower" (<\**inutya*). In Avestan *-tya* occurs as an ordinal affix too, viz., *bītya-* (<\**dvitya*) "second", etc., and so also in MIA (Aśokan *ekaca-*, *ekatya-* "some" (<\**ekatya*). It occurs also in *aptyá-* and *āptyá-* "watery".

*-taya* occurs in *dásataya-* "tenfold", *cátustaya-* (AV) "fourfold", and also in some classical Skt. words (cf. Pāṇini, 5.2.42, 43).

*-tīya* occurs in the ordinals *dvitīya-*, *trītiya-*, OP *duvītiya-*, *ssītiya-*, and perhaps in the O I-A pronominal adjectives *yāvātīya-*, *tāvātīya-* etc.

*-ti* (secondary affix) occurs in the numerals *pañkti-* "fifth", *saptati-*, *ásīti-*, etc., in Niya Prakrit *dviti>biti* "second", *triti* "third" (Burrow, *The Language of the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge, 1937, p. 38). But these forms may as well go back to *\*dvitya-* *\*trītiya-*, or to *dvītiya-*, *trītiya-*. The affix occurs in words like *babūtītha-*, *yāvātītha-* etc. (Pāṇini

5 \*2. 52, 53). In *patti-*, OP *pastiś* "foot soldier" (<*pad*) the affix may be primary or secondary, cf also *padāti-*

*-ta* occurs in the three Vedic proper names (originally ordinals) *ekatá-* (VS), *dvitá-*, *tritá-* (the last two occur in Avestan as well), and also in the substantives *avatá-*, "well", *vasantá-*, *hemantá-* and *mubūrtá-*

## 2 The Pāṇinean affix *-cara*

In the sense of remote past Pāṇini prescribes an affix *-cara* (*bhūtapūrve carat* 5 3 53, *sasthyā rūpya ca* 5 3 54) Thus, to quote grammarians' examples, *ādhyacarah = ādhyo bhūtapūrvah*, *krsnacaro gauh = krsnasya bhūtapūro gauh cara-*, however, is here the second number of compounds, and it features as the base of the derivative *carama-* (<*cara + ma*) It is a cognate of *cira-* and goes back to I-E *q<sup>w</sup>ero-* The palatalized form of the I-E interrogative -indefinite pronominal base *\*q<sup>w</sup>e-/j<sub>i</sub>\*q<sup>w</sup>o-* occurs also in O I-A *cit*, *ca*, *cana*, and *cira-*, M I A *carabī* (<*\*carbī*, cf O I-A<sup>c</sup> *yarbī*, *tarbī* etc), and Avestan *cabmā* (<*\*casmāt*), *cabjā* (<*\*casya*), *cis* etc

## 3 *paksati-*

Pāṇini derives *paksati-* "end or beginning (*mūla*) of a fortnight" from *paksa-* with the secondary affix *-ti* (*paksāt tih* 5 2 25) The secondary affix *-ti* appears only in the numerals like *pankti*, *saptati-* etc (see *supra*) It is best to take *paksati-* as a result of haplology from *\*paksaksati-* "end of a fortnight"

## 4 *udanta-*

*udanta-* "news, information" is undoubtedly a derivative of *\*udan* <*vad-* with the affix *-ta*, cf *vasantá-*, *hemantá-* The heteroclitic base *udar-/udan-* "word" occurs in Hittite, e g, nom sing *utar* (*ud-da-a-ar*, *ut-tar*), gen sing *utanas* (*ud-da-na-a-aś*) (Sturtevant, *A comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, p 185).

## Mohenjo-Daro and the Aryans

It will doubtless be long before decisive conclusions are reached concerning the full significance of the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa discoveries. The most recent step forward has been taken by Dr L. Sarup, the learned editor and translator of the *Nnukta*, who has concentrated on the relation of the Indus civilization to the *Rgveda*.<sup>1</sup> He asks, is it Aryan or non-Aryan in character? It has been so generally assumed that the Indus civilization is pre-Aryan and non-Aryan and that a closer examination of the relations of this culture to that of the *Rgveda* is very welcome.

It has further been too readily assumed that a Dravidian origin may be the explanation. The prevalence of this view has been due rather to the lack of positive evidence, so that it has not been easy to bring forward facts against it, but at least Dr Sarup has no difficulty in showing that the anthropological data do not favour any connexion with what is known as the modern Dravidian type. He concludes that several races contributed to the Indus population, and goes so far as to call it cosmopolitan. He finds that in the statuary there are resemblances to that of Sumer, and that Mongolian types are found. This seems to exclude an Aryan origin as well. He also mentions another view, and says that Mr E. Mackay accepts the theory of ethnic relationship between the people of the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia. This is hardly fair to Mr Mackay, for he only says that it may be "assumed provisionally that the Proto-Elamites, the dwellers in the Indus Valley brick-built cities, and perhaps also the Sumerians had a common ancestry." And he goes on to say that until further sites have been explored, it is impossible to go beyond this provisional assumption. Still, even although

<sup>1</sup> *The Rgveda and Mohenjo-daro in Indian Culture*, Oct. 1937, p. 149 ff.

assumed only provisionally, it remains a possibility, which later evidence may prove. But it is remarkable that Dr Sarup expresses no opinion on it, and gives no evidence against it.

To ask if the Mohenjo-daro people are Aryan is rather vague, as not only the Rgveda people called themselves Aryan but also the Itanians. However, no harm is done as long as it is understood that the present problem is only about the Indo-Aryans. Were they the ancestors of the Indus civilization? Evidently the Mongolian types and mixture of races which make a Dravidian origin unlikely appear to tell still more forcibly against the view that they were Aryan. But leaving that question open Dr Sarup goes on to establish a different matter—the priority of the Rgveda civilization to Mohenjo-daro. He shows first that the Rgveda civilization was essentially a village, agricultural, and pastoral civilization. Next, that of Mohenjo-daro was a city and commercial civilization. Then he concludes that the *Rgveda* represents a period earlier than the Indus Valley civilization. But he has given nothing to show that Mohenjo-daro is Aryan, he has left it an open question, and if it is non-Aryan, we can infer nothing about their relative dates. A non-Aryan people may quite well have advanced beyond the pastoral stage long before the Aryans began to build cities.

So with phallic worship. The wide prevalence of the phallic cult, says Dr Sarup, shows the posteriority of Mohenjo-daro to the Rgveda. The alternatives we have to start from are either that the Aryan cult of Rudra-Siva became combined with the phallic worship of a non-Aryan god or that phallic worship originated with the Aryans. Until that is settled nothing can be said about priority. We know that the worship of Rudra-Siva is never connected with phallic worship in the *Rgveda*, and that where phallic worship appears to be mentioned it is reprobated. As Dr Sarup quotes, "let those whose deity is phallus not penetrate our sanctuary" (*Rv* VII, 21.5). Whoever there were, they were not worshippers of the Aryan

Siva-Rudra Yāska and Sāyana know so little of these *śisnadevāh* that they interpret the word as *abrahmacarya*. The alternative that they were phallic worshippers, who had adopted a non-Aryan practice is not met, and yet until it is answered it is merely begging the question of priority to say that Rgveda culture is earlier than that of Mohenjo-daro.

The inference from the art of writing is the same. If the Mohenjo-daro people and the Rgveda Aryans are of different races, then the art of writing at Mohenjo-daro has not the least connexion with the culture of the Rgveda. Writing may have been practised by any number of peoples before it reached the Aryans. But in this case it is a question of a kind of writing which the Aryans never used, so that it would seem to be cut off from any connexion with the date of the Aryan art of writing. The art of writing, says Dr Sarup, had not been invented during the period of the Rgveda. Rather, it had not been invented by the Rgveda people, but there may have been people all around them who had already invented it and were using it. Nevertheless, from the fact that the Mohenjo-daro people had a kind of writing and the Rgveda people had not Dr Sarup concludes that the Rgveda civilization was prior.

Dr Sarup's discussion brings out several important points. It shows that it is impossible to speak of the priority of either the culture of Mohenjo-daro or of the Rgveda until some connexion between the two is established. It also shows what kind of evidence is wanted before a connexion can be assumed. Most of all, some chronological foothold is wanted, and this is now a more hopeful possibility. We now no longer need to discuss the Aryan question in a vacuum. There are the Aryans of Iran, and the names of Indo-Aryan gods and Sanskrit names have been discovered as far away as Asia Minor. Some of these can be dated, for the chronology of Mesopotamia and Western Asia already rests on a much safer basis than the Indian. As for the language of Mohenjo-daro, Dr Sarup says that we do not

know definitely whether the script was written from right to left or from left to right, nor whether the language was agglutinative, synthetic or otherwise, nor whether it was of an Aryan or non-Aryan character. Father Heras claims to have read it as Dravidian, but has not yet published his solution, and he has evidently not convinced Dr Sarup.

E J THOMAS

## The Vāyu-Purāna

The original Vāyu is perhaps the oldest of the extant Purānas<sup>1</sup> The *Mahābhārata* (Vangavāsi ed., III, 191, 16) speaks of a 'Purāna proclaimed by Vāyu', the *Harivamśa* (Vangavāsi ed., I, 7, 13 and 25) refers to 'Vāyu' as an authority, Bānabhatta says in his *Harsacarita* that he listened to the reading of the *Vāyu-purāna* in his native village,<sup>2</sup> and Alberūni repeatedly names a *Vāyu-purāna* in his account of India<sup>3</sup>

The character of the Vāyu as a Mahāpurāna has sometimes been called in question<sup>4</sup> The cause of this doubt is the use of the title 'Śiva' or 'Śarva' for 'Vāyaviya' in the majority of the lists of 'eighteen Mahāpurānas'<sup>5</sup> But this substitution, which has been taken wrongly in favour of the comparatively late sectarian Upapurāna called 'Śiva-purāna', is based on the Śaiva character of the Vāyu The *Skanda* says "The fourth (Purāna), declared by Vāyu, is known as Vāyaviya It is also called Śarva on account of

1 In the following pages the Ānandāśrama edition of the Vāyu has been used

2 *Harsacarita* ch. iii, (pavamāna-proktaṃ puṣānam papātha)

3 Sachau, *Alberūni's India*, I, pp. 41-2, 130, 168, 194, 247, 287, etc

4 Naraśimha Vajapeyū includes the 'Vāyu-p' among the Upapurānas See *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, ASB ed., p. 19 Śrīdhara Svāmīn, in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata-p*, explains the word śarvaka as 'Śiva-purāna' See his commentary on *Bhāgavata* XII, 13, 4 Mitra Miśra recognises the Śaiva as a Mahāpurāna and says

यः पि विष्णुपुराणे ब्रह्माण्डमादाय वायवीय त्यागेन या च ब्रह्मवैवर्ते वायवीयमुपादात्त

ब्रह्माण्डपुराणपरित्यागेन अष्टादशसंख्या उक्ता सा कल्पभेदेन व्यवस्थायतेत्या ।

See *Viramitrodaya*, *Paribhāṣāprakāśa* (ed. Parvatiya Nityānanda Śarmā, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1906) p. 13

5 See *Viṣṇu-p* (Vanga ed.) III, 6, 21 ff., *Bhāgavata* (Vanga ed.) XII, 7, 23 ff. and XII, 13, 4 ff., *Kūrma* (Vanga ed.) I, 1, 13 ff., *Padma* (Anss ed.) I, 62, 2 ff., IV, 111, 90 ff., VI, 219, 25 ff., and VI, 263, 77 ff., *Varāha* (Vanga ed.) 112, 69 ff., *Mārkandeya* (Vanga ed.) 137, 8 ff., *Linga* (Jivānanda's ed.) I, 39, 61 ff., *Śiva* (Vanga ed.) V (*Vāyaviya-sambhitā*), 1, 1, 38 ff., Śivamahātmya-khaṇḍa of the *Sūta-sambhitā* commented on by Mādhavācārya (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, p. 1377), *Saura-sambhitā* of the *Skanda-p* (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, p. 1382), *Sambhava-kāṇḍa* of the *Śivarāhasya-khaṇḍa* of the *Samkara-sambhitā* of the *Skanda-p* (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, p. 1363), and so forth

its connection with (i e., treatment of) Śiva-bhakti . . . It contains 24,000 ślokas”<sup>6</sup> The description of the fourth Mahā-purāna, as given in the *Matsya*, *Nāradiya* and *Agni*, also agrees with the contents of the present *Vāyu-purāna*<sup>7</sup> None of the Nibandha-writers, who have drawn upon the *Vāyu* and the *Śiva-purāna*, have been found to make any confusion between the two, for the verses quoted from the ‘*Vāyaviya*’ or ‘*Vāyu-purāna*’ are, in the majority of cases, found only in the present *Vāyu* but not in the *Śiva*, and those quoted from the ‘*Śaiva*’ or ‘*Śiva-purāna*’ are sometimes traceable in the present *Śiva* but never in the *Vāyu* That the *Vāyu* was more important in the eyes of at least the Nibandha-kāras is shown by the fact that almost all of them quote verses from it, whereas the *Śiva-p* is drawn upon by a very few of them Hence it seems that the attempt to raise the *Śiva-p* to the status of a Mahā-

6 चतुर्थं वायुना प्रोक्तं वायवीयमिति स्मृतम् ।  
शिवभक्तिसमायोगाच्छैव तच्चापराख्यया ॥  
चतुर्विंशतिसंख्यातं सहस्राणि तु शौनक ।

*Skanda-p* (Vanga ed) V, iii, (Revā-khanda), 1, 33-34a These verses are also found in the *Revā-māhātmya* which claims to be a part of the *Vāyu-purāna* See Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p 65

7 See *Matsya* (Vanga ed) 53, 18, *Nāradiya* (Venkat ed) I, 95 and *Agni* (Vanga ed) 272, 4b-5 The mention of the Śveta-kalpa as connected with the declaration of the ‘*Vāyaviya Purāna*’ should not create any difficulty, for the *Vāyu-p* seems to connect itself with the Varāha-kalpa (*Vāyu* 6, 11 and 13, 7, 5, 21, 12 and 23) and to identify this Kalpa with the Śveta-kalpa (*Vāyu* 6, 13, 23, 63 ff and 114 ff) Moreover, the *Nāradiya P* whose list of contents of the ‘*Vāyaviya Purāna*’ agrees much with those of our *Vāyu* but not even partially with those of the *Śiva*, also speaks of the connection of the ‘*Vāyaviya*’ with the Śveta-kalpa The word *bhāga-duaya-samanvita* used by the *Nāradiya P* with respect to the ‘*Vāyaviya*’ should not be taken to point to the *Vāyaviya-sambhitā* (of the *Śiva-p*) which also consists of two *bhāgas* (parts) Eggeling, in his *India Office Catalogue*, VI, pp 1299-1301, describes a few mss of a Purāna which is called ‘*vāyuprokta-purāna*’ or ‘*vāyu-purāna*’ in the colophons of chapters It is generally the same as our present *Vāyu*, and is divided into two khandas (or kāndas) or four *pādas* The ASB edition of the *Vāyu* also is divided into two *bhāgas*

Of the twelve Samhitās of the *Śiva-p* the *Vāyaviya-sambhitā* only is declared by *Vāyu* So, how could the words *vāyaviya*, *vāyu-prokta* etc be applicable to the entire *Śiva-p* which begins with a Samhitā other than the *Vāyaviya*?

purāna" was due to a comparatively late sectarian zeal<sup>9</sup> The *Dēvī-bhāgavata* (Vanga ed., I, 3, 14) and the 'Padma-p' referred to by Gangādhara in his commentary on the Dharma-samhitā of the *Śiva-p*,<sup>10</sup> include the *Śiva* among the Upapurānas

The *Vāyu* consists of four Pādas—(1) Prakriyā, comprising chaps 1-6, (2) Anusanga, chaps 7-64, (3) Upodghāta, chaps 65-99, and (4) Upasamhāra, chaps 100 to the end. It deals with all the five topics characteristic of the old Purānas. Over and above these, there are a few chapters on Smṛti matters, viz ,

- |       |         |  |
|-------|---------|--|
| chaps | 16-17   | — on the duties of the castes ( <i>varnas</i> ) and<br><i>āśramas</i> ,                                  |
| chap  | 18      | — on the penances of yatis,  |
| chaps | 57-59   | — on <i>yuga-dharma</i> ,  |
| „     | 73-83   | — on funeral sacrifices (including impurity<br>due to births and deaths, and purification<br>of things), |
| chap  | 101     | — on hells and results of actions done, and  |
| chaps | 105-122 | — on the glories of Gayā   |

These chapters do not seem to have belonged to the present *Vāyu* in its earliest form. They are in all likelihood later additions. Of these, chaps 16-18 are comprised in the section on Pāśupata Yoga which betrays the influence of chaps 39-43 of the *Mārkandeya-p*. In this section, which extends from chap 10 (verses 68 ff) to 20,

8 In its *Vāyaviya-samhitā*, the *Śiva-p* lays claim to the position of a Mahā-purāna saying that the fourth Mahāpurāna is the *Sava* which consists of twelve Samhitās. See *Śiva-p* V, 1, 41.

9 The verse " . . . वायवीयमनुत्तमम् । अष्टादशं समुद्दिष्टं ब्रह्माण्डमिति संज्ञितम् ॥ in *Kūrma* I, 1, which includes the 'Sava' among the *Mahāpurānas*, should not be taken strongly in support of the early date of the *Śiva-p* and its character as a Mahāpurāna. This verse most probably means "That excellent (Purāna) proclaimed by Vāyu is enumerated as the eighteenth and is known as *Brahmānda* , because the *Brahmānda-p* also is proclaimed by Vāyu and is called 'vāyu-prokta *brahmānda*' in the colophons of its chapters

10 Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, ASB, V, p 289

the *Vāyu* has not only a good number of verses in common with the *Mārkaṇḍeya*<sup>11</sup> but has also improved upon the latter with fresh addition of chapters and verses. Now, we have seen that *Mārkaṇḍeya* 39-43 cannot possibly be dated earlier than 200 A D<sup>12</sup>. Therefore chaps. 16-18 of the *Vāyu-p* should be dated later still. The fact that the section on Pāsūpata yoga is not found in the *Brahmānda-p* tends to show that it was interpolated after 400 A D, because the *Vāyu* and *Brahmānda* could not have been separated earlier than 400 A D. Consequently, *Vāyu* 16-18 also are to be dated later than that period. As Śūlapāṇi quotes a verse from chap. 18 in his *Prāyaścitta-uvveka*, they are certainly earlier than 1300 A D. None of the early Nibandhakāras being found to draw upon them, it is difficult to place the lower limit of the date at a still earlier period.

Chaps. 57-59, dealing with *yuga-dharma*, give an account of the period ranging from the reign of the Nandas to the end of the Āndhra rule in Western India<sup>13</sup>. Therefore, these chapters should not be dated earlier than 200 A D. They were, however, written earlier than 275 A D, because the *Matsya-p* borrowed from the *Vāyu* a good number of chapters, including the three mentioned above, in the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century A D<sup>14</sup>. Of these three chapters, chap. 59 has been drawn upon by Devanabhata in his *Smṛti-candrikā* (see Appendix).

Chaps. 73-83, on *śrāddha*, are included in the section 'Śrāddha-kalpa' (covering chaps. 71-85), the greater part of which is given as an interlocution between Brhaspati and his son Śamyu. In these chapters yogins have been given remarkable prominence as invited

11 Cf. *Vāyu*, 16 with *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 41, 3 ff., *Vāyu*, 17 with *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 41, 18 ff., *Vāyu*, 19 with *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 43, and *Vāyu*, 20 with *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 42, 5 ff.

12 See my essay on the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p* in *IHQ*, XI, 1935, pp. 108 ff.

13 See my essay on 'the Hindu society before 200 A D. and the Purānic rites and customs in the first stage of their development' to be shortly published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

14 See my essay on the '*Matsya-purāna*' in *ABORI*, XVII, pp. 1 ff.

guests<sup>15</sup> It is said "Śrāddhas should be carefully offered to yogins . . . What is eaten by an adept in yoga saves one from great fear A yogin is superior to a thousand householders, a hundred forest-hermits and a thousand students" Such prominence given to yogins is not traceable in the Codes of Manu and Yājñavalkya, who do not seem to have held yogins in high esteem On the other hand, yogins are given great prominence in the existing Pāñcarātra Samhitās which are certainly later than the above mentioned Codes. It is therefore highly probable that the chapters on *śrāddha* in the *Vāyu-p* belong to a date not earlier than 200 A.D. This date seems also to be supported by the hatred with which the 'nagnas' (the naked) have been mentioned in chaps 78 and 79<sup>16</sup> The word *nagna* is said to mean those people who are without garments Such people are clearly the Jains and the Buddhists, because the terms *nirgrantha* and *pāsanda* also have been used in these chapters of the *Vāyu* The contempt shown to these religious sects could be possible only when their religions were in a decadent state Buddhism, which found its strongest upholders in Aśoka Maurya and Kaniska, was probably in a flourishing condition at the end of the second century A.D. So the chapters of the *Vāyu* cannot possibly be earlier than that time The mention of the Naksatras from Kṛttikā to Bharanī in *Vāyu* 82 points to a date earlier than 500 A.D. It is probable that the chapters under discussion were added to the *Vāyu* about the middle of the third century A.D.

Most of the above mentioned chapters on *śrāddha* have been drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers early and late, viz., Śūlapāni has quoted verses from chaps. 78 and 79 in his *Prāyaścitta-uvēka* (Jivānanda's ed.), Vācaspatimīśra from chaps 77 and 82 in his *Tirtha-cintāmani* (Bibl. Ind.), Kullūkabhatta from chap 78 in his

15 *Vāyu*, 71, 50 ff

16 *Vāyu*, 78, 24, and 79, 25

commentary on the *Manu-smṛti*, Mādhavācārya from chaps. 75, 76 in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Parāśara-smṛti* (ed Islampurkar, Bombay), Madanapāla from chaps 75 and 79-81 in his *Madanapārijāta* (Bibl. Ind), Śridatta Upādhyāya from chaps 78 and 79 in his *Kṛtyācāra*, (Ms No 4339, Dacca Univ Lib), Candēśvara from chap 81 in his *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (Ms No 1055C, Dacca, Univ Lib), Devanabhata from chaps 75 and 78-80 in his *Smiti-candrikā* (ed Govt of Mysore), Ballālasena from chap 80 in his *Dānasāgara* (India Office Mss) and from chap 19 in his *Adbbutasāgara* (ed Muralidhara Jhā, Benares), and Aparārka from chaps 74-82 in his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (see Appendix)

All of the verses in *Vāyu* 73-83 do not seem to have come from the same date. Verses 14-32 of *Vāyu* 82 are most probably spurious. They do not occur in the great majority of mss, nor are they to be found in the corresponding chapter of the *Brahmānda-p*. Besides these verses, there are certain others which were interpolated later, but it is very difficult to separate them. The fact that many of the quoted verses, especially on Śrāddha, are not found in the present *Vāyu*, proves that the Purāna has undergone substantial losses also.

Chap 101, on hells and results of actions, probably comes from the same date as chaps 57-59. As there is no evidence sufficient for the determination of its date, it is impossible to say anything definitely.

Chaps 105-112, on *Gayā-māhātmya*, did not originally belong to the *Vāyu*. In many mss of the Purāna this *Māhātmya* has been omitted<sup>17</sup>. On the other hand, it is often found to appear as an independent text in mss as well as in printed editions. That this appendage was attached to the *Vāyu* earlier than 1400 A D is certain, for Vācaspatimīśra quotes numerous verses from chaps 105 and 111-112 (see Appendix).

17 See *Vāyu-p*, p 426, footnote

APPENDIX

Verses quoted from the 'Vāyu-Purāna' or 'Vāyaviya' in		
1 Aparārka's	Vāyu-p	Vāyu-p
com on <i>Yāj</i>		with <i>Vāyu</i> , 78, 8b-9a
(Anss ed),		and 78, 10b respectively
p 258 (twice)=78, 51b-52a and 52b-54	(except 53a)	These 21 lines are the same as <i>Brahmānda</i> , III, 14, 8b-9, 10b-12 and 14b-20
p 387	=77, 27	
p 448	=79, 67	
pp 454-5	=79, 68 and 78-80	
	Three lines 'anāsrami iapas tepe' etc are not found	p 554 =80, 42b-45a and 47-48
		p 559 =81, 18
		p 560 =82, 2a
p 473	-Of the four lines quoted, only one tallies with <i>Vāyu</i> , 78, 31b, the other three are not found	p 924 =79, 24b-25
		2 <i>Adbbutasāgara</i> of Ballālasena,
		p 506 =19, 18
		p 507 (twice) =19, 17 and 25
p 475	=74, 4	p 508 (thrice) =19, 13, 27 and 14
pp 487 8	=80, 39-40, 4, 37, 2, 5-8, 16 and 19-21 74, 1-2 Verses beginning with 'śrāddhesūpānabau dadyāt', 'iūlapūrne tu yo dadyāt' and 'vyajanam tāla-vrntam ca' are found to tally with <i>Brahmānda</i> , III, 16, 8-9 and 10	p 509 (four times) =19, 16, 33 and 15
		The verse 'nagnam śravanakam' is not found
		3 <i>Dānasāgara</i> of Ballālasena, fol 187a =80, 59
p 490	=75, 54b-55a	4 Kullūkabhatta's commentary on <i>Manu</i> , III, 267—(Cf <i>Brahmānda</i> , Venkat ed, III, 14, 11b)
p 493	=78, 48b-49a	on <i>Manu</i> , IV, 49=78, 60
pp 502-3	=74, 20b-25a and 26-28 The lines 'svargāpavargasopānam' and 'bhrātarab sarvabhūtānām' are not found	5 <i>Smṛti-candrikā</i> of Devānabhata, II, 589 =79, 18
		IV, 25 =80, 45
p 506	=75, 43	203-4 —These verses tally with <i>Brahmānda</i> , III, 14, 14b-15, 16b and 17b-20
p 551	=76, 31-33a and 34b-c	
p 553	Of the 21 lines quoted, only the first three and the last one tally	

	Vāyu-p		Vāyu-p
208 (twice)	= 78, 31b-32a and 40	p 558	= 79, 53 <sup>a</sup>
331	= 75, 54b-55 <sup>a</sup>		The other two lines
366	= 75, 43		' <i>grhasthānām</i> ' etc are
370-371	= 75, 22		not found
392-3	= 80, 2	p 579	= 80, 2
393	= 59, 49	p 581	= 75, 54b-55 <sup>a</sup>
6 <i>Kriyācāra</i>		p 591	= 75, 57b-58a, 71-72
of			and 75b-76a
<i>Śridatta Upādhyāya</i>		p 600	= 75, 43
fol 2a	= 78, 60	10 <i>Prāyaścitta-uvveka</i>	
„ 10a	= 79, 38 and 39b	of <i>Sūlapāni</i> ,	
„ 12b	= 79, 33a and 34a	p 306	= 78, 48b-49a
„ 41a	= 79, 46b-47 <sup>a</sup>	p 347	= 18, 12
„ 64a	= 79, 88	pp 429-430	= 78, 69, 79, 20-22 <sup>a</sup>
7 <i>Kriya-ratnākara</i>		p 474	= 79, 24b-25
of		11 <i>Tirthacintāmani</i>	
<i>Candeśvara</i> ,		of	
fol 173b	= 81, 2-4	<i>Vācaspathiśra</i> ,	
„ 188a	= 81, 4a	p 7	= 110, 2-3
8 <i>Mādhavācārya</i> 's		pp 274-5	= 82, 9 and 43, 77, 96b-97a, 98-99, 101-103, 105-106a, (two lines ' <i>snātuā dīnatrayam</i> ', etc on p 275 of the <i>Tirtha-cintāmani</i> are not found), 108a and 109
Com on the <i>Parāśara-smṛti</i> ,		pp 280-281	= 108, 13a, 14-19 (one line <i>rāmātirthe narab snātuā</i> is not found), 21b-23a, (one line ' <i>āgatya ca</i> ' on p 281 of the <i>Tirtha-cintāmani</i> is not found), 22 and 28-30
vol I, part II,			
p 369	— These verses, which are not found in the <i>Vāyu-p</i> are the same as <i>Brahmānda</i> , III, 14, 14b-20 (except 16a and 17a)	p 282	= 108, 20
p 412	= 75, 54b-55 <sup>a</sup>	pp 284-5	= 110, 9-15b, 19-20b, 20c, (one line ' <i>ulāyadadhi</i> ' is found in the footnote on p 443 of the <i>Vāyu-p</i> ), 56-59a and 61a
p 431	= 75, 22		
p 438	= 76, 31		
9 <i>Madana-pārijāta</i>			
of <i>Madanapāla</i> ,			
p 486	= 81, 2-4a		
p 552	— These verses are found not in the <i>Vāyu</i> but in the <i>Brahmānda</i> (III, 14, 9b, 10b-12 and 14b-17a)		

	Vāyu-p		Vāyu-p
pp 285-6	= 105, 18-19a, 26 and 33	p 321	= 107, 46 and 48
p 286	= 108, 71b, (one line 'pūtab' etc is not found), 111, 17	pp 321-3	= 111, 77, 78a, 79 Three lines 'drstvā natvā'tha', 'gayāyām dharma-prsthe' a n d 'gayā-śrse 'ksaya-vate' are given in the footnote on p 449 of the Vāyu-p 111, 76, 82-84 and 75 109, 5b and 7b-12 One line 'upendra tvam' on p 323 of the Tirtha-cintāmani is not found
p 288	= 110, 17 and 21-22		
p 289	= 110, 23-24 and 30-32		
pp 290-292	= 110, 34-42 and 44-55		
p 296	= 110, 8-9, 62a and 65		
pp 298-301	= 111, 1-3, 110, 21, 17-18a and 23-24, 111, 4-6b, 7, 8-10a, 12, 10b-11a, 13-14 and 15-22 Some verses, which are not found in the running text, are given in the footnote on p 443 of the Vāyu-p	pp 325-333	= 112, 21-22b, 23-26, (two lines are found in the footnote on p 451 of the Vāyu-p), 34b, 44b, 46-49a, 30-31, (four lines 'udbbijāb' etc are not found), 49b-53, (the lines 'śrāddhi nāma' etc on p 327 of the Tirtha-cintāmani are not found), 56-58a, 60 and 58b-59 108, 12, 24, (five lines 'rāme vanam gate' etc on p 328 of the Tirtha-c are found in the footnote of the Vāyu-p p 436), 43b-44a, (Vāyu-p, pp 436-7, footnote, verses 1-2, 5-15, 17, 16, 18-26a, 28-32, 34b-38a, three lines 'tam drstvā' etc on p 332 of the Tirtha-c are not found)
p 303	= 109, 43 The other three lines are not found		
p 309	= 111, 23a-b and 24-26		
pp 310-312	= 111, 30a, 31-32, 35-36, 33-34 and 38-40 One line 'śrāddhbāya pīndadānāva' and one verse 'āmrās ca siktāb on p 311 of Tirtha-cintāmani are not found		
pp 314-8	= 111, 41, 44a, 45a, 44b, 45b-c, 46-49a, 50-52, 54a, 56b-63, 69-71a, 64-68, 73, (two verses are found in the footnote on p 449 of the Vāyu-p), 74-75b		
p 320	= 105, 26		

## Dates of some Kākatiya Records

The recent Telugu publications *Kākatiya-samcika* (Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, 1935) and *Telamgānāśāsanamulu*, vol I (Laksmānarāya Parīśodhaka Mandali, Hyderabad, 1935) are of great importance to all students of Kākatiya history. The former gives the text of 39 valuable records of the Kākatiya kings, and the latter contains the text of no less than 57 inscriptions of the family. But some 16 records are common to both the volumes. It is however a matter of regret that, excepting the facsimiles of the Kōtagiri and Malkāpura records in the *Kākatiya-samcika*, there are no facsimiles of the inscriptions to enable us to verify the readings of the records. I have recently studied the *Telamgānāśāsanamulu* in which many passages appear to be wrongly deciphered. My doubts are chiefly based on the readings of dates which are generally given in Śaka years and are also named according to Jupiter's Cycle of Sixty Years (Southern). There are more than ten cases of inaccuracy in the dates, the readings in many of which are undoubtedly wrong. The present note deals with some such inaccuracies. It will be seen that some of the theories (based on such dates), advanced by Dr. Rama Rao in the *Kākatiya-samcika* are really unwarranted.

1. Inscription of the time of Ganapati from Kondiparti in the Warangal Dist. (No. 8 of *Telamgānāśāsanamulu*) is said to be dated in Śaka 1113 (p. 203) and the date portion is read as *śākābde tattva-rudrar = mitavati rudhirōdgāri-vaiśākha-māse* (p. 24). The number of the *Tattvas* is 25 (*Sāṅkhyapravācanasūtra*, I, 61), and that of the *Rudras* is 11. The date is therefore undoubtedly 1125 according to the formula *ankasya vāmā gatib*. Śaka 1125 (= A. D. 1203) was moreover a Rudhirōdgāri samvatsara, while Śaka 1113 was a Virodhakrt year.

2 Inscription of the time of Rudrāmbā in the Narasimha temple at Būrugugadda in the Nalgonda Dist (No 32 of the same, and No 28 of *Kākatiya-samcika*) is said to bear the date Śaka 1180 (p 205) and the date portion is read as *śakavarsamulu 1180 lagu vibhavasamvatsara 1yēstha śu 10 guruvāramunāndu* (p 71) This reading would suggest that the generally accepted theory regarding Rudrāmbā's accession to the Kākatiya throne about A D 1261 is wrong<sup>1</sup> Śaka 1180 (= A D 1258) was however a Kālayukta year and not a Vibhava year The correct reading is no doubt Śaka 1190 (with 9 instead of 8 in the third figure), i e, A D 1268, which was a Vibhava samvatsara The details prove that the corresponding date in English Calendar is Thursday, 24th May, 1268 A D

3 Inscription of the time of Ganapati in a mosque at Būdapur in the Mahaboobnagar Dist (No 21 of the same) is said to be dated 14 Śaka 1184 (p 204) and the date portion is read as *śakavarusambulu 1184 vartim pamgānu āngīrasa-samvatsarāna śrāvana-śuddha-budhavārāna sōma-grahana-kālamuna* (p 59) Śaka 1184 was a Dundubhi samvatsara The third figure 8 is therefore evidently a misreading for 9, and the date is Śaka 1194 (A D 1272) which was an Āngīrasa year The question is moreover settled beyond doubt by the fact that there was no lunar eclipse on Śrāvana-pauṇamāsī in Śaka 1184, but there was actually an eclipse of the moon on the above *tithi* in Śaka 1194 The corresponding English date is Wednesday, 10th August, 1272 A D

4 Inscription of the time of Ganapati from Vādapalli in the Nalgonda Dist (No 13 of the same) is said to bear the date Śaka 1133 (p 203) and the date portion is read as *śakavarusambulu 1133 lagu pramāḍica-samvatsaramuna* (p 38) Now, Śaka 1133 was not a Pramāḍica, but a Prajāpati samvatsara The only Pramāḍica year in Ganapati's reign (*circa* 1198-1261) was Śaka 1175 = A D

1 See *Kākatiya-samcika*, pp 56ff In a previous paper, I accepted this early date for Rudrāmbā's accession, see *IHQ*, XIV, p 96

1253 So, either *pramāḍica* is a misreading for *prajāpati* or 1133 is a misreading for 1175

5 Inscription of the time of Ganapati from Annavaram in the Nalgonda Dist (No. 12 of the same) is given the date Śaka 1130 (p 203) and the date portion is read as *śakavarsamulu 1130 agu kālayuktasamvatsara-māgha-sū vidīyā śanvāramuna* (pp 37-38) Śaka 1130 was however a Vibhava samvatsara and the nearest Kālayukta year was Śaka 1120 = A D 1198 which seems to be the correct reading of the date It is probable that the third figure in the date is to be read as 2 and not as 3 But if *vidīyā* = *dvitīyā*, the details are irregular for both Śaka 1130 and 1120 The reading may be wrong

6 Inscription of the time of Ganapati from Nāgulapādu in the Nalgonda Dist (No 10 of the same) is given the date Śaka 1124 (p 203) and the date portion is read as *śakavarsamulu 112 [4] yagu kālaukti-samvatsaramunamdu* (p 31) Śaka 1124 = A D 1202 was however a Dundubhi year, and the nearest Kālayukta year, as we have seen, was Śaka 1120 = A D 1198 which is possibly the correct reading of the date

7 Inscription of the time of Rudrāmbā from Pānugal in the Nalgonda Dist (No 34 of the same) is given the date Śaka 1187 (p 206) and the date portion is read as *śakavarusamulu 1187 yagu prabhavasambatsara-adhika-jyēstha-bahula 13* (p 73) Śaka 1187 was however a Krōdhana samvatsara, and the nearest Prabhava samvatsara was Śaka 1189 = A D 1267 which is evidently the correct reading Śaka 1189 had an Adhika-Jyēstha which was absent in Śaka 1187

8 Inscription of the time of Ganapati discovered near a ruined Śiva temple at Ganapavaram in the Nalgonda Dist (No 18 of the same) is given the date Śaka 1175 (p 204) and the date portion is read as *śākābdath bāna-bhuvana-vibhāvarīpati-sudhākīrana-gunite śrīmukha-samvatsare māgha-śukl-āstamyām dinakara-dīne śakavarsa*

1175 (p 50). *Bāna* = 5, *bhuvana* has been (wrongly) taken to represent 7, *vibhāvarīpati* = 1, and *sudhākīrana* = 1 According to the general formula, the date then stands as Śaka 1175 But this year was actually not a Śrīmukha but a Pramādica samvatsara The only Śrīmukha year in Ganapati's reign was Śaka 1135 which must be the correct date <sup>2</sup> It is evident that the third figure in the date is really 3 and not 7 As regards the word *bhuvana* which stands for this figure in the date in words, it signifies 3 and 14 (Buhler, *Indische Palaeographie*, pp 80-81) The details are irregular for Śaka 1175 The eighth *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha fell on Monday (not Sunday) in Śaka 1135, corresponding to 20th January, 1214 A D

9 Inscription of the time of Ganamrudra[de]va possibly a misreading for *Ganapaddeva*, (i e, Ganapati) from Pammū in the Warangal Dist (No 31 of the same, and No 27 of *Kākatīya-samcika*) is given the date Śaka 1156 (p 205) and the date portion is read as *śakavarsamulu 1156 amdu durmukhi-samvatsara-vaiśākha-śuddha 11 gu* (p 68) But Śaka 1156 was a Jaya samvatsara, and the nearest Durmukha year was Śaka 1158 = A D 1236 which should be the correct date The corresponding English date would be Thursday, 17th April, 1236 A D

10 Inscription of the time of Pratāparudra from Manūr in the Medak Dist (No 45 of the same) is said to be dated in Śaka 1216 (p 207) and the date portion is read as *śakavarusambulu veyyimni-yimnūta-payyāragunemti ānamda-samvatsara-māgha-śu 1 ādvārāna* (p 88) The only Ānanda year in Pratāparudra's reign (circa 1290-1330) was Śaka 1236 = A D 1314, which appears to be the correct reading of the date In place of the letter *pa* after *veyyimni-yimnūta* (i e, 1200) I am inclined to read *muppar*, and for *śu 1 ādvārāna* I suggest the reading *śu 7 āditya-vārāna* <sup>3</sup> The

2 Prof Raychaudhuri first suggested to me the possibility of Śaka 1135 being the correct date of the record

3 The figures 1 and 7 are sometimes confused, see *JAHRS*, vol XI, p 10

corresponding English date appears to be Sunday, 12th January, 1315 A D

11 Inscription of the time of Prola from Mātēdu in the Warangal Dist (No 4 of the same) is said to bear the date Śaka 1043 (p 202) and the date portion is read as *śakavarsambulu 1043 śarvārī-samvatsara-caitra-śuddha 3 vaddavāramunāmdu* (p 4) Śaka 1043 was however a Plava samvatsara, and the previous year, i e , Śaka 1042 = A D 1120 was a Śārvarī samvatsara <sup>4</sup>

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

4 The calculations in the present note are based on L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, vol I part (see Tables I [1] and II)

## Nirnayakaustubha or Laghunirnayakaustubha of Viśveśvarabhatta

The importance of fixing approximate dates, etc., for performing various religious ceremonies and duties has been recognised by the Hindu society from time immemorial. Innumerable references and remarks about *kāla* lie scattered in the vast literatures of Astronomy, Purāna and Smṛti. But it is the Nibandha writers who devoted special treatises to this subject. Among the available treatises the earliest is *Kāla-uvēka* of Jimūtavāhana who flourished in Bengal about the 11th century A D. Prof P V Kane has pointed out (*Hist. Dh.*, I, p. 319) that Jimūtavāhana names seven predecessors who dealt with the subject of *kāla*, cf

जितेन्द्रिय-शङ्खधरान्ध्रुकसंभ्रम-हरिवशधवल-योगलोकैः ।

कृतमपि कालनिरूपणमधुना निःमारता याति ॥ *Kālavvēka*, p. 8

After Jimūtavāhana, the subject received exhaustive treatment at the hands of many Nibandha-writers. From the 11th century down to the middle of the 18th century several works have been written on this subject.

The object of this article is to present a work which probably is the last work. There is only one ms. so far known of this work and that is deposited in the Government collection of the B O R, Institute of Poona. Following is a short description.—

No. 350 of 1875-76, size— $8\frac{3}{8}$  in by 4 in. Extent.—45 leaves, 9 lines to a page, 27 letters to a line. Country paper, Devanāgarī characters, handwriting legible, benedictory phrase, topics and the colophon are tinged with red pigment, corrections made with yellow pigment, paper old and musty.

Begins.—श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

प्रणम्य जानकीजानि महाशब्दोपनामक ।

विश्वेश्वरः सुबालानामवबोधार्थमादरात् ॥१॥

हेमाद्रिमाधवौ वीक्ष्य मयूख कोस्तुभं तथा ।  
यत्नान्निर्णयसिंधु च मदनं निर्णयान्म ॥२॥  
कल्पद्रुम च तिथ्यर्कं कालतत्त्वविवेचनम् ।  
फक्किाभिर्वितनुते लघुनिर्णयकौस्तुभम् ॥४॥

Ends — अथ पुरायतिथय ।

अमावास्या भु सोमेन सप्तमी भानुना तथा ।  
चतुर्थी भानुपुत्रेण अष्टमी बुधसयुता ॥  
चतस्रस्तिथय. पुराया. सूर्यग्रहणसनिभाः ।  
ज्ञानं दानं तथा श्राद्धं तत्सर्वं चाक्षय भवेत् ॥  
तुलामकरमेषु प्रातः स्नानं सदा भवेत् ॥

इति कार्तिकमाधवैशाखज्ञानानि । तानि मलमासादो गुर्वस्तादावपि कार्याणि । यदा  
वशाखादौ मलमासपातस्तदा मासद्वयं ज्ञानदानादि ।

इति पौडरीकथाजि विश्वेश्वरविरचितं निर्णयकौस्तुभ समाप्तम् । सबत् १७६३ फाल्गुन,  
शुक्ल भृगौ लिपिकृतं श्रीनदेन शुभ ॥

Like other works on the subject, the *Nirnayakaustubha* starts with the discussion of the nature of *tithi* and the divisions of the day. Then the anniversaries of ten avatāras is fixed. Next follow the important festivals like *Rāmanavami*, *Dolotsava*, *Madanotsava* occurring in different months. Then comes the fixing of *grahana* (eclipses) followed by a discussion about the *sankrānti*. The description of *punya-tithi* brings the work to a close.

Apart from its intrinsic merit, the importance of the work lies in the fact that it names about 38 authorities. The author, before finally giving his own opinion on any point, enters into a discussion and gives the views of other writers on the subject. Some of the writers are quoted as many as 24 times. These names are very helpful in determining the age of our author and in bringing together at one place the writers on the subject of *kāla*. I have depended upon Prof. Kane in giving the dates of the writers or works

*Nirṇayakaustubha* or *Laghunirṇayakaustubha* of Viśveśvarabhṭta. 147

against their names Figures in brackets indicate the number of times a work or an author is quoted in the *Nirṇayakaustubha*

- 1 Anantabhṭta (1)—Several people of that name
- 2 Aparārka (1)—Commentator on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, about 1115-30 A D
- 3 Ācāryacūdāmani or Smārtācāryacūdāmani or Smārta (2)=Raghunandana Bhattācārya, 1490-1570 A D
- 4 Āśvalāyana (1)
- 5 Kātyāyana (1)
- 6 *Kālatattvaśvecana* (9) by Raghunāthabhṭta, 1620 A D
- 7 *Kāladarśa* (2) by Ādityabhṭtakavivallabha, 1200—1325
- 8 *Kṛtyaratnāvali* (10) by Rāmacandra, son of Vitthala, 1648-9
- 9 *Kaustubha* (20)=*Smṛtikaustubha* by Anantadeva, son of Āpadeva, about 1675 A D
- 10 *Govindārṇava* (1)=*Smṛtisāgara* or *Dharmatattvāvaloka* by Ścaṣanṛsiṃha, between 1400-1450 A D
- 11 Candrikākāra (1)=Kṛṣṇabhṭtamaunin, son of Raghunāthabhṭta, 1620 A D
- 12 *Tiṭhyarka* (3)=by Divākara, son of Mahādeva, about 1683
- 13 *Tristhalisetu* (1) by Nārāyanabhṭta, about 1550-60
- 14 *Divodāśīya* (5) Earlier than 1500 A D
- 15 *Dikṣita* (2) Earlier than 1100 A D
- 16 *Dīptikā* (1)=*Kālanirṇaya*° or *Tiṭhinirṇaya*°?
- 17 *Nirṇayadīpa* (2) mentioned in *Nirṇayasindhu*
- 18 *Nirṇayasindhu* (23) by Kamalākaraḥṭta, 1612 A D
- 19 Nirṇayakṛt (1) same as above?
- 20 *Nirṇayāmṛta* (14) by Allādanātha, earlier than 1500 and later than 1250
- 21 *Purānasamuccaya* (1)
- 22 *Pratāpamārtanda* (1) by Piṭiparudīa, about 1500 A D
- 23 Prapitāmahacaranāḥ or Asmatprapitāmahā-Ratnākaraḥṭtaccaranāli (4)
- 24 *Prayogaratna* (1) many of this name
- 25 *Bhāgavata* (1)
- 26 *Madanapārīṇāta* (1) by Viśveśvarabhṭta, 1360-90 A D
- 27 *Madanaratna* (17) by Madanasimhadeva, 1300-1500 A D
- 28 Manu (1)
- 29 *Mayūkha* (16) by Nilakanthabhṭta, 1610-45

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- 30 Mādhava (21)=Mādhavācārya, 1330-60 A D  
 31 *Rāmakaḥpadrūma* (1) by Anantabhāṭṭa, son of Kamalākara, about 1640-70  
 32 *Vidhānapārijāta* (1) by Anantabhāṭṭa, son of Nāgadeva, composed at Benares in 1625  
 33 Vrttikrt (1)?  
 34 *Vratārka* (1) by Śankarabhāṭṭa, son of Nilakantha, between 1625-75  
 35 *Smṛtikaustubha* (5), see no 9 above  
 36 *Smṛtyarthasāra* (1) by Śridharācārya?  
 37 Hemādri (24) 126-70 A D  
 38 Nārada (1)

Thus we see that the *Nirnayakaustubha* quotes a work of so late a date as 1683 A D Hence, he cannot be earlier than that, and Prof Kane is wrong in putting him earlier than 1500 A D (*Hist Dh*, I, p 742) Another statement of Prof Kane which requires revision is that on p 573 of his *Hist Dh*, I He says that *Nirnayakaustubha* is "mentioned by Raghunandana and Śankara in *Samskārabhāskara*" In the first place, Raghunandana (= Raghunandanabhāṭṭācārya, author of *Smṛtitattva*) is very respectfully mentioned as Ācāryacūdāmaṇi or Smārtācāryacūdāmaṇi or Smārta twice by *Nirnayakaustubha*, and the work of Śankara (= Śankarabhāṭṭa, son of Nilakantha), viz, *Vratārka* is also once mentioned by *Nirnayakaustubha* Secondly, there is no *Samskārabhāskara* composed by Śankara except that what is also called *Samskāramayūkha* by Nilakantha revised by his son And this is quoted 16 times in the *Nirnayakaustubha*

Now we see that the only information afforded by the ms about the author Viśveśvara is that he was surnamed as *Mahāśabda* (in the first verse) and *Paundarikayājin* (in the last colophon) and that he was the great-grandson of Ratnākaraḥbhāṭṭa We know of one Viśveśvara, of the Śāndilya gotra, surnamed *Mahāśabda*, who was the son of Rāmeśvara grandson of Gangārāma and great-grandson of Ratnākara and who composed *Pratāpārka* (based on his ances-

tor's *Jayasimha-kalpadruma*) under the patronage of Pratāpasimha, grandson of Jayasimha of Amber I am tempted to quote an extract from *Pratāpārka* as given in Peterson's *Alwar Cat.* (pp 129-30, no. 328)

खस्तिश्रीमनुजातिराजितमहावंशावतंसोऽखिल-  
 क्षोणीपालविशालसद्गुणगणैर्भूमण्डले विश्रुत ॥  
 आसिधुस्फुरदुज्ज्वलोज्ज्वलयशाः स श्रीभृतो भूभृता  
 भूषा श्रीजयसिंहभूपतिपतिभूमंडलाखंडल ॥२॥  
 येन श्रीश्रुतिमार्गपंकजवती सूर्येन धर्मादरा-  
 ल्लुप्तप्राय इहाखिलः ध्रुतिपथ प्राकासि धर्मावह. ॥  
 येनाकारि तुरंगमेध उदिताच्छास्त्रोक्तमार्गात्पुन-  
 भूदेवामरशाखिना सुकृतिना काले कलावयहो ॥३॥  
 तस्यामीत्तनय प्रसिद्धविनय श्रीमाधवो माधव-  
 श्रीपादाब्जरतिर्धरासुरनतिभूमिपति सन्मति ।  
 यत्सौ दर्यकला विलोक्य विकल कामोऽपि काम मुदा  
 लोत्रैराकलि-कल्पनापटुतरै शोभाभरात्रिभंरम् ॥४॥  
 तत्सुनुर्विलसत्प्रतापमहिमा श्रीमत्प्रतापाभिधो  
 भूयो भूपतिभूषणखिलगुणप्रामाभिरामोत्सव ।  
 वैरिन्नातविधातको बहुकलावैदग्भ्यविद्यानिधि  
 भूविल्यातयशा चित्तौ विजयते युद्धोद्धटो विष्णुवत् ॥५॥

॥६॥

श्रीशाडिह्यमुने कुले किल महाशब्दोपनामाजनि  
 श्रातस्मार्त्तमस्तकर्मनिपुण श्रीदेवभट्टो महान् ।  
 रामाग्निप्रवणस्ततोऽजनि सुधीः सघ्राट् स रत्नाकरः  
 काशीस्थो बहुविभ्रुतो निजकुलालंकारचूडामणि ॥७॥  
 कृत्वा येन सता मतेन विधिवत्सद्वाजपेयं पुन-  
 श्वको वैदिकसत्कृतेन कृतिना श्रीपुंडरीकः क्लृप्त ।  
 विप्रेभ्यो विधिवत्प्रदाप्य बहुशो ग्रामात्रिकामार्थदान्  
 कीर्तियं च सविधाय विमला ब्रह्मा पद प्रापिता ॥ ८ ॥  
 खस्ति श्रीजयसिंहनामभूपतेर्नामांकितो भूतले  
 प्रथ पंडितसम्मतोऽतिललित कल्पद्रुमाह्यः कृतः ।  
 विद्याविभ्रुतसत्कुशाग्रमतिना तत्तद्गुणाम्भोधिना  
 श्रीरत्नाकरशर्मणा जयति स क्षोदक्षमो धीमताम् ॥९॥  
 तत्सुनु सुकृती कृती समभवद्भूदेवदेवद्रुमो  
 गंगाराम इति प्रथामधिगतः श्रीमान्महायाजकः ।

येन क्षीणपतिप्रपूजितपदाभोजेन काश्या मुदा  
 दत्ता ब्रह्मपुरी निधाय विधिवद्भूमिसुरेभ्योऽचिरात् ॥१०॥  
 आसीत्तत्तुजो निजान्वययुगावासोऽतिशान्तो मही-  
 भूषा भूसुरमडनं मुनिरिव ह्यात स रामेश्वरः ।  
 येनात् परकामिनीपरधनाकाङ्क्षापि नाराधिता  
 स्वानेऽपि स्फुटकीर्तिना कलयता श्रीशंभुना तुल्यताम् ॥११॥  
 जातस्तत्तनयो द्विजातिविनयो विश्वेश्वरस्सन्दति (१)  
 स्वस्ति श्रीसुमतिप्रतापधरणीपालाङ्गया धर्मधीः ।  
 आदाय प्रपितामहेन रचितात्कल्पद्माद्विस्मृता  
 त्मार संतनुते बुधोपकृतये सोऽर्क प्रतापादिकम् ॥१२॥

Prof Kane thinks that this work was composed about 1750 A D Now, it is quite evident that this Viśveśvara and Viśveśvara, the author of *Nirṇayakaustubha* are identical We know that *Jayasimbakalpadruma* was composed by *Ratnākaraḥṭṭa*, son of *Devabhāṭṭa* The work is in 19 chapters and it was composed under the patronage of *Savāi Jayasimha* of Amber, who performed *Jyotistoma*, *Vājapeya*, *Paundarika* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices The date of completing *Jayasimbakalpadruma* is—

शाके विक्रमपार्थिवस्य शुभदे व्योमर्षिसतेन्दुयुग-  
 वर्षे शोभनसङ्गके शिवतिथौ मासे नभस्याह्यके ।  
 कर्मश्रीजयसिंहदेवनगरे पुरयेविकेशचित्ते  
 ग्रन्थ कल्पतरु समाप्तिमगमत् सज्ज्ञानवित्तप्रदः ॥१॥

(Peterson's *Cat of Alwar mss* p 118,  
 Extract 305)

This date works out to be Saturday the 25th of July, 1713 A D In his note "Aśvamedha by a Mughal Satrap" (*Indian Culture*, January, 1937, pp 547-8), Mr Jogendra Chandra Ghosh says in foot-note 3—"This research apparently refers to Jaya Sinha's compilation on Smṛti entitled *Jayasimbakalpadruma*" Mr Ghosh is wrong, for the author or compiler is *Ratnākaraḥṭṭa* who was a *guru* of *Jayasimha* In *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* (which has got only one ms and that is No 273 of 1884-86 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B O R Institute, Poona), the author *Kavi Kṛṣṇa* refers to *Ratnā-*

kara and other scholars at the court of Īśvarasimha, son of Jayasimha —

तस्याखिले पंडितराजचक्रे मान्यो गुरुभ्रानृसुतोऽतिविद्वान् ।  
 श्रीर्षांडरोकाध्वरयाजयो(को)ऽभृन्नित्य समीपे व्रजनाथशर्मा ॥३॥  
 ऋग्वेदिविप्रवरावतंसो रत्नाकरो नाम गुरुर्नृपस्य ।  
 प्रभाकरो नाम बभूव तस्य भ्राता सदा यो मथुरैकवासी ॥२॥  
 तदात्मज श्रीव्रजनाथमा(ना)मा तथापरो गोकुलनाथ उक्त ।  
 तौ भ्रातरौ संविदितौ नृपस्य निरंतरं शास्त्रकथा दधाने (नौ) ॥१॥ (fol 37a)

The point raised by Mr Dines Chandra Sircar (*Indian Culture*, vol III no 2, pp 376-9) has been successfully controverted by Mr P K Gode in his article "Some Contemporary Evidence regarding Aśvamedha Sacrifice performed by Sewai Jayasingh of Amber (1699-1744 A D)" *JIH.*, December 1936 (pp 364-7)

It is interesting to note that references to Jayasimha's performing *Aśvamedha* are found at several places in works of poets or scholars, who were almost his contemporaries. For instance, Vrajanātha, son of Prabhākara who was a brother of Ratnākara, says in his *Padyataranginī* (B O R I Mss, nos 724 and 725 of 1886-92 composed in 1752 A D in honour of Mādhasimha, son of Jayasimha)—

केनाथकारि नहि तेषु तुरंगमेध । 3<sup>b</sup>  
 पारोक्षितोऽपि विदधे हयमेधमुच्चैः । 4<sup>a</sup>  
 वेदोदितेन विधिना हयमेधमुच्चैः । 5<sup>c</sup>

(Concluding verses)

Then Sadāśiva Śarmā, son of Gadādhara, also at Mādhasimha's Court (जयति सदाशिवशर्मा मुनिजनधर्मा सुधर्माग्रय । माधवसिंहसुधर्मासदसि सुधर्म स्वधर्माग्रयः । १३०॥ quoted from *Mādhasimhāryāśataka*, ms No 436 of 1887-91 by Mr M M. Patkar in his article "*Mādhasimhāryāśataka*—A poem in praise of King Mādhasimha of Jaipur by Śyāma Lattu, composed in 1755 A D"—*Poona Orientalist*, vol. I, no. 4, pp 34-37), composed a work on Dharma-

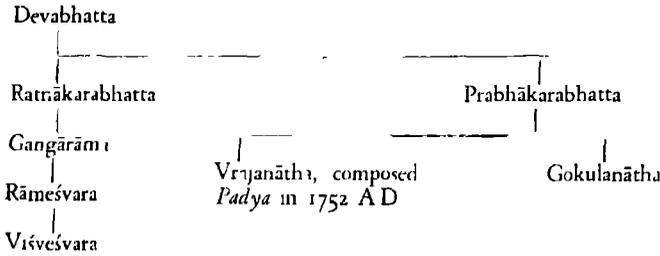
152 *Nirnayakaustubha* or *Laghunirnayakaustubha* of *Viśveśvarabhatta*

śāstra, called *Ācārasmṛticandrikā* (Ms. No 236 of 1887-91 of B O R I) wherein he refers to Jayasimha as follows—

काशीजनपदनिलयास्तुरंगमेधं सर्वमेधं च निर्माय ।

श्रंगदिन. कुंडलिन कंकशिनो येन विरचिता बु(वि)बुधा ॥४ tol 1b

Now, we arrive at the following genealogy of our author *Viśveśvara*



From *Mahārāstriya Jñānakośa*, vol 13, p 122, we learn that Pratāpasimha, died in 1803 after reigning for 15 years. So that, he reigned from 1788-1803. Therefore, *Viśveśvara* must have composed his *Pratāpārka* after 1788 AD. *Nirnayakaustubha* also must be placed somewhere near about this date.

HAR DUTT SHARMA

# The Problems of "Definition" and "Perception" in Śrī Madhva's Epistemology

## I "Definition"

According to Jayatīrtha, "Definition" is (1) what is invariably present in all the defined objects and (2) absent from objects other than the defined. The term 'invariably' brings out that the distinguishing trait should be found in all the objects belonging to the same class as the defined.

If we take only one of the two factors to constitute a definition, it lands us in the fallacy of over-pervasion. (1) A cow is a 'horned-animal'. This definition includes all other horned animals, such as buffaloes, sheep, etc.

(2) Dewlap is 'what is not found in animals other than cows'. 'Tawny colour' also is not found in animals other than cows. Hence the definition is overpervasive.

So both the factors (1) invariable presence of the distinguishing trait in all the objects belonging to the same class as the defined, and (2) its absence from objects other than the defined constitute together the 'definition'.

The first purpose of a definition is to facilitate our understanding of objects in their distinctive individuality and independence. The second is to mark off one class from another, each retaining its independence. To differentiate one individual from another within the limits of the given class is the third use of a definition. It is immaterial whether these purposes are stated separately or otherwise. Some hold that the one purpose of definition is individualisation of entities. A definition synthesises the features belonging to a class and the distinctive characteristics of the individuals coming under it.

\* In traditional Western logic "Definition" proceeds on the principle '*per genus et differentiam*' A definition should state the proximate genus This fact points out that the defined is a species coming under the genus stated The differentia consists of quality or qualities which distinguish the defined from the species that are co-ordinate with it The purpose of a definition according to Indian logicians also is to differentiate the defined object from other members of its own class, and from the members of other classes Definition helps us to denote the import of words

According to the Nyāya school, "Definition" proceeds on the basis of the presence of the generic attribute in all the objects belonging to the same class as the defined There are two *jāti*s according to the Nyāya school One is '*sattā*' the highest universal or 'summum genus' (*parā jāti*), which brings all existence together, and emphasises their community of nature The other is *aparā jāti*, which is many in number The 'potness' is different from the 'clothness' The universals are not ubiquitous like space or soul They exist in particular individuals *Jāti* is defined as 'one eternal, and inheres in many things' It is found in Substance, Quality and Action only It is this common element found in objects (*anugata dharma*) that makes us cognise all the objects belonging to the same class as the defined

If *jāti* is assumed as one and eternal, what happens exactly to 'potness' when the pot is broken? The *jāti* cannot get destroyed' because it is eternal Nor can it be said that a part of it is lost, for it is impartite The resourceful logician tells us that it abides in Time. The question now arises whether it was not in time the pot existed Madhva was not the first to criticise the Nyāya view of 'Sāmānya'<sup>1</sup> The *jāti* of the Nyāya school is only a dharma

<sup>1</sup> See *Mānameyodaya*, pp 229, 230, and *Indian Culture*, vol I, article on 'The Buddhist Estimate of the Universal'

There is no proof or warrant for the conception of such a common attribute<sup>2</sup> The humanity in each man is different On the creation of an individual the 'humanity' in him alone is destroyed So the humanity in each individual is different. Madhva repudiates the Nyāya conception of jāti, and admits a number of dharmas in its place So 'potness' and 'clothness' are dharmas, and not jāti

Madhva holds that there are two types of relations between an attribute and a substrate<sup>3</sup> Some dharmas exist in the *dharmin*, till its destruction, e g, 'potness' exists in pot till the destruction of the pot. Quality, Action and *jāti* are of the very nature of the *dharmi* itself They are technically called '*yāvad-dravya-bhāvi*' The relation of the above mentioned objects to their attributes is identity The second type of relation that exists between a Substance and its attribute is called '*ayāvad-dravyabhāvi*' or '*khanditam*', e g, the relation between (1) *vikāra* and the *vikārin*, (2) cause and effect, (3) movement and its object The dharmas in the above examples get destroyed prior to the destruction of the *dharmis*

- 2 नरत्वादिकमायेव तत्तद्भेदतयेयते ।  
 न सर्वधर्म एवोऽस्ति समुदायस्तु भिन्नग ।  
 एतादृशञ्च सादृश्यं पदार्थेषु पृथक् पृथक् ॥  
 एरुस्मिन् स विनष्टेऽपि यतोऽन्यत्वेव दृश्यते ।  
 कुतो भस्मत्वमाप्तस्य नरत्व पुनरिष्यते ॥  
 एकत्वे नास्ति मानञ्च श्रुतिरप्याह सादरम् ।

Madhva's *Anuvyākhyāna*, p 186

- 3 गुणक्रियाजातिपूर्वधर्मा सर्वेऽपि वस्तुन ।  
 रूपमेव द्विधा तच्च यावद्वस्तु च खण्डितम् ।  
 खण्डिते मेद ऐक्यं च यावद्वस्तु न भेदवत् ।  
 खण्डित रूपमेवात्र विकारोपि विकारिण ।  
 कोर्यकारणयोश्चैव तथैव गुणतद्गतोः ।  
 क्रियाक्रियावतोस्तद्वत् तथा जातिविशेषयो ।

Madhva's *Tattvaviveka*, p 24, *Daśaprakaraṇa*, vol I

The relation between such dharmas and their *dharmins* is a relation of identity and difference

It is not identity in difference. The relation of the threads to the cloth is a case of identity. This relation exists only when the cloth is existent. Supposing we take away the threads which go to make up the cloth, what exactly is the relation of the threads and the cloth? The relation now is not identity, because we see the threads, but not the cloth. The cloth belongs to the past (*atīta*), and the threads alone are seen in the present (*vidyamāna*). So their relation is not identity but difference. Madhva is of opinion that at one particular time the relation of cloth to the threads was identity, but now it is difference. When the cloth and the threads were one, the relation was identity, when the threads are taken away, the relation is difference. In two different moments the substrate and the attribute are related in two different ways (1) identity and (2) difference. Madhva never says that at the same moment an attribute and a substrate are in a relation of identity and difference.

The objects of this world are entirely different from one another, and their attributes are also different.<sup>4</sup> A further question crops up at this stage as to how we distinguish the various attributes which are identical with objects. It is to explain this fact Madhva brings in the category '*Viśeṣas*'. They are many in number. They exist in every object unlike the *viśeṣas* of the Nyāya school which are present only in eternal substances. The *viśeṣas*

4            भिन्नाश्च भिन्नधर्माश्च पदार्था निखिला अपि ।

Madhva quotes this śruti in *Anuvyākhyāna*, p. 186, but it is not traceable.

5            भेदहीने त्वपर्याये शब्दान्तरनियामकः ।

विशेषो नाम कथित मोक्षि वस्तुष्वशेषत ॥

विशेषास्तेऽयनन्ताश्च परस्परविशेषिणः ।

स्वनिर्वाहकतायुक्ता मन्ति वस्तुष्वशेषत ॥

are *svatovyāvartaka*. It is a dharma of every *padārtha*. Though there is no difference between the *dharmin* and the attribute, it is this *viśesa* that helps us to cognise the attributes which though in a relation of identity are yet different.

What exactly is the need for the assumption of *viśesa*? Why not say that the substance itself functions as *viśesa*?

A substance is an object of cognition (*gñānavisaya*). Let us take for example a pot. We cognise it as a pot. In the cognition 'this is a pot' (*ayam ghatah*), there are three factors: (1) "this" aspect *idampadārtha*, (2) *ghatatva* (the *prakāra*), (3) the relation between them, i.e., *samsarga*. If our cognition can give us an apprehension of all these aspects where is then the need for *viśesa*? Our cognition or perception of a pot can only tell us the fact that the pot has a colour. The perception cannot tell us anything about the substrate being either different or otherwise from the attribute. Perception gives us the cognition, *rūpavān ghatah*. It never gives us the cognition, *ghatāt rūpam bhinnam*. So perception can never give us the knowledge of the exact nature of the relation fixing one relatum as the substrate and the other as the attribute. When we say that perception cognises the relation between the substrate and the attribute it may be thought that the two relata are different.

Relation obtains not only between two differentials, but between two identities also,<sup>6</sup> e.g., take the question, 'Does Time exist now?' The answer is that it exists. The relation of 'Time' as existent now, and 'Time' eternal is identity. Perception does not help us in cognising the nature of the relation. That can only be cognised on the basis of eternity and non-eternity. Certain substrates are

6 The term 'relation' involves difference of some kind or degree, without which the concept is unintelligible. Madhva's argument to establish a relation between two identicals appears specious. If it be true that our perception is of the form 'Rūpavān ghatah' the cognition of difference is already involved in what leads to the use of the possessive suffix.

eternal and their attributes are also eternal. Substrates and attributes are also sometimes identical. In such cases we do not have any basis of distinction to call one the substrate and the other the attribute. We cannot here say that the substance itself gives us the cognition. To say so would be to beg the question, because we do not know which is the substrate and which the attribute. In order to explain such facts Madhva posits a special potency called *viśesa* which helps us to cognise the substrate and the attribute.

Madhva is of opinion that definition proceeds on the basis of similarity (*sādrśya*). When we define a cow as an animal which has a dewlap, the definition through this distinguishing quality, namely, the 'possession of a dewlap' helps us to cognise all cows as cows. This cognition is based on the perception of similarity abiding in different cases of having a dewlap. Similarity is an independent category. It is defined *ckanirūpitāpara-vrtti*, i.e., while being determined by one it is present in many, though its determinant is one, it is not one and the same in all. Its main function is the indication of difference. It always expresses itself in a relational form. It is always expressed in the form of a quality. There is no bare similarity. Madhva holds that though it is prolix to admit plurality of similarities, yet the concept of similarity is unintelligible otherwise. If A and B are similar, A's similarity to B is different from B's similarity to A. The argument that it is one and the same similarity that abides in both is not right. Let us illustrate it. For example, take the statement 'The face is similar to the moon'. The moon is the determinant. Its locus is the face. Now let us reverse the position in the analogy 'the moon is similar to the face'. The face is the '*nirūpaka*'. Owing to the difference in the determinants and their respective loci we have to grant that the two similarities are different.

Let us now examine the axiom 'Things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another, e.g., A is equal to C, B is

equal to C So A is equal to B When we speak of them we speak of it only with reference to some quality Equality and similarity are not fundamentally different The difference between them is one of degree and not of kind Equality refers to a more precise and definite uniformity than the one referred to by similarity On this ground we are justified in passing from equality to similarity The similarity may be with reference to wealth or power When A is said to be similar to C with reference to wealth or power, B is similar to C with reference to wealth It is this property indicating similar similarity that helps us to cognise A and B as similar This can be put in the form of an inference 'A is similar to B, because A and B are both similar to C, like another instance'

The function of similarity is the differentiation of the defined object from other members of its own class and from the members of other classes This can be put in the form of an inference 'The cow is different from other members of its own class, and from the members of other classes, because it has a quality similar to the dewlap, like another cow

The relation of 'word' and 'word sense' too is known only through similarity The word sense of *jāti* and *vyakti* cannot be explained through the help of the generic attribute<sup>8</sup>

According to the Nyāya school there is no *jāti* in *jāti*, and no *particularity* in particularity Further the definition on the basis of generality is possible only for the first three padārthas The padārthas that have no *jāti* cannot be defined in the same manner This leads the Nyāya school to adopt two separate methods to ex-

7 This argument which is in the form of an inference would appear to involve the fallacy of *petitio principii* because probans (hctu) assumed is the thing to be proved

8 इति व्युत्पत्तिरपि हि सादृश्येनैव गम्यते । सर्वेषु युगपच्छब्द सरशेषु प्रवर्तते ॥  
 . . जातितश्चेत् कथं तासु तल चेदनवस्थितिः ।

plain definition In doing so they fall a victim to the defect of prolixity

## II Perception

Perception is one of the chief instruments of knowledge It is accepted by all the schools of Indian Philosophy Inference and other instruments of knowledge depend on perception for their data Perception is immediate and direct

Madhva defines the instruments of perpetual cognition in two ways (1) 'the instrument of perpetual cognition is the defectless sense organ'<sup>9</sup> This definition satisfies the definition of 'Kāraṇa' put forward by the ancient Nyāya school, namely, 'an instrument is a special cause qualified by a function (*vyāpāravat asādhāranakāraṇam*) In short 'the defectless functioning organ' is the instrument of perpetual cognition

(2) Another definition of 'kāraṇa' put forward by the Nyāya school is 'the distinctive cause is the instrument (*asādhāranakāraṇam*)' The 'distinctive cause' is that after whose operation the effect results without the intervention of any other factor (*svavyavahitottarakālinakāryotpattikatvam*) Madhva's second definition of the instrument of perpetual cognition, i.e., 'the contact of a defectless sense organ with a defectless object,'<sup>10</sup> satisfies the second view of 'kāraṇa' put forward by the Nyāya school

These two definitions of perception are not opposed to each other They are so framed as to satisfy the two definitions of 'kāraṇa' It is only a question of the distribution of emphasis

Jayatīrtha after defining the instrument of perpetual cognition as the 'contact of a defectless sense organ with a defectless object' proceeds to enumerate the defects of objects and the defects of the sense organ We find a similar list of the defects in the *Sāṅkhya-*

*kārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa<sup>11</sup> The defects of objects are (1) being too distant (2) being too near, (3) being obstructed, (4) being indistinguishably mixed with similar things These defects prevent us from knowing the objects, and distort our knowledge of them<sup>12</sup> The sense organs which help us in cognising objects are of two kinds (1) physical sense organs (*prakṛti indriya*) (2) witness consciousness (*sākṣin*) The witness consciousness cognises the following objects (1) the pure existence of the Ātman, (2) its attributes, (3) its nescience, (4) manas and its modifications, (5) pleasure and pain, (6) time and space<sup>13</sup> The physical sense organs are six in number (1) smell, (2) taste, (3) sight, (4) sound, (5) touch, (6) manas The sense of taste tastes all the six rasas The sense of touch and sight cognise the following objects (1) objects that have size and colour, (2) some attributes, (3) movements and *jāti* The sense of touch feels the air about us The sense of hearing has sound for its object The defects of the senses are (1) non-contact of the organs with the mind, (2) affections of the sense organ such as jaundice, cataract (*kāca*), etc

Manas cognises all the objects through the instrumentality of the outer senses Its independent function is to be an aid to recollection Its defects are attachment, etc

Perception is of four kinds (1) Īśvara's perception, (2) Lakṣmī's perception, (3) Yogic perception, and (4) Ayogic perception The perceptions of Īśvara and Lakṣmī are of the very nature of their selves,<sup>14</sup> (*svarūpendriyātmakam*) In the case of the other two, cog-

11 अतिदूरात् मामीप्यादिन्द्रियघातान् मनोऽनवस्थानात् सौक्ष्मादव्यवधानाद् अभिभवात् समनाभिहाराच्च । (Non-perception may be) because of extreme distance, (extreme) proximity, injury to organs, non-steadiness of mind, subtlety, veiling, suppression, and blending with what is similar.—*Sāṅkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa v. 7, p. 25 translated by S. S. S. Śāstrī (Madras University)

12 *Pramāṇapaddhati*, chap. I, sec. 23, p. 124

13 *Ibid.*, chap. I, sec. 24, p. 126

14 *Ibid.*, chap. I, sec. 25, p. 128

initions are partly derived from Svarūpa indriyas and partly from the outer sense organs. The objects of these various types of perception are the same as those of the respective cognitions, i e , they are just as extensive as the object of Īsvara's jñāna, Laksmī's jñāna, etc <sup>15</sup>

The outer sense organs are of three kinds (1) divine, (2) demonic and (3) that kind of sense organ which shares the nature of both the divine and the demonic. The cognition by the divine senses is mostly valid, by the demonic senses mostly invalid, and that by the third type of sense organ is partly valid and partly invalid <sup>16</sup>

The svarūpendriya of the Mukti yogins cognises correctly the that as well as the what of an object. The Nityasamsārins and Tamoyogyas cognise correctly the 'that' of an object. Their cognition of the 'what' of an object is sometimes wholly erroneous and sometimes a mixture of validity and invalidity.

The Nyāya school enumerates six types of contacts between the sense organs and the object, these bring about perception. They are (1) conjunction (*samyoga*), (2) inherence in what is in conjunction (*samyukta-samavāya*), (3) inherence in what is inherent in what is in conjunction (*samyukta-samaveta samavāya*) (4) inherence (*samavāya*), (5) the relation of the subject and attribute (*viśesana-viśesyabhāva*)

The contacts of the senses of touch and sight with objects like the pot, and the contact of mind with Ātman are examples of 'samyoga'. The contacts of the senses of touch, sight, and mind with the attribute, movements, and jāti of the object are examples of 'samyuktasamvāya relation'. The contacts of the senses of smell and taste with the odours and tastes of objects, and the contact of mind with the senses of taste, sight and smell, and touch with the

<sup>15</sup> *Pramānapaddhati*, chap I, sec 27, p 142

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, chap I, sec 28, p 146

jāti abiding in the quality and movement of objects are examples of the 'saṃyuktasamaveta samavāya relation'. The contact of the senses of hearing with sound is a case of samavāya relation. The contact of the sense of hearing with the jāti element in sound is a case of 'samaveta samavāya relation.' The contacts of the above mentioned senses with inherence, and non-existence of objects are instances of 'viśesana-viśesa-bhāva.'

Further the Nyāya school enumerates two distinct kinds of perception (1) the indeterminate perception (*nirvikalpaka*), (2) the determinate perception (*savikalpaka*). *Nirvikalpaka* is the primary stage of non-relational perception. When the sense perception is differentiated and interpreted, we have a determinate perception. Though indeterminate perception cannot as such be shown to be experienced, it is proved to exist as a necessary presupposition of our determinate knowledge of objects. The Nyāya school holds that the cognition of the attribute is the cause of the cognition of the qualified object (*viśiṣṭa-jñānam prativiśesana-jñānam kāraṇam*). Hence there must be stage of cognition which is not of the viśiṣṭa, i.e., (*nirvikalpakapratyakṣa*) stage in perception.

According to the Nyāya school there are eight types of determination of an object, viz., (1) substance (2) quality, (3) action, (4) jāti, (5) particularity, (6) inherence, (7) non-existence and (8) name<sup>17</sup>

Madhva holds that all perception is determinate and perception 'is the concrete apprehension of an object with all its determinations'. Madhva refutes the *nirvikalpaka* stage of perception. The Nyāya view that there are six types of contacts is also refuted by him.

There is nothing to prevent the sense from cognising the object as well as the attributes at the first contact. Further if the 'conjunc-

tion type of contact' cognises the object only, and 'inherence in what is conjunction' type of contact cognises the attribute only, how are they synthesised? The Nyāya school cannot hold that the 'inherence in what is conjunction type of contact' is an imperative cognition, because that line of interpretation is not in accordance with its principles. The cognition that arises is one, and it is needless to postulate two contacts as its cause.

Madhva rejects the two categories of the Nyāya school, namely, 'inherence' and 'particularity'. After the rejection of these two categories there remains only one type of contact, i.e., conjunction, and that Madhva accepts.

Inherence (*samavāya*) is a type of inseparable relation elevated to the rank of a distinctive category by the Nyāya school. It exists among certain objects alone and is technically called 'ayutasiddha'. They are (1) substance and attribute, (2) substance and movement, (3) particular and universal, (4) ultimate things and *viśesa*, and (5) whole and part. The 'samavāya' relation does not obtain between normally separable things. The attribute and the substance are related by the independent category of 'samavāya'. At this stage a question crops up as to what relates the 'samavāya' to the quality and the substance. This 'samavāya' needs another *samavāya* and so the argument leads us on to infinite regress.<sup>18</sup> If it is said that 'samavāya' needs no other 'samavāya' to relate it to the attribute or the subject, we could as well have assumed that substance itself can get related, to its attribute without any aid. The principle of parsimony requires us not to postulate a separate category called *samavāya*.

The category of '*viśesa*' postulated by Madhva to differentiate the attribute from the substance is different from the '*viśesa*' of the Nyāya school. According to the latter '*viśesa*' is the differentia of

ultimate things (nityadravyas) Madhva believes that 'viśesa' helps us to differentiate all things (not only ultimate things) 'Viśesas' are infinite in number. The viśesa in each is unique fact. It is a self-differentiating principle<sup>19</sup>

Madhva does not admit a non-relational attributeless indeterminate perception. With him perception is always concrete and determinate. The chief function of perception is to give us a clarified presentation of an object with its attributes.

P. NAGARAJA RAO

19 Madhva's *Anuvyākhyāna*, chap. I, vv. 21, 22, p. 161

# The Kautilīya Arthasāstra on Forms of Government

## I

In Ch 2, Bk VIII, of the *Kautilīya Arthasāstra*, entitled *rājarāyayor vyasanacintā*, we come across a discussion of two forms of government called respectively *dvairāyā* and *vairāyā*. In order to comprehend the nature of the discussion we must first of all understand what K means by *rājarāyayor vyasanacintā*. *Vyasanacintā* is thus explained in the preceding chapter

व्यसनयोगपद्ये सौकर्यतो यातव्यं रक्षितव्यं चेति व्यसनचिन्ता ।  
दैवं मानुषं वा प्रकृतिव्यसनमनयापनयाभ्या सम्भवति ।  
गुणप्रातिलोम्यभाव प्रदोषः प्रसङ्ग पीडा वा व्यसनम् ।  
व्यस्यत्येनं श्रेयस इति व्यसनम् ।

The expressions *dava*, *mānusa*, *naya*, *anaya* and *apanaya* are explained in VI. 2

दैवमानुष हि कर्म लोकं यापयति । अदृष्टकारितं दवम् । तस्मिन् इष्टेन फलेन 'योगोऽय । अनिष्टेन अनय ।  
दृष्टकारित मानुषम् । तस्मिन् योगक्षेमनिष्पत्तिर्नयः । विपत्तिरपनय ।  
तच्चिन्त्यम् । अचिन्त्यम् दैवमिति ।

Generally, therefore, *vyasana* may be rendered as 'destruction of well-being,' and *vyasanacintā* takes account only of that kind of *vyasana* which may be described as *mānusa* (caused by human agency) or *drstakārita* (of which it is possible to see a cause). *Vyasanacintā* arises when simultaneous *vyasanas* require consideration, that is to say, when there is *vyasana* to two objects, and we have to choose between two alternatives and mould our actions accordingly. *Rājarāyayor-vyasanacintā* thus arises when there is *vyasana* to *rājā* as well as to *rāyā*, and we are faced with alternatives requiring us to make our choice and act according to it.

Let us see, first of all, what the terms *rājā* and *rāyā* denote here. The initial sūtra of the chapter (VIII 2) helps us to see *rājā rāyām iti prakrtisanksepah*. This has often been misunderstood but is clearly explained in Śankarārya's commentary to the *Kāmandakīya Nitisāra*

Text

अमात्यराष्ट्रदुर्गाणि कोशो दण्डश्च पञ्चमः ।  
 एता प्रकृतयस्तजह्नैर्विजिगीषोरुदाहृता ॥  
 एताः पञ्च तथा मित्रं सप्तमः पृथिवीपतिः ।  
 सप्तप्रकृतिकं राज्यमित्युवाच बृहस्पति ॥

Commentary

अमात्यादियुक्तो मण्डलं चिन्तयेदित्युक्तम् ।  
 तल राज्ञोऽमात्यादिपञ्चकस्य (चा)नयोः कस्य प्रधानगुणभावः इत्याह अमात्येत्यादि ।  
 एताः प्रकृतय इति ।  
 द्रव्यप्रकृतित्वाद् एताः पञ्च विजिगीषोः स्वत्वेनोदाहृता ।  
 मित्रं राजप्रकृतित्वात् स्वामिप्रकृतावन्तर्भूतम् ।  
 तेन सप्तप्रकृतयो राजराज्यभेदाद् द्विधावस्थिताः ।  
 तथाचोक्तम्—राजा राज्यमिति प्रकृतिसंक्षेपः । (Kaut VIII 2)  
 तल राज्यम् अमात्यादिप्रकृतिपञ्चकम् ।  
 शेषा राजप्रकृतिः ।  
 सप्तप्रकृतिकं राज्यमिति । एवं मन्यते यथा राज्यमित्यभिधानप्रत्यययोः प्रवृत्तिनिमित्त  
 द्रव्यप्रकृतय एवम् राजप्रकृतिरपि ।  
 तस्मात् प्रकृतिसप्तकमेव राज्यमिति ॥

The gist of this gloss is that, in the Kautiliya formula *rājā rājyam iti prakṛtisanksepab*, out of the seven elements of State viz *amātya*, *janapada* (or *rāstra*), *durga*, *kośa*, *danda*, *svāmī* and *mitra*, the first five are together termed *rājya*, while the remaining two (*svāmī* and *mitra*) are together termed *rājā*, because *svāmī* ('head') and *mitra* ('ally') are akin to each other and come under the same class. The first five are denominated *dravyaprakṛtayah*, apparently because they form the ingredients composing the *rājya*, and the last two are denominated *rājaprakṛtib*, apparently because they form the sovereign element in the State. Brhaspati, however, employs the term *rājya* to denote all the seven elements from a point of view expounded by the commentator, and we need not go here into the question of terminology preferred by Brhaspati. That K distinguishes between *dravyaprakṛti* and *rājaprakṛti* is evident from the *Arthaśāstra* VI. 2, where we find, immediately after the passage

cited above (terminating with अचिन्त्यम् दैवमिति ), the following statement

राजा आत्मद्रव्यप्रकृतिसम्पन्नो नयस्याधिग्रानम् विजिगीषुः । तस्य समन्ततो मण्डलीभूता भूम्यनन्तरा अरिप्रकृतिः । तथैव भूम्येकान्तरा मिलप्रकृतिः ।

And we are further told

एव चतुर्मण्डलसन्नेपः । द्वादश राजप्रकृतयः । षष्टिर्द्रव्यप्रकृतयः । सन्नेपेण द्विसप्ततिः ।

We are now in a position to appreciate the nature of the discussion in the K chapter entitled *rājārājyaṅ vyaśanaśmīā* A State being composed of *rājā* and *rājya*—the sovereign element and the subject element—the ruler and the ruled—what are we to do when there is simultaneous *vyasana* to ruler and ruled? In brief, what is to be our course of action in case there is revolution affecting the form of government?

K, conformably to tradition, stands forth as an advocate of monarchy, but he devotes a small part of the discussion to two other forms of government named *dvairājya* and *vairājya*. These two forms are, however, discussed incidentally as offering themselves for consideration when we have to consider *vyasana* to *rājya*. But K first discusses the situation arising out of *vyasana* to the *rājā* from the point of view of the *rājā*. He is concerned here only with internal revolution, and *vyasana* to *mitra* as coming under *rājaprakṛti* is considered separately in ch 5, Bk VIII. Let us follow K textually (VIII 2)

राज्ञोऽभ्यन्तरो बाह्यो वा कोप इति ।

अहिभयादभ्यन्तरः कोपो बाह्यकोपात् पापीयान् ।

अन्तरमात्यकोपश्चान्त कोपात् ।

तस्मात् कोशदण्डशक्तिमात्मसंस्था कुर्वीत ।

This is further explained in IX, 3

मन्त्रिपुरोहितसेनापतियुवराजानामन्यततरकोपोऽभ्यन्तरकोपः । मन्त्र्यादिवर्जानामन्तरमात्यानामन्यतरकोपोऽन्तरमात्यकोपः ।

राष्ट्रमुद्धान्तपालाटविकदण्डोपनतानामन्यतमकोपो बाह्यकोपः ।

With these definitions of *bāhyakopa*, *abhyantarakopa* and *antaramātyakopa*, it is easy to see that the intention in ch 2, Bk VIII,

is to record the opinion that the gravest danger to the king proceeds from disaffection of interior officers other than *mantripurohitasenāpatiyuvarāja*, and he suggests, as a general precaution, that the king should keep under his own control the power of *kośa* and *danda*, Treasury and Army. All this is from the point of view of the *rājā*. K now changes to the point of view of the *rājya* and proceeds

द्वैराज्यवैराज्ययो द्वैराज्यमन्योन्यपक्षद्वेषानुरागाभ्या परस्परसङ्घर्षेण वा विनश्यति ।  
वैराज्यं तु प्रकृतिचित्तग्रहणापेक्षियथास्थितमन्यैर्भुज्यते इत्याचार्या । नेति कौटिल्यः ।  
पितापुत्रयोर्भ्रातॄर्वा द्वैराज्यं तुल्ययोगक्षेममात्यावग्रह<sup>1</sup> वर्तयेतेति । वैराज्य तु जीवत पर-  
स्याच्छिद्य 'नैतन्मम' इति मन्यमान कर्षयत्यपवाहयति पराय वा करोति विरक्तं वा  
परित्यज्यापगच्छतीति ।

"Of *dvairājya* and *vairājya*, *dvairājya* is destroyed by reciprocal likes and dislikes of the parties (belonging to the two rulers) or by mutual friction (between the rulers themselves), *vairājya*, however, caring to make itself attractive to the *prakrtis*, is in truth enjoyed by the others (i e by all)—thus the authorities (But) K dissents (and says) a *dvairājya* of father and son, or of two brothers, entailing equal security of possession (to both rulers), remains under the control of high State officers (*amātyāb*) A *vairājya*, on the other hand, is wrested from one who lives (by another who), thinking "this is not mine," oppresses (the *prakrtis*) and ostracizes them or sells it (to the opposite party), or, disregarding the disaffected, disappears"—In thus rendering the latter portion of the text here, I have kept in mind a passage in IX 4

प्रकृतीरस्य कर्षयिष्यामि , अपवाहयिष्यामि , आयोगेन आराधयिष्यामि वा ।...प्रतिपक्षे  
वा अस्य परायमेनं करिष्यामि । <sup>2</sup>

It will be perceived that *dvairājya* means "government by two "

1 Ganapati Śāstri reads *tulyayoga-ksmamamātyāvagrāham* which is probably correct (Cf XIII 1 *tulyayogakscmamamātyānāmāyudhīyānāmca kathayeyuh*)

2 Ostracism (*apavāhana*) is referred to by Aristotle (*Politics*, III) as having been instituted by democratic States, and is said to have been practised on a large scale by great powers, by Babylonians, Medes and the Persian king *Apavāhana* was associated with Mauryan conquests, as attested by Aśoka in the Fourteenth Rock Edict, section XIII, Aśoka heartily disliked the practices

*Dvairājya* is referred to at some length by Kālidāsa in *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V, and is also mentioned as *do-raja* in the Jaina *Āyāraṅga-sutta*, ancient history furnishes two typical instances, one at Sparta, the other at Rome. *Vairājya* certainly denoted to the pre-Kautīliya authorities a form of government dependent on popular will, as the expression *prakṛticittagrabanāpekṣa* implies, and its defence by the authorities on the ground that it is in truth enjoyed by everybody (*yathāśhitam anyair bhujyate*) shows its democratic character. The picture drawn by K. belongs however, to a degenerate form of government in which, owing to a split between the ruler and the ruled, the State is, as it were, cut up into two hostile sections, and whichever be in the ascendant, there being no feeling of unity or common possession, the State suffers. As Plato remarks when criticizing oligarchy (*Republic*, VIII) that "such a city is not one, but of necessity two, one consisting of the rich, the other of the poor, dwelling in one place and always plotting against one another," and again (*Ibid*, V) when pleading for unity and community, that, "if some citizens are grieved and others glad at the same sufferings of the city, and all do not say 'mine' and 'not mine' at the same time with regard to the same objects, it is an evil state of affairs." Aristotle (*Politics*, V) characterizes as absurd Plato's view that an oligarchy consists of two cities, and asks "Is not this just as much the case in the Spartan constitution, or in any other in which either all do not possess equal property, or in which all are not equally good men?" This is significant as showing that, in oligarchies as well as democracies, even in a *dvairājya* like Sparta, the State is cut up into two inimical sections. As Aristotle himself remarks (*ibid*) There is an error common to both oligarchies and to democracies—in the latter the demagogues, when the multitudes are above the law, are always cutting the city in two by quarrels with the rich, whereas they should always profess to be maintaining their cause, just as in

oligarchies, the oligarch should profess to maintain the cause of the people, and should take oaths the very opposite of those which they now take. For there are cities in which they swear—"I will be an enemy to the people, and will devise all the harm against them which I can," but they ought to exhibit and to entertain the very opposite feeling, in the form of their oath there should be an express declaration—"I will do no wrong to the people."

Upon the position of *vairāṅgya* in pre-Mauryan times the *Ati Br* throws some light. In a coronation-ceremony, the prospective ruler is called upon to consecrate himself to five types of earthly government, viz, *rājya* (found in the Madhyadeśa among Kuru-Pāñcālas, etc.), *sāmrājya* (found in the East among Prācyas), *bhauṅgya* (found in the South among Satvants), *svārājya* (found in the West among nīcyas and apācyas, explained by Sāyana as 'inferior in race' or 'inferior in manners') and *vairāṅgya* (found in the North, beyond the Himālayas, among Northern Kurus and Northern Madras). It is noteworthy, as was long ago pointed out, that, in a strictly symmetrical enumeration, we read of *rājānah* ('kings') being consecrated to rulership in forms of government denominated *rājya*, *sāmrājya*, *bhauṅgya* and *svārājya*, while we read of *jana-padāh* ('peoples') being consecrated to the form of government denominated *vairāṅgya*, so that we must hold *vairāṅgya* to have been distinctively a non-monarchical form of government,—an inference harmonizing with what the Kautiliya tells us regarding pre-Mauryan *vairāṅgyas*.

Etymologically, the term *vairāṅgya* has been explained variously. Sāyana, commenting on the *Ati Br* text, explains it in one place, as *viśesena rājatvam*, and in another place as *itarebhyo bhūpatibhyo vaiśistyam*. Martin Haug, K. P. Jayaswal and R. C. Majumdar equate it with 'kingless government'. R. Shamashastry takes it to mean 'foreign rule'. If, however, we look to Vedic uses of *vi-rāj*, we get at its primary meaning 'to shine, to be illustrious.' That

this meaning is appropriate to the *Ati Br* text we are discussing follows from Rgveda, I 188 4 5 6 .

प्राचीनं वहिरोजसा सहस्रवीरमस्तृणन् ।

यत्नादित्या विराजथ ॥

विराट् सम्राड् विह्वी. प्रह्वीर्बह्वीश्च भूयसीश्च या ।

दुरो घृतान्यत्तरन् ॥

सुरकमेहि सुपेशसाधिश्चियविराजतः ।

उषासावेह सीदत ॥

Here we find the term *virāt*, *samrāt* etc associated with *virāj* meaning 'to shine, to be illustrious,' so that the same meaning should be applicable to the text of the Rgvedic *Ati Br* wherein *samrāt*, *virāt* etc are spoken of together *Vairājya* therefore denoted primarily a form of government in which the ruling element ruled by reason of its shining or illustrious character—an *Aristocracy*, as Greek philosophers would call it The aristocratic element ruled under authority from the *janapada* or the entire body of the people, and this representative or universal character of the rule finds its analogue in the parallel conception of the Universal *Virāt* figuring in the famous *Purusa-sūkta* (RV X, 90)

The *Ati Br* throws some light also on a dominant characteristic of *vairājya* government In treating of food suitable to various kinds of rulers (VII 5 6), *udumbara* (*Ficus glomerata*) is declared to symbolize food and drink and is assigned to *bhaujya*, *śvattha* (*F religiosa*) is stated to stand for prowess and is assigned to *sāmrājya*, while *plaksa* (*F infectoria*) is held to signify glory and is assigned to *svārājya* as well as to *vairājya* It would appear therefore that, in a *vairājya* or *svārājya*, glory was prized, and Plato would describe such a form as a *Timocracy*, the next best to his ideal *Aristocracy*

## II

It will be interesting to compare the classification of governments by Plato with the classification contemplated in the *Kautiliya* In the *Statesman*, Plato adopts, as one basis of division, that of the

number of persons exercising supreme authority—a basis, \*as Dunning<sup>2a</sup> remarks, already common in Greek thought and employed by Herodotus (III. 80) According to Plato, when subject to Law,

The rule of One is Royalty

The rule of the Few is Aristocracy

The rule of the Many is Democracy

The Indian classification does not recognize any essential difference between the Few and the Many, it proceeds on what may be called the basis of grammatical number—Singular, Dual and Plural Thus,

The rule of One is Rājya

The rule of Two is Dvairājya

The rule of More than Two is Vairājya

This is, logically, a comprehensive classification, since any government must be either by One, or by Two, or by More than Two

Aristotle (*Politics*, V) conceives of the rule of Two (*dvairājya*) as a kind of limited Royalty “The more restricted the functions of kings, the longer their power will last unimpaired, for then they are moderate and not so despotic in their ways, and they are less envied by their subjects This is the reason why the kingly office has lasted so long among the Molossians And for a similar reason it has continued among the Lacedaemonians, because there it was always *divided between two*, and afterwards further limited by Theopompus in various respects, more particularly by the establishment of the ephoralty” Aristotle (*Ibid*, III) likewise asserts that the best government is “that which is administered by the best, and in which there is one man, or a whole family, or many persons, *excelling in virtue*, and both rulers and subjects are fitted, the one to rule, the others to be ruled, in such a manner as to attain the most

eligible life” Virtue he places above everything else, so much so that we find him advocating (*Ibid*, III) rule by One individual or One family which “happens to be so pre-eminent in virtue as to surpass all others,” after stating that “a people who are by nature capable of producing a race superior in virtue and political talent are fitted for kingly government” Elsewhere (*Ibid*, VII), he cites Scylax as affirming that, among the Indians, kings had marked superiority over their subjects Scylax explored the Indus shortly before 500 B C, he was probably describing the conditions prevailing then in areas watered by the Indus

### III

Returning to the Kautiliya text, we find the author of the *Arthaśāstra* launching into a discussion as to what kind of king is preferable to what other kind It will be observed that the alternatives discussed are not simply theoretical but such as must have presented themselves in practical politics already when the book was written, the ideal king’s accomplishments having been previously recounted in Bk VI, Ch 1 In fact, as we have seen, the very title of the chapter *vājarāyayor vyasanacintā*—implies consideration of measures to be taken in order to preserve the well-being of the State We here get a glimpse into the state of affairs obtaining in the world of politics immediately before K and may realize to ourselves the type of king favoured by K against his predecessors in politics Three pairs of alternatives are discussed

अन्धश्चलितशास्त्रो वा राजेति ? अशास्त्रचक्षुरन्धो यत्किञ्चनकारी दृढाभिनवेशी परप्रणेयो वा राज्यमन्यायेनोपहन्ति । चलितशास्त्रस्तु यत्र शास्त्राच्चलितमतिर्भवति शक्यानुनयो भवतीत्याचार्याः । नेति कौटिल्यः । अन्धो राजा शक्यते सहायसम्पदा यत्र तत्र वा पर्यवस्थापयितुमिति । चलितशास्त्रस्तु शास्त्रादन्यथाभिनविष्टबुद्धिरन्यायेन राज्य-मात्मानञ्चोपहन्ति ।

“(Which is better), a king with no eye or a king deviating from *śāstra*? The authorities say A king with no eye, that is, with no eye for *śāstra*, acts arbitrarily and is obstinate or, guided by

others, injures the kingdom by injustice. But a king deviating from śāstra is, where he is inclined to deviate, amenable to persuasion — Not so, says Kautilya — A king with no eye is, with liberal assistance (of officers) capable of collecting himself (against improper conduct) everywhere. But a king deviating from śāstra deviates deliberately and, by injustice, injures the kingdom as well as himself.”

This attitude becomes intelligible when we recall the concluding verse of the Kautilya

येन शस्त्रं च शास्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च भूः ।  
अमर्षेणोद्धृतान्याशु तेन शास्त्रमिदं कृतम् ।

The Nanda kings who had preceded Candragupta are here represented to have appropriated śāstra ('Law'), śāstra ('Army') and bhū ('Earth') to themselves, and the author of the treatise is said to have, from a feeling of resentment (*amarsena*),<sup>3</sup> forthwith (*āsu*) rescued (*uddhrtāni*) these from them. In the body of the treatise we find that the king has control over śāstra and bhū but not over śōstra which is left to qualified State-officers called *amātyāb*. This is clear from a comparison of K's enumeration of the ideal king's accomplishments (Bk. VI, ch 1) which has no reference to mastery of śāstra (although, of course, a prince is required to learn śāstra as part of his training, Bk I, chs 1-5) with his enumeration of the ideal *amātya*'s accomplishments (Bk I, ch 9) which require an *amātya* to be *caksusmān*, his *śāstracaksusmattā* being declared ascertainable from equals in learning (*samānavidyebhyab*). The concluding portion of the last-named chapter sums up K's entire attitude.<sup>4</sup>

3 On *amarsa* the *Nāṭyaśāstra* cites the śloka

आज्ञितानां सभामध्ये विद्यैश्वर्यबलाधिकैः ।  
वृथामुत्साहसम्पन्नो ह्यमर्षो नाम जायते । *Nāt S*, VII 77

4 Bhandarkar (*op cit*, p 109) thinks that the verse refers to the rescue of *Arthaśāstra* from oblivion, but the context contains no such idea and clearly implies that K rescued the śātra, and bhū from the Nanda kings' control. The Purānas also speak

पुरोहितमुदितोदितकुलशीलम् षडङ्गे वेदे दैवे निमित्ते दरुडनीत्याम् च अभिविनोतम्  
आपदाम् दैवमानुषाणाम् अथर्वभिरुपायैश्च प्रतिकर्तारम् कुर्वीत । तम् आचार्यम् शिष्यः  
पितरम् पुत्रो श्रुत्यः स्वामिनम् इव च अनुवर्तेत ।

The king is here represented as dependent on his *purohita* even like a pupil on teacher, a son on father, a servant on master, and the qualifications of the *purohita* enumerated here include, beside his priestly skill, a special training in *dandaniti*. Then comes the verse

ब्राह्मणेनैधितं क्षत्र मन्त्रिमन्त्राभिमन्त्रितम् ।

जयत्यजितमत्यन्तम् शास्त्रानुगतशस्त्रितम् ।

“A prince (*ksatra*), brought up by a brāhmana, well-advised by ministers, following *śāstra* and provided with *śāstra*, attains complete success, being invincible” The king therefore had to follow *śāstra* or Law but had control over *śāstra* or Army. He was thus not a tyrant, but a constitutional monarch.

The next alternatives in K's discussion are

व्याधितो नवो वा राजेति ? व्याधितो राजा राज्योपघातममाल्यमूलम् प्राणाबाधम् वा  
राज्यमूलमवाप्नोति । नवस्तु राजा स्वधर्मानुग्रहपरिहारदानमानकर्मभिः प्रकृतिरज्जनोपकारैः  
चरतीत्याचार्या ।

नेति कोटिल्य । व्याधितो राजा यथाप्रवृत्तम् राजप्रणिधिम् अनुवर्तयति । नवस्तु राजा  
बलावर्जितम् “ममेदम् राज्यम्” इति यथेष्टम् अनवग्रहं चरति । सामुत्थायिकैरवगृहीतो वा  
राज्योपघातम् मर्षयति । प्रकृतिषु अगूढं सुखमुच्छेत्तुम् भवति । व्याधिते विशेषः पापरोगी  
अपापरोगी च नवेऽपि अभिजातोऽनभिजात इति<sup>5</sup>

“(Which is better), a diseased or a new king? The authorities say. In a diseased king's *rājya*, either the *rājya* suffers on account of Officers (upon whom the king has to rely), or the king loses his life on account of the *rājya* (i.e. the five *dravyaprakrtis*). But a new

of Mahāpadma and his line being in possession of “the earth which K will rescue” (*uddharisyati*) for the Mauryas, and reference is made to Mahāpadma's *śāsana* being absolute (*anullāghita*) see Pargiter, *Dyns. Kali Age*, pp. 25-6. According to tradition, K, who was proud of his learning, wanted to occupy a seat of honour in the Nanda court, and, being insulted, swore to destroy his dynasty. The tradition is known to the *Bṛhatkathā*.

5 Cf. *Mudrā Rāksasa*, Act IV 15—*Maurye naye rājani*. Viśākhadatta depended on incorrect tradition. See my paper “Was Candragupta low-born?” in *IHQ*, VIII, pp. 466 ff.

king pleases and benefits the (dravya)prakrtis by favour, remission of taxes, gift and honour according to his own dharma. But Kautilya dissents and says: "A diseased king performs his kingly duties as directed. But a new king, thinking 'this kingdom, obtained by force, is mine,' behaves arbitrarily and without restraint, or, being under the clutches of those who elevated him to the throne, suffers the kingdom to be oppressed, and, being unpopular, is easily uprooted. There is, however, a distinction among diseased kings,—the disease may be pāparoga or aparoga, also among new kings,—the king may be high-born or low-born."

The term *nava* means "not hereditary" it is used antithetically to *pitṛpatāmaha* in Bk I, ch 8 where Kaunapadanta is stated to have recommended hereditary Officers (*pitṛpatāmahān amātyān*),<sup>6</sup> while Vātavayādhi is represented as opposing this view and recommending instead the appointment of new men (*navān amātyān kurvīta*) to these offices, and Kautilya himself a 'new man' (cf Roman *novus homo*), characteristically approves of the appointment of able Officers, irrespective of their being 'new' or hereditary, descent from a high State-officer being in his eyes no qualification. Concerning, however, the desirability of having a 'new' king, it is to be noted that the question raised is not the theoretical question: Which is better? A new king or a hereditary king? The question is: Which is better? A new king or a diseased king? By implication, of course, this 'diseased king' could not be a 'new king', for, there can be no sense in calling for choice between a 'diseased new king' and simply a 'new king' free from disease. The question therefore amounts to this: Which is better? A diseased monarch ruling by hereditary right, or an undiseased monarch having no

6 K distinguishes *mantrināh* from *amātyāh* in Bk I, ch 8 as 'advisers' from 'executive officers'. An *amātya* could be a *mantrin* only when he had passed three tests initiated by the *purohita* (ch 10) whose qualifications (detailed in ch 9) include training *sadāṅge vede darve nṛmitte dandanīyām ca*. K sets no limit to the number of *mantrins* constituting the *mantriparisad*.

hereditary right to the throne? The question is raised not for the first time by K it had been raised by his predecessors denominated vaguely as *ācāryāb*. They had evidently been faced with a situation which left them to choose between a diseased king and a new king. In other words, a ruling king of an established dynasty was afflicted with disease, and the appointment of a new king had to be contemplated. The pre-Kautilian authorities sanctioned the overthrow of an existing dynasty, because the king was diseased, and favoured the appointment of a king having no hereditary right to the throne. We are most forcefully reminded of *Mahāpādma*, his dynasty is designated *nava*-Nanda, apparently as distinguished from his predecessors, the *pūrva*-Nandas from whom according to the *Brhatkathā*, Candragupta was descended. And when we reflect on K's adverse remarks relating to the behaviour of *nava* kings and to their being 'easily uprooted', the traditional picture of K uprooting the overbearing and arbitrary *nava*-Nandas gains in definition. The picture stands out in vivid relief as K. goes on to discuss the next pair of alternatives

दुर्बलोऽभिजातो बलवानभिजातो राजेति ? दुर्बलस्याभिजातस्य उपजापम् दौर्बल्यापेक्षा प्रकृतयः कृच्छ्रेण उपगच्छन्ति । बलवत्श्वानभिजातस्य बलापेक्षा सुखेन इत्याचार्याः ।

नेति कौटिल्यः । दुर्बलमभिजातम् प्रकृतयः स्वयम् उपनमन्ति । जालम् ऐश्वर्यप्रकृति' अनुवर्तत इति । बलवत्श्वानभिजातस्य उपजापम् विषवादयन्ति । अनुयोगे साद्रुण्यम् इति ।<sup>7</sup>

“(Which is better), a weak and high-born king, or a strong and low-born king? The authorities say. In the case of a weak and high-born king, the prakrtis (i.e. the dravyaprakrtis having regard to his weakness, endure with difficulty (i.e. hardly tolerate) his secret measures, and, in the case of a strong and low-born king, they,

7 In place of अनुयोगे साद्रुण्यम् we should perhaps read अनुरागे सार्वगुण्यम्—cf Bk VII ch 5—ज्ञीणलुब्धा हि प्रकृतयः भर्तरि खिग्धा भर्तृहिते तिष्ठन्ति । उपजापम् वा विषवादयन्ति । अनुरागे सार्वगुण्यम् इति ।

8 Cf *Mudrārāksasa* II

अपि क्षमन्तेऽस्मदुपजापं चन्द्रगुप्तप्रकृतयः ? बाढं क्षमन्ते यथाप्रकाशमनुगच्छन्त्येव ।

having regard to his strength, endure with ease (i.e. submit to) his secret measures. But Kautilya dissents and says: "The prakrtis spontaneously submit to a weak and high-born king, for, it is a characteristic of power to attach itself to high birth. And (the prakrtis) baffle the secret measures of a strong and low-born king, for, the character of virtue (is revealed) in enquiry."<sup>9</sup>

It will be observed that, in these combinations of the categories of birth and strength, the pre-Kautiliya thinkers emphasize the importance of strength and pass over the factor of birth, whereas K. considers high birth to be more important than strength, consistently with his view expressed in Bk. VI. ch. I that the king should be *mahākulinah*, "of high family." This is significant as showing that K.'s master was of high birth and displaced a line of strong but low-born monarchs whose elevation to the throne had met with approval from the pre-Mauryan politicians whom K. calls the *ācaryāb*. Those politicians seem to have found Mahānanda, the last member of the well-born dynasty of earlier Nandas (pūrva-Nanda), weak (*durbala*), diseased (*vyādhitā*) and having no eye for Law (*andha* or *śāstracaksus*), and decided to sanction the transference of royalty from Mahānanda to Mahāpadma, a new *nava* and low-born *anabhijāta* monarch, described in the Purānas as a son of Mahānanda by a Śūdra woman, who made himself powerful (*balavān*) by securing control over *śāstra*, *śāstra* and *bhū*, i.e. over Law, Army and Land. The relation headed by K. overthrew Mahāpadma's line and re-established on the throne the high-born Candragupta, a scion of the earlier Nanda dynasty, who changed his dynastic designation apparently because 'Nanda' had become a hated name. K. instituted a reform in the constitution by taking away from the king all real control over Law.

HARIT KRISHNA DEB

<sup>9</sup> Or, if we emend the text as suggested above (note 7),—"for, all virtue is comprised in devotion."

## The Beginnings of Intercourse between India and China

In his epoch-marking paper entitled *Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde* Prof Paul Pelliot discussed the various views put forward in modern times on the origin of the name China, and reached the conclusion that the hypothesis put forward in 1655 A D by Father Martini deriving the name from that of the first Ts'in dynasty (249-207 B.C) was the most satisfactory explanation so far known. He said that this etymology was satisfactory from the standpoints of phonetics and geography, historically probable and still attested by indigenous Chinese tradition<sup>1</sup>. This was in 1904.

When the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya came to light some years later, the late Prof Jacobi stood up for its authenticity and a fourth century date for the present text, and he did not shrink from the logical results that followed from his stand. Two of the theses put forward by him are of interest to the subject of this paper. One of them relates to the name of China. In *Kautilya*, II, 11 we have the expression, *kaśeyam cinapattāśca cinabbūmīṇāb*. This is a clear reference to varieties of Chinese silk<sup>2</sup>. If the name China is rightly derived from Ts'in, then the occurrence of this name in a work professedly of the late fourth or early third century B.C renders it suspect, and this is, in fact, the ground taken by some scholars who assign the work in its present form to a date much later than the reign of Candragupta Maurya. But Jacobi follows the other alternative and says: "The name *Cina* is hence secured as a designation for China in B.C. 300, so that the derivation of the word China from the dynasty of Ts'in (B.C. 247) is definitely ex-

1 *BEFEO*, IV, p. 149.

2 Jacobi renders *cinapatta* into ribbons of silk, and Pelliot objects to it with reason. *Toung Pao*, XIII, p. 728 n.

ploded. On the other hand, this notice is of interest also as proving the export of Chinese silk into India in the fourth century B C ”<sup>3</sup>

This position of Jacobi was discussed soon after by Laufer and Pelliot in the *Toung Pao*<sup>4</sup> The former accepted Jacobi's arguments as conclusive and even suggested that the Chinese Buddhists of later times first encountered the name *Cina* in Sanskrit texts and then by a most happy chance read the word *Ts'in* into the word *Cina* He said that the Chinese were not known to have called themselves 'the people of Ts'in' and added 'There is no reason to believe that the word *Cina* had its origin in China or its foundation in a Chinese word It is very possible that it arose in India or in Farther India' He then made the interesting observation "the one fact clearly stands out that the series of names headed by *Cina* or *Tsina* and followed by the classical names *Thina* or *Sina* and finally ending in our word China spread along the maritime route of the Indian ocean, in opposition to the names *Seres* and *Serike* by which China became known in the West overland' He concluded by suggesting that as I-tsing says that *Chi-na* more specifically related to Canton, *Cina* might have been the ancient (perhaps Malayan) name of this part of the Chinese coast in times anterior to the settlement of the Chinese in those regions

Pelliot on the other hand was much more critical of Jacobi's arguments on the age of the *Kautiliya*, but proceeded to show that the connection between Ts'in and China could still be maintained even with a 300 B C date for Kautilya He set aside Laufer's view that the name *Cina* reached India along the sea route, he said "It is only in the second half of the third century B C that the influence of the Chinese reached Kuang-tong, and there is no trace of a navigation which might have placed Southern China in commercial relations with the Indian ocean from this period When,

3 *SKPA*, 1911, p 961, as translated by Laufer in *TP*, xiii, p 719

4 xiii (1912), pp 718-42

towards 128 A D, Chang Kien, being the first to traverse the route across Chinese Turkestan, sojourned in Bactriana, he saw there Chinese products which had come by way of India, but these products were textiles and bamboos of Sseu-Ch'uan, and for going from China to India they did not make use of the sea route by Canton or Tonkin, but the land route by Upper Burma. It is very probable that it is by this way also that the Hindus gained their first knowledge of the Chinese world. That this knowledge might go back to the fourth century B C is not absolutely impossible. Indeed from this time, the kingdom of Tch'ou, which was not Chinese by its origins but already moved in the Chinese orbit, extended up to Yunnan, communications, very precarious, might from this period have revealed to each other the two great civilizations of Eastern Asia. But there is nothing to show that such was in reality the case. It seems much more probable that the first relations were a reaction to the formidable shake by which Ts'in Che-houang-ti galvanized all the peoples to the south of the Blue River. We thus think it quite possible that the Chinese were known in India under the dynastic title of this sovereign, who was no doubt abhorred by his countrymen, but who was probably the most magnificent leader of men his country had so far produced, and who knew how in a few years to extend considerably to the south and to the north-west the prestige of his race and name."

Pelliot then cited two passages from the *Ts'ien han chou* relating to the first century B C in which the Chinese are called 'people of Ts'in,'<sup>5</sup> and showed that among the Hiong-nu as in India the most ancient name for China and the Chinese was derived from Ts'in. And he added "If by chance the date 300 B C is confirmed for the appearance of the name *Cina* in India in the sense of China, we should then suppose that it was the state of Ts'in,

anterior to the dynasty of Ts'in Che-houang-ti, that gave rise to it. This state is found in Chàn-si in the N W of China, in contact with the populations of Central Asia," but like the name Khitai in later times the name Cina began to be applied to China first in Central Asia from that of the principality by which one entered China from there. But as there is as yet no decisive evidence of such a high antiquity for the name Cina, he concluded, the view that the name is a memento of Ts'in Che-houang-ti seems still to be the most probable. This view holds the field and is followed unreservedly by Cordier in his *Histoire Générale de la Chine* <sup>6</sup>

The second thesis of Jacobi that concerns us is his view that the *Kautiliya* throws light on the age of the Hindu colonisation of the East. He suggested that the phrase *abhūtapūrvam janapadam* in the chapter on Janapadaniveśa (II, 1) must be taken to refer to Indo-China, as by Kautilya's time the whole of India had become fully Hinduised. Accordingly he concluded that the spread of the Brahminical religion and the Sanskrit language in Indo-China must have begun many centuries earlier than is usually supposed. Both Louis Finot and Pelliot are inclined to dismiss the argument as of no value. They are impressed by the fact that the Chinese evidence on Fu-nan does not take us further back than the third or second century A D, <sup>7</sup> and feel that we should have much more direct evidence before we can proceed to date the beginning of the Hindu expansion to the East earlier than the commencement of the Christian era. Finot has argued that, though Brahminised, Dekkan still offered vast spaces for settlement, and that Kautilya must have had them in mind, rather than thought of distant Indo-China. And he brushes aside the reference in the *Mahāvamsa* <sup>8</sup> to Aśoka's missions to Suvarnabhūmi as religious history having nothing to tell us on the history of colonisation.

<sup>6</sup> Pp 213-4

<sup>7</sup> *BEFEO*, xii (1912) No 8, pp 1-4, *TP*, xiii (1912), p 729      <sup>8</sup> xii 44

Blagden, on the other hand, is inclined to a less sceptical estimate of the value of the *Mahāvamsa* story. He says: "The precise position of Suvannabhūmi is not beyond doubt, but its early missionaries, Sona and Uttara, have long been claimed by Burma as the founders of their branch of the Church, and though the tale has been embellished with many legendary accretions in the course of ages, it can hardly on that account be dismissed as being altogether devoid of foundation. Evidence is gradually accumulating from various different quarters which tends to show that Indian influence made itself felt in Indo-China from about the beginning of the Christian era, or possibly even two or three centuries before that date, and there seems to be nothing antecedently improbable in the story of a Buddhist mission being sent there at a relatively early period, though it may well be hazardous at present to attempt to fix that date exactly."<sup>9</sup>

For the contacts established in these very early times it is not surprising that we lack more direct evidence and are thrown on guesses based on slight hints derived from different quarters. But there are two pieces of evidence bearing directly on the antiquity of maritime relations between India and China, which confirm each other and together seem to constitute as direct an evidence of these contacts as we are ever likely to get. One of them we owe to Pelliot himself. It is a passage from the *Ts'ien han chou* of Pan Kou, a Chinese writer who lived not later than the first century A.D. The passage is as follows:

"From the gates of Je-nan,<sup>10</sup> from Siu-Wen and Ho-p'ou travelling by boat for five months we reach the kingdom of Ton-Yuan. After a further journey of about four months by sea is reached the kingdom of Yi-lou-mo. By sailing still further for a period of over twenty days, the kingdom of Chen-li is reached

<sup>9</sup> *Ep Birm*, III, pp 83-84

<sup>10</sup> Upper Annam, at the interior of the Gulf of Tonkin

From there you travel more than ten days by land to the kingdom of Fou-kan-tou-lou<sup>11</sup> From the kingdom of Fou-kan-tou-lou, going by boat for more than two months you reach the kingdom of Houang-tche The habits of the people there generally resemble those of the people of Tchou-yai These are extensive and populous lands, full of strange products From the time of Emperor Wou (140-86 B C) all of them have been sending tribute<sup>12</sup> There are official interpreters who belong to the (administration of the) palace *houang-men* (*yellow-gate*), with the recruits they go by sea to buy shining pearls, glass,<sup>13</sup> rare stones and strange products, giving gold and silks in exchange In the lands to which they go, the people supply them with food and join them in their repast The merchant ships of the foreigners take them to their destination by turns These foreigners also profit by the trade, (besides) they also plunder and kill people Moreover (the passengers) have to be afraid of tempests which drown them If nothing happens, they take many years to go and come back The large pearls measure up to seven fingers<sup>14</sup> In the period of *Yuan-che* (1-6 A D) of the emperor P'ing, Wang Mang desired to transform the government and manifest stately power He sent rich presents to the king of Houang-tche and asked him to send an embassy bringing a live rhinoceros as tribute From the kingdom of Houang-tche, going by boat for about eight months, we reach P'i-tsong<sup>15</sup> Travelling again by sea for about two months, we get to the frontier of Siang-lin in Je-nan They say that to the south of Houang-tche lies the kingdom of Ssen-tch'eng-pou, whence the interpreter envoys of the Han return<sup>16</sup>

11 Pagan—Ferrand—*JA*, 11 14 p 47

12 1c have had trade relations with China See *Colas*, II, p 25

13 pi—lieou-li, sometimes taken to be *vaidurya*

14 Pelliot himself expresses a doubt about his translation of this sentence

15 Pisang island on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula *JA*, 11 14, p 47

16 Pelliot in *Toung Pao* XIII (1912), pp 457-9, cf *JA*, 11 13, pp 451-5

It is seen, observes Pelliot, that Pan-Kou has joined two series of data, one going back to the period of the emperor Wou (140-86 B C), and the other coming from the envoys of Wang Mang in the initial years of the Christian era. He also points out that in this passage, in spite of its obscurities, we are in the realm of history, not legend. Now the country which is reached after a year's voyage from the coasts of Indo-China, and from which pearls and glass were procured, must have been in the midst of the Indian Ocean,<sup>17</sup> possibly even at its western end. Herrmann locates Houang-tche in Abyssinia and Laufer in Malaya, Ferrand rejects these identifications with good reason,<sup>18</sup> and says "Phonetically, the equivalence Houang-tche < Kāñcī is satisfactory for the epoch of Han, historically it is possible"<sup>19</sup> that China had relations with Kāñcī in the second century B C. Let us note also this. A Cōla embassy of the eleventh century from Coromandel to Canton took eight months to complete the journey, Pan Kou gives ten months to one year for the same voyage, nearly a dozen centuries earlier Chinese vessels, it should be noted finally, had not yet begun to sail to India, they began to do so only much later. And the Chinese are distinctly stated by Pan Kou to have depended for their transport on foreign ships. But he makes it no less clear that from the first century B C the products of Southern India had begun to reach China by sea, and that at the beginning of the Christian era, under orders of the Court, a Chinese mission traversed the entire Indian Ocean.<sup>20</sup>

Thus we have good reason to think that the maritime contacts between China and Southern India reach as far back as the second century. This is confirmed by a curious find of a Chinese coin, most probably of the second century B C, from Mysore. This coin was discovered in 1909 by R. A. Narasimhachar in the

17 Pelliot, *ibid*, p 460

19 *JA*, II, 4, pp 45-6

18 *JA*, II, 13, p 453 n 2

20 *TP*, XIII, p 461

Candravalli site, and Taw Sein Ko to whom the coin was referred made the following observations on it <sup>21</sup>

“There are four Chinese characters on the coin, of which three are very much blurred. The following dates have been suggested 138 B C, 502 A D, and 886 A D. The first appears to be the most appropriate, because in the second century B C, during the reign of Emperor Han Wu-ti, the limits of the Chinese Empire almost coincided with its present boundaries and Chinese arms were carried to Korea in the north, to Tibet in the west, and to Annam in the south. Most probably, Chinese merchants visited Southern India during that period, and they came from Canton or some other southern port bringing with them Chinese brass coins of low value. It is on record that, during the early centuries of the Christian era, there was a brisk commerce carried on between China and Southern India and Ceylon.”

If the Chinese traversed the entire Indian Ocean at the beginning of the Christian era and used foreign vessels earlier in the second century B C for travelling to and from Kāñci, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the eastern expansion of Hinduism began much earlier than is commonly believed.

The antiquity of land contacts again does not rest only on the texts of Kautilya discussed by Jacobi. The term *Cīna* occurs in many early Sanskrit texts, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Manusmṛiti*, as is well known, but the trouble is that there is no general agreement on the exact age of the particular texts that enter into such discussions, but it seems that the prevailing views err by underrating the antiquity of the contacts between India and China both by land and sea, and that, on the whole, Jacobi and Winternitz were nearer the truth in their estimates of the chronology of Indian literature and culture than others have found it possible to concede.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

## Jambudvīpa-prajñapti-samgraha of Padmanandi

Indian cosmography is a subject by itself. Many Jaina texts, earlier and later, both in Prākṛit and Sanskrit, treat this subject in an exhaustive manner giving many a minute detail. In the Ardhamā-gadhī canon, works like *Sūrapannatti*, (Skt. Sūryaprajñapti), *Jambud-  
diva-pannatti* (Skt. Jambudvīpa-prajñapti) and *Camdapannatti* (Skt. Candra-prajñapti) are devoted to this subject. An excellent account of Jaina cosmography is given by Dr. W. Kūrfel in his work *Die Kosmographie der Inder* (Bonn u. Leipzig, 1920, pp. 208-340). Many Śvetāmbara texts, both canonical and non-canonical, are used by him. Among the Digambara works Indravāmadeva's *Trailokya-  
dīpikā* and Nemicandī's *Trailokyasāra* (Prākṛit) are drawn upon. With the Digambaras *Tiloyapannatti* (Skt. Trilokaprajñapti) of Jadvāsaha (Skt. Yativāsaha) and *Jambuddivapannatti* (Skt. Jambu-  
dvīpa-prajñapti) of Paumanandi (Skt. Padmanandi) are considered as the most important Prākṛit works dealing with cosmography. So far as I know, no commentaries are available on these texts, and further the obscurity of the subject-matter and the unsatisfactory preservation of the text only heighten the difficulties of a student who wants to wade through the technical details of these works. From the linguistic point of view these two texts are very important, as they contain much additional matter for the student of Prākṛit grammar. *Tiloyapannatti* is being tentatively edited by me in the *Jaina Antiquary* (Arrah, Bihar), and I propose to discuss in this article some important details about *Jambuddivapannatti*, a Ms. of which has just reached my hands.

The paper Ms., measuring 14 by 8½ inches, is a recent copy (Vaiśākha śu. 1, Samvat 1971), and belongs to the Aṅkura Pannālāla Digambara Jaina Pāṭhaśālā, Sholapur. It has 84 leaves in double

folios Though carefully copied in bold Devanāgarī script, there are scribal errors here and there

The copyist calls it *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti*, but the actual title of the text, as mentioned in the colophons of various Uddeśas, is *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti-samgraha*. The word *samgraha* indicates that the author is compiling the contents from some earlier source, whose name was perhaps *Divasāgarapannatti*, as indicated by the following two verses

दे वन्दिदृश निरमा वोच्छ्रामि जहा-फलेण जिशा-दिदृ ।  
 आश्रियपरम्परया पगणति दीव जलधीग ॥  
 अश्रिय-परम्परया सायर दीवाण तथा य परगणति ।  
 सखेवेण समन्थ वोच्छ्रामि जहाणुपुन्वीए ॥

The contents are attributed to Mahāvīra, they were codified into texts by Ganadharas, and handed down by succeeding teachers (I 8 etc & XIII 141 etc) Padmanandi says that he is writing 'down a summary of what was traditionally handed down

आश्रिय-परम्परेण य गथत्थ चव आगय मम्मं ।  
 उवमहरित्थ लिहिय समासदो डि णायच्च ॥<sup>1</sup>

In all there are thirteen Uddeśas, and the total number of gāthās comes to 2426, as seen from the following table

	Name of the Uddeśas	No of gāthās
I	उवघाय-पत्यावो <sup>2</sup>	74
II	भरहेरावय वस-वराणणो	210
III	पव्वद नदी-भोगभूमि- वगणणो	246
IV.	महाविदेहाहियारे चत्तदेशो <sup>3</sup>	291
V	महाविदेहाहियारे मन्दरगिरि जिशाभवण वराणण	125
VI	महाविदेहाहियारे देवकुरु-उत्तरकुरु विगणाम पत्यारो <sup>4</sup>	177
VII.	महाविदेहाहियारे ऋच्छाविजय-वराणणो	152
VIII	महाविदेहाहियारे पुव्वविदेह वराणणो	198
IX	महाविदेहाहियारे अवरविदेह वराणणो	197

1 The line appears to be defective

2 Is it *upodghāta-prastāvah?*

3 The last word appears to be corrupt

4 The last word looks like *-yaccāro* as well

Name of the Uddeśas	No of gāthās.
X लवण समुह वावरणणो	102
XI बाहिर उहार दीव-दीसायर <sup>5</sup> -नरयगदि-सिद्धखेत वरणणो	365
XII. जोइसलोय वरणणो	113
XIII. पमाण-परिच्छेदो	176

The names of the Uddeśas, read in the light of Dr Kufel's account of Jaina cosmography, give a fair idea of the contents of the work. As far as I have seen, the whole work is written in gāthā metre, and the Prākṛit dialect used by Padmanandi is Jaina Śauvasenī. Now and then there are descriptions of some regions which remind us of the long compounds in the Ardhmāgadhī canon.

Though no date of the composition is mentioned, Padmanandi has supplied us with some information about his spiritual genealogy in the concluding verses. There was a great saint Vīranandi who was endowed with five Mahāvratas, pure in faith, possessed of knowledge and the merits of self-control and penance, free from attachment etc., heroic full of five-fold conduct, kind to six classes of living beings, free from infatuation, and above pleasure and pain (XIII 158-9). His great disciple was Balanandi, who was well-versed in the Sūtras and their interpretation, who was of deep wisdom, who abstained from scandalising others, who was free from attachment, and who was endowed with faith, knowledge and conduct (XIII 160-1). And his disciple was Paumanandi (Sk. Padmanandi), endowed with many a virtue, free from three Dandas pure with reference to three Śalyas, free from three Gāravas, who had reached the other end of Siddhānta, who was endowed with penances and other vows, who was devoted to faith, knowledge and conduct, and who was free from preliminary sins (XIII 162-3). Padmanandi tells us that he received instructions in the scripture from Sūri Vijaya (Sk. Śrīvijaya), also mentioned as Rasi Vijaya (Sk.

Rsi Vijaya), who was a great monk of spiritual virtues and a great teacher of Paramāgama (XIII 144-5, 164) There was a famous and learned monk Māghanandi, he had a well-disciplined and wise pupil Sakalacandra, his disciple was Śrīnandi, and it is for the sake of Śrīnandi that Padmanandi wrote this work The work was written when Padmanandi was staying in Bārā-nayara, i e the town of Bārā, in the country of Pariyatra, the contemporary king of which was Śānti-bhūpāla<sup>6</sup> (*Vārā-nayarassa pabū naruttamo Sa[m]tibhūpālo*, 166) who was respected by the sovereign king (Narapati), who was heroic, who was endowed with many religious virtues, and was devoted to Jainism To state the bare facts in brief, Padmanandi was a monk, his immediate predecessor was Balanandi, the pupil of Viranandi He studied under Śrīvijaya, and composed or compiled this work for Śrīnandi, the disciple of Sakalacandra, the pupil of Māghanandi The work was composed in the town of Bāra in the country of Pariyatra, when the contemporary chief was Śānti

To commemorate the memory of Winternitz who has so much obliged the students of Indian literature by his authoritative studies, I have just introduced this work to the students of Prākṛit literature An attempt to discuss the date and other details will be made at a later stage as I am in search of some more Ms material

A N UPADHYE

6 The Ms reads Sati, apparently a scribal error for Samti=Śānti

## Gaudapāda

“नैतद् बुद्धेन भाषितम् ।”

“This is not said by the Buddha ”

The following is the last but one kārīkā of the fourth or last chapter of Gaudapāda's *Āgamaśāstra*

क्रमते नहि बुद्धस्य ज्ञान धर्मेषु तायिनः ।

सर्वं धर्मास्तथा ज्ञान नैतद् बुद्धेन भाषितम् ॥

Literally it says that according to the Buddha who instructs the way known to him (*tāyin*)<sup>1</sup> *jñāna* 'knowledge' does not approach the *dharmas* 'elements' of existence (i.e. it does not relate itself to the objects) But all *dharmas* and *jñāna*—this is not said by the Buddha

1 The word *tāyin* is thus interpreted by Prajñākaramati in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra pañjikā* p 75 तायिनाम् इति, स्वाधिगतमागोपदेशकानाम् । यदुक्तं ताय स्वदृष्टमागोक्ति (Pramānavārttika, ed R Sānkṛtyāyana, 2 145) See the present writer's paper, 'Pramānavārttika of Dharmakīrti in *IHQ* vol XIII, 1937 This explanation is partly followed by Udayanācārya in his *Tātparyatikā parisuddhi* (Bib Ind) in explaining *tāyin* in Vācaspatiśra's *Tātparyatikā*, 2 (अज्ञपादाय तायिने)। तायी तत्त्वान्यवसायसरक्षणसम्प्रदायप्रवर्तक । Prajñākaramati (*loc cit*) offers another explanation अथवा ताय पन्तानार्थम् आससारमप्रतिष्ठितनिर्वाणतया अवस्थायिनाम् । This word is widely used in Buddhist [c.g. *Lalitavistara*, ed Lefmann, p 421, *Bodhicaryāvatāra* III 2, *Saddharmapundarika* (Bib Bud) pp 25, 57, 67, etc] and Jaina [c.g. Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra*, (Bib Ind, vol 1, pp 1, 47), *Daśavaikāhika* (Devacānd Lalbhai Jain Pustakodhāra, No 49, p 115)] works and is misunderstood. Sometimes it is read as *trāyin* 'protector,' and *tāpm*, as in the present case. As a name for Buddha it is translated into Tibetan by *Skyob pa* (*Mahāvīryūtpatti* § 1 15) which suggests its Sanskrit equivalent *trāyin* 'protector. See *JRAS*, 1910, p 140, *IPTS*, 1891-1893, p 53, *JA*, 1912, p 243, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference* Calcutta, 1922, pp 450-1

It has been repeatedly shown in the *Āgamaśāstra*<sup>2</sup> (specially in IV 96) that *jñāna* is *asanga* 'free from attachment, i e free from any relation to its objects', as the *dharmas* or objects have no reality. Here the author refers to that fact and concludes showing the supreme truth that according to the Buddha there is neither *jñāna* nor *dharmas* as he has said neither of them *naitad buddhena bhāsitam*.

What does the last line mean? Scholars of the orthodox school interpret it in various ways, but without sufficient justification<sup>3</sup>. In this paper an attempt will be made to throw some new light on the line.

In one way it can be said that there are only two things, *jñāna* 'knowledge' and *jñeya* 'knowable' or *dharmas* 'elements of existence', 'objects'. Here we are told that neither of them is said by the Buddha. But how? Has he ever said anything? The Buddhists would give the answer in the negative. According to them the Buddha has never uttered a single word, as the following quotations will show.

Nāgārjuna in his *Madhyamakakārikā*, XX, 25

सर्वोपलम्भोपशम. प्रपञ्चोपशम शिव ।

न क्वचित् कस्यचित् कश्चिद् धर्मो बुद्धेन देशितः ॥

*Tathāgataḡuhyasūtra* quoted in the *Madhyamakavṛtti* on the above

याञ्च रात्रि तथागतोऽनुत्तरा सम्यक् सम्बोधिमभिसम्बुद्धो याञ्च रात्रिमुपादाय परि-  
निर्वास्यति अत्रान्तरे तथागतेन एकमन्यत्तरं नोदाहृतं न व्याहृतं नापि प्रव्याहरति नापि  
प्रव्याहरिष्यति ।

2 See IV 72 चित्तं निर्विषय नित्यमसङ्गं तेन कीर्तितम् ।

See also IV 97, 79 (*nihśanga*), cf III 32 (*agraba*)

3 Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Ananta Krishna Shastri *Vedāntaraksāmanī*, 1937, Introduction, p 6

4 See our text, IV 1

*Lankāvatāra*, ed. B Nanjio, 1923, pp. 142-3:

याञ्च रात्रि तद्यागतोऽभिसम्बुद्धो याञ्च रात्रि परिनिर्वास्यति अत्रान्तरे एकमवचरं  
तथागतैर्न नोदाहृतं न प्रव्याहरिष्यति । अवचनं बुद्धवचनम् ।

Nāgārjuna in his *Nirauṣamyastava*, ed G Tucci, *JRAS*, 1932, pp 309 ff 17.

नोदाहृत त्वया किञ्चिदेकमप्यवचरं विभो ।

कृतञ्च वैनेयजनो धर्मवर्षेण तपितः ॥

Bhagavat quoted in *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p 264, and *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, p 365 (with a slight change)

अनञ्चरस्य धर्मस्य श्रुति का देशना चका ।

श्रूयते देशयते चापि समारोपादनञ्चरः ॥

*Lankāvatāra*, p. 137

न मे यामं महायानं न घोषो न च अञ्चराः ।<sup>5</sup>

तत्सर्वं ह्यञ्चरवर्जितम् । *Op cit*, p 48

निरञ्चरत्वात्तत्त्वस्य । *Op cit* p 190

*Vajracchedikā*, ed Max Muller, p 24

तत् किं मन्यसे सुभूते अपि न्वस्ति स कश्चिद्धर्मो यस्तथागतेन देशितः । एवमुक्तं  
आयुष्मान् सुभूतिर्भगवन्तमेवमोवचत् । यथाहं भगवन् भगवतो भाषितस्यार्थमाजानामि  
नास्ति स कश्चिद् धर्मो यस्तथागतेनानुत्तरा सम्यक्सम्बोधिरित्यभिमम्बुद्धो नास्ति धर्मो  
यस्तथागतेन देशितः ॥

तत् किं मन्यसे सुभूते अपि न्वस्ति स कश्चिद्धर्मो यस्तथागतेन भाषितः ।  
सुभूतिराह । नो हीदं भगवन् नास्ति स कश्चिद्धर्मो यस्तथागतेन भाषितः ।

*Lankāvatāra*, p 144

यस्याञ्च रात्रयां धिगमो यस्याञ्च परिनिर्वृतः ।

एतस्मिन्नन्तरे नास्ति मया किञ्चित् प्रकाशितम् ॥

*Madhyamakavṛtti*, p 539

अवाचऽनञ्चराः सर्वे शून्याः शान्तादिनिर्मलाः ।

य एवं जानति धर्मान् कुमारो बुद्ध सोच्यते ॥

5 Cf *Āgamaśāstra*, IV 60 यत्र वर्णा न वर्तन्ते ।

The passages quoted above show that the Buddha has said nothing. Let us now try to understand what it signifies. This statement is based on two grounds (i) *pratyātmadharmatā*, i.e. the nature of the highest truth that it is realised in one's own self, and (ii) *paurāṇasthitidharmatā*, i.e. the nature of the elements of existence that remains from the past. This requires some explanation.

As regards the first it is held that the transcendental reality (*paramārtha*) springs up only as an inward conviction (*pratyātmavedya*), it cannot be attained through an instruction from others (*aparapratyaya = paropadeśāgamya*), for it cannot be expressed by any speech or word. So we are told that for the noble the transcendental truth is silence.<sup>6</sup> This is well-known in the Vedānta.<sup>7</sup> Candrakīrti writes in his *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 493

सर्वं एवायमभिधानामिधेयज्ञानज्ञेयादिव्यवहारोऽशेषो लोकसंवृत्तिसत्यमित्युच्यते । नहि परमार्थत एव तत् सम्भवति । कुतस्तत्र परमार्थे वाचा प्रवृत्तिः कुतो वा ज्ञानस्य । स हि परमार्थोऽपरप्रत्ययः शान्तः प्रत्यात्मवेद्य आर्याणां सर्वप्रपञ्चालीनः । स नोपदिश्यते न चापि ज्ञायते ।

Thus the Buddha did not say anything in fact, yet the people according to their own dispositions think that he did so. We read therefore in a text, *Tathāgataguhyasūtra*, quoted in the *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 539, just after the passage, No. 2, cited above

अथ च यथाधिसुक्ता सर्वसत्त्वा नानाधात्वाशयास्ता ता विविधा तथागतवाचं निश्चरन्तीं संजानन्ति । तेषामेवं पृथक् पृथक् भवति । अथ भगवान् अस्मभ्यमिमं धर्मं देशयति । वयं च तथागतस्य धर्मदेशना शृणुमः । तत्र तथागतो न कल्पयति न विकल्पयति सर्वकल्पविकल्पजातवासनाप्रपञ्चविगतो हि शान्तमते तथागत इति विस्तरः ।

यदि तथैवं [न] क्वचित् कस्यचित् [त] कश्चि-]द्धर्मो बुद्धेन देशितस्तत् कथमिम एते विचित्रा प्रवचनव्यवहारा प्रज्ञायन्ते । उच्यते । अविद्यानिद्रानुगतानां देहिनां स्वप्रायमानानामिव

6 *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 56 परमार्थो हि आर्याणां तूष्णीम्भावः ।

7 *Tattīriya Upanisad*, II 4 1 यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह ।  
See also *Katha Upanisad* II 3, *Brahmasūtras* with *Sankara*, III 2-17, *The Basic Conception of Buddhism* pp. 19 ff

स्वविकल्पाभ्युदय एषः । अयं भगवान् सकललिभुवनसुरासुरनरनाथ इमं धर्ममस्मेभ्यं देशयतीति ।

The following may also be cited here from the *Lankāvatāra*, p 194.

न च महामते तथागत अक्षरपतित धर्मं देशयन्ति ।० पुनर्महामते योऽक्षरपतितं धर्मं देशयति स प्रलपति । निरक्षरत्वाद् धर्मस्य । अत एतस्मात् कारणात्ममहामते उक्तं देशनापाठे मयान्यैश्च बुद्धबोधिसत्त्वैर्यथैकमप्यक्षरं तथागता नोदाहरन्ति न प्रव्याहरन्तीति । तत् कस्य हेतोर्यदनक्षरत्वाद्धर्माणाम् । न च नार्थोपसंहितमुदाहरन्ति । उदाहरन्त्येव विकल्पमुपादायानुपादायान् (०दानान् ?) महामते सर्वधर्माणां शासनलोपः स्यात् ।

And the conclusion arrived at here is that one should rest on the meaning and not on only letters, for one who rests on letters not only ruins oneself, but also cannot make others understand

अर्थप्रतिशरणेन<sup>8</sup> महामते बोधिसत्त्वेन महासत्त्वेन भवितव्यं न व्यञ्जनप्रतिशरणेन ।<sup>8</sup> व्यञ्जानानुसारो महामते कुलपुत्रो वा कुलदुहिता वा स्वात्मानं च नाशयति परार्थाश्च नावबोधयति । *Op cit*, pp 194-95

This second ground is this The Buddha has said nothing because what he is reported to have said was from the past Nothing depends on the birth or absence of birth of the Tathāgatas, the true nature of elements of existence remains always the same This is meant by the statement that the speech of the Buddha is no speech (अवचन बुद्धवचनम्).

Taking both the grounds together the *Lankāvatāra* says (pp. 143-4)

यदुक्तं भगवता याञ्च रात्रिं तथागतोऽभिसम्बुद्धो याञ्च रात्रिं परिनिर्वास्यति अत्रान्तर एकमप्यक्षरं तथागतेन नोदाहृतं न प्रव्याहरिष्यति अवचनं बुद्धवचनमिति किमिदं सन्धायोक्तम् । भगवानाह । धर्मद्वयं महामते सन्धाय मयैतदुक्तम् । कतमद्धर्मद्वयम् । यदुत प्रत्यात्म-धर्मताञ्च पौराणस्थितिधर्मताञ्च ।० उत्पादाद् वा तथागतानामनुत्पादाद्वा तथागताना स्थितैवैषा धर्माणां धर्मता धर्मस्थितिता धर्मनियामता पौराणनगरमहापथवन्महामते । तद्

8 In such cases other texts read °pratisarana for °pratisarana

यथा कश्चिदेव पुरुषोऽटव्यां पर्यटन् पौराण नगरमनुपश्येदभविक्कलप्रवेश । स तं नगरं मनुप्रविशेत् । तत्र प्रविश्य प्रतिनिविश्य नगरं नगरक्रियासुखमनुभवेत् । तत् किं मन्यसे महामते अपि नु तेन पुरुषेण स पन्था उत्पादितो येन पथा तं नगरमनुप्रविष्टो नगरवैचित्र्यञ्च । आह । नो भगवन् । भगवानाह । एवमेव महामते यन्मया तैश्च तथागतैरधिगतं स्थितैवैषा धर्मता धर्मस्थितिता धर्मनियामता तथता भूतता सत्यता । अत एतस्मात् कारणान्महामते मयेदमुक्तं याञ्च रात्रि तथागतोऽभिसम्बुद्धो नोदाहरिष्यति ॥

The following may also be quoted here from the *Vajracchedikā*, p 24, just after the passage, No 9, cited above

तत् कस्य हेतोः । योऽसौ तथागतेन धर्मोऽभिसम्बुद्धो देशितो वा अप्राप्य सोऽनभिलष्य । न स धर्मो नाधर्मः । तत् कस्य हेतोः । असंस्कृतप्रभाविता ह्यार्यपुद्गला ।

This is the significance of the passage under discussion (i.e. सर्वे धर्मास्तथा ज्ञानं नैतद् बुद्धेन भाषितम्, IV 99), and it is reasonable that the author who begins the chapter (IV) with *jñāna* and *dharmas*<sup>9</sup> should state in conclusion the transcendental truth about them

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

## A Tun-huang Prelude to the Karandavyūha

Manuscript No 241<sup>1</sup> of the Pelliot Tibetan Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, deserves to be studied thoroughly. Here is, in the meantime, a brief analysis.

The title, in Tibetan, which can be translated, or restored in Sanskrit *bhūta-mārga-nrdeśa* (གཞིན་ལས་བསྟན་བ་)<sup>2</sup> is followed by a few lines of Buddhist invocation. Then an instruction anonymous and without any localisation, addresses the dead man in a direct speech (ཚོའདས་བ་ཁྱེད་ཉོན་ཤིག། "O Dead One! Listen!") The anonymous instructor describes the Great Hell (ན་རག་ཆེན་པོ་), the world of the *preta* and the world of the animals, that is to say the three evil *gati*, and then the "land of the gods" (སྤྲི་ཡུལ་) .

The Great Hell lies 8,000 *yojana* below the Jambudvīpa. The dead man who falls (རྒྱུད་) into it can be saved by Avalokiteśvara if he takes refuge in this Bodhisattva by means of the formula  
*ōm hrī hun pad ma pri ya sva hā*

The world of the *preta* is 500 *yojana* below the Jambudvīpa. In case he has fallen there, the dead being who calls upon Gagana-gaṅja is saved by the formula  
*ōm ga ga na sam ba ba ṛa ho da ha sa*

Out of the world of the animals, which lies between the Great Ocean, the Great Iron Mountain and the four *dvīpa*, the deceased is rescued by Nan-can-sbyon (\*Durgatīśodhana) through his propitiatory formula  
*na ma sa rba dur ga de|| ba ri ṣo da ni|| ra ja ya da*

1 Eighteen sheets of paper measuring 7 cm 8 to 31 cm. The end decorated with a flower and a scaly dragon.

2 I have quoted faithfully the spelling of the Tibetan ms.

*tha ga da ya a ri ba di || çud de byi çud de || sa rba kar rma a ba ra  
na byi çud de sva hā.*<sup>3</sup>

If the dead man manages to escape those three dangers he goes then to the land of the gods, on the Meru, north of the Jambudvīpa. The description of the abode of the gods and of its inhabitants contains nothing unusual, save this indication: Śākyamuni and the *dharmayuvārāja* (ཨོམ་ཀྱི་གྲུབ་ཅན་) Ārya Maitreya reside in the dwelling place of the Tusita *deva*, surrounded by the Bodhisattva Vasumitra (Ba-su-myi-tra), Simhāntariksa (སིང་གི་བར་སྣང་) etc. and innumerable *devaputra*.

After these descriptions of the three evil regions that the dead man must contrive to avoid and of the divine land which he must endeavour to reach, following the instructor's exhortations, come six paragraphs, separated by small drawings. One of them, bearing the title (དུ་སྦྲེས་པ་) can be easily identified, notwithstanding the difficulties which the writing and the spelling of the manuscript offer: it is a version, notably shortened, of the *Balahaḥātaka*.

In short, the Tun-huang manuscript offers a type of popular text which exalts the Bodhisattvas of salvation, and Avalokiteśvara in particular. It is this kind of literature, amplified, much adorned, and above all crowded with ready-made ' clichés ' of the decaying Mahâyânism, which is recognizable in the *Karandavyūha* in prose. This compilation develops, in order to illustrate Avalokiteśvara's liberating influence, the three themes which are also connected with this Bodhisattva in the Tun-huang manuscript: salvation of the beings who have sunken in the Great Hell, miraculous formula, description of a previous life in the shape of the horse saver Balaha.

This comparison between the *sūtra* of the Mahāyāna and the popular text suggests another point in the Tun-huang manus-

3 It is the essential formula of the *Sarvadurgatuparīśodhana-nāmadhāraṇī* of Sanskrit collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, No 62, text 25.

cript, Avalokiteśvara's miraculous formula is *ōm hrī huṃ pad ma pri ya*, whereas in the *Karāṇḍavyūha*, it is the famous *mantra* in six syllables *om maṇi padme huṃ*. But M. Pelliot notes<sup>4</sup> that this magical formula is not attested prior to 1000 A. D. Moreover, there is not a single instance of its appearing upon the thousands of Tibetan sheets and rolls (though many of these are covered with graffiti) found in the T'oung fo-t'ong and which are kept in Paris.

It seems likely that the Tun-huang manuscript is anterior to the period when the *mantra om maṇi padme huṃ* was used, that is, anterior to 1000 A. D., and of course, anterior to the redaction of the *Karāṇḍavyūha* in prose where this *mantra* holds an outstanding place, because, if the manuscript was a shortened reading of the Mahāyānist text, the famous formula would without any doubt have been quoted instead of *ōm hrī huṃ pad ma pri ya*.

MARCELLE LALOU .

<sup>4</sup> *T'oung Pao*, XXXI, 1934, 1-2, pp. 172-76 or *Bibliographie Bouddhique*, VI, No. 173 bis.

## Advaitācāryas of the 12th and 13th Centuries\* •

In the history of the development of the various Advaitic Schools, the period which witnessed the rise of Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita is of importance, because it shows the state of the Advaita philosophy and the criticisms provoked by it. The two main schools of Advaita-Vivarana prasthāna and Bhāmatī prasthāna had already secured adherents throughout India, Vācaspati had been criticised by the Prakatārthakāra as a follower of Mandana who had criticised Śankara. Therefore it is important that we should note the relative chronological position of the various outstanding authors after Śankara.

Śankara, as I have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> cannot be placed later than 620 A D since he is later than Dinnāga and far earlier than Bhavabhūti-Śrīkantha (720 A D) and was the older contemporary of Dharmakīrti. Mr Kunhan Raja has doubted the testimony of I-tsing as to the date of Bhartrhari and gives evidence to show that Bhartrhari must be assigned to an earlier date probably the 5th century.<sup>2</sup> Śurēśvara, the disciple of Śankara is earlier than Pātrakeśari Vidyānanda, the disciple of Akalanka (c 600 A D).<sup>3</sup> Sarvajñātman can no longer be assumed to be the disciple of Surēśvara, as he mentions Dēvēśvara, Dēvānanda and Śreṣṭhānanda as his *guru*, *parama guru* and *parātpara guru*.<sup>4</sup> Sarvajñātman is later than Vimuktātman, the author of *Istasiddhi*, who was later than Bhāskara.<sup>5</sup> Bhāskariya Vēdāntins are mentioned by Prabhācandra,<sup>6</sup> who is a pupil of Akalanka and Vidyānanda. Therefore Bhāskara cannot be placed later than the middle of the 7th century. Moreover Śāntiraksita and his disciple Kamalaśīla (740 A D) criticise

\* The paper was read in the 8th All India Oriental Conference Mysore and now revised.

1 *QJMS* 1930 Proc VIII Or Confce 1935, p 562

2 *S K Iyengar Comm Vol*

3 *An Bh Or Inst*, 1931

4 *Pramāna Lakṣana*, JOR, 1937, *Mad Uni Journal*, 1937

5 *Istasiddhi*, GOS, p 375

6 *Pramēya Kamala Mārtanda*

the Advaita doctrine' and Ubēyaka is criticised by Kamalāsīla and Vimuktātman

Then comes another great figure, Vācaspati (841 A D), who is followed by the Prakatārthakāra The *Pañcapādīkā-vivaraṇa* was written by Prakāśātman, known also as Svayam prakāśānubhava, a disciple of Ananyānubhava,<sup>8</sup> Prakāśātman implies that Ananyānubhava wrote on Ātma Sambuddhi probably referring to the work *Ātmatattva* mentioned by Jñānaghana Jñānaghana was the disciple of Bōdhaghana and wrote his *Tattvasūddhi* on the basis of 'ananyānubhavānandādvītiya ātmatattvam', (which probably implies that Ananyānubhavānanda wrote a work called *Ātmatattva*), prior to Jñānaghana<sup>9</sup> Therefore Jñānaghana was a contemporary of Prakāśātma Yatī who was a disciple of Ananyānubhava guru But the Śingēri list gives early dates for Bōdhaghana and Jñānaghana

Sankara	
Surēśvara	(S 695-777 A D ?)
Nityabōdhaghana	773-848 A D
Jñānaghana	848-910 A D
Jñānōttama Śiva	910-953 A D
Jñānagiri	953-1038 A D
Nisimhagiri	1038-1107 A D
Īśvatīrtha	1098-1146 A D
Nrsimhatīrtha	1146-1228 A D
Vidyātīrtha	1228-1333 A D
Bhāīatī Krsnatīrtha	1333-1380 A D
Vidyāranya	1380-1386 D D

7 *Tattvasamgraha*, GOS, Intro

8 वदे तमात्मसंबुद्धस्फुरद्भवावबोधत ।

अर्थतोपि न नाम्नैव योऽनन्यानुभवो गुरु ॥ *Pañcapādīkā Vivaraṇa*

9 शश्वद्बोधघनस्य यस्य गुरवे तस्मै नम श्रेयसे ॥

If we can safely accept these dates, Jñānaghana must be placed before 910 A D Therefore Ananyānubhava's date also falls in the 9th century and his disciple the Vīvaranakāra must be a contemporary of Jñānaghana The *Vallāla-carita* says that one Bhatta Simhagiri became the preceptor of Ballālasena and that for this *Mahārāja-guru* a Math was constructed at Pradyumnēśvara Mr J C Ghosh<sup>10</sup> thinks that this Simhagiri is the same as Gaudēśvarācārya But in the Śringēri list Jñānottama Śiva was the successor of Jñānaghana and is placed between 910 and 953 A D But the Bhatta Simhagiri is either Nrsimha or Simhagiri (1038-1107 A D) or Nrsimhatīrtha (1146-1228 A D) most probably the latter, who was the contemporary of Ballālasena (c 1150 A D) Therefore it is not possible that Simhagiri was also known as Gaudēśvarācārya If Jñānottama Śiva is the same as Jñānottama Gaudēśvarācārya, he must be the contemporary of some ruler of Bengal in the 10th century

Moreover, there seem to be two Jñānottamas—one a native of the Chola country who wrote commentaries on the Naiskarmya and *Istasiddhi* granthas, and the other Gaudēśvarācārya who is the author of *Nyāyasudhā*, *Jñānasiddhi* and *Jñānasudhā* The first Jñānottama, of the Cola country was not an ascetic and mentions only his father as his preceptor Also he had the appellation 'mīśra', showing his connection with Bengal The guru of Citsukha on the other hand was probably known as Satyānanda also<sup>11</sup> Another disciple of Jñānottama was Vijñānātman<sup>12</sup>

इह खलु निखिलोपनिषत्कदम्बकतात्पर्यपर्यालोचनापरिनिश्चितम् अनन्यानुभवानंदाद्वितीयात्मतत्त्वम् अधिकृत्य केषु चिदर्शेषु तत्त्व परिशोधन विधायते—*Tattvasūddhi* of Jñānaghana (*Mad Uni Journal*, 1937)

10 *IHQ*, Dec 1937

11 ज्योतिर्यद्दक्षिणामूर्तिर्व्यासशकरशब्दितम् ।  
ज्ञानोत्तमाख्यं तद्वदे सत्यानन्दपदोत्थितम् ॥

(*Bhāsyabbāva Prakāśikā* of Citsukha)

12 *Svetaśvatarōpamsadbhāsyatikā* of Vijñānātman

Citsukha is the author of *Bhāsyabhāva Prakāśikā* and *Tattava-pradīpikā*. His disciple was Sukha-prakāśa the author of *Adbhikarana-ratnamālā* and *Tattvapradīpikā-Vyākhyā*. Sukha Prakāśa's disciple Amalānanda is the author of *Kalpataru* (1247-1260 A D)<sup>13</sup>. Another disciple of Sukha Prakāśa was Ānanda Jñāna, the author of *Tarkasamgraha*(?)<sup>14</sup>. The date of Citsukha is therefore c 1200 A D and that of his guru is probably c 1180 A D.

If we investigate the inscriptions at Simhācalam and Śrī kūrnam,<sup>15</sup> we have—

Narasimhamahāmuni Ś 1152, 1168

Narahaṭṭīrtha Śrīpāda (Mādhva) Ś 1186, 1193, 1200, 1213, 1214, and 1215

Narasimha Bhārati Ś 1278, 1280, 1281, 1283

Jagannāthātīrtha Śrīpāda Ś 1295

Vāsudēva Bhārati (disciple of Narasimha Bhārati) Ś 1310

Rāghava Bhārati (disciple of Vāsudēva) Ś 1312

Narasimha mahāmuni is no other than Citsukha Bhattārika of the inscription of Ś 1142, (1220 A D)<sup>15</sup>. The inscriptions also mention a Vāsudēva Yati in 1255 A D and a Narasimha Bhattō-pādhyāya—a family man in 1283 A D. A Citsukha Sāmayājīn is mentioned in the years 1266 and 1284 A D therefore there were at least two Citsukhas separated from each other by an interval of about half a century.

Sukhaprakāśa the disciple of Citsukha I, was also a pupil under Ānandātman. Amalānanda in his *Kalpataru* says that Sukhaprakāśa was his vidyāguru, and his diksāguru was Svayamprabha Anubhavānanda<sup>16</sup> (probably identical with Ānandānubhava) whose

13 *Kalpataru*, सुखप्रकाशयतिन त नौमि विद्यागुरुम् ॥

14 *SII*, V and VI

15 *MER*, 134 and 365 of 1899

16 स्वयंप्रभसुख ब्रह्म दयारचितविग्रहम् ।

यथार्थानुभवानंदपदगीतं गुरु नम ॥—*Kalpataru*

guru was Ānadātma Yati<sup>17</sup> Ānandānubhava was the pupil of Nārāyana Jyōtisa and wrote a commentary on the *Istasiddhi* and *Nyāyaratnadīpāvali*, and is later than Ānandabōdha the pupil of Ātmāvāsa and the author of *Nyāyamakaranda* and *Pramānamālā*

Another disciple of Ānandātman was Śankarānanda<sup>18</sup> who wrote *Dīpikās* on the Upanisad Bhāsyas Śankarānanda was the teacher of Bhāratikṛsna-ūrtha and Vidyāranya<sup>19</sup> Mr Tripāthi<sup>20</sup> regarding Ānandagiri says that he is the same as Ānanda Jñāna and in his previous āśrama he was known as Janārdana and wrote *Tattvālōka*, under the guidance of Anubhūti Svarūpa Later Ānandagiri became the disciple of Śuddhānanda<sup>21</sup> One Śuddhānanda is mentioned along with Kaivalyānanda and Saccidānanda as guru of Svayamprakāśa who wrote commentaries on *Advaitamakaranda* of Laksmīdhara and on *Harimīdē stotra Svayamprakāśa* is later than Vidyāranya and Bhōganātha, and must be assigned to the 16th century Therefore this Śuddhānanda is different from the guru of Ānandagiri

Ānandagiri is as we have seen, was also known as Janārdana in his previous āśrama The son of Janārdana is Sarvajña Viṣṇubhattōpādhyāya the author of *Rjuvivarana* on the *Pañcapādikā*

17 आनंदात्मयतीश्वर तमनिश वदे गुरुणा गुरुम् ॥

—Kalpataru

18 मारुड्कयोपनिषद्वाख्या करिष्ये पदचारिणीम् ।  
ओमात्माभेदसंबोधाद् आनंदात्मप्रकाशनीम् ॥

(Māndūkyōpansadbhāsyā dīpikā)

19 नम श्रीशंकरानंदगुरुपादाबुजन्मने ।  
स विलासमहामोहप्राहृष्टासंस्कर्मणो ॥

(Pañcadasi)

20 Introduction to *Tarkasamgraha* (GOS)

21 शुद्धानंद पदाम्भोज द्वंद्वमद्वंद्वतास्यदम् ।

(Māndūkyōpansadbhāsyatikā)

*vivarana* <sup>22</sup> This Sarvajña Visnu calls himself a disciple of Indiapurna Pūjyapāda, (who was probably a pontiff of the Kāmakōtipītha) Now the great Vidyāśankara was the son of Śārangapāni and was born at Bilvāranya. In his previous āśrama he was known as Sarvajña Visnu <sup>21</sup> and was initiated by Candraśekhara according to the Kāmakōtipītha tradition. If Śārangapāni and Janārdana are the same, the author of *Rju-vivarana* is no other than the great Vidyāśankara. Vidyātīrtha in his *Rudraprasnabbāsya* however mentions Patamātmatīrtha as his guru, while the Śringēri list makes him the successor of Narasimhatīrtha. But it is not improbable that Vidyāśankara studied under more than one teacher. Śāyana in his *Śānkara Darśana* mentions Sarvajña Visnubhattōpādhyāya as the author of a *Vivarana* on the *Vivarana* (evidently *Rjuvivarana*) <sup>24</sup> Mr R Narasimbhācārya thought that Sarvajña Visnubhatta is the father of a Sarvajña and Cennubhatta.

We have to distinguish this Ānandagiri from a later Ānanda or Anantānandagiri. Laksmīdhara the author of *Advaitamakānanda* (on which Svayamprakāśa wrote a commentary) says that his guru was Anantānanda <sup>23</sup>. This Brahmavid Laksmīdhara is probably identical with the patron of the Kannada poet Madhura in the time of Deva Rāya I (1406 A D). Laksmīdhara was the son of Singalā, the sister of Vidyāranya, Śāyana and Bhōganātha <sup>26</sup>. Therefore

22 स्वामीन्द्रपूर्णापूज्यपादशिष्यमवेशाल्लविशारदजनार्दनात्मजसर्वज्ञविष्णुभद्रोपाध्यायकृतो  
ऋजुविवरणे

23 बिम्बवारगयजशाईपाणितनय सर्वज्ञविष्णु श्रयन  
मन्यामं गुरुचद्रशेखरमुनेरास्थाय पीठ गुरो ।  
योगेशस्य च चक्रराजवसतेर्देव्याश्च सक्तोर्चने  
श्रीमन्माधवबुक्कभारतियतिप्रष्टैर्महिष्ठैर्वृत ॥

24 *IA*, 1916

25 कटाक्षकिरणाचातनमन्मोहाब्धये नम ।  
अनतानदकृष्णाय जगन्मंगलमूर्तये ॥

*Advaita Makānanda*

26 *Ar S India*, Rep 1907-8 *SH*, IV, p 267

Anantānandagiri must be placed in c 1380 A D Several works attributed to this Ānandagiri like *Prāśnabbhāsyatikā*, *Atareyōpanisadbhāsyatikā*, *Śankaravijaya* quote from the works of Śankarānanda, Sāyana, and Bhōganātha

A pupil of Ānandagiri I was, according to Mr Tripāthi,<sup>27</sup> Akhandānanda the author of *Tattvadipana* and *Rjuprakāśikā* the *Tattvadipana* mentions Ratnācala (giri?), his disciple Bōdhaparthividhara (giri) and then salutes Ānanda Śaila (giri) But in the *colophon* Akhandānanda calls himself the disciple of Akhandānubhūti The author of *Rjuprakāśikā* says that he was the pupil of Svayamprakāśa He belonged to the Nalagantu Vamśa, and his parents were Kālahastyadhvari and Yajñāmbā His previous name was Ranganātha At the request of Imadi Jagadēkarāya, he wrote *Rjuprakāśikā* This Imadi Jagadēkarāya was a chief of Chennapatna near Bangalore (c 1600 A D)<sup>28</sup> Therefore his guru Svayamprakāśa must be placed in c 1580 A D Therefore Mr Tripāthi's contention that Akhandānanda or Akhandānubhūti, the author of *Tattvadipana* was a pupil, of Ānandagiri I is wrong

The father of Akhanda Yati, Kālahastyadhvari is the author of *Ratnakōśaparakāśikā* and he is probably identical with Kālahastyajvan who wrote a commentary on the *Bhēdadbhikkāra* of Nrsimhāśāmin<sup>29</sup> and calls himself the disciple of Raghunāthāśramin Akhandānanda also wrote a commentary on Govardhana's commentary on the *Tarkabhāsā* of Kēśavamīśra Govardhana's date is c 1560 A D<sup>30</sup> Svayamprakāśānanda, the guru of Akhanda Yati was also the guru of Mahādēva Sarasvatī, the author of *Tattvānusandhāna*

S SRIKANTHA SASTRI

27 *Taikasamgraha* GSO Introduction

28 *Vijayanagar Comm* Vol p 323

29 *Bheda-dbhikkāra* Mad Uni Series, Intio

30 *Tarkabhāsā* of Kēśavamīśra



## Gilgit Ms. of the Vinaya Piṭaka

The Gilgit mss., so far dealt with by me in this *Quarterly*, belong mostly to the later period of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Since the discoveries of the fragments of the Sanskrit Sūtra and Vinaya texts in Eastern Turkestan and the neighbouring places, the Buddhist scholars have been eagerly hoping to obtain more information about the activities of a Hīnayāna sect which attained prominence in India in the post-Aśokan, and particularly, in the Kushan period. The history of Buddhism as also the history of India of the few centuries before and after the Christian era are still incomplete and await the discovery of further materials, and so it is a matter of gratification that Gilgit has yielded some, which will throw light on a hitherto unknown aspect of Indian culture, for which the world of Indologists should be grateful to H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir, his present Prime Minister and the Chief Secretary for their appreciation of the importance of these finds and taking up the work of their publication in right earnest.

A few leaves of the ms., of which a preliminary account is being given here, passed into the hands of Sir Aurel Stein, who handed them over to the British Museum, the authorities of which again passed them on to the late Prof. Sylvain Lévi. Professor Lévi published two leaves (49b—51a) with the errors and omissions along with a facsimile of a leaf of the ms. in the *JA*, CCXX (1932), pp. 26-36. The remaining leaves (i.e. from leaf no. 55) have been kindly placed by the Kashmir Government at my disposal for an emended edition.

Many leaves of this ms. have been lost or destroyed or have passed into different hands. A fragmentary leaf of this ms. has been preserved at the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, by Prof. Heras who was kind enough to show it to me when I was last in Bombay.

In the present ms there are many leaves which do not bear the leaf mark and it is only with the help of the Tibetan version that the leaves can be placed properly. The few leaves published here are without any mark but they correspond to leaves 14-17 of the Derge edition of the Kanjur. The Sanskrit text corresponding to the first 3 leaves is lost and so it has been restored by me. The first and last lines of many of the leaves have been destroyed and so these omissions have also been restored. The restorations are printed here in smaller types. Our ms begins at leaf 55 and ends with the words *Samgabbhedavastusamāptam*, but with omissions here and there.

The first leaf of the Dulva (see p. 411) furnishes us with a list of the chapters of the first book of the *Vinaya Pitaka*, from which it is evident that the present ms represents the original of the first four volumes of the Dulva (Narthing edition, see *Asiatic Researches*, XX, pp. 45-78). The Sanskrit *Vinaya* is divided into four books entitled (i) *Vinaya-vastu*, (ii) *Prātimoksa-sūtra* and *Vinaya-vibhanga*, (iii) *Vinaya-ksudraka-vastu* and (iv) *Vinayottara-grantha* corresponding to the four divisions of the Pāli text, viz., (i) *Mahāvagga*, (ii) *Sutta-vibhanga*, (iii) *Cullavagga* and (iv) *Parvāra-pāṭha*. The present ms therefore contains the whole of the *Vinaya-vastu* i.e. the *Mahāvagga* of the Pāli text. There are many agreements, sometimes *verbatim*, between the Sanskrit and Pāli versions but there is a wide divergence in the contents. Our text is composed in the style of the *Mahāvastu*, the first book of the *Vinaya Pitaka* of the Lokottaravādins of the Mahāsaṅghikas, both the texts containing several stories relating to the anterior births of Sākyamuni and his noted disciples including the famous upāsakas and upāsikās. The agreement between the Mahāsaṅghika *Vinaya* and our text presents a new problem, I mean, the probable form of the original *Vinaya Pitaka* and the relation of the Pāli *Pitaka* to the same.

In the present ms, there is a large number of quotations from the *Dirghāgama*, *Madhyamāgama* and *Ekottarāgama*, and these

when published, we hope, will contribute substantially to our knowledge of the Sanskrit *Sūtra Pitaka*

With the find of this ms. and the *Prātimoksa-sūtra* we may say that almost half of the Sanskrit *Vinaya* has been recovered and we may hope to find the rest if the Kashmir Government carries on further excavations in the region where these mss have come to light

Prof Lévi announced that he had in his possession leaves 43-53 of the present ms and we have got the leaves from 55, the first four leaves are published here, and 2 or 3 leaves exist in fragmentary condition There is thus a gap of about 30 leaves The restoration of this portion from the Tibetan version has been entrusted to my student Mr Anukul Chandra Banerji who has already completed the translation As the work of editing the ms proceeds, I hope to publish further materials on the subject in question Thanks are due to Pandit Shiv Nath Sastri Sahityabhūšana for transcribing the ms

## TEXT

नमो रत्नत्रयाय । नमो विच्छिन्नबन्धनाय । नम सर्वतीर्थिक-मारसेन-प्रमर्दनाय ।  
नमो बोधिप्राप्ताय ।

आगारं हित्वा दुष्करो प्रव्रज्या । प्रव्रज्य च पुनर्दुष्करो जनपदचर्याधिगमानन्दः ।  
कथमानन्दोत्पत्तिः । दुष्करा सम्यक्क्रिया । दुष्कर काषायवत्प्रधारणम् । सुदुष्करं कुशल-  
शीलकर्मचित्तमिति ।

अथ विनयवस्तुविभागा.—प्रव्रज्यावस्तु प्रवारणावस्तु चर्मवस्तु भैषज्यचीवरकठिनवस्तु  
कौशाम्बीकर्मवस्तु पाण्डुलोहितकवस्तु पुद्गलवस्तु पारिवायिकवस्तु पोषधवस्तु संघभेदवस्तु चेति ।  
अथ प्रव्रज्यावस्तुन संविभागा —शारीपुत्र-तीर्थिकः । द्वौ श्रामणेरौ । अर्हद्घातक । कुण्डः  
—सर्वमिदं समासतः शारीपुत्रप्रव्रज्या इति । उपसम्पन्नविधानम् । उपसेनादि इति समासतः  
पञ्च विभागाः ।

अथ बोधिसत्त्वस्तुषितालये वसति स्म । तेन समयेन अङ्गदेशे राजाधिराज इति नाम  
राजा राज्यं करोति स्म ऋद्धं च स्फीतं च सुभिन्नं बहुजनाकीर्णम् । मगधदेशे महापद्म

इति नाम राजा राज्यं करोति स्म ऋद्धं च स्फीतं च सुभिच्छं बहुजनाकीर्णम् । एकस्मिन् समये अङ्गराजस्य बलकायो महान् एकस्मिन् समये च राज्ञो महापद्मस्य बलकायः । यदा अङ्गराजस्य बलकायो महान् हस्तिकायोऽश्वकायो रथकायः पत्तिकाय इति चतुरङ्गसमन्वित तदा राजगृहं स्थापयित्वा मगधदेशमभिभूय निवर्तते स्म । पुनर्यदा राज्ञो महापद्मस्य बलकायो महान् हस्तिकायोऽश्वकायो रथकाय पत्तिकाय इति चतुरङ्गसमन्वित तदा चम्पा स्थापयित्वा अङ्गमभिभूय निवर्तते स्म । अपरेण समयेन अङ्गराजस्य चतुरङ्गबलकायो मगधदेशमाक्रमितुमारब्ध । मगधदेशवासिनो राजानं महापद्ममारोचयामासु 'देव अङ्गराजेन चतुरङ्गबलकायसमन्वितेन मगधदेश समाकान्त' राजा महापद्म एतद्वचनं ध्रुत्वा चतुरङ्गबलकायपरिवृतोऽङ्गराजदेशाभिमुखं प्रयात । अथ महापद्मस्य हस्त्यश्वरथपत्तिकाया अङ्गराजेन गृहीता । राजा महापद्मोऽपि पराजितो भीतोऽभिभूत । अपरोऽपि क्षत्रिया राजगृहे प्रत्यागता । राजगृहं प्रविश्य तस्य द्वारं बध्वा तत् प्राकारैः परिवेष्टयामासु । अङ्गराजेन महापद्मस्य लेखोऽनुप्रेषित 'त्व चेद् बहिरागच्छसि इति कुशलं' नोचेद् बहिरागच्छसि आकाशपथे गमिष्यसि शरेण पातयिष्यामि । त्वं चेत् पृथिव्यन्तरं प्रवेक्ष्यसि शक्या उद्ग्रहीष्यामि । त्वं चेत् पर्वतशिखरे तिष्ठसि तलापि ते नात्परक्षणमिति ।' राजा महापद्म एतं लेखं पठित्वा व्यथित करे कपोल दन्वा चिन्तापरव्यवस्थितो दुःखितश्चाभवत् । अथ सोऽमाल्यानामन्य एतदुवाच 'भवन्त एषोऽङ्गराज परन्तपो निष्ठुरो महाबलकायप्रभावाद् अस्माकमेतं लेखं प्रेषितवान् । किमिदानीं विधेयमिति । ते गाथया अभाषन्त ।

मंशयमाते विषये प्राणेषु च रक्ष्या प्राणा सर्वे ।

इत्याहुर्बुधा यत पुनरपि विषयो न तु प्राणा ॥

एतद्वचनं श्रुत्वा राजा कण्ठे असि बध्वा बहिर्गत । अथाङ्गराजस्तस्य वार्षिकं शुल्कं निर्वार्य प्रकान्त ।

तेन समयेन बोधिसत्त्वस्तुषितालये निषण्णा पञ्चमहाविलोकितानि विलोकयति स्म । कामावचरान् षड्देवनिकायान् लिङ्कृत्वो ज्ञापयित्वा स गजवरमहाप्रमाणं मातु कुक्षिमवकामति स्म । समनन्तरावकान्ते च बोधिसत्त्वे महान् भूमिचालः अभूत् । सर्वमिदं लोकधातुस्तायत्रिशदेवाश्च तस्य वर्णरूपतेजसा अवभासिता अभूवन् परिस्फुटाश्च । यत्र लोकधातौ अनयोश्चन्द्रसूर्ययोरेवमहानुभावयोरेवमहार्धिकयोराभया वर्णेन च अन्धकारतमिस्रा न स्फुटा तत्र ये सत्त्वा उपपन्नास्ते स्वकानपि बाहून् प्रसारितान् न पश्यन्ति । अथ तेन अवभासेन ते चान्योन्यं पश्यन्ति स्म अन्योन्यं मजानते स्म । एवञ्चाहुरन्येऽपि किल भो सत्त्वा इहोपपन्ना इति ।

बोधिसत्त्वस्य जन्मकालसमये चतुर्मेहानगरेषु चत्वारो महाराजा अभूवन् । तद्यथा राजगृहे महापद्मस्य पुत्रः । धावस्या ब्रह्मदत्तस्य पुत्र । उज्जयिन्या राज्ञोऽनन्तनेमे पुत्र । कौशाम्ब्या राज्ञः शतानीकस्य पुत्र । भगवतो बोधिसत्त्वस्य जन्मकालसमये सर्वमिदं लोकधातुस्त्रायस्त्रिंशदेवाश्च तस्यानन्ताभ्या अवभासिता अभूवन् परिस्फुटाश्च यत्नं लोकधातौ अनयोश्चन्द्रसूर्ययोरेवमहानुभावयोरेवंमहर्धिकयोराभ्या वर्णो न च अन्धकारतमिस्रा न स्फुटा तत्र ये सत्त्वा उपपन्नास्ते स्वकानपि बाहून् प्रसारितान् न पश्यन्ति । अथ तेन अवभासेन ते चान्योन्यं पश्यन्ति स्म अन्योन्यं सजानते स्म । एवञ्चाहु अन्येऽपि किल भो. सत्त्वा इहोपपन्ना इति ।

राजा महापद्मोऽचिन्तयत् । मम पुत्रो जातः लोकधातौ उद्यद्भास्कर इव मसुज्ज्वलोऽयं महिष्या विम्बवायस्तनय अतोऽस्य विम्बिसार इति नाम कार्यम् । राजा ब्रह्मदत्तोऽचिन्तयत् । मम पुत्रे जाते लोकधातु प्रकटपरिस्फुटोऽवभासितश्चाभवत् । अतोऽस्य प्रसेनजिदिति नाम कार्यम् । राजा अनन्तनेमिरचिन्तयत् । मम पुत्रो जातः लोकधातौ उद्यद्भास्कर इव मसुज्ज्वल । अतोऽस्य प्रद्योत इति नाम कार्यम् । राजा शतानीकोऽचिन्तयत् । मम पुत्रो जातः लोकधातौ उद्यद्भास्कर इव मसुज्ज्वलोऽयम् । अतोऽस्य उदयन इति नाम कार्यम् । अथ पद्मभिरमात्ये. विम्बिसारस्य जातिमह कृत्वा गोवानुरूपं नामधेयं व्यवस्थापितम् । विम्बिसारः कुमारोऽष्टाभ्यो धात्रीभ्योऽनुप्रदत्तः । द्वाभ्यामकधात्रीभ्या द्वाभ्या क्षीरधात्रीभ्या द्वाभ्या मलधात्रीभ्या द्वाभ्यां क्रीडनिकाभ्या धात्रीभ्याम् । तामिर्धानीभिर्दुग्धेन दध्ना नवनीतेन सर्पिषा सर्पिर्मण्डेनान्यैश्च उन्नमोत्तमै हपकरणविशेषैराशु वर्धते हृदस्थमिव पकजम् । यदा स महान् सवृत्तः तदा लिप्यामुपन्यस्तः । संख्यायां गणनाया मुद्रायां<sup>1</sup> यानि च तानि राज्ञा क्षत्रियाणा शिल्पस्थानकर्मस्थानानि । तद्यथा हस्तिग्रीवायामश्वपृष्ठे रथे त्सरौ धनुषि पर्याणे निर्याणे अकुशग्रहे पाशाग्राहे तोमराग्राहे<sup>2</sup>च्छेद्ये भेद्ये वेद्ये तद्यथा द्रव्ये शब्दे वेद्ये मर्मवेद्ये अक्षुण्णवेद्ये हृत्प्रहारिताया चेति पंचसु स्थानेषु कृतावी सवृत्तः । तान्यपि पचामात्यपुत्रशतानि पंचसु स्थानेषु कृतावीनि सवृत्तानि । स पित्राष्टादशसु श्रेणीष्ववतारितः ।

1 Tib adds मुष्टिवन्धे शिखाबन्धे पादबन्धे ।

2 Tib adds here चर्याया शौचे समाचारे च उपन्यस्त । तेष्वपि पारं गत । अष्टसु परीक्षासु कुशलो जात । रत्नपरीक्षाया वास्तुपरीक्षाया वल्लपरीक्षाया रथपरीक्षाया हस्तिपरीक्षायामश्वपरीक्षाया स्त्रीपरीक्षाया भूतपरीक्षाया चेति ।

अतोऽस्य श्रेण्यो विम्बिसार इति ख्याति । ततोऽपरेण समयेन म हस्तिस्कन्धाधि-  
रुढो जनपदान्निर्गच्छति । तेन ते दृष्टाः अङ्गस्य राज्ञः पौरुषेयाः करप्रत्याया-  
नुद्ग्राहयन्तः । स कथयति । भवन्तः कस्यैते करप्रत्यायान् उद्ग्राहयन्ति ।  
ते कथयन्ति । अङ्गराजस्येति । स कथयति । किं नास्माकमिति । ते कथयन्ति ।  
देव करदाः । स कथयति । भवन्तः शब्दयतैतान् पौरुषेयानिति । ते  
शब्दिताः । स कथयति । भवन्तः सोऽपि राजा क्षत्रियो मूर्धाभिषिक्तो वयमपि  
राजानः क्षत्रिया मूर्धाभिषिक्ता । तत् कथमुद्ग्राहयथ । इत् परं मा उद्ग्राहयिष्यथेति ।  
ते संलक्षयन्ति । अप्रकृतिहोऽयं कुमारः । गच्छामो वयम् । महापद्मस्य राज्ञो  
गत्वा आरोहयामः । ते राज्ञो महापद्मस्य सकाशमुपसंक्रान्ताः । उपसंक्रम्य  
कथयन्ति । देव वयमङ्गराजस्य पौरुषेया विम्बिसारेण कुमारेण करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयन्तो  
निवारिताः । किन्तु ग्राहयामो नेति । स कथयति । भवन्तः अप्रकृतिहोऽयम्  
इह कुमारः । यथैव यूयं भूताः करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयत तथैवेति । अथ ते पुन कर-  
प्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयन्तो जनपदेभ्यो विवर्तिता दृष्टा । उक्ताश्च । भवन्तो न मया यूयं  
निवारिताः । मा भूयः करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयिष्यथेति । कस्माद्यूयं पुनः कर-  
प्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयथ । यदि तावत्तिष्ठथेत्येतत् कुशलम् । यदि न तिष्ठथ तदा सीमा-  
बन्धन कारयेयम् । ते अचिन्तयन् । कुमारो व्याडो विक्रान्तः । स्थानमेतद्विद्यते यदनर्थं  
करिष्यतीति । ते अङ्गस्य राज्ञः सकाशमुपसंक्रान्ता । उपसंक्रम्य कथयन्ति । देव  
महापद्मस्य राज्ञो विम्बिसारो नाम कुमारः करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयितुं निवारयति । यद्य-  
पेक्षिष्यते स्थानमेतद्विद्यते यत्कालेन महाननर्थं करिष्यतीति गाथां भाषन्ते ।

शक्यः कररुहैश्छेत्तुं यावद् बालो हि पादप ।

स एव वृद्धो दुश्छेद्यः परशूनां शतैरपीति ॥

अथ अङ्गराजेन महापद्मस्य लेखः प्रेषितः । विम्बिसारस्य करटे अस्मि बन्धा प्रेषय  
यवसयोग्यमशन वा सजीकुरु । एषोऽहमागच्छामीति । महापद्मो राजा लेखं  
श्रुत्वा व्यथितः । तेन विम्बिसारः कुमारः शब्दापितः । उक्त्वा । पुत्र कस्मा-  
त्त्वया अङ्गस्य राज्ञः पौरुषेया निवारिता । स कथयति । देव कस्मात् परतन्त्रा कर-  
प्रत्यायान् प्रयच्छाम । पुत्र वय करदा इति । स कथयति । देव सोऽपि राजा  
क्षत्रियो मूर्धाभिषिक्तः । कस्माद्द्वयं तस्य करप्रत्यायानुप्रयच्छामः । केवलं  
मम देव चतुरंगं बलकायमाज्ञापय । वयमङ्गराजेन सह सप्रामं करिष्याम । अथ  
महापद्मेन राज्ञा लेखोऽनुप्रेषितो या ते शक्तिर्बलं वीर्यं पराक्रमस्तन्न हापयिष्यसीति ।  
स श्रुत्वा ह्वितोऽमात्यानामन्त्रयते । सन्नाहयन्तु भवन्तो चतुरंगं बलकायम् ।

तेन बलकायेन मगधविषय आक्रमितव्यः । अथ स चतुरङ्गबलकायं सञ्जीकृत्य हस्तिकायं मध्वकायं रथकायं पत्तिकायं मगधविषयं नाशयितुमारब्धो नाशयतीति । मगध-विषयनिवासिना जनकायेन महापद्मस्य राज्ञ उद्ग्राहका दत्ताः । देव अङ्गराजेन मगध-विषय आक्रान्तः । तच्छ्रुत्वा राजा महापद्मो व्यथितः करे कपोलं दत्त्वा चिन्तापर-व्यवस्थितः । अथ तेन बिम्बिसारं कुमारं शब्दापयित्वा तस्य चतुरङ्गो बलकायोऽनुप्रदत्तः । बिम्बिसारः कुमारस्तान् सर्वान् कुमारान् संनिपात्य कथयति । अह-मङ्गेन राज्ञा सार्धं संग्रामयिष्यामि । किं करणीयम् । ते कथयन्ति । देव भवता यथा-वस्था अस्माकमपि तथैव भवेत् । अथ ते इमां गाथां भाषन्ते ।

यस्मिन् मनुष्ये रमते कुलश्रीः स सर्वतः संपरिरक्षितव्यः ।

तस्मिन् चिनष्टे चिनश्यन्ति सर्वे नाभेर्विनाशादिव चक्रपादा ॥

अहं भवद्भिः सर्वतः संपरिरक्षितव्यः । यत्र भवत पादौ तत्र न शिरसि । अथ स चतुरङ्गबलकायपरिवृतो राजगृहान्निर्गतः । तेन समयेन राजा महापद्मोऽमात्य-परिवृत उपरि प्रासादतलगतस्तिष्ठति । तेनासौ निर्गच्छन् दृष्टः । सोऽमात्या-नामन्त्रयते । भवन्तः कस्येयं सेनेति । ते कथयन्ति । देव बिम्बिसारस्य कुमारस्येति । स कथयति अहो प्रभूतबलकायोऽयमिति बलकायबिम्बिसारं संजानते । केचित् श्रेण्यो बिम्बिसार इति संजानते । केचित् सैनिकबिम्बिसार इति । बिम्बिसारः कुमारः कुमारानामन्त्रयते । भवन्तोऽयमङ्गो राजा उदीर्णबलवाहनः । न शक्नुमो बलेन पराजेतुम् । अतोऽस्य परिरक्षितं दुर्गमाक्रम्य उपायकौशल्येन हन्तव्य-मिति । ते तस्य मुक्तसन्नाहस्य शिविरे निपतिताः । तैरङ्गो राजा प्रघातितः । अङ्गस्य राज्ञश्चतुरङ्गो बलकायश्चतुर्दिशं विद्रुतः । अथ श्रेणिकबिम्बिसारेण चतुर्दिश-मश्ववृता प्रेषिताः । भो भवन्तोऽपि क्षत्रिया मूर्धाभिषिक्ता वयमपि क्षत्रिया मूर्धाभिषिक्ताः । निवर्तन्तां भवन्तः । अहं भवतां वृद्धपादान् प्रह्लापयिष्यामीति । ते निवर्तिताः । ततो यश्चंपायामारक्षकः स्थापितः । तेन श्रुतं यथा अङ्गराजो निहतः । तेन द्वार-बन्धा स्थितः । अथ तत् प्राकारं परिवेष्टयामासु । बिम्बिसारः कुमारोऽनुपूर्वेण चंपां गतः । तेन दीर्घया लतया अङ्गस्य राज्ञः शिरो बध्वा दक्षितम् । यस्ते स्वामी तस्येयमेवंरूपा समवस्था कृता । यदि तावन्निर्गच्छसि निर्गच्छ । यदि न निर्गच्छसि तवापि एवरूपावस्था भविष्यति । स भुत्वा व्यथितः संलक्षयति । पुनरपि विषयो न तु प्राणा इति । स कण्ठे अस्मि बध्वा निर्गतः ।

ततो बिम्बिसारेण कुमारेण चपामवष्टभ्य महापद्मस्य राज्ञो लेखोऽनुप्रेषितः ।

देव मया अङ्गराजं विनाश्य चंपानगरं प्रतिलब्धम् । आह्लापय किमन्यदपरिप्राप्तं

परिप्राप्यामीति । महापद्मो राजा तुष्टः । तेन तस्य पट्टमौलिच्छत्रं  
 तमनुप्रेषितम् । पुत्र त्वंतत्रैव राज्यं कारय । अहम् अत्र राज्यं करिष्यामि  
 इति लेखोऽनुप्रेषित । ततोऽङ्गदेशे बिम्बिसारो राजा राज्यं कारयति  
 ऋद्धं च स्फीतं च क्षेमं च सुभिक्षं चाकीर्णबहुजनमनुष्यं च । मगधेषु  
 महापद्मो राजा राज्यं कारयति ऋद्धं च स्फीतं च क्षेमं च सुभिक्षं चाकीर्ण-  
 बहुजनमनुष्यं च । अपरेण समयेन राजगृहे महापद्मो राजा कालगतः ।  
 अमात्यैर्बिम्बिसारस्य राज्ञः सद्विष्टम् । देव पिता ते कालगतः । आगच्छ राज्यं  
 प्रतीच्छेति । स आगतः । ततोऽङ्गमगधीयकैरमात्यैरङ्गमगधयोः राजकुमारो  
 महाभिषेकेण अभिषिक्तः । ततो राजा बिम्बिसारः अङ्गमगधयो राज्यं करोति । तं च  
 सुभिक्षं चाकीर्णबहुजनमनुष्यं च ।

मध्यदेशादन्यतमो माणवो मन्वार्थी मन्वगवेपी दक्षिणापथमनुप्रातः ।  
 दक्षिणापथेऽन्यतमो ब्राह्मणो वेदवेदाङ्गपारगः । स तस्य मकाशमुपमकान्त ।  
 उपमकस्याभिवादनं कृत्वा तस्य पुरत आगत्य कथयति । इच्छाम्यहमु-  
 पाध्यायस्य पादशुश्रूषां कर्तुम् । कस्यार्थाय । वेदाध्ययनं करिष्ये । स  
 कथयति । एवं कुरुष्वेति । स तस्यान्तिके वेदाध्ययनं कर्तुंमारब्धः ।  
 आचरितं तेषां माणवकानाम् । यदा अपठा भवन्ति तदा कदाचित्तीर्थापस्पर्शिका  
 गच्छन्ति कदाचिन्नगरावलोकका कदाचित् समिधाहारकाः । यावदपरेण  
 समयेन अपठाः संवृत्ताः । ततः सर्वं एव समिधाहारकाः सप्रस्थिताः । समिधा-  
 हारकाणां संप्रस्थितानामयमेव रूपोऽभूत् अन्नराकथासमुदाहार । भो कौत्सा  
 वात्सा शारिडल्या भारद्वाजाः पंचकाः उपपचकाः । को वः कस्माद्देशादिति ।  
 तत्रैके कथयन्ति । वयं पूर्वदेशादिति अपरे वयं दक्षिणापथादिति अपरे कथयन्ति  
 वयं पाश्चात्या इति अपरे कथयन्ति वयमुत्तरापथादिति । स माणव कथयति ।  
 अहं मध्यदेशादिति । ते कथयन्ति । सर्वं एव भवन्तोऽस्माभिर्देशा दृष्टाः श्रुताश्च  
 न तु मध्यदेशः ।

बुद्धिर्वसति पूर्वेषु दक्षिण्यं दक्षिणापथे ।

पैशुन्यं पश्चिमे देशे पारुष्यं चोत्तरापथे ॥ इति

मध्यदेशोऽस्माभिर्न दृष्टः । कीदृशो माणव मध्यदेश । मध्यदेशो भवन्तो  
 देशानामग्र । इक्षुशालिगोमहिषीसपन्नो भैक्षुकशतकलिलो दस्युजनविवर्जितः  
 आर्यजनाकीर्णो विद्वज्जननिषेधितः । यत्र नदी गंगा पुण्या मंगल्या  
 शुचिशौचेयसंमता उभयतः कूलान्यभिष्यन्दयमाना आवहति । अष्टादशवक्रो नाम

ऋषोऽयामप्रपदः । यत् ऋषयस्तपश्चर्चवा सशरीरं स्वर्गं कामयमानाः । ते कथयन्ति । सन्ति माणव मध्यदेशे परिडितसंख्याता इति । स कथयति । बन्वहं भवन्तः पूर्वमेवावोचं मध्यदेशो भवन्तो देशानामप्रः । इन्द्रयास्त्रिमात्रानोमहिषी-संपन्नो भैक्षुकशतकलिलो इत्युजनविवर्जित आर्यभनाकीर्यो विद्वज्जननिवेदितः । यस्तु पूर्वमेवेत्त्ववोच. त्वं माणव । सन्ति माणव मध्यदेशे एवंविधा वादिवृषभा यादृश उपाध्यायः । मध्यदेशे भवन्तस्तादृशाः सन्ति येषामुपाध्यायो मुखमपि न शक्नुयाद् द्रष्टुमिति । मृष्टाभिधायी स माणवः । तेन तथा तथा मध्यदेशस्व वर्णो भाषितो यथा ते माणवकाः सर्व एव मध्यदेशगमनोत्सुकाः संवृताः । अथ ते माणवकाः समिधाकाष्ठानि पर्येष्य समिधाभारकानादाय येन तस्य ब्राह्मणस्य निवेशनं तेनोपसंक्रान्ताः । उपसंक्रम्य समिधाकाष्ठभारकानेकान्ते उपनिक्षिप्य येन स ब्राह्मणस्तेनोपसंक्रान्ताः । उपसंक्रम्य तं ब्राह्मणमिदमवोचन् । यत्स्वलोपाध्याय जानीथ अनेनास्माकं माणवेन मध्यदेशस्थ तथा तथा वर्णो भाषितो येन कथं सर्व एव मध्यदेशगमनोत्सुका. संवृताः । पुत्रका. किं यावच्छ्रूयते तावता गम्यते । अपि तु ध्रुतिरमणीयो देशः श्रोतव्यो नो तु गन्तव्यः । उपाध्याय एष माणवः कथयति । मध्यदेशे तादृशा वादिवृषभाः सन्ति येषामुपाध्यायो मुखमपि न शक्नोति द्रष्टुमिति । पुत्रकाः तादृश स एवैकः पृथिव्या वादी नान्य. कश्चिदस्ति । बहुदलधरा वसुन्धरा पूर्णा महांसुन्दरसुन्दराणाम् । उपाध्याय गच्छामः । तदपि ताव-हेशाचलोकनं कृतं भविष्यतीति तीर्थोपस्पर्शनं च ते च वादिवृषभाः पर्युपासिता भविष्यन्तीति । वादिनो निग्रहोऽध्यायः । देश च पश्यामो लाभ च निष्पादयिष्याम इति । शिष्यानुरागी स ब्राह्मणोऽल्पपरिच्छदश्च । स तावन्माणवकानिदमवोचत् । पुत्रका यद्येवं गृह्णीथ अजिनानि चत्कलानि दण्डकमण्डलूनि स्त्रभाजनानि । गच्छाम मध्यदेशमिति । तैर्गृहीतानि । स तैः सार्धं मध्यदेशं संप्रस्थितः । स कश्चिद्वादिनो निग्रह वादिरथे योजयति । केषांचिद् भस्मघटिकया शिरःसु भिनत्ति । केचि-दिष्वस्त्रशालामिव वायसा आरात्परिवर्जयन्ति । केचिच्छत्रध्वजपताकाभिः प्रत्युद्गच्छन्ति । केचित् शिष्यत्वमभ्युपगच्छन्ति । सोऽनुपूर्वेण ग्रामनगर-निगमपत्निकापत्तनेषु च न्यूर्यमाणोऽनुपूर्वेण राजगृहमनुप्राप्तः । स ब्राह्मणः संलक्षयति । यावत् खलु परिडितसंख्याताः सर्वे ते राज्ञः सन्निधौ । तत्किमह मूलमपहाय शाखा-पत्रपलाशं परान्नदृष्यं मंस्ये । यत्त्वहं राज्ञः सफाशमुपसंक्रामेयमिति । स राज्ञ सकश-मुपसंक्रान्तो राजानं जयेनायुषा च वर्धयित्वा पुरतोऽवस्थितः । देव अस्ति मया गुरुसकाशा-त्कतिपायन्यक्षराण्युद्गृहीतानि । तदिच्छाम्यहं देवस्य पुरस्ताद्वादिभिः सार्धं कथा-

विमर्शं कर्तुमिति । ततः स राजा अमात्यानामन्व्रयते । अस्ति भवन्तः कश्चिदस्माकं विजिते वादी प्रतिवसति । अमात्या कथयन्ति । देवास्ति नालदग्रामके माठरो नाम ब्राह्मणो वेदवेदाङ्गपारगोऽग्निकल्प इव ह्यनेन । तेन माठरं नाम शास्त्रं प्रणीतमिति । राजा कथयति । आहूयतां स उपाध्याय इति । अमात्यैराहूतः । सोऽपि राजानं जयेनायुषा च वर्धयित्वा पुरतोऽवस्थितः । ततो राज्ञाभिहितं 'शक्नोषि त्वमुपाध्याय अनेन ब्राह्मणेन सार्धं मम पुरस्तात्कथाविमर्शं कर्तुमिति' । स कथयति । शक्तितोऽहं देवं भाषिष्ये इति । ततो वादिमण्डलं प्रकृतम् । पक्षापरपक्षौ व्यवस्थापितौ । राजा कथयति । कस्य भवतु पूर्वपक्ष इति । अमात्या कथयन्ति । देवायं सर्वं जानाति । तदस्यैव भवतु पूर्वपक्ष इति । तस्य पूर्वपक्षो दत्तः । तेन पंचशतिको दण्डः समुच्चारितः । माठरेण प्रत्युच्चार्यं दोषो दत्तः । इदं ते अयुक्तमिदमसदृशम् इदं नोपपद्यते इति । स तूष्णीमवस्थितः । नैतत् प्रतिकृष्टं चैतन्निग्रहस्थानानां यदुतान्तरे निष्प्रतिमानता । राजा अमात्यानामन्व्रयते । कतरोऽत्र भवन्तः शोभत इति । ते कथयन्ति । देव उपाध्यायो माठर इति । ततो राजा आत्तमनाः सवृत्तः । तस्य मे लाभा सुलब्धाः यस्य मे विजिते एवंविधो वादिनामप्रो निवसति । अभिलषनार्थं स उवाच 'आचार्यं कस्मिन् ग्रामे भवान् निवसति' । देव नालदग्रामके । गच्छ स एव ते वादिभोगो भवतु । स तस्य वादिभोगो दत्तः । सपत्तिकामो लोको विपत्तिप्रतिकूलः । सोऽनेकैर्ब्राह्मणैः कन्यानिमित्तं प्रार्थयते । ततस्तेन सदृशात् कुलात् क्लवमानीतम् । ततस्तेन सार्धं क्रीडति रमते परिचारयति । तस्य क्रीडतो रममाणस्य परिचारयत पुत्रो जातः । दीर्घदीर्घाभ्यां कोष्ठाभ्यां तस्य विस्तरेण जातस्य जातिमहं कृत्वा कोष्ठिल इति नामधेयं व्यवस्थापितम् । कोष्ठिलो दारकः उन्नीयते वर्धने क्षीरेण दध्ना नवनीतेन सर्पिषा सर्पिर्मण्डेनान्यैश्चोत्तमोत्तमै-रुपकरणविशेषैराशु वर्धते हृदस्थमिव पंकजम् । स यदा महान् सवृत्तः तदा लिप्यामुपन्यस्तः । स सख्यायां मुद्रायां गणनायां ब्राह्मणिकायामीर्यायां चर्चाया शौचे समाचारे भस्मग्राहे मृत्तिकाग्राहे डोकारे भोकारे ऋग्वेदे यजुर्वेदे अथर्ववेदे सामवेदे यजने याजने अध्ययने अध्यापने दाने प्रतिग्रहे षट्कर्मनिरतो ब्राह्मणः सवृत्तः । भूयस्तस्य क्रीडतो रममाणस्य परिचारयतो दारिका जाता । तस्याः शारिकाया यादृशी अक्षिणी इति तस्या ज्ञातिभिः शारिकेति नामधेयं व्यवस्थापितम् । यावदपरेण कालेनापरेण समयेन सा वर्धिता महती संवृत्ता । सा लिप्यक्षराणि प्राहिता । यावदपरेण समयेन भ्रात्रा सार्धं वाद करोति । स तथा गृह्यते । ततः पित्राभिहितः । पुत्रं कथं नाम त्वं पुरुषो भूत्वा खिया पराजितः । मयि कालगते वादिभोगो विनश्यति ।

अथ स ब्राह्मणमाणवो मन्त्रार्थी मन्त्रगवेवी दक्षिणापथमनुप्राप्तः । दक्षिणापथे तिष्ठो नाम ब्राह्मणो लोकायते कृतावी । स तस्य सकाशमुपसक्रान्तः । उपसक्रम्याभिवादनं कृत्वा कथयति । इच्छाम्युपाध्यायस्य पादशुश्रूषा कर्तुम् । कस्यार्थाय । लोकायतिकमुद्रग्रहीष्यामि । एवं कुरुष्वेति । स तस्यान्तिके लोकायतमुद्रग्रहीतुमारब्धः । आचरितं तेषां माणवकानाम् । यदा अपठा भवन्ति तदा कदाचित्तीर्थोपस्पर्शिका गच्छन्ति कदाचिन्नगरावलोकका कदाचित्समिधाहारकाः । यावदपरेण समयेन अपठा संवृत्ता तत मर्व एव समिधाहारकाः संप्रस्थिताः । तेषां समिधाहारकाणां संप्रस्थितानामयमेवंरूपोऽभूत् अन्तराकथासमुदाहारः । भोः कौत्सा वात्साः शाण्डिल्या भारद्वाजाः पचका उपपचकाः को व कस्माद्देशादिति । तत्रैके कथयन्ति वय पूर्वदेशादिति । अपरे वयं दक्षिणापथादिति । अपरे कथयन्ति वयं पाश्चात्या इति । अपरे वयमुत्तरापथादिति । स माणवः कथयति । अहं मध्यदेशादिति । ते कथयन्ति । सर्व एव भवन्तोऽस्माभिर्देशा दृष्टाः श्रुताश्च न तु मध्यदेशः ।

बुद्धिर्वसति पूर्वेण दक्षिणाय दक्षिणापथे ।

पैशुन्यं पश्चिमे देशे पारुष्यं चोत्तरापथे ॥ इति ।

मध्यदेशोऽस्माभिर्न द्वष्टः । कीदृशो माणव मध्यदेशः । मध्यदेशो भवन्तो देशानामग्रः । इधुशालिगोमहिषीसंपन्नो भैक्षुकशतकलिलो दस्युजनविवर्जित आर्यजनाकीर्णो विद्वज्जननिषेवितः । यत्र गंगा नदी धन्या मंगल्या शुचिशीचेयसंमता उभयतः कूलान्यभिष्यन्दयमाना वहति । अष्टादशवक्रो नाम ऋषीणात्मग्रपदः । ऋषयस्तपश्चर्याया सशरीरं स्वर्गं कामयमाना । ते कथयन्ति । सन्ति माणव मध्यदेशे पण्डितसंख्याता इति । स कथयति । भवन्तः नन्वहं पूर्वमेवावोचम् । मध्यदेशो भवन्तो देशानामग्रः । इधुशालिमालागोमहिषीसंपन्नो भैक्षुकशतकलिलो दस्युजनविवर्जित आर्यजनाकीर्णो विद्वज्जननिषेवितः । यस्तु पूर्वमेवेत्यवोच त्वं माणव । सन्ति माणव मध्यदेशे एवंविधा वादिवृषभा यादृश उपाध्यायः । मध्यदेशो भवन्तस्तादृशा वादिवृषभाः सन्ति येषामुपाध्यायो मुखमपि न शक्नुयाद् द्रष्टुम् । मृष्टामिधायी स माणवः । तेन तथा तथा मध्यदेशस्य वर्णो भाषितो यथा ते माणवकाः सर्व एव मध्यदेशगमनोत्सुकाः संवृत्ताः । अथ ते माणवका समिधाकाग्रानि पर्येष्य समिधाभारकानादाय येन तस्य ब्राह्मणस्य निवेशनं तेनोपसंक्रान्ताः । उपसंक्रम्य समिधाकाष्ठभारकानेकान्ते उपनिक्षिप्य येन स ब्राह्मणस्तेनोपसंक्रान्ताः । उपसंक्रम्य तं ब्राह्मणमिदमवोचन् । यत्खलूपाध्याय जानीथ अनेनास्माकं माणवेन मध्यदेशस्य तथा तथा वर्णो भाषितो येन वय सर्व एव मध्यदेशगम-

नौत्सुकाः संवृत्ताः । पुत्रकाः किं यावच्चभूयते तावता गम्यते । अपि तु  
 श्रुतिरमणीया देशाः श्रोतव्या नो तु गन्तव्याः । उपाध्याय एष माणवः  
 कथयति । मध्यदेशे तादृशा वादिवृषभाः सन्ति येषामुपाध्यायो मुखमपि न  
 शक्नुयाद् द्रष्टुमिति । पुत्रकाः तादृशः स एवैकः पृथिव्यां वादी नान्यः कश्चिदस्तीति ।  
 बहुरक्षधरा वसुन्धरा पूर्णा महीसुन्दरसुन्दराणाम् । उपाध्याय गच्छामः । तदपि  
 तावद् देशावलोकनं कृतं भविष्यतीति तीर्थोपस्पर्शनं च । ते च वादिवृषभाः  
 पर्युपासिता भविष्यन्तीति वादिनो निप्रहोष्यामः । देशं च पश्यामः लाभं च  
 निष्पादयिष्याम इति । शिष्यानुरागी स ब्राह्मणोऽल्पपरिच्छदश्च । स तान् माणव-  
 कानिदमवोचत् । पुत्रका यद्येवं गृहीथ अजिनानि वल्कलानि दण्डकमण्डलूनि  
 स्त्रभाजनानि । गच्छाम मध्यदेशमिति तैर्गृहीतानि । स तैः सार्धं मध्यदेशं  
 संप्रस्थितः । स काञ्चिद्वादिनो निगृह्य वादिरथे योजयति । केषाञ्चिद्भस्मघटिकया  
 शिरःसु भिनत्ति । केचिदिष्वह्यशालामिव वायसा आरात्परिवर्जयन्ति । केचिच्छत्र-  
 ध्वजपताकाभिः प्रत्युद्गच्छन्ति । केचिच्छिष्यत्वमभ्युपगच्छन्ति । सोऽनुपूर्वेण ग्राम-  
 नगरनिगमपल्लिकापत्तनेषु च चूर्यमाणोऽनुपूर्वेण राजगृहमनुप्राप्तः । स ब्राह्मणः  
 संलक्षयति । यावत् खलु पण्डितसंख्याताः सर्वे ते राह्वः सन्निधौ । तत्किमहं  
 मूलमपहाय शाखापत्रपलाशं पराभ्रद्वयं मंस्ये । यत् त्वह राह्वः सकाशमुपसंक्रामेयमिति ।  
 स राह्वः सकाशमुपसंक्रान्तो राजानं जयेनायुषा च वर्धयित्वा पुरतोऽवस्थितः ।  
 देव अस्ति मया गुरुसकाशात् कतिपयान्यक्षराणि उद्गृहीतानि । तदिच्छाम्यहं  
 देवस्य पुरस्ताद्वादिभिः सार्धं कथाविमर्शं कर्तुमिति । ततः स राजा अमात्यानाम-  
 न्त्रयते । अस्ति भवन्तोऽस्माकं विजिते कश्चिद्वादी प्रतिवसतीति । अमात्याः  
 कथयन्ति । देवास्ति नालदप्रामके माठरो नाम ब्राह्मणो वेदवेदाङ्गपारगोऽमिकल्प इव  
 ज्ञानेन । तेन माठर नाम शास्त्रं प्रणीतमिति । राजा कथयति । आहूयतां स उपाध्याय  
 इति । अमात्यैराहूतः । सोऽपि राजानं जयेनायुषा च वर्धयित्वा पुरतोऽवस्थितः ।  
 ततो राज्ञाभिहितः । शक्तोषि त्वमुपाध्याय अनेन ब्राह्मणेन सार्धं मम पुरस्तात्कथाविमर्शं  
 कर्तुमिति । स कथयति । शक्तोऽहं देव भाषिष्ये इति । ततो वादिमण्डलं  
 प्रहसत् । पक्षापरपक्षौ व्यवस्थापितौ । राजा कथयति । कस्य भवतु पूर्वपक्ष इति ।  
 अमात्याः कथयन्ति । देवाय माठरो ब्राह्मणो वृद्धोऽस्य एव भवतु पूर्वपक्ष इति ।  
 तस्य पूर्वपक्षो दत्तः । माठरब्राह्मणोऽचिन्तयत् । अयं नवग्रन्थः पटुकरणश्च न शक्यं  
 मथानेन सार्धं कथाविमर्शं कर्तुम् । वादपिच्छिलिकायां योजयामीति । तेन पञ्च-  
 शतिको दण्डकः समुच्चारितः । तेनापि ब्राह्मणेन प्रत्युच्चार्य दोषो दत्तः । इदं ते

अयुक्तमिदमसदृशम् । इदं मोपपद्यते । स तूष्णीमवस्थितः । नैतत् प्रतिकुष्ठं चीतन्निग्रहस्था-  
नानां यदुतान्तरै निष्कृतिमानता । राजा अमास्यानामन्त्रयन्ने । भवन्त कतरोऽत्र  
शोभन इति । ते कथयन्ति । तिष्यो ब्राह्मण इति । राजा कथयति । दीयतामस्य  
वादिभोगः । ते कथयन्ति । वयं चेदागन्तुकवादिनो भोगान् दास्यामः न चिराद्दस्माक  
मङ्गमगधा अनपदा वादिभोगा भविष्यन्ति । अपि त्वेष एव नालद्वग्रामकोऽस्य  
वादिभोगो भवतु । माठरस्यान्तिकादस्मै ब्राह्मणाय तामस्यान्तिकाद्योऽस्यः शोभनः ।  
राजा आह तथास्तु । अथ तैर्माठरस्यान्तिकादाच्छिद्य तिष्याय दत्तः । ततो  
माठरो ब्राह्मणः पत्नीमामन्त्रयते । भद्रे गृह्व्याकुलिकां सक्षिप । अन्यत्र गमिष्यामः ।  
कस्यार्थे । अस्य राज्ञः प्रभूतमस्मामिरुपकृत न वयमनेनानुरक्षिता । तस्माद्रुच्छामो  
वयमन्यलेति । तस्य अन्तेवासिन आचार्यस्य माठरस्य अन्यत्र गमनकथा श्रुत्वा तस्य सकाश  
गता । ते कथयन्ति । उपाध्याय कस्यार्थं गृह्व्याकुलिका सक्षिप्यत इति । स  
कथयति । प्रभूतमस्मामिर्भवन्तोऽस्य राज्ञः उपकृतम् । न वयमनेनानुरक्षिताः ।  
तस्माद्रुच्छामो वयमन्यत्रेति । ते कथयन्ति । मान्यत्र गच्छत । अन्तेवामिन  
असुखचित्ता भविष्यन्ति । स गाथां भाषते ।

वरं नरस्य परदेशवासो न तु स्वदेशे परिभूतवासः ।

यस्मिन्नराणां न पराभवोऽस्ति स वै स्वदेशः स्वजनोऽपि तत्र ॥ इति ।

तिष्येण ब्राह्मणेन श्रुतम् । सः अन्यत्र गच्छति वयं वरान् आगन्तुका वय  
गमिष्याम । इहैव तिष्ठ । तवैव वादिभोगा भविष्यन्तीति । स न तिष्ठति । ततस्ति-  
ष्येणोक्तः । उपाध्याय इहैव तिष्ठ अस्य कर्षटकस्योपार्धं तव भवतु । उपार्धं ममेति ।  
स कथयति । एवमस्तिवति । स पत्नीमामन्त्रयते । भद्रे अस्य राज्ञ प्रभूतमस्मामिरुपकृतं  
न वयमनेनानुरक्षिताः । अपि तु तिष्येणैव ब्राह्मणेनास्माकं प्रभूतमुपकृतम् वादि-  
भोगानामुपार्धं ददता । तदस्य शारिकां भार्यार्थमनुप्रयच्छाम इति । सा  
कथयति । अस्य माणवस्य ख्यातिर्वृंगता । तौ पुत्रमामन्त्र्य तदर्थमारोच्यामासतु । स  
कथयति । कस्मादस्य दीयते । पितरौ कथं सुहृद्भावेन शत्रुं ज्ञास्यामि । सर्वेण सर्वथैतं  
जीविताद्बुध्यपरोपयेत । वयमनेन भोगेभ्य च्यावितः ।<sup>1</sup> सर्वथा न दातव्येति ।  
तौ कथयतः । मूर्खस्त्वं किं ज्ञास्यसीति । ताभ्यां तस्य वचनमवचनं कृत्वा  
दत्ता । तेन महता श्रीसमुद्येन परिणीता । ब्राह्मणमाणावः कोप्रिलोऽचिन्तयत् ।  
एतैरहमवज्ञातः । अथ तत् सर्वं श्रुत्वा अत कृत्यं तदल्पं कृतमिति । कृत्वा अपि तु

1 Tib is more diffuse here

किमयं तिष्यो माणवो जानीते । लोकायतम् । कुत्र भवन्तो लोकायतं ज्ञायते । दक्षिणापथे । सोऽनुपूर्वेण दक्षिणापथमनुप्राप्तः । स तत्र गत्वा पृच्छति । को अत्र भवन्त लोकायतमधिगत । सन्ति kun-tu-rgyu । स तेषां सकाशमुपसंक्रान्तः । उपसंक्रम्य कथयति । इच्छाम्यहं युष्माकं पादशुश्रूषां कर्तुम् । कस्यार्थाय । लोकायतमुद्-ग्रहीष्यामि । ते कथयन्ति । न वयमागारिकस्य लोकायतमुपदिशामः । स कथयति । यद्येवं प्रव्रजिष्यामि । तै स प्रव्राजित । प्रव्रज्य नखान् न तावच्छेत्स्यामीति यावन्मया लोकायतमुद्ग्रहीतं भवतीति । दीर्घदीर्घाणि नखानि दीर्घनखः परिव्राजको दीर्घनखः परिव्राजक इति संज्ञा उदपादि ।

शारिकापि तिष्येण ब्राह्मणेन सार्धं वादम् आरोपयति । तिष्येण सा निगृहीता । तिष्य-ब्राह्मण शारिकया सार्धं क्रीडति रमते परिचारयति । अन्यतरश्च सस्वध्वरमभविकश्च चरितैषी गृहीतमोक्षगर्भोऽन्तर्मुखनिर्वाणो बहिर्मुखः संसारादनर्थिकः सर्वभवगति-च्युत्युपपत्तिष्वन्तिमदेहधारी अन्यतमस्मात्प्रणीताद्देवनिकायात् च्यवित्वा शारिकया गर्भमवक्रान्त । शारिकया स्वप्नो दृष्ट । उत्काहस्त पुरुष कुक्षि भित्त्वा प्रविष्टो महा-शैल पर्वतमधिरोहामि । उपरि विहायसा गच्छामि । महाजनकायो मे प्रणामं करोतीति । तथा तिष्यस्य ब्राह्मणस्य निवेदितम् । ईदृशं चेदृशं च मया स्वप्नो दृष्ट इति । स्वप्नाध्यायमजानता तेनान्येषामपि स्वप्नाध्यायपाठकानां ब्राह्मणानां निवेदितम् । मम ब्राह्मण्या इद्वशश्च स्वप्नो दृष्ट इति । ते कथयन्ति । उपाध्याय शोभनः स्वप्नो यत्कथयति । उत्काहस्तो मे पुरुषः कुक्षिं भित्त्वा प्रविष्ट । सा पुत्र प्रसूयते । स वर्षाष्टद्वयेन ऐन्द्रव्याकरणमधीत्य सर्ववादिनो निग्रहीष्यति । यत्कथयति । महाशैलं पर्वतमधिरोहामि । उपरि विहायसा गच्छामि । महाजन-कायो मे प्रणामं करोतीति । प्रव्रजिष्यति च समयमसिद्धिं च आत्मदृष्टिं लप्स्यते ।

यावदपरेण समयेन तिष्यो ब्राह्मण्या साध्र वादं करोतीति । तथाऽसौ निगृह्यते । स संलक्षयति । को योगः पूर्वमहमेतां निगृह्यामि । साम्प्रत-महमनया निगृह्ये । इतोऽस्या प्रभावो नाभूत् । यत् सत्त्वं तस्या कुक्षिमवक्रान्तः तस्यैषोऽनुभाव इति । सा अष्टानां नवानां वा मासानामत्ययात्प्रसूता । दारको जातः अभिरूपो दर्शनीयः प्रासादिको गौरः कनकवर्णः छत्राकारशिराः दीर्घबाहुः विस्तोर्ण-ललाटः युग्मभ्रूः उत्तुङ्गनाम ।<sup>1</sup> ज्ञानयः संगम्य समागम्य विस्तरेण जातौ जातिमहं कृत्वा नामधेयं व्यवस्थापयितुमारब्धः । किं भवतु माणवस्य नामेति । तिष्यो

माणवकमुपानामयद् मातामहसकाशम् । स अचिन्तयत् । माणवस्य किं भवितव्यं नाम इति । स संलक्षयति । अयं माणवस्तिष्यस्य ब्राह्मणस्य पुत्रः । भवतु माणवस्य उपतिष्य इति नामेति । तिष्यो ब्राह्मणः कथयति । कीदृशं माणवस्य आर्यकेण नाम व्यवस्थापितमुपतिष्य इति । स संलक्षयति । मातामहेन माणवस्य नाम पितुः नामतः कृतः । अहमस्य मातृकं नामधेयं व्यवस्थापयामि । अयं माणवः शारिकायाः पुत्रो भवतु माणवस्य शारिपुत्र इति नाम इति । ततः केचिच्छारिपुत्रो माणव इति संजानते । केचिदुपतिष्यो माणव इति । स अष्टाभ्य-  
धात्रीभ्य प्रदत्त । स दारकः क्षीरेण दध्ना नवनीतेन सर्पिषा सर्पिर्मण्डेनान्यैश्च उत्तप्तोत्तप्तैरुपकरणविशेषैराशु वर्धते हृदस्थमिव पंकजम् । स यदा महान्संवृत्तः तदा लिप्यामुपन्यस्तः । स लिप्यां पारंगतः । संख्यायां गणनायां चर्यायां शौचे ममाचारे भस्मगृहे मृत्तिकागृहे ओंकारे भोकारे ऋग्वेदे यजुर्वेदे अथर्ववेदे सामवेदे यजने याजने अध्ययने अध्यापने दाने प्रतिग्रहे षट्कर्मनिरतो ब्राह्मणः सवृत्तः । स पित्रा सर्वविद्यास्थानानि समाप्य वर्षाष्टद्वयेन ऐन्द्रव्याकरणां पठित्वा सर्ववादिनो निगृह्णाति । अपरेण समयेन पित्रा सार्धमध्ययनं कुर्वन्नेवमाह । तात कोऽस्य भाषितस्यार्थः । पुत्र अहमपि न जाने कोऽस्य भाषितस्यार्थः । इति अपि त्वेवमेतानि मंत्रपदानि पूर्वकैः ऋषिभिस्तुतानि गीतानि समायुक्तानि । यान्येतर्हि ब्राह्मणाऽप्यनुगायन्तेऽप्यनु-  
भाषन्ते । स कथयति । न खलु तात निरर्थकान्येतानि मंत्रपदानि पूर्वकैः ऋषिभिस्तुतानि गीतानि समायुक्तानि यान्येतर्हि ब्राह्मणा अनुगायन्तेऽप्यनु-  
भाषन्तेऽपि । तेषामर्थो नैष इति संलक्षय कः खलु सोऽर्थः । न कथयति अर्थोऽस्य अयमेव । तिष्यब्राह्मण आत्तमनाः संवृत्तः । स संलक्षयति । एतावत्पुत्रेण करणीयम् । यदुत पैतृकी वा धुरा उन्नामयितव्या उत्तरो वा विशेषोऽधिगन्तव्यः । तदनेन माणवेन उत्तरो विशेषोऽधिगन्तव्यः । स पञ्चशतानि ब्राह्मणमाणवकान्मंत्रान्वाचयति । तेनात्तमनसा तस्यैव तानि दत्तान्युपतिष्योऽपि माणवः पंचमात्राणि माणवशतानि ब्राह्मणकान्मंत्रान्वाचयितुमारब्धः । तेन ये दीर्घा वेदास्तेहस्ता ग्रन्थनो व्यजनतश्च स्थापयित्वा अर्थतो निरुक्तिश्च स्थापिताः ।<sup>1</sup>

काण्डवाटग्रामके मुद्गलो नाम पुरोहितः प्रतिवसति । आढ्यो महाधनो महाभोगो विस्तीर्णविशालपरिग्रहो वैश्रवणधनसमृद्धः । तेन सदृशात् कुलात् कलत्रमानीत । स तेन

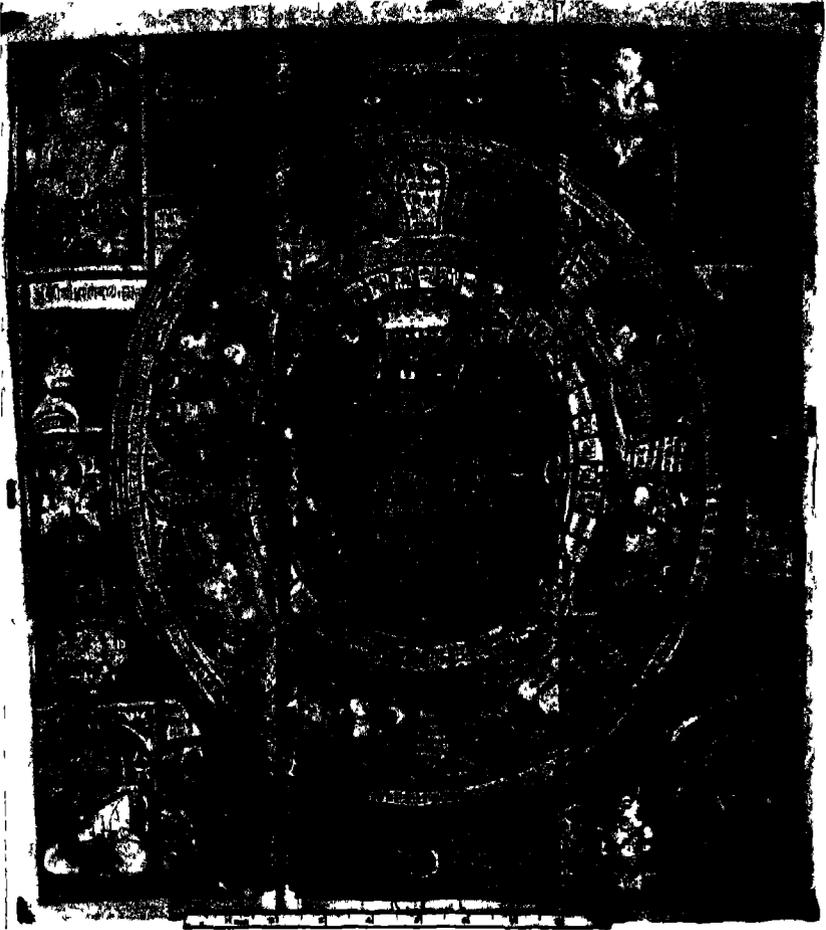
1 According to the Tib , the first chapter ends here

सार्धं क्रीडति रमते परिवारयति । तस्य क्रीडतो रममाणस्य परिवारयतो न पुत्रो न दुहिता । सोऽपुत्रः पुत्राभिनन्दी च वरुणकुबेरशक्रब्रह्मादीनन्यांश्च देवता-  
विशेषानायाचते । तद्यथा आरामदेवताः वनदेवताश्चत्वरदेवताः शृंगाटकदेवता बलिप्रति-  
प्राहिकाः देवताः सहजाः सहधार्मिकाः नित्यानुबद्धा अपि देवता आयाचते । अस्ति  
चैष लोके प्रवादः यदायाचनहेतोः पुत्रा जायन्ते दुहितरश्चेति । तद् नैव । यद्येव-  
मभविष्यत् एकैकस्य पुत्रसहस्रमभविष्यत् । तद्यथा राज्ञश्चक्रवर्तिनः । अपि तु तयाणां  
स्थानानां समुखीभावात्पुत्राः जायन्ते दुहितरश्च । कतमेषां त्रयाणाम् । मातापितरौ  
रक्तौ भवतः संनिपतितौ । माता च कल्या भवति ऋतुमती । गन्धर्वश्च प्रत्युयस्थितौ  
भवति । येषां त्रयाणां<sup>1</sup>

NALINAKSHA DUTT

1 Here ends one complete leaf perhaps the 6th and the following leaf has not yet been traced

A Pre-Mughal Citrapata from Gujarat



## A pre-Mughal Citrapata from Gujarat

A fairly large number of illustrated manuscripts has been found in Gujarāt. Most of these manuscripts are Jaina. Kumārapāla the famous Jaina ruler of Gujarāt is said to have employed hundreds of writers to copy out in golden ink some important Jaina works for free distribution. Vastupāla the multi-millionaire of Gujarāt spent, according to the *Upadēśataranginī*, seven crores of rupees on this pious work of copying books for the use of scholars. Other rich Gujarātīs who followed these noble examples are also known. Manuscripts were written on palm-leaf, cloth or paper, generally. Pictures or illustrations were drawn on wooden tablets, palm-leaves, cloth, leather and paper, as we learn from the several specimens which have been brought to light. Pre-Mughal specimens of painting on cloth are rare and one is ever anxious to see another work of the type of the *Vasantavilāsa*, written in Ahmedabad in the year 1508 of the Vikrama era (= 1451 A D), on account of the various secular pictures it contains. One religious *citrapata* of the pre-Mughal times has been seen in Pātan, the old capital of Gujarāt, and my learned friend Muni Punyavijayaji of the Sāgar kā Upāsarā there has kindly lent it to me for publication. A note on it in Gujarātī was contributed to the *Atmaram Commemorative Volume* conjointly by me and my pupil Mr. Sarabhai. Owing to the importance of its pictures, however, I think it would be advantageous to publish a note on it in English for the benefit of the scholars not conversant with Gujarātī. Accordingly I have drawn the following account of it in honour of the late Professor Winternitz as a mark of respect for and admiration of his scholarship and of the splendid work he did as a great Indologist.

A good deal of admixture is seen in the *tāntric* systems of Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism, the three great religions of India, and there can be no denying the fact that this is the result of borrowing from one another. When a certain system proves successful the followers of the rival faiths would adopt and incorporate it into their own cults so that there may be no reason or justification for the wavering minds to go over to the other sect on that account. In the *tāntric* side Hinduism and Buddhism are greatly indebted to each other. It is not yet established how much Jainism gave in return for what it took from Hinduism as far as the *tāntric* phase is concerned. As it not infrequently happens, when a sect loses its original vigour and becomes decadent, it imitates the ideas of other religions. The Jainas, in imitation of Hindu and Buddhist ideas, created mystic diagrams or *yantras*. Of such diagrams the two, namely the *Suddhayantra* and the *Rsi mandala* have been very popular with them. Many varieties of both these *yantras* are known to us. The *citrapata* I am noticing here, illustrates the *Rsi mandala-yantrāmnāya* as is stated in the words 'iti śrī-Rsi mandalayantrāmnāyah' of the scribe written on the picture itself. The *pata* further informs us of the name of the Jaina *muni* who got it prepared under his instructions. The text given in the *pata* is as under —

“संवत् १५७१ वर्षे वि(वै)शाख मासे शुक्रपक्षे त्रि(तृ)तीयाया तिथौ सोमवारे रोह(हि)णी नक्षत्रे वर्द्धमाननाम्नि योगे उपएसगच्छे सिद्धाचार्यसंताने पूज्यश्रो जयरत्न-सूरि-श(शि)ष्य प० हर्षरत्नगणोना परिवारस्य का(की)र्त्ति लक्ष्मीं धृतिं मतिं कुरु २ स्वाहा ।

Here we are told that the *yantra-pata* was prepared in Sam 1571, on the 3rd day of the bright half of Vaiśākha for the prosperity of the followers of Pamnyāsa Harsaratnaganā, a disciple of Jayaratnasūri who belonged to the direct line of disciples of Siddhācārya.

In the centre of the *pata* is drawn the letter *brīm̃* in five colours. The painter has drawn the word *Om* in the Jaina style on the right

of the top of *brīm̃*, and *namah* on its left. Thus the artist has painted the words *Om brīm̃ namah* which form the *bijāksara* or the initial portion of the *Rṣimandalayantra*.

In all the three main systems named above, *brīm̃* is the *māyā-bīja* or the sacred symbol which controls this illusory world. The Jaina teachers have based on it a separate treatise called *Hriṃkāra-kalpa*. This syllable *brīm̃* is painted in five colours and thus represents the twenty-four *Tīrthankaras* in the traditional manner laid down by ancient Jaina *Ācāryas*. It is divided into five parts, viz., *br*, *ī*, the crescent or *siddhaśilā* above *ī* and the *bindu* over the crescent which is divided into two parts by a horizontal line drawn through it. *Hr* is drawn in yellow and is meant to represent the sixteen *Tīrthankaras* who are said to be of that colour. These *Tīrthankaras* are —(1) *Rsabhadeva*, (2) *Ajitanātha*, (3) *Sambhavanātha*, (4) *Abhinandanasvāmī*, (5) *Sumatinātha*, (7) *Supārśvanātha*, (10) *Śitalanātha*, (11) *Śīeyāmsanātha*, (13) *Vimalanātha*, (14) *Anantanātha*, (15) *Dharmanātha*, (16) *Śāntinātha*, (17) *Kunthunātha*, (18) *Aranātha*, (21) *Neminātha* and (24) *Mahāvīrasvāmī*. It is painted blue which is the colour of the 19th *Tīrthankara* *Mallinātha* and the 23rd *Tīrthankara* *Pārśvanātha*. Its connection with *Mallinātha* is significant for it represents *Śakti* and *Mallinātha* is believed to have been a woman. The crescent-shaped *Siddhaśilā* drawn over *brī* is red which is the colour of the sixth *Tīrthankara* *Padmaprabhu* and the twelfth *Vāsupūjya*. The *bindu* over the crescent is divided into two parts by a horizontal line drawn through it. The upper portion of the *bindu* is white which represents the 8th *Tīrthankara*, *Candraprabhu*, and the 9th *Suvidhinātha*. The lower portion of the *bindu* is painted black and stands for the 20th *Tīrthankara* *Munisuvrata* and the 22nd, *Neminātha* who also shares the same colour. Thus the painter has represented all the *Tīrthankaras* in the syllable *brīm̃* and has thus supplied us with a specimen of pre-Mughal portraiture of the religious type.

Round *brīm̃* the artist has drawn four concentric circles. In the innermost circle the painter has drawn a lotus of forty-eight petals. In twenty three of these petals he has written the *mantrāksaras* or syllables used in spells or charms. They are the twenty-three consonants beginning with *k, m, l, r, vyūṃ* and ending with *b, m, l, r, vyuṃ*. After every four consonants and two petals *v* has been inserted. In the first petal *v* is written thrice while in the second it is written four times. The painter has written *p, m, l, r, vyūṃ* twice and *v* seven times. Thus the circle has been completed. I am unable to explain why the *mantrāksaras* have been arranged by the painter in this way.

In the next circle the painter has drawn blue lines which stand for water.

In the third circle are depicted eight lotus-petals to show the eight cardinal points. (1) *Om brīm̃ arhadbhyb īsebhyo namah/*, *Ravi brīm̃ Śrī dbr̃i pūrvva-di* is written in the petal in the east. The *Arihanta* is white in colour, so the painter has drawn a white figure of *Arihanta* as also of the superintending deity (*Adbisthāyaka*) of the post of *Arihanta*.

(2) In the south-east petal is written *Om brīm̃ siddhebbhyo namah/* *Agni, Soma, Laksmī, Umā, Gaurī, etc.* The *Siddha* is red. So a red figure of the *Siddha* and of the *Adbisthāyaka* of his post is drawn after the petal. (3) In the southern petal *Om brīm̃ sarvasuribhyo namah/* *Yama, Mangala, Sarasvatī, Jayā, Ambā,* has been written. *Ācārya* is of yellow colour, so a yellow *Ācārya* and the *Adbisthāyaka* of his *pada* is painted after him. (4) In the south-western petal we have *Om brīm̃ upādhyāyebhyo namah/* *Budha, Nara(ri)to, Vṇayā, Nityā, Klinnā.* The *Upādhyāya* is of blue colour but the painter has drawn him as well as the *Adbisthāyaka* of his post as yellow. (5) In the western petal we find *Om brīm̃ sarvasādhubhyo namah/* *Varuna, Guru, Aptā, Madadravā, Kāmāngā,* The *Sādhu* is of dark colour. Hence a dark figure of a *sādhu*

and of the *Adhishthāyaka* of his post are drawn after the petal (6) In the north-western petal we notice *Om hrīm̃ jñānibhyo namah/Vāyu, Sukra, Kamabānā Sānandānandamālīnī (bhyo) namah Jñāna* is of a bright or white colour Still through oversight the painter has drawn a figure of a yellow *sādhu* and of the *Adhishthāyaka* of his post (7) In the northern petal we have *Om brauṃ tattvadrstibhyo namah Dhanada Śanī Māyā Māyāvīmī Raudrī Gurubhyo namah Tattvadrsti* or *Darśanapada* is white or bright Still as in the previous case, the painter has drawn a yellow figure of a *sādhu* and of the *Adhishthāyaka* of his post

(8) In the north-eastern petal we read *Om hrīm̃ cāritrebhyo namah Īśāna, Rāhu, Ketu, Kalā, Kālī, Kalpr(r)yā*, etc Though *cāritrapada* is of white colour, the painter has, as before, drawn a yellow figure of a *sādhu* and of the *Adhishthāyaka* of his post Thus the third circle is completed

In the fourth or the outermost circle we read the inscription beginning with Samvat 1571 which I have given above in full After this inscription are written all the vowels from *a* to *ah*, the consonants from *ka* to *ksa* and at the end the words *iti Rsimandala-mantrāmnāyāh* Thus the yantra is completed

The whole of this mystic diagram is drawn inside a *pūrṇa-kalāśa*, i e., an entire pitcher Thus the twenty-four *Tirthankaras* are included in the syllable *hrīm̃* which is in the middle of the *kalāśa* This syllable *hrīm̃* is encircled by four concentric circles which are described above At the mouth of the *kalāśa* we have again the syllable *hrīm̃* The yantra is surmounted by the *ankuśa-bīja krom*

The *kalāśa* has an eye painted at each of its two sides *Kalāśa*, also called *mangala-kalāśa* or *ghata*, is a symbol which is sacred to all the three main religions of India The speciality of Jainism, however, lies in associating it with two *divyacakṣus* or divine eyes In the four corners of this *citrapata* the figures of Dharanendra, Padmā-

vatī, Gurumūrti and Vairātyādevī are to be seen. Dharanendra is painted yellow. There are six hoods over his head. He holds a noose in his right hand and a goad in the left. His lower hands are shown empty. He is seated in the *bhadrāsana* posture. Beneath his left thigh is shown an elephant, his cognizance. (2) Padmāvati has the colour of burnished gold. She has three hoods over her head. She holds a goad in the upper right hand and a noose in the upper left hand. Her lower right hand is in the *varada* (boon-giving) pose and the lower left hand in the *abhaya* pose. A cock is shown as her cognizance. (3) Gurumūrti is seated on a square wooden seat in the *padmāsana* posture. His hands are in the *pravacana-mudrā* or teaching attitude. His complexion is yellow and he wears white garments. He has placed his sacred broom on his right thigh. (4) Vairātyā's complexion is dark. She has three hoods of a snake over her head. Her upper hands hold snakes. Her lower right hand is in the *varada* pose, and the lower left hand is empty. She is seated in the *bhadrāsana* pose without her emblem.

Besides these portraits in the corners, the artist has drawn pictures of the *Nava-grahas*, the *Nava-nidhis* and their guardian deities. These are detailed as below —

At the top of the *pata* Sūrya is drawn on the right and Candra on the left. On the left side of it we have Mangala and Budha. Guru and Śukra are accommodated at the bottom of the *pata*, and its right side makes room for Śani, Rāhu and Ketu. Near the bottom of the *Mangala-kalāśa*, the *Nava-nidhis* are represented in the form of nine small pitchers. Nearby is the five-hooded *Śesa* who guards them. The figure of Ganeśa and the representation of leaves of a *kalpa-urksa* above the mouth of the *kalāśa* complete the picture.

In conclusion it may be observed that the artist who prepared the *citrapata* under notice had to work in accordance with the canonical injunctions regarding the representations of the divinities of

the Jaina religion. He is not accurate in one or two cases as I have shown above. But that might have been due to his ignorance, or perhaps, he followed some new school of orthodox Jaina painting. In any case the *citrapata* under notice possesses considerable value for the comparative study of the three main *tāntric* systems of India. Moreover, it is one of the rare specimens of pre-Mughal ecclesiastic pictures requiring attention of scholars interested in Indian pictorial art.

HIRANANDA SASTRI

## The Title *Daśavaikālika Sūtra*

Even from the earliest times, it appears, there was no agreement among the traditional writers about the form and the interpretation of the name of the work usually known as the *Daśavaikālika Sūtra*. Like many other works of the Ardha-Māgadhī canon there is no occasion to give the title name either in the introductory or concluding portions of the text. References in other works and the comments upon it are also not unanimous.

In the *Nandī Sūtra*,<sup>1</sup> where a list of the works forming the canon is given, we find the name of the work in the form *Dasaveyāliya*, and stands at the beginning of the *Ukkāliya* section of the *Suyanāna Bhadrabāhu*, the oldest commentator of this text, used in his *Nijjuttī*<sup>2</sup> the form *Dasakāliya* six times (vv 1, 7, twice, 12, 14, 25) and the form *Dasaveyāliya* twice (vv 6, 397). Of these two forms of the title, he decidedly favours the first as the name of the work and he used the second only incidentally. This will be clear from the fact that in all the three places (vv 7, 12, 15) where an attempt is made to explain the name the form is invariably *Dasakāliya* and not *Dasaveyāliya*. *Jinadāsamahattara* in his *Cūrni*<sup>3</sup> on the text, however, and following him *Haribhadra* in his *Sanskrit Tikā*, usually use the form *Dasaveyāliya*, even though the other form is found in their works incidentally (*Cūrni*, p 4, *Harī* p 1). They have not seen any discrepancy between the two names and explain the title always in the form of *Dasaveyāliya*.

No material help can be derived from the names of the other books of the canon. Even though the first word of the name, *Dasa*

1 Ed. Āgamodaya Samiti p. 201b

2 Ed. Prof. Abhyankara at the end of his edition of the text. The numbers of the *Nijjuttī gāthās* refer to his edition.

3 Ed. of Jāmnagar 1933

occurs in many names of the canonical works, and according to W Schubring<sup>4</sup> all these works form a group by themselves, the meaning of the word is clear and it always refers to the number of the chapters found in the particular book. It is only in case of the *Vanhidāsāo* that we find a disagreement between the title and the number of the chapters. In the present case also, there is no objection to take the word to mean ten chapters, because the additional two sections are expressly called *Cūlikās* and are clearly intended to be later additions. The second element of the name *Veyāliya* occurs in only one other text of the canon, viz, the *Tandulaveyāliya* a book included among the *Painnas* but also in the *Ukkāliya* section along with the *Dasaveyāliya*. But there the name means a calculation (*veyāliya* = *vicāra*)<sup>5</sup> of the number of rice grains, and cannot have anything to do with the second element of the name of *Dasaveyāliya*.

A correct interpretation of the name is equally hard to find out. In this connection it is difficult to decide what meaning of the title was intended by the author of the *Nijjuttī*, in spite of the three different attempts made by him to explain the name. In the introductory portion of the *Nijjuttī* we find the analysis of the title as *dasā* and *kāla* both the words receiving further elucidation. To explain the import of the word *Dasa* the author was led to explain the word *ekka*. On this verse the *Cūrnī* has preserved an interesting passage which runs

एतथ कतरेण इक्केण अधिगारो । भदियायरिआवदेसेण' जम्हा दस एए पज्जाय-अज्जकयण  
सगहेक्केण सज्जहिया तम्हा सज्जहेक्केण एतथ अधिगारो । दत्तिलायरिआवएसेणम् जम्हा  
सुयनाण' खओवसमिए भावे वहइ ( १ वट्टइ ) तम्हा भावेक्केणम् । दोत्ति वि एए आदेमा  
अविरुद्धा । भावेक्के एण अधिगारो ॥ (p 4)

In spite of the assurance of the author and his own inclination towards the second view, it is undoubtedly the first which is historically correct and offers one more proof to say that the present work is

4 *Die Lehre der Jainas*, p 58

5 *Ibid*, p 75

a collection After the explanation of the number 'one' the *Nijuttu* goes to explain the number 'ten', and after that it states

दव्वे अद्द अहाउय उवक्कमे देस-काल काले य ।  
तह य पमाणे वरणे भावे पगय तु भावेणम् ॥

Here it clearly states nine different senses of the word *kāla* and points out that in the present context the *bhāva* sense is applicable What is meant by the *bhāvakāla* we are left to guess The explanation of Haribhadra that it refers to *ksāyika* and other *bhāvas* of the soul is of no great use and like the above one of the *Cūṛṇi* on *ekka* is a convenient way for the commentators to pass over the difficulty In fact Haribhadra has noticed the discrepancy between the words of the *Nijuttu* and his own explanation, and so he remarks

यदुक्त्वा । पगयं तु भावेणं ति । तत् कथं न विरुद्धयते इति । उच्यते, ज्ञायो-  
पशमिक्रभावकाले शय्यम्भवेन निव्यूदं प्रमाणकाले च उक्त्वाज्ञायो इति अविरोध । अथवा  
प्रमाणकालोऽपि भावकाल एव ।

The remarks are sufficient to point out his inability to explain the intention of the author The *Cūṛṇi* offers no more light on the point

That Bhadrabhāhu really meant to explain by the present remark the title of the work and was not merely speculating about the *bhāva* meaning of the word can be proved from many other places in the *Nijuttu* While explaining the word *mabugāra* he remarks, *ibayam puna abigāro vibāyagamanehi bhamaṛehim*/117 While explaining the title of the third chapter he says *paikbuddaena pagayam*/185 So also we find him remarking *ettbam puna abigāro nikāyakāena hoḥ suttammī*/289 *ettbam davvesanāe abigāro*/304 *niddesapasamsāe abigāro ettha aṇṇhayane*/316 and in all these cases he is perfectly right

There are two more verses in the *Nijuttu* which offer another interpretation of the name Verse 12 runs

सामादियञ्चणुकमञ्चो वरणोउ', विगयपोरिसोए उ ।  
निज्जूदं किर तेज्जम्भवेण दशकालियं तेण ॥

This suggests that the work was called *Dasakāliya* because it was composed or culled out by Sejjambhava when the period of time called *Pauruṣī* was over Verse 15 of the same text runs

मरणं पञ्च सेज्जम्भवेण निज्जूहिया दसज्जयणा ।

वेयालियाए ठविया तम्हा दसकालियं नाम ॥

Here also a nearly identical explanation is offered Because the ten chapters which he culled out were placed at the time of *Vikāla* the work was called *Dasakāliya* Besides the apparent disagreement between the two words of explanation *viḡayaporisī* and *veyāliyā* with the title *dasakāliya*, there are two interpretations of the word *vikāla* possible It may mean the time of the evening, as the commentators take it or it may mean an improper time, as is suggested by some modern scholars<sup>6</sup> The choice between the two for *Bhadra-bāhu*'s own interpretation cannot be decided on the mere authority of the commentators

The *Cūṛṇi* throws very little additional light on the question of interpreting the title It remarks

विगत. कालो विकालः । अथवा विकाल काल असकल खण्डश्चेत्यनर्थान्तरम्  
विकालवेलाया परिसमाप्तं वैकालिकम् । अथवा विकाले पठ्यत इति वैकालिकम् । अथवा  
दशतानि आभयनानि व्यवगते दिने कृतानीति दशवैकालिकम् । (p 5)

Here he accepts the usual interpretation but makes a new suggestion in the form that because it is studied at an improper (or evening time) it is called *Vaikālika* *Haribhadra* only accepts the usually accepted explanation that it was written in the evening and tries to explain the text of the *Nijjuttī* accordingly After him both the form of the title and its interpretation were settled once for all and all later writers follow him closely<sup>7</sup>

Now all these explanations except the first obscure one of the *Nijjuttī* are based upon the traditional story about the composition

6 Cp for a discussion of the title M V Patwardhan *The Daśavaikālikā A Study*, pp 9-10 He himself accepts the traditional explanation

7 Cp Hema Parī V 86 *Samayasundara*, p 1

of the work. But even taking the story as it is, it is difficult to see how such a small detail, that the work was written in the evening, should give the title to it. This is much more striking in face of the fact that there was nothing abnormal about the time itself. It is true that the Uttarāddhyayana prescribes the first and the last watch of the day and night for study (XXVI 12, 18) and the *Cūrmi* remarks that the work was composed in the third Porisī, a little earlier. But Sejjambhava could have well waited a little more, and it would have made little difference, as Managa was to live six months more. The suggestion of the *Cūrmi* is more to the point. The story tells us that Managa was to live only six months and it was not possible for him to complete the study of the scriptures in the usual method which extended over a very long period. We know that the Pūrvas can be studied by a monk in the 19th year of his Paryāya\* and it was impossible for Managa to study them. This naturally led Sejjambhava to have selections from these works for the benefit of his short-lived son and he taught them to him irrespective of the time which are prescribed for the study of these works. As such the work would well receive the name Vaikālika. In this very sense we can understand the words of the Nijjuttī 'veyāhiyāe thaviryā' (15). In fact, all these extractions from the Pūrvā books were intended to bring the important contents of the works within the province of study of monks who cannot wait for the regular period of time prescribed for their study. In this connection one remark in the Prakrit story as preserved in the *Cūrmi* is instructive. For pointing out the motive of Sejjambhava to cull out these texts from the Pūrvas he remarks

त चोदमपुष्वी कहि पि कारणे समुप्पन्ने निज्जूहइ । दमपुष्वी पुण अपचिद्धमो अवस्स  
मेव निज्जूहइ ॥

So, this rule has same value when we consider that the earlier monks were not allowed to violate the rules of study unless some specific

cause was available. But when the knowledge of the Pūrvas began to grow scarce it was allowed for the few who knew them to make extractions from them with the intention of preserving whatever little they can. It can be easily seen that these statements confirm the view of Charpentier<sup>9</sup> that the Pūrvas were lost on account of their study being placed late in the regular plan of mastering the scriptures. I cannot see any strong reason to suppose that the work got the name Vaikālika because it was culled out against the rules of doing so.

All these explanations, however, accept the name to be Daśavaikālika and see no contradiction between it and the other form Daśakālika. But as seen above, the older name appears to be Daśakālika and not Daśavaikālika. The story itself, probably gave greater currency to the second form of the title.

To explain the title Daśakāliya we must try to know the meaning of the word kāliya. Two meanings of this word are of importance to us. There is a method of dividing the canon into four Anuyogas and it is common to both the sects of the Jaina community and as such must be very old. The very first of these Anuyogas is called the *caranakaranānuयोग* and the Daśavaikālika Cūṇi remarks *tattha caranakaranānuयोगo nāma kāliyasuyam* p. 2. From this it appears that the canonical works dealing with carana or rules of good conduct and karana or rules of begging food were called by the name Kālika Śruta. This description passes very well with the contents of the Daśavaikālika. We have further the authority of the Nijjuttī to group the present work in this Anuyoga, because it remarks

अपुहत्तपुहत्ताइं निदिसिउं, एत्थ होइ अहिगारो ।  
चरणकरणाणुयोगेण तस्स दारा इमे होन्ति ॥

There is, however, another meaning of the word kālika in connection with the texts of the canon. In the *Nandī* we get the older

9 *Uttarāddhyayana*, Intro pp. 23 ff.

classification of the canon into those into Angas and Angabāhiras, the second of which is divided into Āvassaya and Āvassayavairitta. The last is divided into Kāliya and Ukkāliya. The explanations of the two terms is given by Malayagiri,<sup>10</sup> which runs

तत्र यद्विसनिशाप्रथमपश्चिमपौरुषीद्वय एव पठ्यते तत्कालिकम् ।

यत् पुन कालवेलावर्जम् पठ्यते तत् उक्कालिकम् ॥

and quotes a passage from the *Cūrni* to the same effect. This second meaning also harmonises with the one suggested above. But this meaning of the word *kālika* cannot be seen in the title because the text is included in the *Utkālika* section and stands first in that list and not in the *Kālika* one, which we should naturally expect if the word has this meaning in the title.

From the facts stated above we can conclude something about the real state of facts at different times in the history of the text, even though it must be admitted that it is something of a convenient supposition to explain the conflicting facts. To my mind, originally the work was called *Daśakālika* and not *Daśavaikālika*, as is amply proved from the words of the *Nijjuttī*. Thus it really meant '*ten chapters dealing with the rules of conduct and of begging food*', the word *Kālika* being used in the sense of a part of the canon called *caranakaranānuyoga* or *kālikaśruta*. Later on when the book was canonised, as is suggested by the story, it was included in the *Utkālika* group of the texts because it could be studied at any time of the day, though taken from the *Pūrvas* and at any year of the monk's *paryāya*. Here, there must have arisen some confusion about the name *Kālika* which, in close connection with the name of the group *Utkālika*, was taken in the sense of a book to be studied at the prescribed time, as there was the other group of texts in contrast with it, even though the word was used in the title in quite a different sense, namely to mean a kind of part of the canon dealing

with rules of conduct. Naturally to overcome the supposed discrepancy the title was changed to Daśavaikālika, a term identical in meaning with Utkālika and a trace of which meaning is preserved in the remark of the *Cūrmi*. Later on the title was explained in the light of the story to mean the book composed at the time of the evening, another meaning of the term vikāla. This was tried to be supported by the facts of the story as best as they could, and thus both the name and its interpretation were settled in a form quite different from their original nature.

A M GHATAK

## Origin and Early History of Caityas

Sanctuaries of different kinds are frequently met with in the Buddhist literature "The most general name for a sanctuary as Kern says is *Caitya* (Pāli, *Cetiya*), a term not only applying to buildings, but to sacred trees, memorial stones, holy spots, images, religious inscriptions Hence all edifices having the character of a sacred monument are *caityas*, but *not all caityas are edifices*"<sup>1</sup> As I have said elsewhere, the custom of worshipping foot-prints was in vogue before the time of the Buddha,<sup>2</sup> and so also it will be seen that the worship of *caityas* was in existence long before the epoch of the Buddha Its probable origin can be traced to the Vedic ritual of *cayana* The term *caitya* does not occur in the *Samhitās* The earliest work in which the term occurs is the *Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra*, assigned generally to the sixth century B C, but probably belongs to a much earlier date Before we proceed to examine the use of this term *caitya* in the *Āśvalāyana Gr Sū* or other works of equal authority, let us examine it etymologically The expression admits of several etymological transformations and one is *cityasya idam = caityam*

Now 'What is *citya*?' The *Śatapatha Brāhmana* explains *citya*<sup>1</sup> as that which could be used for *cayana*, or more appropriately, that which is fit for *cayana* Though the term *caitya* as such does not occur in the *Āitareya* or *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, still it is significant

1 *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, (1896), p 91

2 *Proceedings of All-India Fifth Oriental Conference* (1930)—'The History of Early Buddhism in India' p 930

3 See in this connection the *Indian Antiquary*, vol XI, pp 20-22

4 For an explanation of Agni-citya see Martin Haug—Transl of *At Br*, V Note 28

5 सोऽस्यैव चित्त्य आसीत् । चेतव्यो ह्यस्यामीत्स्माचित्त्यश्चित्त्य उ एवायं यजमानस्य भवति । चेतव्यो ह्यस्य भवति तस्मात् एव चित्त्य ॥ VI 1 2 16 (Bib Indica)

to note the use of the expression *citya* from which the original expression *caitya* has been undoubtedly derived. In the older Samhitās we find the use of the term *citya*. In the *Taittirīya Samhitā*, in the fifth kānda, we have the following lines

Rūpāni | sarvāni | rūpāni |  
agnau | citye | kriyante | tas-  
māt | etāh | agneh | cityasya<sup>6</sup> |

Thus we hear of an Agni-citya to which offerings are made. The term *cityam* again occurs in the *Atharva Veda*<sup>7</sup> but it is doubtful whether here an Agni-citya is meant. Whatever this may be, there is clear evidence of an Agni-citya and its use in the Vedic sacrifices. And this may be regarded as the origin and commencement of Caitya cult which reached very large dimensions in the post-Vedic period. But there are other derivations of the word *caitya*. First is *cityāyā idam*. Secondly, the commentator on the *Amara* derives it thus

*cīyate pāsānādīnā caityam*

This is supported by *Mitāksara* where, in commenting on the term *caitya* in *Yājñavalkya*, II 151, it is rendered *pāsānādī bandhyah*. This means that which is built of stone. Thirdly, *caitya* may be from *citi* or *cita*, where the terminations *ti* and *ta* are added to *ci*. These can be interpreted as funeral pile or Agni. In this case *cita + ya* makes it *cit + ya* which leads to the form *citya*. Sometimes the use of the term *cita* is extended to *śmaśānam*. In commenting on the text of the *Rāmāyana*—*citya mālyānulepa*,<sup>8</sup> the commentator *Govindarāja* observes thus

*citā śmaśānam tatra bhavam cityam tādrśam mālyam* .

The expression *caityasthāna* in the *Arthasāstra* (Bk V 2) refers to the burial ground. In all these derivations it must be remembered

that every expression is ultimately derived from the root *ciñ cayane* meaning to collect, to pile up or to build. This furnishes the certain clue that the original term was *citya* as we saw it used in the *Samhitās* and *Brāhmanas* and by the time of the *Āśvalāyana Gr Sū*, the ancients have developed what is known as *caitya yajña*. Thus we see both the terms *citya* and *caitya* are correlated and connoted one and the same thing in the second half of the Vedic period. Thus the *Śabdakalpadruma* quotes an ancient text of Bharata to indicate that *caitya* is *Yajñasthāna* or *Yajñāyatana*. This is a sacred place set apart for the performance of *Yajñas*. It may possess *citya* or it may not possess one. Still it went by the name of *caitya* <sup>9</sup>.

In the Vedic literature we find two uses of *cayana*. One form is that it was a sacrifice in itself. There are several kinds of *cayana* sacrifice, and one of them too familiar to students of *Yajur-Veda* is the *Garudacayana-yāga*. In this *yāga*, special *Istakas* or bricks are made with given dimensions, and these are spread in the form of a *Garuda* as if lying down on the earth. On it different *homas* or oblations are performed <sup>10</sup>. The other was that it formed part of a great sacrifice like the *Āśvamedha*. Here it was not an independent *yajña*. The *cayana* ritual consisted in collecting the sacred ashes and the sacrificial utensils, towards the very end of the sacrifice, and piling them up in a certain place apparently fenced with walls of stone, brick or even mud. The idea underlying was that things used in a Vedic *yajña* ought not get defiled by the village or stranger or by any animal or beast. It is pointed out in the text quoted above

9 यज्ञस्थानं केचित्तु सुस्वरहितं देवकुलसदृशं यज्ञायतनं सचिद्यमचिद्यमपीत्याहुः ।

10 Readers of this paper will learn with interest that this *yajña* was performed on Vedic lines within last thirty years by two eminent pandits of Tanjore District. The late Pandit Bālakrishna Sastriar of Tiruvādi did it at Tiruvādi, and after the *yajña* he got the whole place fenced with brick wall, so that the place may not get contaminated with any impurity. The other was my eldest brother Rāmaswami Dikshitar of Vishnampet who performed it on the banks of the *Vinaśola* river at Tiruvadamarudūr, a village very near Kumbakonam.

that such yajñāyatana was devoid of mukha (*mukha-rabitam*) In other words there was no opening that led into it It was a kind of enclosure all round It resembled in shape and size a *devakula*, by which Hindu temples were meant in ancient India

In this connection we must not fail to take note of the fact that not only in later Vedic literature but in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana*, we find a combination so to say of caitya and yūpa Yūpa, it is too well known, is the sacrificial post to which the animal to be sacrificed was generally tied And no one can dispute that wherever yūpa is mentioned, there emerges the fact of Vedic yajña being performed It is the unquestionable emblem of denoting that some yāga had been performed there We shall examine this further

Taking up the *Mahābhārata* we find the interesting statement *caitya-yūpaśatānkita*<sup>11</sup> in the Ādiparva, meaning the region made sacred by the caitya and yūpa It needs no stretch of imagination to infer that caitya and yūpa under reference were found in one and the same place Conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that caitya was intimately associated with the place where Vedic yajña had been performed In another place the epic refers in glowing terms that the country is full of caityas and yūpas<sup>12</sup> implying again that caityas were places of sacred yajñas If we turn next to the *Rāmāyana*, we meet with the same description When Rāma went through the Kośala *en route* to the Dandaka forests, he found the whole country decked with caityas and yūpas<sup>13</sup> Vālmiki mentions in another

11 भीष्मेण धर्मतो राजन्सर्वत परिरक्षिते ।  
बभूव रमणीयश्च चैत्ययूपशताङ्कितः ॥ I 118 13

12 आहताः क्रमतो मुह्यताः शत भरतसत्तमम् ।  
यत्र यूपा मणिमयाश्चैत्याश्चापि हिरण्मया ॥ II 23 13

13 ततो धान्यधनोपेतान् दानशीलजनाश्रितान् ।  
अकृतश्चिद्भयान् रम्याश्चैत्ययूपसमावृतान् ॥ II 50 8

place<sup>14</sup> that the whole region was spotted with hundreds of caityas. In these places the reference is undoubtedly to yajñasthāna, and the particular combination of caitya with yūpa deserves to be particularly noted. Add to this the evidence of the *Mrocha-katika*<sup>15</sup>. In the tenth Act Cātudatta recalls to his mind how he and his ancestors have performed hundreds of yajñas when the Vedic chanting of Brāhmanas in the caityas of the yajñamandapa rent the air. The association of caitya with *brahmaghosa* is noteworthy.

Proceeding to examine the evidence of the *Āśvalāyana Gr Sū*, we find for the first time the mention of a caitya sacrifice. Whether the reference to the caitya by Āśvalāyana is a reference to the Vedic caitya, or yajñasthāna, or to something else, is the question. H Oldenberg who has translated this and other Grhyasūtras,<sup>16</sup> agrees with Professor Stenzler who renders it "Denkmal" or any religious shrine. The caitya sacrifice is thus described<sup>17</sup>. Before the Svistakrt offering, one should offer a *balī* to the caitya. If the caitya

- 14 कश्चिच्चित्याशतैर्जुष्टः मुनिविष्टजनाकुल ।  
देवस्थानैः प्रपाभिश्च तटाकैश्चोपशोभित ॥ *Ib* 100 44

The term caitya (also caitya) is commented upon as follows:

- अश्वमेधान्तमहायज्ञचयनप्रदेशसमूहैः ।  
15 मखशतपरिपूरतं गोलमुद्भासितं मे  
सदसि निबिडचैत्यब्रह्मघोषैः पुरस्तात् ।  
मम मरणदशायां वर्तमानस्य पापैः  
स्तदसदृशमनुष्णैर्बुद्ध्यते घोषरात्राम् ॥ Act X 12

16 *SBE*, vols 29 and 30

17 चैत्ययज्ञे प्राक् स्विष्टकृतत्रैत्याय बलि हरेत् । Bk I 12 1 यद्य वै विदेशस्थं पलाशदूतेन यत् वेत्थ वनस्पत इत्येतथर्चा द्वी पिरडौ कृत्वा वीबधे अश्याधाय दूताय प्रयच्छेदिभं तस्मै बलि हरेति चैन ब्रूयादयं तुभ्यमिति यो दूताय । 2 प्रतिभय चेदन्तरा शास्त्रमपि किञ्चित् । 3 नाव्या चेन्नद्यन्तरा ब्रह्मरूपमपि किञ्चिदनेन तरितव्यमिति । (Ānandāśrama ed)

This text forms the tenth Khanda of the Trivandrum edition with the commentary of Haradattācāyā, edited by D<sub>1</sub> T Ganapāṭi Sastri. There it is divided into 8 parts, unlike four in the Ānandāśrama edition.

is situated at a distant place, he should send the *bali* through a leaf messenger. This messenger takes it on a carrying pole. If the *caitya* were situated at a place which could be reached by fording a river or crossing a dangerous path, suitable means were arranged to get at the *caitya*. There are two views on this sacrifice. One is the view of the commentator Nārāyana according to whom *caitya* is derived as *citte bhava*<sup>18</sup>. He explains that a man makes a vow to a certain deity that if his wish be granted he would offer a sacrifice, and this sacrifice, according to Nārāyana, is the *caitya* sacrifice. The other view is that of Oldenberg who thinks whether or not the whole rite was not purely symbolical. One thing is certain that this sacrifice was not done at residential quarters. It was done in the place where the *caitya* was situated. The text is very clear about this. Another thing we note here is that the *caitya* was no more *yajña-sthāna*. For do we not hear of *caitya yajña* in the text of the Āśvalāyana? This *yajña* is an orthodox sacrifice performed by the followers of Vedic cult. From the time of Āśvalāyana onwards we find the use of the application of the term *caitya* extended. There is a transition from Agni-cityas to Anagni-cityas, or in other words from a fire cult to a fireless cult. We read in the epics and especially in the *Rāmāyana* of *caitya grhas*,<sup>19</sup> *caitya prāsādas*,<sup>20</sup> and *caitya vrksas*<sup>21</sup>. It is difficult to arrive at a correct explanation of these terms. *Caitya grha* is explained by some *caityasya samīpe grham*,

18 Cp *Bhāg Purān*, III 26 70

19 भूमीगृहाश्चैत्यगृहान्गृहातिगृहकानपि । V 12 14

चैत्यप्रासादमाप्लुत्य मेरुध्वजमिवोन्नतम् । V 43 3

20 It is worth while to read the whole chapter. It is said that Hanumān set fire among others to *caityaprasāda*, when the guards of *caitya* attacked him in vain.

21 वृक्षा पतन्ति चैत्याश्च ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च ।

नीललोहितपीतश्च भवत्यमिहुतो द्विजैः ॥ *Mbh* VI 3 40

See also *Rāma* II 6 11

See again in this connection Sidelhanta, *The Heroic Age of India*, pp 205-9

and by others *catuspatha mandapa* <sup>22</sup> We have the use of *catuscītya* also It seems to be a primitive practice to have some apology for a shrine at the terminus of four streets or four roads and offer worship at that shrine Such temples are mentioned in the Śāngam literature of the ancient Tamils also Perhaps in this sense Vālmiki uses it when Daśaratha is said to have distributed food to the poor from *cāityas* <sup>21</sup> on the eve of Rāma's coronation as Yuvarāja Vālmiki describes *cāityaprāsāda* as situated in Lankā, supported by a thousand columns and majestic in appearance It is quite reasonable to assume that a temple is under reference It was perhaps the biggest temple in the whole of Lankā and richly furnished by Rāvana It must be noted that the term *prāsāda* means ordinarily a shrine Next *cāitya-vrksas* are alluded to in the epic For example when Vālmiki describes that Rāvana was as fearful looking as *śmaśāna-cāitya*, it only means the *cāitya* or tree growing in the burial ground <sup>24</sup> Some lexicons appropriately give among other meanings to the *cāitya*, *devatāru*, *uddeśavrkṣa* In the *Śabdakalpadruma* we read under *cāitya-vrkṣa* *Cāityastadākhyayā prasiddho vrkṣab* It further enlightens by saying that it was Aśvattha tree The worship of trees was an age-long practice in India, and latterly some trees became demarcated *cāityas*, and worship was offered to them In certain cases, as we see in the law-books of Manu and Yājñavalkya, they were trees generally in the burial ground which marked the boundary limits of the village According to Manu, underneath

22 See for instance *Sabdārthacintāmani* We have Vedic authority to show that sacrifice was performed at *catuspatha*

23 देवायतनचैत्येषु मान्नभक्ष्या सदक्षिणा ।

उपस्थापयितव्या. स्तुर्माल्ययोग्या पृथक् पृथक् ॥ II 3 18

For a combination of *devāyatana cāitya* see later ch 71 41

24 The *Arihaśāstra* refers to such trees—Bk V 2 and Bk XIII 2

their shade Candāla and similar castes were to find their residence <sup>25</sup> Yājñavalkya definitely places the caityas as serving the boundary limits of a grāma or janapada <sup>26</sup> In some cases they were boundaries of gardens and fields <sup>27</sup> In these cases it may be a tree or even a building But the trees of the caitya or caitya trees are certainly alluded to in another place where the same law-giver forbids cutting of the branches of those trees under heavy penalty <sup>28</sup>

Perhaps in this sense the great poet Kālidāsa uses the expression in his immortal Meghasandēśa <sup>29</sup> The fact then that Daśaratha's queen and Rāma's mother, Kauśalyā, sent forth her prayer, on the eve of Rāma's departure to Dandaka forests, to the caityas <sup>30</sup> and invoked their choice blessings to protect him from all dangers natural to a forest zone, shows that they were also regarded as fit places for worship In more than one place Kautalya refers to caityas as houses of gods <sup>31</sup> Kautalya refers to caitya-pūjā in peculiar circumstances

- 25 चेत्यद्रुमशमशानेषु शैलेषूपवनेषु च ।  
वसेयुरेते विज्ञानावर्तयन्त स्वकर्मभि ॥ X 50
- 26 नयेयुरेते सीमान स्थलाङ्गारतुषद्रुमै ।  
सेतुवल्मीकनिम्नास्थिचैत्याद्यै रूपलक्षिताम् ॥ II 151
- 27 See *Kaut Artha*, II 4 and 35
- 28 चैत्यशमशानसीमासु पुरयस्थाने सुरालये ।  
जातद्रुमाणा द्विगुणो दमो वृक्षे च विश्रुते ॥ *Yājñā*, II 228

The *Viṣṇu Smṛti* associates trees with caityas, (III 12 13) It prescribes in the preceding chapter that a householder should avoid caityas [*Ib*, II 122] This prescription demonstrates that caityas are no more Vedic places of worship,—yet another stage in the history of caityas

- 29 पारङ्कुच्छाद्योपवनवृत्तय केतकैः सूचिभिन्नो  
नीडारम्भैर्गृहवलिभुजामाकुलप्रामचैत्या  
त्वय्यासन्ने परिणतफलश्यामजम्बूवनान्ता  
संपत्स्यन्ते कतिपयदिनस्थायिहसा दशार्णाः ॥ 23
- 30 येभ्यः प्रणामसे पुत्र चैत्येष्वायतनेषु च ।  
ते च त्वामभिरक्षन्तु वने सह महर्षिभि ॥ II 25 4
- 31 *Arthaśāstra*, Bk I 20, Bk XII 5

In those days when people were much more superstitious, they believed in demons and the harm done to them by them. In order to avert the evil attacks of demons, the people offered *pūja* to the caityas<sup>32</sup> The method and time of offering are prescribed On full and new moon days the caitya was propitiated by offering at the altar an umbrella, a small flag and goat's flesh Kautalya speaks of *caitya-devata*<sup>33</sup> and *davata caityam*<sup>34</sup> Thus we see the prominence given to caitya worship in the *Arthaśāstra* Hence these were known also as devakula or devāyatana, and devavāsa<sup>35</sup> From that of the shrine the application of caitya was extended to a *bimba* or deity in the shrine We hear of this more in the Buddhist and Jain<sup>36</sup> books

The foregoing survey establishes beyond doubt that caityas are a pre-Buddhist institution The Buddhists and Jains found that the masses of the land looked upon these as sacred altars and venerated them highly They therefore thought, to venture a conjecture, better to give the old name to their sanctuaries instead of inventing a new one Hence the caitya was adopted as the name of their sacred shrines, whether they contained the images of the Buddha or Jina or their relics This is the last phase in the history of the word caitya It is said that in Buddhist books the term is also applied to a tree as well as to a stūpa The term in Pāli is as already seen *ceṭiya* and in Tamil also it is *ceṭiyam* The worship of the Buddhists became so much identified with the caitya that we have an interesting precept

*Caityam vandeta*, meaning that one is expected to offer his worship to the caitya or in the caitya In the course of a learned disquisition on *svargakāmo yajeta*, the *Bhāmata* of Vācaspati on Śankara's *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya* refers to this precept, as a side issue, as construing the relation of the imperative suffix to the unseen

32 Bk IV ch 3

33 Bk I ch 20

34 Bk V ch 2

35 See, for instance, the *Vācaspatyam*36 Pampa, *Ādi Purānam*, X st 241 vacana (Mysore Oriental Library)

potentiality, while in fact the Buddhist precept does not have the least implication of desire for heaven”<sup>37</sup> In a note to the above statement the editors remark as follows “It would appear from the *Rjuprakāśika* that the statement is ‘Caityam vandeta,’ not ‘Caitya vandeta,’ so that the obeisance is to the caitya, not in the caitya. Conformably to this, caitya would mean not a shrine, but the consecrated fig-tree which Buddhists offer worship”<sup>38</sup> But one has to point out that the statement ‘caityam vandeta’ would itself admit of both interpretations, namely, obeisance to the caitya or in the caitya. It may also be pointed that the caitya need not necessarily be the consecrated fig-tree but any shrine sheltering a relic of the Buddha or even his image. Before we proceed further, attention may be drawn to the fact that the consecrated fig tree which the Buddhists worship is the sacred *Aśvattha* of Sanskrit literature. How the *Aśvattha* has been an object of veneration and adoration by the Hindus can be seen from a single soul-stirring stanza of the *Bhagavad Gītā*<sup>39</sup> It means ‘They say the inexhaustible *Aśvattha* has its roots above, its branches below the *chandas* are its leaves. He who knows it knows the Vedas. Upwards and downwards extend its branches which are enlarged by the qualities and the sprouts which are sensuous objects.’ Thus it is seen that even in the choice of their sacred tree, the Buddhists took to the tree traditionally venerated by their Hindu ancestors.

37 See p 153 of the *Bhāmati* ed by S S Suryanarayana Sastrī and Dr C Kunhan Raja (T P H, Adyar) 1933. See in this connection *Sammohavinodani* pp 292, 348

38 *Ibid*, p 303

39 ऊर्ध्वमूलमधःशाखमश्वत्थं प्राहुरव्ययम् ।  
 छन्दसि यस्य पर्णानि यस्त वेद स वेदवित् ॥ XV 1

Even to-day circumambulating this tree daily or on certain fixed days is considered to be a meritorious deed by the Hindus. Not only it cannot be used for fuel but it is the only tree from which the fire for a Vedic *Yajña* can be got by churning, and its twigs used as oblations to the sacred fire.

Remark has already been made that the *caityās* had either the images of the Buddha or Jina installed in them or contained the relics *dhātu*—in the Buddhist parlance. The *dhātus* or relics are of three kinds. First there were corporeal relics or *śarīra-dhātus*. It is said that the neckbone of the Buddha was enshrined in a *caitya* in Ceylon<sup>40</sup>. Secondly, there were *paribhogika-dhātu*, or relics which were actually used by the person (*paribhoga*). These may be clothes, ornaments, alms-bowl etc. used by the Buddha<sup>41</sup>. Thirdly, there were the *uddeśika-dhātu*, which has been rendered indicative relics<sup>42</sup>. Under this category may come images etc. of the person worshipped. Thus the *caityās* of the Buddhists were mostly relic-shrines, though ordinary shrines also went by that name. The Buddhist legends attribute to king Aśoka the building of as many as 84000 *caityās*<sup>43</sup>. Though this may not be literally true, still it is reasonable to suppose that he, a tolerant monarch, would have encouraged building of some *caityās* in his time, whether Buddhist or Hindu. The story of the Buddha's great decease, the cremation of the corpse, the distribution of his corporeal relics and their enshrinement in *caityās* and *stūpas* are all elaborately narrated in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, an ancient Pāli work of perhaps the fourth century B.C.<sup>44</sup>. Thus there is ample evidence which elucidates that Buddhist *stūpas* and *caityās* were shrines which sheltered the three kinds of relics referred to above. This does not mean that there were no *caityās* or *stūpas* before the Buddha. We have seen a number of references in the Vedic and epic literature of the existence of such institutions in ancient India, which evoked religious awe from the masses. It is not, therefore, surprising

40 *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 343-44.

41 Cp. the reliefs on the rails of the Bārhut Stūpa.

See the preamble to the *Kalīnga-bodhi Jātaka*.

42 *JRAS*, 1916, p. 883.

43 See ch. 26 of the *Dvyaśvādāna*, a Sanskrit Buddhist work.

44 See for details Dr. Fleet's article in the *JRAS*, 1906, p. 657.

to read in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* that the Buddha spoke of the efficiency of erecting dhātu-caityas, and himself visited caityas<sup>15</sup> like Udena, Gotama, Sattambaka, etc., while the *Dīgha Nikāya* bears testimony to the fact that the Buddha lived at the Ānanda-cetiya in Bhojanagara<sup>16</sup>. As these and other references to the Caitya in the Buddhist literature have been elaborately examined by Dr B C Law,<sup>17</sup> I do not propose to traverse the same ground. Suffice it to say that this is an additional proof to demonstrate that the caityas were pre-Buddhist institutions and the Buddhists as well as Jains<sup>18</sup> gave the same name to their sanctuaries.

V R RAMCHANDRA DIKSHITAR

45 Chap III, secs 36-47 and especially 47

'Idān' eva kho tāham Ānanda ajja Cāpāle cetiya āmantesim

'Ramaniyā Ānanda Vcāhi, ramaniyam Udenam cetiyam, ramaniyam  
Gotamakam cetiyam, ramaniyam Sattambam cetiyam, ramaniyam  
Bahuputtam cetiyam, ramaniyam Sārandadam cetiyam, ramaniyam  
Cāpālam cetiyam

See also Dr B C Law, *History of Pāli Literature*, p 100

46 II p 123

47 See his *Geography of Early Buddhism*, appendix

48 See Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p 280

## Identification of the Siddharāja-Saras

In a work called the *Sarasvatipurāna*,<sup>1</sup> devoted mainly to the description of holy places or *tirthas* associated with the river Sarasvatī<sup>2</sup> in Gujarat falling into the gulf of Kutch, there is a good deal of description of a lake called सिद्धराजसर. <sup>3</sup> This lake, the *Sarasvatipurāna* tells us, was formed from the river Sarasvatī itself — *Folio 110a* (of Ms No 429 of Vis I)—

“एवं सरस्वती ब्रह्मन् प्राचीभूत्वा सरिद्धरा ।

महता च जलौघेन मत्स्यकच्छपवाहिना ॥२३॥

हसमानेन फेनोर्घरावर्त्तन्त्यतीव सा ।

ताभ्या सरिद्भ्या सहिता पूरयामास तत्सर ॥२४॥

1 MSS of the *Sarasvatipurāna* mentioned by Aufrecht are —

*Part I* p 699—“Kh 64 B 2, 34, BL 2, Gu 3, Bhk 14, Poona 429 (a *Sāradāpurāna* is frequently quoted by Hemādī) Out of these MSS the MS available to me is “Poona 429 which is the same as No 429 of Vis I in the Govt MSS Library at the BOR Institute, Poona

2 See N L Dey's *Geographical Dictionary* (London, 1927) pp 180-181 where various identifications of the river *Sarasvatī* are recorded We are concerned here with the river *Sarasvatī* which is an affluent of the river *Kucarkā* falling into the gulf of Kutch

3 Hemacandīa, a contemporary of Siddharāja refers to this lake as follows in verse 114 of canto XV of the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*

“अतीत्य मैथिल युद्धं राघवो नु कृतकतु ।

प्रापातेतरतिथ्यां स पूर्तं चक्रे महासर. ॥११४॥”

Abhayatilakagani who wrote his Commentary on the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* in Sam 1312 =AD 1256 comments on the above verse as follows —

“स राजा सहस्रलिङ्गाख्यं महासरः पूर्तं चक्रे कारयत्”

(Vide analysis of this *Kāvya* in *IA*, IV, p 269) cf also verse 117 of canto XV of the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* —

“शंभोः सहस्रमष्टौ च आयतनानि सरस्तटे ।

तुष्यर्थं सिद्धराजस्य तीर्थं पूतेन वारिणा ।  
संपूर्णं तत्सरश्चक्रे समंतादक्षयेण सा ॥२१॥  
सा तत्सरसमासाद्य पुरयं पुरया महानदी ।  
सरस्वती स्थिता देवी लोकाना पापनाशनी ॥२६॥”

This lake, thereafter, became the abode of all heavenly beings as Siddharāja established one thousand *lingas* of god Śiva all round it —

“तथा नागा सुपर्णाश्च सिद्धाश्चक्रधराश्च ये ।  
सरित् सागरा सर्वे यत्तत्रविद्याधरास्तथा ॥३१॥  
सहस्रं यत्न लिङ्गाना सिद्धे शेषेन प्रतिष्ठितम् ।  
निवासं रोचयामासु तस्मिन्नमृतनागरे ॥३२॥”

The place in course of time attained great celebrity as a centre of religious purification —

“एकस्मिन् शिवकुरण्डेऽपि.. मुक्तिदं नृणाम् ।  
किं पुनर्यत्सहस्रस्य लिङ्गानां पुरतः स्थितम् ॥३३॥

त्रिषु लोकेषु विख्यातं सिद्धराजसरोवरः ॥४०॥”

It became pre-eminent among the holy places owing to the presence of 1000 *Śiva lingas* —

“सर्वेषामेव तीर्थानामिदमेवाधिकं सरः ।  
सहस्रं यत्न लिङ्गाना स्थितं देवगणैः सह ॥४२॥”

Even god Keśava made this place his abode to please king Siddharāja —

“प्रोत्यर्थं सिद्धराजस्य पुरयेत्वमृतसागरे ।  
जलशायी जगद्योनि तस्मिन्स्वपिति केशवः ॥३८॥”  
यत्न शेते स भगवान्<sup>4</sup> योगनिद्रा समाश्रितः ।  
तत्स्थानं मुक्तिदं ब्रह्मन् श्वेतद्वीपाद्विशिष्यते ॥४॥  
ज्ञात्वा तीर्थवरे यत्न पश्यति जलशायिनम् ।  
सर्वपापविनिमुक्ता वैकुरण्डं प्राप्नुवन्ति ते ॥५०॥

4 About the temple in the centre of the Sahastaling Talav Burgess observes — “In the centre was an island on which stood the temple of Rudrāśvara destroyed of course by the Muslims, who raised a large octagonal Rauzah on its ruins, but of this only the dilapidated remains now exist.” It appears from verses 48, 49, 50 of the Sarasvatipurāna quoted above that the central temple was of Keśava or Viṣṇu

In front of god Keśava is situated the दशावतारक तीर्थ in the Siddharāja lake —

“तस्य देवस्य पुरतः तस्मिन् सरसि संस्थितम् ।  
दशावतारकं नाम... . पप्रणाशनम् ॥५८॥”

The ten images of the ten incarnations of god were established at the दशावतार तीर्थ by Siddharāja himself. These ten images are of the ten *avatāras* viz —

(१) मत्स्य (२) कूर्म (३) वराह (४) नरमिह (५) वामन (६) भार्गवो रामः  
(७) दाशरथिराम (८) कृष्ण (९) बुद्ध and (१०) कल्कि (verses 61 and 62)

Another *tīrtha* called the दशाश्वमेधिक तीर्थ is situated in front of the image of वामनावतार —

“वामनस्याप्रतस्तल कुरुक्षेत्र सदास्थितम् ।  
. ल्याः सहाया तं कथित ते महानघ ॥७६॥  
दशाश्वमेधिक तीर्थं तस्यैव पुरतः स्थितम् ।  
. नामश्वमेधाना यल ह्यात फलं लभेत् ॥८०॥”

Sumati now asks Mārkaṇḍeya to explain to him the genesis of the 1000 Śiva lingas which is then explained in a mythical style as follows

“बाणेन यानि लिङ्गानि विमुक्तानि नदीजले ।  
तेषा सहस्रमुद्धृत्य सिद्धराज समानयत् ॥८३॥  
स्थापितं सिद्धराजेन तस्मिन् पुण्यसरोवरे ।  
सहस्र बाणलिङ्गाना युगपद्भक्तिमुक्तिदम् ॥८४॥

The purificatory powers of a single Śiva *linga* have been mentioned by god Śiva himself, in the शिवशास्त्र. What can be the power of 1000 Śiva *lingas*? —

“एतत् शिवशास्त्रेषु शिवेन कथितं स्वयम् ।  
सहस्रं दृश्यते यल किं वर्यते मया ॥८६॥”

Siddharāja practised penance on a mountain called the अमरवटक and then took his bath in the waters of the river

and not of Rudreśvara and this fact is consistent with the दशावतारक तीर्थ in front of the god Keśava in the same lake containing the images of the 10 incarnations of god Viṣṇu as described in detail by the *Sarasvatīpurāna* (verses 61-62 of chap. xvi)

*Narmadā* (v 90) God *Omkār* was pleased at this and granted Siddharāja a boon, promising that he would thenceforward reside permanently on the embankment of the Sahasralinga Lake —

“त्वया सहस्रलिङ्गानां स्थापितं तत्सरस्तटे ।  
तत्र वत्स्याम्यहं नित्यं भक्त्या ते प्रीतिमानसः ॥६२॥”

Then follows a long *फलश्रुति* dealing with the effects of religious rites performed at the Sahasralinga tīrtha, followed by the following *praśasti* of king Siddharāja and his Lake —

“न सिद्धेशसमो राजा न सरस्तादृशं क्वचित् ।  
समं सहस्रलिङ्गेन तीर्थमन्यत ( न ) दृश्यते ॥२२०॥  
तत्रागाराणि तेनैव स्थापितानि सरस्तटे ।  
ब्राह्मणानां यतीनां च तृप्यर्थं च तपस्विनां ॥१२१॥  
सर्वकामसमृद्धानि शोभन्ते तानि सुव्रत ।  
ब्रह्मविष्णुवीश देवानां लोके स्त्रिय इव स्थित ॥१२२॥  
उन्मता चैव निम्ना च कीर्तिस्तेन प्रकाशिता ।  
सिद्धराजेन तत्रैव स्थिता सा व्याप्य रोदसी ॥१२३॥  
सिद्धराजसमो राजा न भूतो न भविष्यति ।  
सहस्रं येन लिङ्गानां युगपत्स्थापितं स्वयं ॥१२४॥”

Chapter XVI from which the above information has been extracted is designated *सिद्धराजमाहात्म्यवर्णनं* and it ends with the following verses —

Folio 121b “इदं तु यः सिद्धनृपस्य जन्म  
शृणोति भक्त्या पुरुषोत्तमस्य ।  
प्राप्नोति कामान्सकलानिहैव  
प्रयाति विष्णोः परमं पदं स ॥२६८॥  
ये सिद्धराजस्य चरित्वमेतत्  
पठन्ति शृण्वन्ति च सुस्तवन्ति ।  
ते सिद्धकामा सुखिनो मनुष्या  
प्रभुऋपायाश्च सदा भवन्ति ॥२६९॥”

I shall now record the description<sup>5</sup> of the *Sahasralinga Talāv* the construction of which has been ascribed to king Jayasimha Siddha-

5 Burgess and Cousens ‘Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat’ (*Arch Survey of Western India*, vol IX), London, 1903, pp 38-39

rāja<sup>6</sup> of Gujarat (A D 1093-1143) Various artificial lakes or reservoirs in Gujarat are ascribed to Siddharāja "One of the largest of these was the Sahasralinga talāv, or tank of the thousand Śaiva shrines at *Pattan* the remains of which are still pointed out to the north-west of the town It must have been a reservoir of immense size, and derived its name from the numerous little temples containing *lingas*, placed on the steps around it In the centre was an island on which stood the temple of Rudreśvara destroyed of course by the Muslims, who raised a large octagonal Rauzah on its ruins, but of this only the dilapidated remains now exist" "The basin of the lake is now converted into little fields The great embankment surrounding it appears to be composed throughout of solid brick-work and this was once faced with solid masonry forming flights of steps to the water's edge On and above these steps stood the thousand shrines of which fragmentary remains are still found buried in the debris of the embankment" "This tank is said to have been begun by Jayasimha Siddharāja shortly before he set out against Yaśovarman, the sovereign of Mālava and is the theme of legend and song"

A historical incident associated with this tank is the stabbing of Bairām Khān, the famous minister of Humayun, when alighting from a boat after a sail on the tank on *Friday the 31st January 1561* Bairām Khān rebelled against Akbar and was sent to Makka He came to Patan and was hospitably received by Musā Khān Fūladī the

6 Vide pp 973-977 of *Dynastic History of Northern India* by Dr Hem Chandra Ray, vol II (1936)—Jayasimha was a great builder Besides the Sahasralinga Talāv the temple of Rudramahākala at Siddhapur is also ascribed to him (The *Sarasvatīpurāna* contains a description of this temple and some genealogy of Siddharaja but I shall deal with this material in a separate paper) Jayasimha appears to have been a devotee of the Śaiva faith The era known as the Simha era was already in use in Jayasimha's reign (Vide *Atru* Stone Inscription dated in the year 14 of this era as also Mangrol inscription of Kumārapāla dated in the 32 year of this era) One sorrow viz the want of a son gnawed at his heart Dr Ray (p 975) gives a table showing the relationship of Kumārapāla with his predecessor Jayasimha

Governor, but was stabbed by Mubarak as described above. Burgess further remarks that during the 14th century all the rich shrines of the Hindus (Brahmanical or Jain) were desecrated, plundered and demolished at the will or caprice of the Moguls. If this statement is applicable to the Sahasralinga Talāv we may presume that the shrines on the embankment of this talāv may have been destroyed in the 14th century. I am of opinion that the *Sarasvatīpurāna* was composed at a time when the tirthas associated with the river Sarasvatī had attained so sacrosanct a character as to necessitate the creation of a special purāna like the *Sarasvatīpurāna*.<sup>7</sup> It would also be reasonable to suppose that when this purāna was composed all the tirthas on the banks of the river Sarasvatī were quite in a flourishing condition, free from the ravaging hands of the Moguls.

The *Bombay Gazetteer*<sup>8</sup> records the following information about the Sahasralinga Talāv —

“The Sehesling or Sahasraling Talāv, the tank with the thousand shrines, was dedicated to Shiv by Sidh Raj just before he set out on his expedition against Yaśovarman, king of Málava. A merchant left nine lakhs of Balotras with a certain banker and died. The heirs of the latter knew nothing of the sum and refused to take it. Jai Sing Sidh Raj decided that the money should be spent in building a reservoir, and it was done, “the finest in the world, hitherto unsurpassed by all that the cleverest and wisest have executed or imagined, and it remains to this day (A D 1200-1230)”

I believe the foregoing description of the *Sahasralinga* tank if compared with that given in the *Sarasvatīpurāna* leaves no doubt that the *Siddharāja Saras* described in the latter work is exactly identical.

7 Hemacandra, a contemporary of Siddharāja Jayasimha informs us (in chapter xv, verse 118 of the *Dvyāśraya Mahākāvya*) that *Siddharāja Jayasimha* caused to be made the Sahasralinga tank and established also schools for learning *Iyotisaśāstras*, *Nyāyaśāstras*, and the *Purānas*. Perhaps the *Sarasvatīpurāna* may have been the outcome of the study of Purānas instituted by Jayasimha.

8 *Bombay Gaz* vol VII (Baroda) p 600

with that now known to history and archaeology. It appears, however, that though the tank was called a *Sahasraliṅga-saras* the actual number of Śaiva shrines on the bank of this lake was *one thousand and eight* as stated by Hemacandra रामो सहस्रमष्टौशायत्तनानि सरस्वते ।<sup>9</sup>

The testimony of Hemcandra being contemporary must be taken as conclusive on the question of the exact number of the Śaiva shrines on the bank of the Siddharāja lake.<sup>10</sup>

P K GODE

9 Vide *BSS*, LXIX (*Dvyāśraya Kāvya*), canto XV, v 117

10 I take this opportunity of thanking Mr Ambalal B Jani (Assistant Secretary, Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay) at whose request I began my study of the historical material in the *Sarasvatipurāna* in April 1937. Mr Jani was also kind enough to keep the contents of this paper in May 1937 at the disposal of the scholar entrusted with the work of editing the *Sarasvatipurāna*. I am not aware to what extent the contents have been useful to the above editor in the preparation of his proposed edition of the work. I await with eagerness this edition of the *Sarasvatipurāna* for which I have supplied to the Forbes Gujarati Sabha a copy of the BOR Institute MS No 429 of Viś I (from the Vishrambag Collection of the Peshwas in the Govt MSS Library).

## Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravēla

(Revised Edition)

[The Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravēla, as is well-known, is the main old Brāhmi inscription in an open cave on the Udayagiri hill which is situated three miles due west of the Bhubaneswar temple. The record which was first noticed by Sterling is engraved "on the overhanging brow of a natural cavern, very little improved and enlarged by art." It is, as observed by Indrajī, "in seventeen lines occupying a space about eighty-four feet square." "The face of the rock does not appear to have been well smooth for the work, but the letters are large and deeply carved. Time and weather have wrought ravages. The first six lines are well preserved. The last four, partly so. The greater part of the intervening space has been much spoilt, portions of it being entirely weather-beaten, while in other portions single letter or groups of letters can still be made out. The left corner of the inscription, in especial, has been greatly injured, and the initial letters of eight lines in that direction are entirely lost."

K. P. Jayaswal, who together with R. D. Banerji made the decipherment and interpretation of this historical record his life-work and greatly succeeded in achieving it, remarked to the same end, as early as 1917: "The rock was roughly dressed on the right-hand side. The chisel marks of the dressing are misleading, they tend to produce misreadings. These long and irregular marks left by the original dressing, are not the only pitfalls. Rain-water which trickles down the roof of the cave has cut into the letters and produced a few letter-like marks. Natural decay produced by time has given misleading turns to numerous letters. even hornets like to take the liberty with the record of the emperor Khāravēla with perfect impunity and have added a few irregular marks on it

• The inscription is weather-beaten. The first four lines have about 13 syllables obliterated by natural decay. Half of the record of the 6th year (l 6) and the entire record of the 7th year (l 7) have disappeared. From the 8th up to the 15th lines, every line has got large gaps wrought by decay. The 16th and 17th lines are comparatively well preserved except for the loss of about 12 initial syllables. There are visible signs of a progressive decay.”

Its chief value as an historical record lies in the fact that up till now there is no other record which can vie with it in antiquity as an epigraph in the ancient kingdom of Kalinga set up by its own independent king. Even in respect of antiquity, it stands next to none but the two sets of rock inscriptions left by Aśoka who conquered Kalinga in the third century B.C. and annexed it to his empire as an eastern province ruled by a viceroy. The forms of its letters suggest a stage of development of the Brāhmī alphabet, which is almost on a par with that represented by the Nānāghāt cave inscription of Nayanikā, widow of the Andhra king Śātakarni I (R. D. Banciji's *Mem. ASB*, vol. XI, No. 3, on “The palaeography of the Hāthīgumphā and the Nānāghāt inscriptions”). But in the opinion of Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, from the palaeographic point of view, the Hāthīgumphā inscription deserves to be placed not only after the Besnagar Gaṇḍa inscription of the year XII after the installation of Mahārāja Bhāgavata, and the Nānāghāt cave inscription of Nayanikā, but after the Bharhut gateway inscription of Dhanabhūti, it deserves at the same time to be placed before the Sañcī gateway inscriptions. Even the Bodhgayā railing inscriptions of Kurangi and Nāgadevī appear to have been somewhat earlier as regards their alphabet than the Hāthīgumphā inscription. So far as its language goes, the Hāthīgumphā inscription is the only Indian inscription, the diction of which is not only Pāli but the sonorous and rhythmical Pāli of the *Milindapañha*, an extra-canonical Buddhist work which cannot be dated earlier than the 1st century

AD The importance of the epigraph lies also in the fact that as a rāja-prāsaṣṭi in Prakrit, it is, perhaps, posterior to no other inscription than the Nānāghāt cave inscription of Nayanikā. As for the bibliography, the reader may be referred to my *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, published by the Calcutta University, 1929, pp. 4-5. Here I am to refer only to two subsequent publications, viz., R. D. Banerji's Monograph—'The Palaeography of the Hāthigumphā and the Nānāghāt inscriptions,' *Mem., ASB*, vol. XII, No. 3, and a finally revised edition of the Hāthigumphā inscription by K. P. Jayaswal, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XX.]

TEXT

[The asterisk prefixed to a footnote indicates that the correctness of the reading suggested may be tested here by the facsimiles reproduced in the accompanying plates.]

||| Namō araha(m)tānam [,] Namō savasidhānam |||<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Airena mahārājena Māhāmeghavāhanena<sup>2</sup> Ceti-  
rājava [m] sa<sup>3</sup> -vadhanena<sup>4</sup> pasatha -subhalakha-  
nena<sup>5</sup> caturamta-luthana<sup>6</sup> -guna-upetena<sup>7</sup> Kalim-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jaina formula of *namokkāra* or *nokāra*

Namō irhamtānam, namō sidhānam||

Namō āyariyānam, namō uvajhāyānam||

Namō lo-c sāvva sāhūnam||

Buddhist formula of *vandanā* in the Petakopadesa

Namō sammāsambuddhānam paramatthadassinam

silādīguna-pāramippettānam||

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Inscription of Kūdepa *IHQ*, vol. XIV, p. 160

<sup>3</sup> The choice lies between *Ceti°* and *Ceta°*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pāli *Sakyānam nandi-vaddhano* as a word of praise for the Buddha, *Nandi-vaddhano* being the same in meaning as *barsa-varddhanab*

<sup>5</sup> *pasatha* = Pāli *pasattha*, cf. *attha-satā pasatthā* Khuddakapāṭha, Ratana-sutta, Jayaswal, °*lakhanena*

<sup>6</sup> Jayaswal, *luthita*. But the *t*-stroke over the letter *th* is absent, and the third letter, as made out by Prinsep, Cunningham, and also by Jayaswal before is *na*

<sup>7</sup> Jayaswal, *gunopabstena*. I must accept Chanda's *guna-upetena* for the reason



gādhi-patinā siri-Khāavelena<sup>8</sup> [11] pamdarasa<sup>9</sup>  
 -vasāni siri-kadāra<sup>10</sup> -sariravatā kiditā kumāra-  
 kidikā [ ] Tato lekha-rūpa-gananā-vavahāra<sup>11</sup>  
 -vidhi-visāradena savaviḷvādātena nava-vasāni  
 yovaraja(m) va sāsitam<sup>12</sup> [.] Sa(m)puna-catuvīsati-  
 vaso tadāni<sup>11</sup> vadha(māna)-(sesa)yovanābhivijayo<sup>11</sup>  
 tatiye [12] Kalimga-rājavamse purisa-yuge<sup>13</sup>  
 mahārājābhisecanam<sup>14</sup> pāpunāti [ ]<sup>17</sup>

that the second letter is distinctly *na* and not *no*. For the whole phrase, cf Pāli *Caturanta-vaṣṭāvi*

8 The name of Khāavela was correctly made out for the first time by Indrajit

9 The typical Oriyā word for fifteen is *pandara*

10 Pāli *kalāra*, cf *Kalāra-Janaka*, *Kalāra-mattuka*, Skt *Kadāra-Jaṁini*. Cf also Prakrit *Siri-katāra*

11 Pāli-*vohāra*

\*12 Jayaswal, *pasāsitam*, which, too, may stand as a correct reading

13 I now accept Jayaswal's *tadāni* in preference to my *so dāni*

\*14 Jayaswal, *vadhamānesayo Venābhivijayo*. According to this reading, *vadhamāna-sesayo* = *vardhamānab āśaisavah*, and *Venābhivijayo* means a conqueror like Vena, a Vedic personality. In accepting this reading, my first objection is due to the uncertainty of the *ā*-stroke over the fourth letter *n*. Secondly, nowhere in the language of the *Hāthigūmphā* inscription *y* is substituted for *v*, and thirdly, the letter after *yo* may not only be read as *ve* but also as *vo*. The reading *vadhamāna-sesayovanābhivijayo* must be preferred as referring to Khāavela's career after his 24th year, while, according to Jayaswal's reading, Khāavela proved to be a conqueror like the Vedic mythical hero Vena from his very boyhood, which he did not

15 For *purisa-yuga* cf *Maṅbhima-nikāya*, II, p 75, *Samanta-pāsādika*, vol I, p 190, *Mahāvastu*, ed Senart, I, p 1

16 Jayaswal, *māhā*<sup>o</sup>

17 For the whole statement, cf *Makhādeva-Jātaka*, (Fausboll, No 9) *Atiic Videha-ratthe Mithilāyam Makhādevo nāma rājā abhoṣi dhammiko dhammarājā So caturāsīti-vassa-sabbasāni kumāra-kilam tathā oparaṇam tathā mahāraṇam katvā*. Cf also *Maṅbhima-nikāya*, II, p 76

Also verses quoted by Hoernle from the Jaina Vikramaprabandha, *IA*, vol XXI, p 67

*Sattari cadusata-putto tina-kāle Vikkamo bhavai jammo |*  
*atha-varasa vāla-tiḷā sodasa-vase hi bhamme dese | |*  
*Rasapana-vasa rajjam kunanti micchāvūdena samputto |*

- 2 Abhisitamato ca padhame vase vāta-vihata-gopurapākāra-nivesanam patisaṃkhārayatī Kalimga-nagarī -Kḥi(b)īra(m)<sup>18</sup> [.] sītala<sup>19</sup>-tadāga-pādiyo ca bamdhāpayatī [.] savūyāna-patisamthapanam ca [1 3] kārayatī panatisāhī sata-sahaschī<sup>20</sup> [.] pakatiyo ca ranjayatī [ ]
- 3 Dutīye ca vase acitayitā Sātakanim<sup>21</sup> pachimadīsam haya-gaja-nara-radha-bahulam damdam pathāpayatī<sup>22</sup> [.] Kanhabemnamgatāya<sup>23</sup> ca senāya vitāsītī<sup>24</sup> Asika-nagaram<sup>25</sup> [ ]
- 4 Tatiye puna vase [1 4] Gamdhava-veda-budho dapa-nata-gīta-vādīta-samdasanāhī<sup>26</sup> usava-samājā-kārāpanāhī kīdāpayatī nagarī(m) [ ]



- \*18 I regret my previous reading *gabbīra*, for the first letter is definitely *kḥi*, the *u*-stroke in *pu* of *sampuna* in l 2 and the *i*-stroke in *kḥi* of *kḥibīra* in l 3 being joined together by rain-water trickling down. The second letter may also be read as *bhī*. Jayaswal reads *Kḥibhīra*, taking it to be the name of a *rsi* after whom the tank was called *Kḥibīra-īstāla-tadāga*. I cannot but think that *Kḥibīra* represents the name of the then capital of Kalinga. The scribe allows a space between *Kḥibīra* and *sītala* as he has systematically done in l 3 for separating two distinct words or expressions. One may be tempted also to read *Kḥīpīra*.

\*19 Jayaswal, *īstāla*, which must be discarded for a twofold reason: (1) that the letter *ī* at the beginning of the word is highly doubtful, and (2) that the fancied *ā*-stroke over the letter *ī* is uncertain.

20 I have fully stated my reasons for connecting this expression with the preceding statement, and not with *pakatiyo ca ranjayatī*. See my *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p 41, f n 6.

21 Jayaswal, °*kannim*

22 This has determined the usual Oriyā phrase, *damda pathāyochī*, "I have caused the army to march."

\*23 Jayaswal, *Kaṇhabemnāgatāya*

24 Jayaswal, *vitāsītam*

\*25 Jayaswal, *Musika*. It will be seen that the right vertical stroke and the intervening space between the two arms fulfil all the requirements of the letter *a*. But *Asika* may be just a variant of the name *Musika*. Cf Pāli *Alaka* as a variant of *Mulaka*, *Suttanipāta*, Bk V, *Alakassa samasame*.

26 Jayaswal, *samdamsanāhī*

- 5 Tathā cavuthe vase Vijādhārādhivāsam ahata-  
puvam<sup>27</sup> Kalimga-puvarājan(ivesitam)<sup>28</sup> vitadha-  
makute<sup>29</sup> १११११ te<sup>10</sup> nikhita-chata -[1 5] bhim-  
gāre hita-ratana-sāpateye sava-Rathika-Bhojake  
pāde vamdāpayati [ ]
- 6 Pamcame cēdāni<sup>11</sup> vase Namdarāja-ti-vasa-sata-  
oghātitam Tanasulīya-vātā panādi[m] nagaram  
pavesa(yati) so<sup>12</sup> [ ]
- 7 Abhisito<sup>11</sup> १ ११ rājaseyam<sup>15</sup> samdam-  
sayamto<sup>16</sup> sava-kara-vana-<sup>17</sup> [1 6] anugaha-anc-  
kāni sata-sahasāni vīśajati pora-jānapadam<sup>18</sup> [ ]
- 8 Satame ca vase (a)sasata<sup>19</sup> -vajiraghara<sup>10</sup> -khatiya-<sup>11</sup>

\*27 I have to abandon the reading *āhata-puvam*

28 Indrajī, *-namamsitam*, Jayaswal, *-nivesitam*

\*29 Jayaswal, *vitadha-makuta* correcting his previous reading *vitadha-makute*

\*30 Jayaswal (*sa*) *bilamdhite*, which is highly problematic. The first letter looks indeed like a *sa*. One may be tempted to read the second letter as *bi* but none may be certain about it. The third letter, as made out by Indrajī, is *pu* or, it may even be *pra*, but certainly not *la*. The last three letters should better be read as either *vapite* or *vadhite*, but not as *mdhite*. Is the intended word *sabipravapiti*, which is=Skt *sadulpravartitān*

31 Jayaswal, *ca dāni*

\*32 Jayaswal would take the record of the 6th year to begin with so , I think, here is an expression denoting the amount which had to be spent on the work mentioned in the record of the 5th year

33 Jayaswal makes out the beginning of the 6th year record to be So *bhisito*

34 The gap may, perhaps, be supplied by the expression *ca chathe vase*

\*35 I accept Indrajī's reading, rejecting Jayaswal's *rajasuyam*, the former being precisely what is intended by the scribe

36 Indrajī, *samdamsanato*, Cunningham, *samdasamto*

37 Jayaswal, °*uanam* 38 Jayaswal *poram jānapadam*

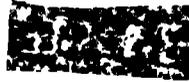
\*39 Prinsep and others, *pasāsato*, which is neither unlikely nor inappropriate. Jayaswal, *satamam ca vasam pasāsato*

\*40 I accept Jayaswal's reading in the absence of anything better I myself can suggest

\*41 See foot-note 42



l 1, fn 2



l 1, fn 3



l 1, fn 6, 7



l 2, fn 12



l 2, fn 14



l 3, fn 18



l 3, fn 19



l 4, fn 23



l 4, fn 25



l 5 fn 27



l 5 fn 29, 30



l 6 fn 32



l 6 fn 35



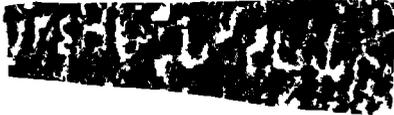
l 7, fn 39-42



17, fn 43-45



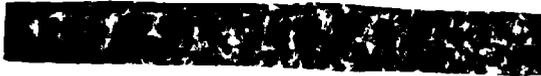
17, fn 47



18, fn 48



18 fn 50-52



18, fn 55



18 fn 57



18, 8a fn 58, 59



l 9 fn 62



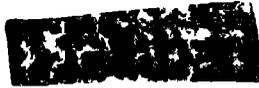
l 9, fn 62



l 9 fn 63



l 9 fn 65



l 9 fn 66



l 9 fn 67



l 10 fn 68-70



l 10, fn 71



l 10, fn 72



l 10, fn 73



l 11 fn 81 82



l 11 fn 84



l 11 fn 85



l 11 fn 86-88



l 12, fn 90



l 12, fn 90a



l 12, fn 91, 92



l 12, fn 93, 94



l 13, fn 96-98



l 12, fn 99



l 12, fn 100



l 13, fn 101



l 13, fn 102, 103



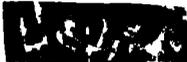
l 14, fn 108, 109



l 14, fn 110



l 14, fn 111-113



l 14, fn 114



l 14, fn 115-117



l 15, fn 122-125



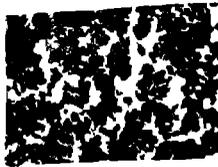
l 15, fn 127-128



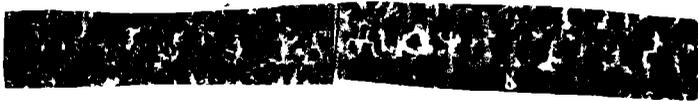
l 15, fn 129, 130



l 16, fn 132



l 16, fn 136



l 16, fn 136-141



l 17, fn 149

-sata-ghatani<sup>42</sup> Samataka<sup>41</sup> -padasamna<sup>44</sup> samti-  
pada<sup>45</sup> ṛṇ [ ]<sup>48</sup>

9 Athame ca vase mahatā senāya (apati)hata- (bh)-  
iti<sup>47</sup> -Goradhagirim [17] ghātāpayitā Rāja-  
gaha(m) upapīdapayati<sup>48</sup> [,] etinam<sup>49</sup> ca kamma-  
padāna-panādena<sup>50</sup> pabamta<sup>51</sup> -senavāhane<sup>52</sup> vipa-  
mucitum<sup>53</sup> Madhuram apayāto<sup>54</sup> Yavana-rājā  
ṛmiṇṇsaṇṇi<sup>55</sup> (ā)mo, dati<sup>56</sup> ṇṇṇ Sava(ra-rā)  
jāna<sup>57</sup> ca ga(cha)ti<sup>58</sup> [18] palavabhāra<sup>59</sup>

\*42 Jayaswal, -vati-gsusita-gharini, which is far from correct I think, my reading *sata-ghatani* is free from doubt

\*43 Jayaswal, *samatuka*

\*44 Jayaswal, *padapumna* °*dasamna* obviously scribe's mistake for *dasamna*

\*45 Jayaswal, (*ku*)*ma* Prinsep and Cunningham, *savata-kabadapana narapa* One might be tempted even to read *savtaka-padajbāna-sammitipada* (?)

46 Both the reading and purpose of the record of the 7th year are problematical The above text may just make some sense out of a nonsense

\*47 Jayaswal, *mabata-bhiti* The first letter rather looks like *a*

\*48 Prinsep, *Rājagabham upapīdapayati*, Cunningham, *Rājagamhhu upapīda-  
payati*, Indrajī, *Rājagaba-napam pīdapayati*, Sten Konow has no objection to the  
the reading *napa*

49 Jayaswal, *etinā*, which, too, is a likely reading

\*50 Jayaswal, *samnādena*

\*51 Jayaswal *sambita* Prinsep reads *pambāta*

\*52 Jayaswal *senavāhano*, which will deprive the transitive verb *vipamucitum*  
of its object He finally reads *vāhane*

53 Jayaswal, *vipamucitu*

54 Cf Nasik Cave inscription, No 10 (*El*, vol VIII)

*Bhatāraka amñātiyā ca gatasmim varsa-ratum*

*Mālayebi rudham Utamabbādrām*

*mocayitum ca Mālayā pranāden eva apayātā*

\*55 Tentatively read *Dimita* by Dr Sten Konow To read *Dimita* or *Dimita* with  
Jayaswal will be to go too far But the reading *Yavana-rājā* is certain

56 The reading is pretty certain

\*57 The reading suggested is doubtful

\*58 Jayaswal, *yacati*

\*59 Jayaswal, *palava*.

- [1 8a] Kaparukha<sup>60</sup> -haya-gaja-radha-saha yamte  
 [1]<sup>61</sup> [,] sava-ghararāvāsa-pa ṛṛṛṛya<sup>62</sup> savagaha-  
 naṃ ca kārayitum<sup>63</sup> bramhanānam<sup>64</sup> ja(y)a-<sup>65</sup>  
 pariḥāra[m] dadāti , Arahata-<sup>66</sup> [ ]
- 10 vasuvijaya-<sup>67</sup> [1.9] te ubhaya<sup>68</sup>-Praci-tate<sup>69</sup>  
 (rāja-) nivāsam<sup>70</sup> Mahāvijaya<sup>71</sup>-pāsādam kārayati  
 athatisāya sata-sahaseḥi [ ]
- 11 Dasame ca vase dada-niṛdhita (bhisa)maya<sup>72</sup>  
 Bharadhavasa-paṇam<sup>73</sup> ṛ hi-ṛyanam<sup>74</sup> ṛ  
 kārapayati<sup>75</sup> [ ]

60 Jayaswal, *kaparukhe*.

61 Jayaswal, *sahayamte*, Indrajī, *saba-yata*

\*62 Prinsep, *gharavasapa*, Cunningham *gharavasaya-anatikagavaya*, Indrajī, *gharavasadbham*, Jayaswal, *gharāvāsa-parivesane agimathiyā* Nothing can be definitely made out

\*63 Correctly read by Jayaswal

\*64 Correctly read by Indrajī Jayaswal, *bambanānam* The first letter is not only *ba* but *bra*

\*65 Prinsep, *jata*, Jayaswal, *jātam pariḥāram* The first letter is indeed *ja*, the second letter is uncertain *jāta-pariḥāram* or *jātu-pariḥāram* conveys a definite sense, cf Pāli *gabbha-pariḥāram* But I would like to read *jaṇa-pariḥāram* Cf *Papañca-sūdanī*, pt III, so 'pī ya pubba-rājūhi brāhmanānam dinna-pariḥāro tam ahāpetvā pakati-miyāmen'eva akāsi, tatthā gahapatukānam

\*66 Jayaswal, *Arahata (va?)*

\*67 The beginning of the record of the 9th year cannot be traced The last four letters of 1 9 may be read as *svuvijaya* Jayaswal reads (gr)ya(to)

\*68 The first letter appears to be *te*, the second letter, *u* the third, *bha*, and the fourth *ya* *ba*, or *gha* May they not be read as *te ubhaya?* Jayaswal finally reads *ke mānāti*

\*69 The choice lies between *Praci-tate* and *Puti-tate* or between *Puti-tate* and *Puri-tate*

\*70 Jayaswal, *-samnivāsam*

\*71 Jayaswal, *Mahāvijayam*

\*72 Cunningham, *datibbisara* , Jayaswal, *damda-samdbisāmamayo* correct- ing his previous readings *damdasa-nadasa*, *mabdbita'bbisamayō*

\*73 Cunningham, *pa na*, Indrajī, *pathānam*, Jayaswal, *pathānam*

74 Cunningham, *mabayana*, Jayaswal, *mabi-jayanam*

75 Nothing can be definitely made out

76 The concluding words of the record of the 10th year cannot be traced

- 12 .. 77 ???? tānam<sup>78</sup> mani-ratanāni-saha  
yāti<sup>79</sup> [ l io ] —? ?<sup>80</sup> puvarāja<sup>81</sup>-nivesitam Pithu-  
dagadabha Nagale nekāsayati<sup>82</sup> [,] janapada-  
bhāvanam<sup>83</sup> ca terasa-vasa-sata-katam bhidati<sup>81</sup>  
tamiradaha<sup>85</sup> -samghātam [ ]
- 13 Bārasame ca vase ?S(i)?kā(nam)<sup>86</sup> sa(ha)-  
sehi<sup>87</sup> vitāsayamto<sup>88</sup> Utarāpadha-rājāno [ l i i ]  
—Māgadhānam<sup>89</sup> ca vipula(m) bhayam janeto  
hathasam Gamgāya<sup>90</sup> pāyayati [,] Mā(gadham) ca  
rājānam Baha(sa)timita(m)<sup>90a</sup> pāde va(m)dāpa(ya)-

77 The beginning of the record of the 11th year cannot be traced

78 Jayaswal, *nirṭiya-uyātānam*, the propriety of which is not intelligible to me. He finally reads *p(ā)yātānam*

79 Jayaswal, *upalabbate*

80 Jayaswal, *mamdam ca*

\*81 Jayaswal, *Avarāja*, which must be discarded for the reason that the first letter is by no means *a*, it is *pu*

\*82 Jayaswal, *Pithumdān gadabha-namgalena kāsayati*. But it will be seen that the letter is not *na* but *ne*, and that the scribe connects it with *kāsayati*. The propriety of Jayaswal's reading depends upon the correctness of his reading *Avarāja*. If one fails, the other fails. There is no reason why *Khāravēla* should plough *Pithuda* with an ass-plough, if it was founded by a former king of Kalinga.

83 Jayaswal, *janasa dabbāvanam*, but he suggests that the intended reading is *janapada-bhāvanam*

\*84 Sten Konow, *terasa-vasasata-kata bh(i)dati*, Jayaswal, *terasa-vasasatkam ābbimdati* which is rather fantastic

\*85 Indrajī, *tamara-dehasamghātam*, Jayaswal, *Tramira-desa-samghātam*. The choice really lies between *-daha-* and *-deha-*

\*86 Jayaswal, *-basa-ke*. The intended word appears to be *Svakānam*

\*87 Jayaswal, *sabasehi* \*88 Or, *vitāsayato* 89 Jayaswal, *Māgadhānam*

\*90 Jayaswal, *hathi Sugamgīya(m)*, abandoning his previous reading *hathisu Gamgāya*, *hathisu Gamgīya*. The Maurya palace is called *Sugānga* in the *Mudrā-rāksasa*, a Sanskrit drama of the 4th or of 6th century A.D. Jayaswal has evidently tended to suggest a reading which will bear out the name of the palace as given by Viśākhadatta. Had the name of the palace been intended, the word would have been either *Sugange* or *Sugangapāsāde*, and not *Gamgāya[m]*, the locative sing. form of the feminine stem, *Gamgā*. Moreover, the *r*-stroke is absent, the word is *hathasam*, a Sandhi of *hathi* and *asa*. It is important to note that Prinsep read *hathasam gamgasa*, and Cunningham, *hathasam Gamgāya*

\*90a Correctly read by Jayaswal

- tī [,] Nadarāja-jīta<sup>91</sup> -Kāḷiṅga-jana-sam(n)ī(ve)-  
 sam<sup>92</sup> ?(śasa)tī [,] kītava-naya-nīpu(n)ehī<sup>93</sup>  
 Aga-Magadha-vasum nayatī<sup>94</sup> [l 12]  
 ———tu[m]<sup>95</sup> ja(th)ra-lakhīla-<sup>96</sup> [go]purānī<sup>97</sup>  
 siharānī<sup>98</sup> nivesayatī [,] sata-ṅiskāna[m]<sup>99</sup> pari-  
 hārena<sup>100</sup> abhutamacharīya(m) ca haṭhi-nāva-  
 (tam)<sup>101</sup> pariharatī [,] tinha<sup>102</sup> -haya-haṭhi-ratana-  
 mānīko<sup>103</sup> Pamda-rājā (ābharanānī)<sup>104</sup> mutā-  
 manī-ratanānī āharāpayatī idha sata-sa  
<sup>105</sup> [l 13] ———sino vaśī katotī | |
- 14 Terasame ca vase supavata-vijaya-kaḥe<sup>106</sup> Kumāī-  
 pavate arahate<sup>107</sup> pakhīna-samsitehī<sup>108</sup> kayya-<sup>109</sup>  
 -nīśīdiyāya yāpujavakehī<sup>110</sup> rāja-bhītinī<sup>111</sup> cīna-  
 vatānī<sup>112</sup> vaśāsītānī<sup>113</sup> pūjāya-rata<sup>114</sup> -uvāsa(ga)-

\*91 Jayaswal, *Namdarājanitam*

\*92 Jayaswal, *-jnam samnivesa* The *i*-stroke over *ja* is appositional, it having no organic connection with it

\*93 Jayaswal, *gaba-ratanānam parihārehi Indraji gaba-ratana-parihārehi*

\*94 Jayaswal, *neyāti* 95 Jayaswal, *kātum* \*96 Jayaswal, *-lakhīla*

\*97 Jayaswal, *(jathara-lakhīla) -barāni*, which is meaningless

\*98 Jayaswal, *siharāni*

\*99 Correctly read by Jayaswal

\*100 Jayaswal, *parihārehi*

\*101 Prinsep, *haṭhi-ṅavūna*, Cunningham, *haṭhi-ṅavūna*, Jayaswal, *haṭhi-ṅavāsa* collecting his previous reading *haṭhi-ṅavāna*

\*102 Jayaswal, *denha*

\*103 Correctly read by Jayaswal

104 Jayaswal, *cedāni anekāni*

105 The intended word seems to be *sabasāni*

106 Jayaswal, °*caka-*

107 Read *arabatehi*

\*108 Correctly read by Jayaswal

\*109 Or *kaya* Generally read *kāya* *kayya* or *kaya* is = *kalya* or Pāli *kalla*

\*110 The choice lies here between *yāpujavakehi* and *yāpuravakehi*

Prinsep, *yāpuhavakehi*, Cunningham, *yāpujakehi*, Jayaswal, *yāpa-ṅāvakehi*, correcting his previous reading *yāpujavakehi*

\*111 Obviously a mistake for *rāja-bhītinam*

\*112 Obviously a mistake for *cīta-vatānam*, Pāli, *cīna-vatānam*

\*113 Obviously a mistake for *vaśāsītānam* Jayaswal reads *vāśā-sitam*

\*114 Jayaswal, *pujānurata-*

(Khāra)vela-sirinā jivadeha<sup>115</sup> -ṣṣkā<sup>116</sup> tā<sup>117</sup>[ ]<sup>118</sup> [l 14]

15 —————<sup>119</sup> sakata<sup>120</sup> -samana-suvihitānam ca  
 sata<sup>121</sup> -disānam nā<sup>122</sup> nam<sup>122</sup> (sama)paśi(nam)<sup>121</sup>  
 (bhi)<sup>121</sup> -samgh(i)yana(m)<sup>121</sup> arahata-nisidiya  
 samipe pabhāre<sup>126</sup> varākara-samuthāpitāhi an(c)-  
 ka-yoanāhitāhi pakva-sisehi<sup>127</sup> sata-(sahasā)hi<sup>128</sup>  
 silāhi śipaja<sup>129</sup> -thabha-(ni)vadha-sayanā(sa)-  
 nāni<sup>130</sup> va—————<sup>131</sup> patālake<sup>132</sup> catare<sup>131</sup> ca vedu-  
 ūya-gabhe thabhe<sup>131</sup> patithāpayati panatarīya-<sup>131</sup>  
 -(sata-sahaschi) [ , | (ma) khīya<sup>136</sup> -kala<sup>137</sup> -vochine<sup>138</sup>

\*115 Prinsep, *pr dicta*, Cunningham *primaka*\*116 Jayaswal, -*śirikā* I am for *śayikā*\*117 Prinsep and Cunningham *rikhita*, Jayaswal, *parikhita* abandoning his previous reading *rakhita* Is it *panikhātā*?

118 The record of the 13th appears to have been closed here

119 The beginning piece of 116 is missing

120 Jayaswal reads *sukatā* 121 Definitely *sata*, and not *sava*\*122 The choice lies between *nāminam* and *nātānam*, both of which are suggested by Jayaswal\*123 Cunningham rightly noticed four letters after *nā<sup>122</sup>nam*, which he reads as *simpusa* while I propose to read *samapasī*. At first sight, they seem to yield the reading *tapasa*. Jayaswal makes out *tapasi-śinam*

\*124 Left hitherto unnoticed

\*125 Jayaswal, *samghayanam*126 Jayaswal, *pābhāre*\*127 Or, *panatasisehi*

\*128 The reading seems to be certain

\*129 Prinsep, *sapapa*, Cunningham, *bhagapa*, Jayaswal, *śimbapa*<sup>o</sup>\*130 Prinsep, (*sapapathā*) -*dhara śe dhasaya*, Jayaswal, (*Śimbapathā*) *rañi Simdhalāya*, which is quite fantastic

131 The beginning piece of 116 is lost

\*132 Prinsep, *patalake*, Cunningham and Indrajī, *patālake* Jayaswal, *patalako*133 Jayaswal, *caturo* 134 Jayaswal, *thambhe* 135 Jayaswal, *pānatarīya*\*136 Prinsep *riya*, Cunningham, *ya*, Indrajī and Sten Konow, *Muriya*  
It is after a prolonged examination of the first two letters in stone and in the facsimile that I came to detect that they are *ma* and *khi*, and not *mu* and *ri*\*137 The word must be read as *kala*, and not as *kāla*. To read *kale* with Indrajī and Fleet is to go far away from *kala*, correctly read by Cunningham\*138 Jayaswal, *vochinam*

ca coyatha-amge<sup>139</sup> satikam<sup>140</sup> turiyam<sup>141</sup> upāda-  
(yati) [ ]

16 Khema-rājā sa [,] vadha<sup>142</sup> -rājā sa [,] bhikhu-  
rājā sa [,] dhama-rājā pasamto sunamto anu-  
bhavamto kalānāni [ ] 16]—<sup>143</sup> guna-visesa-  
kusalo sava-pāsamda-pūjako<sup>144</sup> sava-devāyatana-  
sa(m)kāra<sup>145</sup> -kārako apatihata-caka -vāhana<sup>146</sup>-  
-balo caka-dhara<sup>147</sup> guta-cako pavata-cako rājasī-  
vamsa-kula<sup>148</sup> -vini(śr)ito<sup>149</sup> mahāvijayo rājā  
Khāravela-siri [ ]



## 2 TRANSLATION

*Obeisance to Arhats, the Exalted Ones, obeisance to all Siddhas, the Perfect Saints*

By His Graceful Majesty Khāravela,<sup>150</sup> the great Aira<sup>151</sup> king,  
the Sovereign lord of Kalinga,<sup>152</sup> the scion of the Mahāmegha

\*139 Prinsep, *ca coyatha agi*, Cunningham, *ca coyatha age*, Indrajī, *ca coyatha agi*, Jayaswal, *ca coyathi Amga*. The stone does not show any *i*-stroke over *tha*

\*140 Prinsep and Cunningham, *satika*, Indrajī, *satiku* Sten Konow, *satikam*

\*141 I cannot but accept Jayaswal's *turiyam* as correct reading

142 Jayaswal, *vadha*

143 The beginning piece of 117 is lost

144 Cunningham, *pujako*

145 Jayaswal, *samkbara*

146 Jayaswal, *caki-vāhini*

147 Jayaswal, *caka-dhara*,

148 Jayaswal, *rājasī- Vasū-kula*

\*149 Cunningham, *vimigato* R D Banerji confirms the correctness of Jayaswal's reading

150 Cf Pāli *Kāvela* as the name of a Yakkha in the *Mahāvamsa*, IX 23, as the name of a place in Fausboll's *Jātaka*, vol VI, p 30 Cf also Sanskrit *Karbela* as a personal name, Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dict*, *sub voce Karbela*

151 Jayaswal treats it as a patronymic derived from *Ila*. But the usual patronymic from *Ila* is not *Aśla*, it is *Aśleya*. I am still inclined to think that it is the same word as the Pāli *ayira*, which is explained in the sense of *sāmi*. Cf Fausboll, *Jātaka*, vol VI, p 300 *ayiro hi dāsassa janında issaro ayiro'ti sāmiko* Jayaswal's first note on *aira* (*JBORS*, vol III, pt IV, p 434) seems more to the point "This word occurs in a Sātavāhana inscription and has been translated by M. Smart by 'noble'"

152 In the inscription of his chief queen, Khāravela has been represented as *Kalinga-cakavati*, "the overlord of Kalinga"

family,<sup>153</sup> the increaser of the Ceti Royal House,<sup>154</sup> who is possessed

153 *Māhāmeghavāhana* is a patronymic derived from *Mahāmeghavāhana*, a dynastic name similar to *Sātavāhana*. The Mahāmeghavāhana kings of Kalinga including Khāravēla were the contemporaries and powerful rivals of the Sātakarni of Andhra. The inscription itself refers to a Sātakarni who had his kingdom to the west of Kalinga. According to the *Purānas*, amongst the local dynasties which arose during the Andhra period, there was the dynasty of Kośāla (i.e., South Kośāla) who were commonly known as the Meghas (obviously a shortening from Meghavāhana), who were very powerful and intelligent, and who were nine in number.

*Kośalāyām tu rājāno bhavisyanti mahābalāh,*

*Meghā itī samākhyātā buddhimanto navasva tu*

—Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51

154 Whether one reads *Ceturāja* or *Cetarāja*, the meaning is the same. *Ceti* = *Cedi*, and *Ceta* = *Cetiya*, Skt. *Caidya*. In the Pāli *Vessantara-Jātaka* (Fausboll, No. 547), *Cetiyarattha* denotes the same kingdom as *Ceta-rattha*. Rsi Brahmātithi of the family of Kāva sings the praises of king Kaśu, the Caidya, in a Vedic hymn addressed to the Aśvins (*RV* VIII. 5). Here the Cedi-king Kaśu is represented as a powerful monarch who was capable of making a gift of *rājās* as slaves. His soldiers were dressed in cuirasses of leather. In the *Mahābhārata*, Ādi-parva, the Kuru prince Vasu Uparicara is said to have conquered the beautiful and excellent kingdom of the Cedis on the advice of the god Indra whose staunch worshippers he was. His son Matsya by an *apsarā*, named Adrikā, founded the kingdom of Matsya. His other sons, Brhadraṭha, Pratyagraha, and the rest also founded kingdoms. The *Vāyu-Purāna* repeats the tradition of the conquest of the Cedi kingdom by Vasu, the Paurava. According to another account, the Kuru prince Vasu conquered Cedi, originally a Yādava kingdom, and established himself there, whence he came to be known as Caidya—Uparicara. His capital was Suktimatī (Sorthivatī, according to the Pāli *Cetiya-Jātaka*, Fausboll, vol. III, pp. 454-61) on the river Suktimatī. His five sons were established in the five kingdoms of Magadha, Cedi, Kauśāmbī, Kuūsa, and Matsya. According to the *Cetiya-Jātaka*, however, among his five sons, one who went to the east, founded Hatthipura (i.e., Hastināpura or Indraprastha), one who went to the south, founded Assapura (i.e., Aśvaka or Aśmaka on the Godāvarī), one who went to the west, founded Sihapura, one who went to the north, founded Uttara-Pāñcāla, and one who went to the north-west, founded Daddarapura. The *Mahābhārata* introduces us also to the most powerful but wreckless Cedi king Śiśupāla, son of Damaghosa, who made an alliance with the great Jarāsandha of Magadha and made a common cause against the Yādavas and Pāndavas. After killing Śiśupāla, Kṛṣṇa installed his (Śiśupāla's) son Dhṛstaketu in the sovereignty of the Cedis. Dhṛstaketu fought on the side of the Pāndavas in the great battle of Kuruksetra. According to the *Agni-Purāna* (IV. 14), Śiśupāla was the son of Damaghosa by Śrutasravā, sister of Vasudeva,—a Sātvata or Yādava princess. In the *Mahābhārata*, Udyogaparva (ch. 74), Sahaja of the Cedi dynasty is mentioned among the 18 kings who by their great strength, ruined their friends and relations. In the *Aśvamedhaparva* of the same epic (chs. 83-84), we have mention of Sarabha

of the noble and auspicious marks,<sup>155</sup> who is gifted with<sup>156</sup> the attri-

as a son of Śisūpāla, who was defeated and subdued by Arjuna. The same epic groups the Cedis, in one context, with the Pañcālas and the Kaikeyas, in another, with the Kāśis and the Karūṣas, in a third, with the Matsyas and the Karūṣas, in a fourth, with the Karūṣas and the Kośalās, and in a fifth, with the Pañcālas, the Karūṣas and the Matsyas. The Bhīṣmaparva (ch. 6) describes the Śuktimatī as one of the rivers in Bhāratavarsa.

In the Pāli *Anguttara-nikāya* (IV, pp. 252, 256, 260) and the Jaina *Bhagavati-sūtra*, Ceti, the land where the Cetis founded their kingdom and settled, is mentioned as one of the sixteen *mahājanapadas*. In the Pāli list, the Cetis as a people are grouped with the Vamsas or Vatsas. The Ceti kingdom with Sahajātu (modern Bhūta) as its principal town is located to the east of Vatsa, the land of the Vatsas. According to Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, the Ceta or Cetiya ratta corresponds roughly to modern Bundelkhand. In the opinion of Rapson, Ceti occupied in the post-Vedic period the northern portion of the Central Provinces. With Pargiter Ceti lay along the south of Jumna. Rhys Davids inclines to think (*Buddhist India*, p. 26) that the Cetis had two distinct settlements, one, properly the older, was in the mountains, in what is now called Nepal, the other probably a later colony, was near Kauśāmbī to the east.

The inscriptions of the Kalacuri or Haihaya dynasty of Ceti go to prove that the rulers of this dynasty assumed the title of "Lords of Kālāñjarapura and of Tri-Kalinga, Kālāñjara being the well-known hill-fort in Bundelkhand. For these and other details regarding the Cedis, their kingdom and kings, see B. C. Law's *Ancient Mid-Indian Ksatryya Tribes*, ch. V. H. C. Raychoudhury's *Political History of Ancient India*, Rhys Davids in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 84.

In the Hāthigumpā inscription itself, Khāravela is connected with the Ceti royal house, which may indicate that the Ceti kings had, in course of time, established their suzerainty also in Kalinga. In it, he is represented as a scion of a line and family of royal sages (*rājasi-vamsakula-vimśrita*) in spite of the fact that the Ceti kings do not figure as *rājasis* in their tradition preserved elsewhere. In the Pāli *Vessantara-jātaka* Kalinga, Śivi and Ceti are described as three contiguous kingdoms, the Śivis being matrimonially allied with the Cedis. It goes to show that the way to the Himalayas, both from Kalinga and the Śivi kingdom lay through the kingdom of the Cedis. The distance between the Śivi kingdom and the Ceti is said to be 30 *yojanas* (about 240 miles). Mt. Suvannagiritāla, the river Kōntimārā, Mt. Añjanagiri, and the Brahmin village called Dunnavitthanālidandī are interposed between Jctuttara, the capital city of the Śivis and the kingdom of the Cedis. The *Cetiya-jātaka*, on the other hand, describes the journey of a person from Benares to the Ceti kingdom along a route through the hills, which was risky owing to the mischievous activity of the *pesanaka-coras*.

155 *I.e. mahāpurusa-laksanas* according to the *laksana-pāthakas* or readers of signs or marks. Cf. *Majjhima-nikāya*, II, p. 134.

156 Whether one reads *guna-upetena* or *gunōpabhitena*, the meaning is the same.

butes (of one capable) of subduing the earth extending as far as the four seas,<sup>157</sup> were played for fifteen years the sports befitting the young age of the prince with a handsome body of 'fair brown complexion'<sup>158</sup> Thereafter, for nine years, just the office of a Crown Prince was administered by (His Royal Highness) who was well-versed in (matters relating to) writing, coinage, accounting, procedure, and approved principle of action, whose self was purified by proficiency in all (Indian) 'polite learning'<sup>159</sup> Having then completed twenty-four years, he who, as he waxed great, passed the rest of his manhood in making notable conquests,<sup>160</sup> gained the high state implied by the coronation of a great king in the third royal dynasty of Kalinga,<sup>161</sup> in regular linear succession<sup>162</sup>

157 The adoption of Jayaswal's reading *luthita* makes no difference to the sense

158 Sten Konow is led to think that *Siri-kadāra* is the lover of Śrī, i.e., Kṛṣṇa', and that "Khāravela's boyish games are compared with Kṛṣṇa's pranks and sports in Vindāvanī' This would seem too far-fetched to be acceptable Here *smi-kadāra* is used as an adjective qualifying Khāravela's *śarīra* and not his sports

159 See for notes on *lekha*, *rūpa*, etc., Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 240 f., Jayaswal, *LI*, vol. XX, pp. 81-82

160 The word *abbhivṛjaya* is used in this very sense in the *Maṅghima-nikāya*

Adopting Jayaswal's reading *vadhamāna-sesayo Venābbhivṛjayo* one must translate the text "(he who had been prosperous since his infancy (?) and who (was destined) to have wide conquests as those of Vena

161 Jayaswal aptly observes "In the third line the details about Khāravela's ancestry are made clear. He was born in the royal line of Ceti and was the overlord of Kalinga, but the dynasty to which he belonged was the 3rd dynasty of the kings of Kalinga'

162 Jayaswal would have us understand by the word *purisa-yuge* 'at the proper age of the man' He says in so many words "Evidently the throne had been vacant and Khāravela ascended it after completing his 24th year. According to the *Brhaspati Sūtra*, for a prince playing and learning were enjoined up to the 24th year and after that, politics' I differ, for the inscription clearly tells us that he acted as *yuvārāja* for nine years, from which it is difficult to surmise that the throne had remained vacant. As for *purisa-yuga*, it is precisely in the sense of regular or unbroken linear succession that the word has been used in the *Maṅghima-nikāya*, II, p. 75 *Yasmim purisa-yuge vattamāne evarūpassa kalyānassa ratihassa samuccbedo hoti, so tesam antima-puriso hoti*. In this context, Buddhaghosa ex-

2 And as soon as he was anointed, in the very first year, (His Majesty) caused the Kalinga-city Khibira<sup>163</sup> in which the gates, walls and residential houses were damaged by stormy wind, to be repaired, and caused the embankments of the cool tanks to be made, and (also) caused the work of restoration of all the gardens to be done at the cost of thirty-five hundred thousand (pieces of the standard coin), and (thereby) pleased the subjects<sup>164</sup>

plains the word *purisa-yuge* as signifying—*vamsa-sambhava purise*, “in the time of the person (who comes to reign) by linear succession

The statement in the inscription admits of another rendering, namely “during the third period of reign of the royal dynasty of Kalinga”, which, too, may be supported by usages and explanations in Buddhist literature. First, the *Lalitavistara* mentions the following characteristics of an ideal royal family

*Purusayuga-sampannam tatkulam bhavati*

*Pūrvapurisayuga-sampannam ca tatkulam bhavati*

*Abhiyāta-purusayuga-sampannam ca tatkulam bhavati*

*Abhilakṣita-purusayuga-sampannam ca tatkulam bhavati*

*Mabheśākhyā-purusayuga-sampannam ca tatkulam bhavati*

“Such a family is remarkable for having a continuous succession of generations of men. It has the contemporaneity of two previous generations. It has the contemporaneity of two living generations. It has the contemporaneity of two coming generations. It has a continuous succession of mighty persons.

Cf. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 1

Here the implication is that two generations living at the same time constitute 1 period. In this very sense, Buddhaghosa explains the word *purisa-yuga* in the *Samanta-pāsādikā* (I, p. 190). According to the Pāli scholiast, the life-time of 1 Buddha which also covers the career of his immediate disciples constitutes one *purisa-yuga* or period, and the career of his immediate disciples and later followers since his demise constitutes the second *purisa-yuga* or period. Similarly, the expression *satta-pitāmaha-yugā* means the seven grandfathers, each grandfather standing for a distinct period, the grandfather's life-time including that of the father.

163 R. C. Panda takes the word to mean 'springs' (*The Mayurbhanj Gazette*, 1938, p. 16). Reading the text as *Kalinga-nagari-Khibira-ṣṣṭāla-tadāga-pādīyo bam-dhāpayati*, Jayaswal translates it “in the city of Kalinga (he) causes the erection of the embankments of the lake (called after) Khibira Rsi, (and) of (other) tanks and cisterns”. Note that according to grammatical construction, the adjectival compound *vāta-śhata-gopura-pākāra-nivesanam* requires a noun, such as *Kalinga-nagari-Khibiram*, after it. Cf. *baya-gaṇa-nara-radha-babulam* qualifying *dam-dam*.

164 Jayaswal translates “and (he) gratifies the People”

3 And in the second year, not (at all) bringing Śātakarni<sup>165</sup> into (his) thought, (His Majesty) caused a multitudinous army (consisting of) horses, elephants, foot-men and chariots to march in a western direction, and with the aid of the army that reached (the bank of) the Kṛsnavenā (river),<sup>166</sup> struck terror into the city of Asika (Musika?)

4 Again, in the third year, (His Majesty), who was a master of the science of music—the Gandharva lore, caused the capital to be entertained by the display of combats,<sup>167</sup> dancing, singing, and instrumental music, and (no less) by the arrangement made for festivities and convivial gatherings

5 Likewise, in the fourth year, (His Majesty caused to be done his duty to) the home of the Vidyādharas,<sup>168</sup> founded by the former kings of Kalinga, which was not invaded before, compelled

\* 165 According to Jayaswal, Śātakarni referred to in this inscription is 'evidently Śrī Śātakarni, the third king of the Śātavāhana dynasty, the husband of queen Nayanikā of the Nānāghāt inscriptions in the Junnār Tāluk of the Poona district' For the palæographic similarity between the inscription of Khāravēla and those of Niyinikā, queen of Śrī Śātakarni, see R D Banerjee's monograph—Palæography of the Hāthīgumphā and Nānāghāt Inscriptions, *Memor., ASB*, vol X All that the inscription itself clearly proves is that one king Śātakarni was "the only powerful ruler on the western border of Kalinga," and that his kingdom included the city of Asika (Skt Rśika or Ārsika) on the river Kṛsnavenā The Nāsik cave inscription of queen Gautamī expressly mentions Asika as one of the places included in the dominions of the Śātakarnis See *EI*, vol VIII, p 60 Asika heads the list of places

166 According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna*, LXVII, 26-27, the Kṛsnavenā, like the Godāvari, the Bhimaratha, and a few other rivers, took its rise from the Vindhya range

*Godāvari-Bhimaratha-Kṛsnavenyā taibhāparā*

*Vindhya-pādā vimskṛāntā ityetā sariduttamā*

It is identified with the modern Wain-gangā which has for its main tributary the Kanhan, the two streams uniting in the district of Bhandarā

167 *dapa* is either the *darpa-krīdā* mentioned in the *Arthśāstra*, III 3 58, or the *davakamma* or 'comics' mentioned in the Pāli *Mahāniddesa*, p 379

168 The home of the Vidyādharas appears to have been situated somewhere in the Central Provinces The inscription seems to indicate that it was invaded or encroached upon at the time by the two neighbouring ruling tribes, viz, the Rathikas and Bhojakas, and accordingly their chiefs were punished by Khāravēla

all the Rathikas and Bhojakas<sup>169</sup> who were deprived of their wealth and jewels, whose royal insignia consisting of umbrellas and vases had been cast away, who were abandoned by good brahmins (?), and whose crowns were rendered meaningless, to bow down at (his) feet

6 And then, in the fifth year, (His Majesty) caused the canal opened out by King Nanda<sup>170</sup> three hundred (or 103) years back to be brought into the capital from the Tanasuliya road<sup>171</sup>

169 Jayaswal's note on the Rathikas and Bhojakas is worth quoting here. "*Rathika-Bhojake* stand for the Mahārathis and Mahābhojas of Sātavāhana inscriptions of the same period at Kanheri and Bedsa. The Rathikas are mentioned as *Ristikas* in the Gunar, *Rathikas* in the Shahbazgarhi and *Rathakas* in the Manshira version of the edict of Aśoka. In the 13th edict we find the Bhojakas mentioned with the *Pitnikas*." For the use of the word *Rathika* in the general sense of local chiefs or subordinate potentates, see the Yerrigudi copy of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict, *Anguttara-nikāya*, III, pp 76, 78, 300, and Barua's *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p 211.

170 Jayaswal points out "King Nanda is mentioned in two places in this inscription, once in l 6 and again in l 12. The date in this line apparently refers to an era founded by king Nanda. His mention in connection with Magadha fixes his identity with the Magadhan Nanda dynasty. There is no evidence as yet to prove that any king of the Maurya or of the Nanda dynasty who may be called a predecessor of Asoka's had either conquered or held sway over any part of Kalinga. The clear evidence of the 13th Rock Edict of Aśoka belies that theory or surmise. Kalinga had remained unconquered (*avijita*) till the 7th year of Aśoka's reign. We need not attach any importance to the name Nanda because it finds mention in this inscription which is but a royal panegyric composed to flatter Khāravela. Mr. R. C. Panda seems to have misconstrued the account of Megasthenes about the connection of *Sandrakottos* (Candragupta Maurya), or, *a priori* that of his Nanda predecessor, with *Prasu* and *Gangaridæ*. In the *Indika* Candragupta Maurya is described as the king of *Prasu* or *Prācyā*, which excluded *Gangaridæ* (McCandless's *Ancient India* Frag I, art 37). It is evident from Aśoka's edicts that the Province of Kalinga in his time had two main political divisions, the southern with its headquarters at Samāpā in Ganjam district, and the north-eastern with its headquarters at Tosali, the seat of the Maurya Viceroy.

171 This statement in the Hāthīgumphā inscription is not without its significance. The location of the capital of Khāravela's Kalinga kingdom is to be determined not only with reference to the river Prāci on which he had built the Great-victory Palace in his 9th regnal year but with reference as well to the Tanasuliya Road from which

7 And in the sixth year, (His Majesty) while displaying his royal prosperity,<sup>172</sup> bestowed (unprecedented) favours on the inhabitants of towns and districts<sup>171</sup> by remitting all taxes and duties amounting to many hundred thousand (pieces of the standard coin)

8 And in the seventh year, (His Majesty caused) compact groups of hundreds of horses,<sup>171</sup> (portable) 'diamond chambers' and warriors (to proceed to) the tranquil spot adjoining the foot of the Samataka (hill)<sup>171</sup> (?)<sup>176</sup>

9 And in the eighth year, having stormed with a mighty army (the fortress of) Gorathagiri<sup>177</sup> of invulnerable wall, (His Majesty) brought a pressure to bear upon Rājagrha, and the Yavana king ?mī???<sup>178</sup> retreated to Mathurā<sup>179</sup> in order to release the

the canal opened out by king Nanda was extended up to the capital of Kalinga  
 I still think that the Tanasuliya Road was no other than a road connecting the Tosali of Asoka with the Kalinganagara of Khāravēla

172 The word which definitely occurs in the inscription is *rājaseyani* (Skt *rāja śriyām*), and not *rājasūyam* to justify Jayaswal's interpretation

173 None should so stretch with Jayaswal the sense of the two words, *Pura* and *lanapada*, as to obtain from it the idea of a 'City-corporation' and a 'Realm-corporation'

174 According to Jayaswal's reading—*Satamam ca vasam pasā-ato*, the translation shall be "And while he was reigning for the seventh year", or simply, 'In the seventh year', or simply, "In the seventh year of his reign"

175 I am just imagining here that, perhaps, in his seventh regnal year, Khāravēla organized a pompous religious procession for visiting the holy spot on Mt Samataka or Sameta (modern Pareshuāth hill), which may not at all be correct

176 Both the text and translation offered are hypothetical. Nothing can or should be construed definitely from either. Jayaswal would make out a text yielding such a fact as that in the seventh year of Khāravēla's reign, his famous wife of Vijraghara 'obtained the dignity of auspicious motherhood', which on the face of it, is too fantastic to deserve credence

177 The same as what is called *Khalatika-pavata* in the Barābar Hill cave inscriptions of Aśoka, and *Pravaragiri* in some of the mediaeval Sanskrit inscriptions. Modern, Barābar hills

178 The name of the Yavana king cannot be definitely made out. Even it is uncertain whether it consists of three or six syllables

179 Mathurā was till then under the sway of the Greek kings

troops and vehicles restlessly moving <sup>180</sup> on account of the uproar<sup>181</sup> of reprisal on His (Majesty's) part<sup>182</sup> returned (to Kalinga), marched back with Kalpavrksa, the Wishing Tree, burdened with foliage, and (the troops) of horses, elephants and chariots, (did something for) all householders, and to captivate all (he) offered the gift of victory to the Brahmins, (offered something to) the Ārhata (recluses)

10 And in the ninth year, (His Majesty) caused the royal residence Mahāvijaya-prāsāda, the "Great-Victory-Palace", to be built on both the banks of the Prāci<sup>183</sup> at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousand (pieces of the standard coin)

11 And in the tenth year, well-read and experienced in the principles of polity, (His Majesty) proceeded on a campaign for the conquest of countries in Bhāratavarsa<sup>184</sup> (?)<sup>185</sup>

12 And in the eleventh year, (His Majesty) went in procession with jewels and gems caused the grassy overgrowth of Prthudaka,<sup>186</sup> founded by a former

180 Adopting the reading *sambhita*, Jayaswal translates it—demoralised

181 Whether one reads *panādēna* or *samnādēna*, the meaning is the same

182 Whether the reading is *etnam* or *etnā*, the sense remains the same

183 It is still an open question whether the Great-victory-Palace was built in the then capital of Kalinga or elsewhere. The record of the 9th year shows that it was built on both the banks of the Prāci, an ancient river, the nearest distance of which from Bhubaneswar is 12 to 13 miles. This river, as pointed out by Mr R C Panda, traverses a course of 30 miles before it empties itself into the Bay of Bengal. Both the banks of the Prāci abound in old ruins of temples, wells and tanks, and in mounds that await excavation. I am not, however, quite sure of the reading of the name of Prāci. The intended name may as well be Puti or Puri.

184 Here as Jayaswal aptly points out, the name Bhāratavarsa is not used to denote the whole of India but a certain portion of it. It excludes, for instance, the region called Uttarāpatha.

185 Nothing can be definitely made out from this record of the 10th year.

186 According to Jayaswal's reading, the name of the place is Pithumda which is no other than what is called Pihunda in the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*. Pithumda is probably the city 'mentioned by Ptolemy as Pitundra'. According to Ptolemy, Pitundra was a city in the upper part of the Coromandel coast.

king<sup>187</sup> to be let out into the Lāngala (river)<sup>188</sup> and destroyed the accumulation of dark swamps<sup>189</sup> that grew up in thirteen-and-hundred years (and) became a cause of anxiety to the country

13 And in the twelfth year, with the aid of thousands of the Śivis (?), (His Majesty) produced consternation among the rulers of Uttarāpatha,<sup>190</sup> while generating an immense fear among the people of Magadha, caused the elephants and horses to drink in the Ganges,<sup>191</sup> and compelled Brhaspatimitra,<sup>192</sup> the king of the Magadha people, to bow down at his feet, (did something in

187 Jayaswal forcibly reads *Avarāja* and explains it as meaning the king of the Avas or Andhras

188 The sharp difference between the two readings offered by Jayaswal and myself lies in the fact that according to one, Khāravela caused Pithumṛa, founded by an Ava or Andhra king, to be ploughed with an ass-plough (i.e., to be utterly destroyed), and according to the other, he caused Pithudaka, founded by a former king of Kalunga, to be reclaimed. According to my reading, for which credit must go rather to Sylvan Lévi, the Nagala, Namgala or Lāngala was the name of a river, the river Nāgāvali bearing also the name of Langulia. See for details, Barua's *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 196 ff.

189 According to Jayaswal's reading *Tramira-desā-samghātam*, the rendering is "the confederacy of the Tramira (Dramira) countries."

190 According to the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 93, *Prithudakāt paratath Uttarāpathah* "Uttarāpatha is (the north-western region) which lay beyond Prithudaka (near Thāncswar). Dhammapāla in his commentary on the *Petavatthu*, locates Mathurā in Uttarāpatha (*Uttara-Madhura-Uttarāpathe*). According to the *Mahābhārata* XII. 207. 43, the Yavanas, Kambojas, Gandhāras, Kirātas, and Barbaras were all peoples of Uttarāpatha.

191 Neither the reading nor the grammatical form of the word *Gangāya* justifies Jayaswal's or Dr. Sten Konow's suggestion that here is a reference to the palace of Candra Gupta Maurya which Viśākhadatta, the author of the *Mudrārāksasa*, knew to be *Sugānga*. The reference is obviously to Pātaliputra, the last capital of Magadha which was on the Ganges. See McCrindle's *Ancient India*, Frag. XXV-XXVI.

192 All the arguments hitherto put forward by Jayaswal for the identification of Brhaspatimitra, the contemporary king of Magadha, with Pusyamitra, the founder of the Sunga-Mitra dynasty are plausible but unconvincing. He may certainly be identified with Brhaspatimitra, nephew of king Āsādhāsena of Ahicchatra, during whose reign the Pabhosā caves were excavated and donated.

connection with) the settlements of the Kalinga people subjugated by king Nanda, carried the wealth of Anga and Magadha with the aid of persons skilled in clever tactics, caused to be erected towering temples and gates with figures of the goddess of Luck in their niches, procured at the cost of a hundred *visās*<sup>193</sup> (of gold) the rare and wonderful trappings<sup>194</sup> of elephants, the king of Pāndya, rich in mettled horses, elephants and jewels and gems, supplied here hundreds and thousands of apparel (?), pearls, gems and jewels, subdued (some people)

14 And in the thirteenth year, on the Kumārī hill<sup>195</sup> in the well-founded realm of victory,<sup>196</sup> were excavated<sup>197</sup> the *jivadehaśrayikas*<sup>198</sup> by His Graceful Majesty Khāravela, devoted to the worship of those who depended on royal patronage,<sup>199</sup> those who had fulfilled their (religious) vows,<sup>200</sup> (and) those sought shelter during the rains<sup>201</sup> for use as comfortable resting places<sup>202</sup> by the Ārhatta (recluses), the cause of whose future gliding in the course of transmigration had

193 The *visā* is a measure, of which two varieties, viz Katakī and Bālīsorec, are prevalent in Orissa up till now

194 The word *nāvata* or *navata* means trappings of elephants. Jayaswal reads *nivāsa* and equates it with *nirvāsa*, which, as he points out, is used in the *Sukraniti* in the sense of an enclosure for entrapping elephants. The correctness of this interpretation depends upon his reading of the next word as *parisara*, which is evidently *paribarati*, a verb having also *haya*, *bathi* and *ratana-mānika* for its objects

195 Modern, Udayagiri, the Khandagiri hill being referred to in the inscription of Udyotakeśari as *Kumāra-parvata*

196 *supavata-vijaya-cakre* = *supravartta-vijaya-cakre*

197 I assume the word to be *panikhātā*

198 *śe*, the caves serving as shelters for living selvcs

199 *rājabbritūni* = *rāja-bhritūnām*

200 *cina-vatani* = Pāli *cinnavatānam*, Jayaswal interprets it in the sense of 'China clothes' (*Cina-vastra*), which is far from correct

201 *vasāsītāni* = *varsāsītānām*

202 *kayya* = *kāya* or *kalya*, Pāli *kalla* = *tuttha kayyanisidi*—seems to be just another word for Aśoka's *tutthāyatanāni*

been greatly extenuated<sup>201</sup> (and) who were (there) for fulfilling the yāpa (Rainy season vow)<sup>201</sup>

15 For the honoured recluses of well-established reputation<sup>20</sup>, and the Jñātrkas (?)<sup>206</sup> viewing all things alike (and) the monks (?) belonging to (different) orders (and) coming from a hundred directions, with hundreds and thousands of stones quarried out of excellent quarries (and) collected from (an area extending over) many *yojanas* by expert heads,<sup>207</sup> (His Majesty caused) indeed (to be made) sleeping-and-sitting-accomodations<sup>208</sup> fitted with artistic pillars (?) on a slope near the Ārhatta resting place,<sup>209</sup> and caused the columns to be set up in a beryl-set hall with an ornamental courtyard<sup>210</sup> at the cost of seventy-five hunderd thousand (pieces of the standard coin), and in sixty-four panels,<sup>211</sup> intersected with sculptures,<sup>212</sup> caused to be produced (the scenes of) peaceful music<sup>211</sup>

• 203 *pakhinasamsitehi* = *prakṣina-samsrtaih* 204 *yāpujavakehi* = *yāpa-udyāpakaib*  
Jina Vyajñi Suri inclines to think that the Jaina recluses referred to in the inscription belonged, in all likelihood, to the Yāpana-saṃghī

205 Reading the word as *sukata-samana-suvibhānam*, Jayaswal translates it 'The monks of good deeds and who have fully followed (the injunctions)'. According to my reading, *sakata* = Pāli *sakkata*. For *suvibhānam* cf. Aśoka's RE VII *yesam vā pi samvibhānam*

206 The reading is either *nātānam* or *nānūnam*. Accordingly the rendering must be either the *jñātrkas* or the wise

207 Oī, men with bent heads, (*panata-sisehi*) Jayaswal reads *tāpasa-issam samghayanam* and translates it 'a Council of the wise ascetics and sages' etc. I think the statement is not intended to say that Khāravela brought together the *śramanas* and wise ascetics in a Council convened for the purpose

208 Pāli *senāsānāni*. See *Pāli-English Dict.*, for the technical meaning of the word. Jayaswal reads *nisayāni* ('shelters')

209 According to Jayaswal, "near the Relic Depository of the Arhat". I do not think the reference is to the Rāni Nūr on the Udayagiri hill but to some other edifice not far from it

210 Jayaswal reads *patalako caturo* ("four columns"), in which case the reading would have been *patalakā caturo*

211 According to Jayaswal, "of sixty-four (letters)"

212 The word *makhīya* is to be derived from *makha* or *mankha* which signifies, according to the Jaina *Bhagavati sūtra*, a picture in a frame

213 *turya* = Skt *tūrya*

16 The king of security<sup>214</sup> was he, the king of prosperity,<sup>215</sup> the king of renunciation,<sup>216</sup> the righteous king,<sup>217</sup> (capable of) perceiving, hearing and experiencing things that are conducive to welfare<sup>218</sup> was His Graceful Majesty<sup>219</sup> Khāravēla, the mighty conqueror, the upholder of the realm of royal command, the protector of the realm of royal command, the repairer of all abodes of the gods,<sup>220</sup> the worshipper of all sects,<sup>221</sup> accomplished by virtue of the possession of certain special qualities<sup>222</sup>

### 3 OLD ORIYĀ MANUSCRIPT

The *ślokas* cited from an Oriyā Manuscript by Jayaswal in *JBORS*, 1917, p 482, and reproduced by Dr Sten Konow in *Acta Orientalia*, vol I, and also by me in my *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p 183, have misled the world of scholars. No credence is to be placed on it on the authority of Jayaswal's statement that the MS is lying unedited in the archives of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The MS is no other than that of the *Brahmānda-purāna*. It was the property of Pandit Chintamani Misra of Bhubaneswar who was both a Sanskrit composer and an expert calligraphist. The relevant

214 According to Jayaswal, "the king of peace"

215 *Vadbarāja* or *vadharāja* may also be rendered "the king of experience"

216 Literally, "the king of the bhiksus"

217 See the *Rājavagga*, *Anguttara nikāya*, for the description of duties of a righteous king

218 The five *mahākalyānas*, according to the Jainas, consist of the Descent, Birth, Initiation, Attainment and Final Deliverance in the life-history of a Jina. But the *kalyānas* in this inscription may be taken to represent such good principles of human action as those mentioned by Aśoka in his Pillar edicts

219 Jayaswal translates simply by "the prosperous"

220 The epithet *sava-devāyatana-samkāra-kāraka* is important as indicating that various temples of popular Hindu deities had then existed in Kalinga. As a Jaina king, Khāravēla had not taken the initiative in erecting but helped others only in repairing them

221 Here he followed in the footsteps of Aśoka. See Rock Edict XI

222 Jayaswal appropriately renders it "accomplished in extraordinary virtues"

portions of the MS were kindly read out to me by his son, the present owner of it. In it, Khāravēla figures as the national hero of Kalinga. He is credited with the erection of the Bhubanewar temple, the excavation of Bindu Sarovar, and the conquest of Nepāl and many other places in India, northern and southern, eastern and western. All that I can or should say at present regarding this MS is that before it is subjected to a careful scrutiny and passed by a body of experts as ancient and authentic, its evidence must not be brought in to bear upon the historical interpretation of the Hāthigumphā inscription or any part thereof.

#### 4 RESULTS

The nett results of this revised reading and interpretation of the Hāthigumphā inscription are substantially the same as those obtained before. The changes in reading in several instances are not such as to yield or suggest a different sense. Khāravēla's personal history, too, remains much the same as outlined in my *Old Brāhmi Inscriptions*. Among the new points to be noted in this edition, the first is the name of the capital of Kalinga. The inscription may be taken to mention Khibira as the name of the capital, or more accurately, that of the city of Kalinga. Unfortunately, this name is not met with either in literature or in any of the inscriptions. The location of the capital will remain a matter of dispute up till the discovery of a definite evidence setting the question at rest. But one will look in vain for the site of the capital of Khāravēla's kingdom in the south, whether in Kalingapatam or near Chicacole. The inscription itself furnishes us with two data, only one of which is definite, while the other is tentative. It records the extension of the canal opened out by king Nanda into the city of Kalinga from the Tanasuliya Road. Here, too, our difficulty is that we do not know the specification of the road in question. Apparently *Tanasuli* is the same name as *Tosali*, though

both in the earlier inscriptions of Aśoka and in the later inscriptions of the Ikkhākus at Nāgāijuni-konda the spelling of the name is Tosali. Khāravēla had built a new royal palace on both the banks of the river Prācī, the nearest distance of which from Bhubaneswar is 10 to 12 miles. But there is nothing to show definitely that the palace was built in the city of Kalinga itself. The statement can at the most support a presumption in favour of the location of the capital of Kalinga in Khāravēla's time somewhere on the banks of the Prācī, and not far from Bhubaneswar and the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves.

Brhaspatimitra was certainly the contemporary king of Magadha, presumably also of Anga. A Yavana king was powerful in the region of Mathurā, whose name was doubtfully suggested by Dr. Sten Konow to be Dīmīta and definitely read by Jayaswal as Dīmīta and equated with Demetrius. The name of the Greek king is still to be ascertained. It does not seem to be any of the earlier Greek kings of Mathurā.

The reading Mutiya-kāla must be ruled out of order, as the letters clearly yield the reading *makhīya-kāla* instead. It is only by a confusion between the Pāli *Sangāyana* and the inscriptional word *Sanghīyana* or *Sanghayana* that Jayaswal was led to believe that Khāravēla convened a council of the Jains. It is also by a misinterpretation of the meaning of the statement *coyatha-amge satīkam turīyam upādayati* that he came to suggest that Khāravēla "compiled expeditiously the text of the sevenfold Angas of the sixty-four (letters)." The statement intends mentioning certain scenes of music produced among the decorative sculptures in an edifice which was erected at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousand coins.

The record of the twelfth year has been misread by Jayaswal so as to show that it actually mentions the name of the Maurya Palace which is described in the *Mudrārāksasa* by the name of

Sugānga. Similarly, the misreading of *Kalingajana-samnivesa* for *Kalinga-jina-samnivesa* led Jayaswal to think that king Nanda took away "the image of the Jina of Kalinga" which is far from the historical truth

In l 16 (may be, in the record of the 14th regnal year), Khāavela speaks of a certain edifice which he had built on a slope in the neighbourhood of the resting place of the Ārhatas with hundreds and thousands of stones collected from the best of quarries from an area extending over many *yojanas*. Jayaswal has taken it to be a reference to the Rāni Nūr excavated on a slope of the Udayagiri hill. But this would seem rather wide of the mark, inasmuch as the Rāni Nūr is just a highly ornamented cave excavated in a single piece of rock or boulder, and not an edifice with hundreds and thousands of separate pieces of stone. The reference must, therefore, have been to some other edifice in the vicinity of the Udayagiri hill. It is not unlikely that some such edifice was built by him at Bhubaneswar. It may even some day be proclaimed that Khāavela was the builder of the first great temple at Bhubaneswar. Anyhow, his statement concerning the edifice on a slope near the Udayagiri hill awaits a careful elucidation.

B M BARUA

## Chinese-Indian Contacts

[PRIOR TO THE LATTER HALF OF THE FIRST CENTURY]

To the present time, so far as the writer is aware, the subject whose title appears above has not been dealt with, for its own sake alone. Most of the general works on Chinese and Indian history have been satisfied to refer to such a work as the *Milindapañha*, or to the *Memors of Chang Ch'ien* and thereby leave the impression that there was a considerable amount of intercourse between the two countries too detailed to be further outlined. A few of these works have resorted to linguistics to further illustrate their point. In addition to such general works, there have been numerous studies conducted on the relations of China with Rome on the one hand, and the relations of India with Greece and Rome on the other. Such studies make greater use of the Indian-Chinese implications than the general histories, yet one cannot but feel that such references are wholly secondary to the point involved in these works and so, in many cases are rather carelessly investigated. Only one important contribution of a comprehensive nature has been made to this subject to date, namely Konow's introduction to his volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* <sup>1</sup>

Roughly speaking, the first hand sources at our disposal can be divided into three chief groups, namely, Indian, Classical (Greek and Roman), and Chinese. Of these, the Indian sources possess little practical value because of the chronological uncertainty involved

<sup>1</sup> The present writer does not propose to bring forward new material of recent discovery in this short paper, but to correlate the widely scattered material which has previously been brought to light, chiefly through purely linguistic research. There will, therefore be no attempt to do more than compare linguistic evidence where conclusions have been disputed.

in all of them <sup>2</sup> The Classical evidence,<sup>1</sup> may be divided into two categories as follows (1) Accounts of historians, geographers, and traders, (2) Literary allusions. As is the case with the Indian sources, the entire value of these Classical texts hangs upon the correct interpretation of certain words Chief among these are the words *Seres* and *Serica*, *This*, *Thinae* *Tzimitza*, and *Sinae* are others occurring less frequently

The words *Seres* and *Serica* are used most often and, more important, they are used by sources dating earlier than the Christian era The word *Serica* is commonly accepted as the Greek and Latin equivalent for China, while *Seres* refers to the inhabitants of *Serica*, or the Chinese Therefore *Serica*, derived from *Ser* (silk), would mean originally silk-cloth country No one has seriously attacked this etymology and it has been repeated in substantially the same formula as now quoted from Coedès <sup>1</sup>

“Le Chinois *See*, le Coréen *Sir* le Mongol *Sirkek*, et le Mandchou *Sirghè* ont les noms de la soie”<sup>2</sup>

But on the other hand, while the above etymology has not been attacked, there have been strong exceptions taken to certain specific passages in which the word *Seres* is employed,<sup>3</sup> questioning, for instance, the usage of *Seres* when applied by Pliny to “some *Seres* of unusual height, who had red hair, blue eyes, and harsh voices,” and who lived, “beyond the Emodi mountains”

<sup>2</sup> I am speaking of those sources which carry the words *cina cinapatta* *kaśīya* and its Pāli equivalent *kosseyam* etc The chief literary works in question are the *Mahābhārata*, Kautilya's *Ārthasāstra*, the *Mūlndapañha*, and the *Dīgha Nikāya* Other works in which *cina* etc appear are unquestionably of later date than the 1st century AD

<sup>3</sup> Classical sources are chiefly contained in George Coedès, *Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Latins relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1910

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, Introduction, x, n 1

<sup>5</sup> See also J G Frazer, *Pausanias Description of Greece* IV, 110

<sup>6</sup> J Kennedy, *Seres or Cheras* (*JRAS*, Apr 1904), 359-362

Further illustration of the unsatisfactory character of the implications of the Classical references which depends solely upon the words *Seres* and *Serica* may be illustrated from the following statement of Alfred Herrmann<sup>7</sup>

"Folgende Autoren identifizierten *Serica* vorwiegend mit dem *Tarimbecken* (Chines Tartarei, Ost Turkestan) J Hager, *Numismatique chinoise*, 137, Sylvain de Sacy, *Magasin encyclopédique*, III, Juin 1805, C Ritter, *Erdkunde* VII, 559, A Cunningham, *JASB*, XVI, 1847, 989, Ch Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*, 2 1847, 540, F V Richtofen, *China* I, 479, VhGesE, 1877, 118, J L Dutreuil de Rhins et F Grenard, a 1 O II, 1898, 27ff

Für Nordchina, erklären sich ausser L J DeGuignes ( s S 20, Anm, 3), J T Reinaud, 'Relations politique et commerciales de l'empire Romain avec l'Asie Orientale', *JA*, VI, serie I 186, 335 H Kiepert, *Atlas Antiquus*, Tab, II (Maiss-tab 1 40 Mill), 1894

Mehr an Westchina denkt, P Vidal de la Blache, *Les voies de commerce dans la géographie de Ptolémée* MemAcInsci 1896, 480

Andere Bearbeiter rechnen zu *Serica* nicht allein China, sondern auch grosse Teile der Mongolei bis nach Sibirien K Mannert, *Geogr der Griechen und Römer*, IV, 500, Th W Kingsmill, 'The *Serica* of Ptolemy and its ancient Inhabitants', N China Branch *RAS* XIX, 2 44-60, ders *Ancient Tibet and its Frontages* (bdt XXXVIII, 1906, 21-54 E Gréni, 'Early Geography of Indo-China,' *JRAS* 1897, 557 ff, E F Berlioux, 'Les premiers voyages des Européens dans l'Asie Centrale et au pays des Scres,' *Bull de la Société de géographie de Lyon*, XV, 1898, 5-80"

This disagreement among nineteenth century scholars has in no wise been narrowed down in the twentieth Herrmann himself, writing in 1910, refused to commit himself beyond saying that western knowledge of the East prior to Ptolemy was so imperfect as to make impossible any geographical location of *Serica* Perhaps the only safe conclusion that one can make on this subject is that since the Græco-Roman world got foreign silk from the East and named the Eastern people from this commodity, the people they called *Seres* were either all or one of the people who used such a name (i e Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Koreans) for silk The only exception taken to this view, if one omits Kennedy's *Cheras*, is that the

7 Herrmann, *Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien*, 20, n 4,

country of Kāśmīr is meant, as was held by Gosslin in 1813 and by Vivien de St Martin in 1860.<sup>8</sup>

The second group of Greek words, *This*, *Thinae*,<sup>9</sup> *Tzimitza*,<sup>10</sup> and *Sinae*,<sup>11</sup> have not led to as many differences of opinion as *Seres* and *Serica*, though even here there is some dispute. *Tzimitza* and *Sinae* are used by writers too late to have a bearing on our period and besides have been identified variously as Burma, North China, and Yunnan.<sup>12</sup>

The *Periplus Erythraei Maris*, in which the words *This* and *Thinae* occur, is usually dated in the last quarter of the first century A D and so may be regarded as a primary source relating directly to our period. Schoff identifies *This* with the north-west Chinese state of Ch'in, and *Thinae* with its capital Hsien-yang, later Ch'ang-an and Si-ngan-fu. This identification has not been seriously challenged and the contents of the original text bear it out.

The various authors and works mentioning the *Seres* and *Serica* have already been enumerated by Coedès.

The third division, the Chinese source material, again hinges upon linguistic interpretation of certain words and names. These names are *Chi-pin* (Kī-pin), T'ien-chu, and Shên-tu.<sup>13</sup> *Chi-pin*, which name occurs most frequently has been variously identified with Kāśmīr,<sup>14</sup> Kābulistan,<sup>15</sup> and with a less defined region somewhere north-west of India.<sup>16</sup> Internal evidence of the Ch'ien Han

8 Herimann, *Die alten Seidenstrassen Zwischen China und Syrien*, 20-21

9 Found only in the *Periplus Erythraei Maris*

10 Ptolemy's *Geography* 11 *Cosmas Indikopleustes*

12 Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 273 ff

13 I am indebted for my Romanizations of Chinese characters to the aid of my friend and colleague Dr Knight Biggerstaff

14 Edouard Chavannes, *Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Heou Han Chou*, (*T'oung Pao*, Série II, viii, 1907, 175)

15 A Wylie *Notes of the Western Regions*, trans from the *Tseen Han Shoo*, Book 96, pt 1, (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, x, 1881, 33-35)

16 Sten Konow *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, II, pt 1, xxiii-xxiv

Shü, which contains the earliest mention of Chi-pin, suggests the third region as the safest identification, because the Chinese of this period hardly seem to have been sufficiently intimate in their knowledge of trans-Pamir countries to have used a term like Chi-pin for any region of well marked political boundaries, particularly of such contracted boundaries as either Kāśmīr or Kābulistan

The names *T'ien-chu* and *Shên-tu* are by common consent identified with each other and both with India. No further proof of this assertion need be sought than an examination of the annals themselves which say,

“Le royaume de T'ien-tchou (Inde) s'appelle aussi Chen-tou (Shên-tu), il est à plusieurs milliers de li au Sud-Est des Hiong-nu”

The identification with India has been attested by Chavannes,<sup>17</sup> Burgess, etc. The most recent equivalent given is the Sanskrit *sindhu* which, as may be seen, is almost perfectly duplicated by the Chinese word *Shên-tu*, ordinarily pronounced *Shên-du*, could scarcely be more accurately borrowed by Chinese, who, it would seem, only learnt of the word by hearsay.

The Chinese works in which this name appears in reference to our period are the *Ch'ien Han Shu*, covering the period from 206 B.C. to 25 A.D., the *Hou Han Shu* from 25-220 A.D., the *Shih Chi* of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, and the great history of Ma Tuan-lin which was not written till after the first millenium A.D. Of these the most important for the present investigation is the *Shih Chi*, containing the first account of the *Memours of Chang Ch'ien*, who, perhaps, was the first Chinese, at least the first historical Chinese to hear the name India. Other Chinese works of less repute have been cited by a number of Western scholars, who have attempted to build upon the exaggeration, found therein a framework of fact with which,

<sup>17</sup> Chavannes, *op cit.*, 192-3

in some cases, there is an attempt to prove a number of rather fantastic sequences<sup>18</sup>

Books 61, the *Memoirs of Chang Ch'ien*, and 96, *Notes of Western Regions*, are the only sections of importance to this subject in the *Ch'ien Han Shu*. The former duplicates Ssu-ma Ch'ien's account of what seems clearly to have been the first historical journey of a Chinese to the region of the Pamirs. The original Memoir is found in the last chapters of the *Shih Chi*. The above are the sources at our disposal in entering into a discussion of the actual knowledge possessed by India and China of one another prior to a date approximating 65 A D. The Chinese historical tradition seems too firmly rooted to make their annals subject to much scepticism in essentials, though in some particulars they have been subjected to the usual historical criticism. The section on *Chang Ch'ien*, for instance, which enumerates an almost impossible number of plants, animals, and other commodities brought back by him from the West, seems to smack of the eponymous culture hero rather than of actual fact. These passages, like the Psalms of David, and compass of Huang Ti must be taken as later accretions by which the first man who went to the West must be given credit for all things Western regardless of when they were actually introduced.

By way of introduction to the first century B C., brief reference ought to be made to the works of numerous scholars who have asserted that contact existed between China and India prior to the first century B C. Detailed criticism of these assertions, however, seems out of place in the present discussion since it would really amount to little more than a rehearsing of outworn arguments dealing with points of very doubtful authenticity<sup>19</sup>.

18 Of the works so affected, that of Terrien de LaCouperie, entitled, *The Western Origin of Chinese Civilization from 2,300 B C to 200 A D* is perhaps the most fantastic.

19 A summary list here will indicate the titles of some of the works in which such references are to be found. Suffice it to say that the writer has satisfied himself

The actual beginning of a widening of the Chinese geographical horizon took place, it would seem, from the commencement of the reign of Wu Ti (140-87 B C) of the former Han dynasty. At the beginning of his reign this energetic monarch busied himself with the affairs of the Hsiung-nu, who, like others of their stock in later days, were constantly making raids on China's western frontier.

"At that time (140-134 B C) the Son of Heaven made inquiries among those Hsiung-nu who had surrendered (as prisoners) and they all reported that the Hsiung-nu had overcome the king of the Yue-chi and made a drinking vessel out of his skull. The Yue-chi had decamped and were hiding somewhere, all the time scheming how to take revenge on the Hsiung-nu, but had no ally to join them in striking a blow. The Chinese wishing to declare war on and wipe out the Tartars, upon hearing this report, desired to communicate with the Yue-chi, but, the road having to pass through the territory of the Hsiung-nu, the emperor sought out men whom he could send.<sup>20</sup>

That the above is a story told by actual Hsiung-nu prisoners seems difficult to doubt in view of the fact that they might naturally expect a tribe whose chief had been so badly treated to seek revenge. That such a consideration was far from Yueh-chih intentions is seen from the story told by them at a later date to the envoy selected by Wu Ti.

Chang Ch'ien, the envoy, began his journey in 138 B C, accompanied by a small detachment of troops. Almost immediately

that none of the assertions alluded to below present sufficient evidence to prove connection between the two countries prior to the first century A D.

a Terrien de LaCouperie *The Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization*, *passim*

b Rawlinson *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, pp. 9, 43

c T. W. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhist India*, 90

d *The Cambridge History of India*, I, 213

e George Rawlinson *Bactria, a Forgotten Empire*, 74, 77, 125

f Rüdihakumud Mookerji *Indian Shipping*, 53-4, 163, 114

g J. Kennedy *The Early Commerce of Babylon with India, 700-300 B C* (*JRAS*, 1898, 241-288)

h Srinivasa Iyengar *Trade of India*, (*IHQ* I, II, 1925-26, II, 43-44, 291)

<sup>20</sup> Hirth, Friedrich *The Story of Chang Ch'ien*, (*JAOS*, XXXVII, pt. 2, 93). I have preserved the spellings and identifications of the authors quoted.

he suffered the misfortune of falling into the hands of the very Hsiung-nu against whom he was commissioned to find an ally. His almost marvellous steadfastness in duty over a period of ten years' detention among the Hsiung-nu, during which time he married a wife and reared a family, almost borders on the miraculous, but it is hard to doubt the historicity of his tale, appearing as it does among documents of the greatest reliability. At the end of the ten years Chang Ch'ien escaped to the Yueh-chih, who were then living west of the Pamirs and north of the Syr Darya (Jaxartes river).

No success obtained in the attempt to persuade the Yueh-chih to return, but Chang Ch'ien gained a geographical knowledge of considerable proportions which he communicated to Wu Ti after his return, which took place in a year's time, after a second captivity. Chang Ch'ien must have returned, therefore, about the year 126 B C to give his official report.

"The following countries were visited by Chang Kien in person: Ta-yuan (Fghanistan), Ta-yue-chi (Indoscythia<sup>21</sup>), Ta-hia (Bactria), and K'ang-ku (Soghdiana), there were besides, five or six other large adjacent countries concerning which he gained information and on which he reported in the following terms<sup>22</sup>:

To the southwest of it (Bactria) is a country called *Shon-tu* (India). Chang Chien says (in his report to the Emperor): "When I was in Ta-hia I saw there a stick of bamboo of Kiung (Kiung-chou in Ssi-ch'uan) and some cloth of Shu (Ssi-ch'uan). When I asked the inhabitants of Ta-hia how they had obtained possession of these, they replied: 'The inhabitants of our country buy them in Shon-tu (India)'. Shon-tu may be several thousand *li* to the south-east of Ta-hia. The people there have fixed abodes, and their customs are very much like those of Ta-hia, but the country is low, damp, and hot. The people ride on elephants to fight in battle. The country is close to a great river. According to my calculations, Ta-hia (Bactria) must be 12,000 *li* distant from China and to the southwest of the latter. Now the country of Shon-tu being several thousand *li* to the south-east of Ta-hia, and the produce of Shu (Ssi-ch'uan) being found there, that country cannot be far from Shu. Suppose we send ambassadors to Ta-hia through the country of the K'iang (Tangutans), there is the danger that the K'iang will object, if we send

21 The term Indoscythia, as well as other identifications, are Hirth's. It probably refers to the Kusānas, one of the five tribes of the Great Yueh-chih.

22 Hirth, *op cit.*, 95. No clearer statement of Chinese ignorance of these countries prior to Chang Ch'ien could possibly be given.

them but slightly farther north, they will be captured by the Hsiung-nu, but by going by way of Shu (Ssi-ch'uan) they may proceed direct and will be unmolested by robbers"<sup>23</sup>

This account, the first in Chinese annals, evidently refers to the India of the Panjab and possibly Sind. Some have taken it as the Ganges country, though it would seem to be a less certain identification. It is clear that Chang Ch'ien got his information of India wholly by hearsay and his conjectures show him, at least, to have been entirely ignorant of India prior to his arrival in Bactria in 128 B. C. Chinese annals<sup>24</sup> do not support any hypothesis for earlier knowledge of the West and particularly of India.

A number of hypotheses have been made about the *Sze-ch'uanese* goods which came through India, and from the description of the bamboo, experts have identified the sample found by Chang Ch'ien with the *Sze-ch'uanese* species<sup>25</sup>. This fact has been taken as proof of the trade route referred to throughout La Couperie's work, which ran through *Sze-ch'uan*, Yunnan, Upper Burma, Assam, and on to India. While such a route may well have existed by which a few Chinese goods were sent to India and even beyond into Bactria, the geography and population of the country, which not only turned back several expeditions of the Emperor Wu Ti, but also certain fully equipped British expeditions of more recent date, forbids any assumption of a 'through route' hypothesis.

Beyond the mere mention of the name India (Shên-tu) it may be assumed that Chinese were still unacquainted with India even after Chang Ch'ien reported in the year 126 B. C. It is also of interest that the above quotation is apparently the sole authority for all

23 Hirth, *op cit.*, 98

24 At least according to present translations

25 I have been unable to find documentary evidence of this statement but have it on the oral testimony of the late Berthold Laufer as quoted by Dr. Walter E. Clark

later Chinese descriptions of India till the time of the Later Hân Annals. The Ch'ien Han Shu (206 B C — 25 A D) repeats the above information with very slight modification.

That the India discovery (i.e. the hearsay of India) loomed important in Chinese official eyes may be seen in the sequel to Chang Ch'ien's report, but one will likewise observe that India becomes important wholly as a possible highway to Bactria and in no sense because it was itself known to be a region rich in all sorts of valuable produce. This makes even more evident the obvious conclusion that India and Indian goods alike were unknown to China prior to the first century B C.

"The Son of heaven on hearing all this, reasoned thus: Ta-hia and the possessions of Ta-hia and An-si are large countries full of rare things, with a population living in fixed abodes and given to occupations somewhat identical with those of the Chinese people, but with weak armies, and placing great value on the rich produce of China, in the north the possessions of the Ta Yue chi and Kang-ku, being of military strength might be made subservient to the interests of the Court by bribes and thus gained over by mere force of persuasion. In this way a territory of 10,000 *li* in extent would be available for the spread among the four seas of Chinese superior civilization by communicating through many interpreters with the nations holding widely different customs. As a result the Son of Heaven was pleased to approve Chang Kien's proposal. He thereupon gave orders that, in accordance with Chang Kien's suggestions, exploring expeditions be sent out from Kien wei of the Shu kingdom (the present Su-chou fu on the Upper Yang tse) by four different routes at the same time: one to start by way of Ming, one by way of Jan (both names referring to barbarous hill tribes on the southwestern frontiers (cf. *Shi-ki*, chap. 116 p. 2), one by way of Ssi (or Si) and one by way of Kuang (Kuang ch'ou) in Ssi-chuan and Po (the present Ya-ch'ou). These several missions had each travelled but one or two thousand *li* when those in the north were prevented from proceeding farther by the Ti and Tso tribes, and those in the south by the Sui and K'un-ming tribes (placed by the commentators in the southwest of Su-ch'ou fu) who had no chiefs and, being given to robbery, would have killed or captured the Chinese envoys. The result was that the expedition could not proceed further. They heard, however, that about a thousand *li* or more to the west there was the "elephant riding country" called Tién-Yue (possibly meaning the Tién, of Yunnan, part of Yué or South China), whither the traders of Shu (Ssi-ch'uan) were wont to proceed, exporting produce surreptitiously. Thus it was that by trying to find the road to Ta-hia (Bactria) the Chinese obtained their first knowledge of the Tién country (Yunnan)." <sup>26</sup>

Clearly this passage indicates, not only Chinese ignorance of India to the south-west, but also of Yunnan itself. That Chinese produce in great quantity could have passed through the maze of jungled mountains separating Sze-ch'uan and India seems incredible. The four expeditions were completely stopped in both the northern and southern sectors. This illustrates likewise the futility of trying to prove a Tibetan route as early as the time of Chang Ch'ien as indicated vaguely in certain of the secondary works listed above.<sup>27</sup> Had such a route been known, it is hardly possible that it would not have been resorted to by the northern expeditions.

But Chang Ch'ien's interest in this project was not dampened by these failures. After a temporary degradation in office due to an error in the field of battle against the Hsiung-nu, he was again commanded to lead an expedition to the West, this time to persuade the Wu-sun to return to a region nearer China so that the combined peoples might offer a better resistance to the Hsiung-nu assaults. Being unable to persuade the Wu-sun, any more than he had previously persuaded the Yueh-chih, Chang Ch'ien prepared to return again to China. Before undertaking this journey he sent ambassadors out to all known regions as indicated in the following excerpt:

"The population of Wu-sun was thus divided into three parts, and notwithstanding that the majority were under his (the old ruler's) authority, the K'un-mo (King of Wu-sun) did not dare take it upon himself to conclude that treaty with Chang K'ien. Chang K'ien therefore sent ambassadors in several directions to the countries of Ta-Yuan (Ferghana), Kang-ku (Soghdiana), Ta-Yue-chi, Ta-hua (Bactria), An-si (Parthia), *Shon-tu* (India), Yu-tién (Khotan), Ham-mi and the adjacent countries. Wu-sun furnished guides and interpreters to accompany Chang K'ien on his return, and the latter, travelling with several dozen natives and as many horses sent by the people of Wu-sun in acknowledgement (of the Emperor's gifts), and thereby afforded them the opportunity to see China with their own eyes and thus to realize the extent of her greatness."<sup>28</sup>

Did the ambassadors reach India (*Shên-tu*) and if so, which part? These questions prevent any positive conclusions on the score of the

26 Hirth, *op cit*, 99-10027 *Supra*, 6, note28 Hirth, *op cit*, 102

testimony just quoted India provides no answer, and Chang Ch'ien makes no further remark about this particular ambassador's return to China. The Ta-hia (Bactrian) ambassadors returned after a year, accompanied by a native of the region, but nothing beyond the sending is recorded of the ambassador to India. The difficulties of the journey may have overcome any ambassador despatched to so distant a region, or perhaps, having arrived in some one of the small kingdoms south of Bactria, the envoy may have concluded that this was a sufficient representation of India. It is possible that Chi-pin<sup>29</sup> was reached, because in subsequent notices from the Ch'ien Han Shu, that region receives sufficient notice to be reckoned as more important than India itself, if one can judge by the space devoted to each. Of course it is possible that the Shên-tu envoy actually did penetrate into India, but such a thesis cannot be proved.

This expedition was Chang Ch'ien's last. He died soon after in the year 115 B. C. His importance as one of the world's earliest explorers can hardly be overestimated as it created the Chinese knowledge of the West, which, in turn, led to the acquisition of Chinese Turkestan in the Han regime and even of Bactria and Soghdiana in T'ang days.<sup>30</sup> The reduction of these regions to stable and peaceful conditions were primary factors in the great cultural and commercial intercourse which subsequently took place between India, Persia, and the Roman Empire on the one hand and China on the other.

Without dwelling on the phases of this Central Asian conquest with which both the *Ch'ien Han Shu* and *Hou Han Shu* are concerned in certain chapters, an examination may be made of both of these works and the epilogue of Chang Ch'ien's *Memoirs* for notices of India.

Shortly after Chang Ch'ien's death, a further group of ambassadors (ca. 112-106 B. C.) were sent to all Western countries including

<sup>29</sup> *Supra*, 4

<sup>30</sup> Edouard Chavannes *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, 276 ff

S'hiên-tu, but again no report of the journey or experiences of those despatched to India is forthcoming<sup>11</sup> The fact that no further 'description of India, as if given by an eyewitness exists in any subsequent account in the *Ch'ien Han Shu* convinces one that none of the Chinese sent abroad reached India proper, but the careful geographical data provided in the *Ch'ien Han Shu* on *Chi-pin* may indicate that our 'Indian' embassies arrived in this extreme north-western portion Confirmation of this in India is not to be expected in view of the fact that even Alexander the Great was passed over in silence, but the detailed information given in the Chinese records on *Chi-pin* is practically conclusive evidence As the description of this country is too long to quote in full<sup>12</sup> the following digest will supply the chief essence of the information *Chi-pin* is described as being 12,000 *li* from Ch'ang-an, the Chinese capital It is reckoned as a first-rate kingdom of considerable extent and population and is not ruled by the Chinese 'Governor General' It joins the Ta -Yueh-chih on the north-east This indicates a southward movement of the Yueh-chih into Bactria, which, if *Chi-pin* is Kābul and its environs, would fit fairly accurately "The country of *Chi-pin* is flat, and the climate is mild and agreeable' Perhaps Chavannes' location of *Chi-pin* in Kāsmir is better fitted to this description than Kābul *Chi-pin* produces sandal-wood (known only along the Malabar coast in India), bamboo, the varnish tree, the five grains, grapes, and other fruits On the low ground rice is cultivated and raw vegetables are eaten in the winter

Of primary importance is the notice taken of the skill in "ornamenting, engraving, and inlaying building palaces and mansions, net weaving, ornamental perforation, and embroidery" These references suggest either the continued existence of Greeks in the region of *Chi-pin* or else the Greek art and coinage which were

31 Hirth, *op cit.*, 104

32 Wyhe, *op cit.*, 33-38.

taken over by Śakas and Parthians after Greek rule had disappeared. The fact that Gandhāra sculpture, so far unearthed, does not antedate the Kusānas is no proof that such art did not exist earlier. As a matter of fact the general opinion is that it was begun by the Bactrian-Greeks themselves. The above chance excerpt, dated certainly prior to 25 A D. and probably several years earlier than the Christian era, can safely be interpreted as proof of pre-Kusāna art in *Chi-pin*, whether that place is Kāśmīr, Kapiśa, or Kābul.

That the first information of *Chi-pin* came not long after Chang Ch'ien's death in 115 B C. is seen in the following short passage: "From the time that Wu Ti opened up communications with *Chi-pin*, the rulers of that kingdom, in view of the extreme distance, had considered themselves safe from the intrusion of a Chinese army." This certainly cannot have been later than 87 B C., the date of Wu Ti's death. No further description of *Chi-pin* as a country is vouchsafed to us in the lengthy section devoted to its affairs, but a detailed discussion of the perfidy of its ruler, which extended to the execution of several Chinese ambassadors, reveals the fact that China far from being able to reach India proper was wholly unable to trust her emissaries to the wholly irresponsible *chi-pin*ese, and what was worse, no redress for such grievances was possible, even as late as the reign of Ching-te (32-7 B C.) who made a speech to the ambassadors from *Chi-pin* on the subject of why China must withdraw recognition of *Chi-pin* because of past outrages.

References to *Shên-tu* (India) are scattered throughout the 96th book of the *Ch'ien Han Shu* as geographical location notices only. As a typical example, the location of 'Pi-shan' may be cited: "The country joins *Shên-tu* on the south, and is distant from Koo-mik on north 1,450 *li*. The road to *Chi-pin* and *Wu-yih-shan-li* lies to the south-west."<sup>33</sup> Such notices are of little value except to show that India, though not yet reached by Chinese, had not been forgotten.

33 Wylie, *op. cit.*, 36-38

34 Wylie, *op. cit.*, 30-31

The above observations exhaust the reliable sources which relate to evidence of Chinese-Indian contacts in first century B.C. Of the spread of Buddhism we have as yet learned nothing, though de LaCouperie's works and others who follow him, contain sufficient material drawn from various spurious sources to maintain a theory of the introduction of Buddhism into China prior to the reign of Ch'ien Shih Huang-ti. Certain it is that Chang Ch'ien or the Chinese annalists had taken no notice of such a religion even in the West.

Turning to the beginning of the first century A.D. our sources are the *Hou Han Shu*, *Ma Tuan-lin*, and various references contained in post-Christian Classical sources. Ma Tuan-lin's work, being really only a condensed version of the contents of the earlier material, contains nothing new. The value of Pliny's contribution concerning "fair-haired, blue-eyed *Seres* north of the Emodi" has been commented upon above, but a further reference made by him to *Seric iron*<sup>35</sup> is of some interest.

"But of all the different kinds of iron, the palm of excellence is awarded to that which is made by the *Seres*, who send it to us with their tissues and skins, next to which, in quality, is the Parthian iron."

No other reference to Chinese iron is found anywhere in western sources, nor are the Chinese themselves in the habit of mentioning its supreme excellence. What Pliny refers to, therefore, is wholly a matter for conjecture.

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* provides the definite information that Chinese silk could be bought at the three ports of Barbaricum<sup>36</sup> near the mouth of the Indus, Barygaza (Broach) where "ancient drachmae are current," and Barkare which is within the Pāndya kingdom in southern India. Obviously the silk which arrived at the two west coast ports came through the Kābul valley or over one of the Pamir passes and then down the Indus, but the origin of the silk in Barkare is less certain. The text explains "Besides

35 Pliny, xxxiv, 41

36 Schoff, *op cit.*, 38 Periplus, 39

this there are exported great quantities of fine pearls, ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the plains in the interior etc." The common interpretation has been that silk arrived at Barkare from the Ganges region, having reached that port either by way of the same north-west passes or else by the Yunnan-Burmese route. The latter, as has been shown, was extremely precarious as a means of transporting a commodity to a steady market, the former is more plausible. The important question relative to these silk ports is the time of their establishment as such. Is it not possible, if China got Indian goods in *Chi-pin*, that Chinese goods might have been exchanged for them and thus have reached Indian ports even a century prior to the *Periplus*' certification of it? While this is possible it can only remain a conjecture till fresh evidence is forthcoming.

Most important in the *Periplus* for our purposes is the kingdom of *This*<sup>37</sup> (China?) described as the last known land

"After this region (the East coast of India to the Ganges delta) under the very north, the sea outside ending in a land called *This*, there is a very great inland city called *Thinae* (Chang-an), from which raw silk and silk yarn and silk cloth are brought on foot through *Bactria* to Barygaza, and are also exported to Damirica by way of the river Ganges. But the land of *This* is not easy of access, few men come from there, and seldom. The country lies under the Lesser Bear, and is said to border on the farthest parts of Pontus and the Caspian Sea, next to which lies Lake Maeotis, all of which empty into the ocean."

This passage clarifies the previous reference to silk from the Ganges and also makes it evident that the only recognized route of silk, even in the first century A D was that from Chang-an (if that is *Thinae*) westward through Chinese Turkestan and (for India) south through the passes of the north-west and down the Indus or Ganges to the various ports from which silk could be shipped to the Roman market. It is probable that much was also consumed by an Indian market, though no evidence for such a conclusion exists except in references to *Cina* etc. referred to above as being present

in sources of such doubtful date as the *Mahābhārata*, *Mulindapañha*, and the rest

This additional knowledge of China attained in the West by the end of the first century is sufficient to introduce the following passage from the *Hou Han Shu* which will serve both as an illustration of the tremendous advance in geographical knowledge gained by the Chinese during the first two hundred and twenty years of the Christian era and as a fitting termination of a paper rather barren in positive testimony

"Le royaume de T'ien-tchou (Inde) s'appelle aussi Chen-tou, il est à plusieurs milliers de li au Sud-Est des Hiong-nu. Ses mœurs sont semblables à celles des Hiong-nu,<sup>18</sup> mais le pays est bas, humide, et chaud. Ce royaume est sur les bords d'un grand fleuve. Ses habitants montent sur des éléphants pour combattre, ils sont plus faibles que les Yue-tche, ils pratiquent *le religion du Buddha*, aussi est devenu chez eux une habitude de ne pas tuer et de ne pas batailler.

Quand on part du royaume de Kao-fou (Kaboul) qui appartient aux Yue-tche et qu'on se dirige vers le Sud-Ouest on arrive à la mer occidentale, à l'Est, on parvient au royaume de P'an-k'i, tous ces pays sont partie de Chen-tou. Le Chen-tou a plusieurs centaines de villes autres (que la capitale), dans chaque ville on a mis un gouverneur, il a plusieurs dizaines de royaumes autres (que le royaume principal) dans chaque royaume il y a un roi. Quoiqu'on remarque dans chaque de ces royaumes quelques petites différences tous cependant se nomment le Chen-tou. A cette époque,<sup>19</sup> ils dépendaient tous des Yue-tche, les Yue-tche avaient tué le roi et avaient installé un chef pour gouverner cette population.

Ce pays produit des éléphants, des rhinocéros, de l'écaille de tortue, de l'or, de l'argent, du cuivre, du fer, du plomb, de l'étain. Du côté de l'Ouest, il est en communication avec le Ta Ts'in, aussi y trouve-t-on les objets précieux de Ta Ts'in. On y trouve aussi des toiles fines, des tapis de laine de bonne qualité, des parfums de toutes sortes, du sucre candi, du poivre, du gengembre, du sel noir."

ELMER H CUTTS

<sup>18</sup> This statement would hardly indicate more than hearsay knowledge of India even by 200 A.D., were it not qualified below.

<sup>19</sup> About 125 A.D. Chavannes, *op cit.*, note, 192.

## Glimpses into the Ancient History of Cochin

The history of the Perumpatappu Svarūpam,<sup>1</sup> the present royal family of Cochin, during the pre-Portuguese period is shrouded in darkness. On the basis of certain literary references, an attempt was made by the present writer to reconstruct the chronology of the Cochin kings for the period 1342-1500 A D.<sup>2</sup> Some information is available from literary sources regarding two of her sovereigns of the middle of the 14th century who were responsible for shifting the family headquarters from Mahodayapuram to Cochin, and this is the theme of the present paper.

The transfer of the traditional headquarters of the royal family is an event of great significance in the history of any royal family and it was particularly so in this tradition-ridden corner of India. This step certainly demands more than ordinary grit and calibre in the kings who effected it, and this event has been commemorated by the founding of an era,<sup>3</sup> called the Cochin Era.<sup>4</sup> It is only after this event that the *Perumpatappu Mūppil* has come to be called the King of Cochin.<sup>5</sup> The kings who made this transfer are held to be two Rāma Varmās, the Maharaja and the heir-apparent, who are

1 This is the traditional name by which the royal family of Cochin was known in ancient days, and this name persists even to-day in orthodox communications.

2 Vide the writer's paper on 'Some Glimpses of Cochin History', published in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, vol. V, pp. 142-151.

3 Vide the writer's paper on the 'Three Kerala Eras', published in the journal mentioned above, vol. I, no. 2.

4 Another name for this era is the *Puinvaippu* Era, and it is under this name that the era is mentioned in the Dutch treaty of 1663. This name is more popular and refers to another important effect of the great floods, namely the land accretion along the coast.

5 Some hold that this name was given by the Portuguese; this is wrong, for we find that the name is mentioned by Bālakavi of the latter half of the 15th century, almost fifty years before the advent of the Portuguese.

described in the following verse, occurring in the *Tenkalanāthodaya* of Nilakanṭha.<sup>6</sup>

मनुकुलमणिदीपौ तत्र पुर्यामभूतां महितगुणनिधानौ रामवर्माभिधानौ ।

प्रतिभटमदकुम्भिप्रौढसद्वारसिंहौ सलिलनिधिगभीरौ द्वौ महीपालशरीरौ ॥१॥

This citation shows that the Rāma Varmās possessed those virtues to a remarkable extent—an aspect that will be made clearer in the citations following. One interesting feature that may be noticed here is the fact that the Rāma Varmās are mentioned together, and it may be taken as indication that they were together responsible for the transfer of the capital.

Two Rāma Varmās again figure prominently in the Sanskrit *Kāvya*, called the *Śivavilāsa*,<sup>7</sup> written by one Dāmodara Cākya,<sup>8</sup> a protégé of king Kerala Varma of Kāyankulam. This chief had a daughter, named Unniyati, born of his wife Guptā,—born late in life as a result of praying to god Śiva enshrined in the family temple of Kandyūr. The girl was given an education worthy of her birth.<sup>9</sup>

6 Vide the paper mentioned in note 2 ante. The conclusions, set forth in that paper have been questioned by Mahākavi Ullur S P Iyer vide his Introduction to the edition of the *Bhāsānaisadhacampū*, vide also the *Bulletin of the Sri Rama Varma Research Institute* Trichur. These views are controverted in the paper 'The Date of Nilakantha's Chronology' contributed by the writer to the *Quarterly Journal of the Keralasāhitya-parisad*.

7 Vide page 3 verse 6 in the Malayalam Improvement Committee's edition of the text of the *Tenkalanāthodaya*.

8 Here are given the particular features of the kings mentioned. They are both endowed with noble virtues, are bold and enterprising, have destroyed their enemies and are deep and dignified like the ocean.

9 Vide the *Journal of the Samastakerala-sāhitya-parisad*, vol III, no I, pp 23-39.

10 Compare, e.g.,

अलघुशिवविलासं नाम काव्यं बबन्धे सुरभि भरतगोवीयेन दामोदरेण ॥

11 Compare, e.g., the following verses

पञ्चान्दान्तात् सपदि पुरतः क्लिप्तचौलकियाथो ।

वयौ पथे पदसमुदये प्राप बाक्येपि शिक्ताम् ॥

नासौ नानाभरणनिवहैर्मण्डिता कुरुडलेनाप्यासीद् ।

भूयोध्यगमदखिलाश्चापि गान्धर्वविद्याः ॥

Even when the girl was but twelve, she became fully grown up<sup>12</sup> and so her father, being anxious to get her married to one worthy of her, decided upon holding a *Svayamvara*, possibly the only instance of the kind in all-Kerala, which literature has so far preserved for us. Elaborate preparations were made for the function, and all the eligibles of the land were informed. Many were the aspiring candidates who attended the function, and among them was the twenty-five year old<sup>13</sup> heir-apparent Rāma Varmā of the *Perumpatappu Svarūpam*, who came accompanied by his uncle Rāma Varmā, the Perumpatappu Mūppil. One after another the candidates were presented and they were rejected till the bride reached Yuvarāja Rāma Varmā. This prince was introduced and the bride chose him. We quote below the extract which describes the Rāma Varmās of Cochin.

स्तम्भस्य हैमस्थतडितप्रभस्य मूले मृगेन्द्रासनसन्निविष्टम् ।  
 त राजहम यदुराजपुत्र्यै वाली तत. मादरमा च्चक्षे ॥२॥  
 आकर्णयोच्चं प्रवितृत्य कर्णो भूप' भुवोमराडनभूतमेनम् ।  
 आदित्यधाम्नोपघनस्य लीना विश्वे गुणा नैव दशेव दृश्या ॥३॥  
 अभ्यासते केरलभूततो या यस्या यथार्थेव महोदयाभ्या ।  
 रामावनां मुख्यतमा पुरी या तामावसत्येष दिव वृषेव ॥४॥  
 मन्ये स रामोययमेव रामवर्माह्वय क्षत्रमहोनिधानम् ।  
 आज्ञाकृताभाग्यमितत्विषोम्य भ्रुत्तेपवश्यैव पुरन्दरधी ॥५॥

शब्दे शिक्षातिशयवत्ततश् शब्दमीमासकाना ।  
 वाक्यार्थेति प्रमरगतिभि पूर्वमीमासकानाम् ॥  
 अतार्थेपटुमलितया तत्र चप्युत्तरेषा विस्मेरत्व ।  
 व्यधित सततं सा विशेषेक्षकानाम् ॥

It is interesting to notice the attainments of the daughter of the king of Koyankulam, the heroine of the poem. Her education comprised the subjects of dancing and music, literature and literary criticism, grammar and philosophy, particularly *Vedānta* and *Mimāmsā*.

12 Vide the following

सुता मम द्वादश वनुमरा , पर तदायमौ भाति समग्रयौवना ।

13 Vide citation १४ following

नि.सीममाहोदयसद्यनोस्य दक्षोत्तरोद्देशविसारि तेजः ।  
 नान्योल हेतुस्तत एतदीय ह्यातो बहुव्यासितयान्ववायः ॥६॥  
 शस्त्राशस्त्रातिशयादशेषक्षत्रश्रिय. क्षेत्तवदीक्षितस्य ।  
 यस्योचितै सृष्टिमुखैल्लपेरन् व्यस्तक्रिया ब्रह्ममुखा जनेषु ॥७॥  
 उत्साहतश शश्वदुदस्तशस्त्रोस्त्यागाधिकत्वाच्च समस्तपाले ।  
 विश्वोत्तर य कथयन्ति वीरो दाराहययाराध्यमतिं कवीन्द्रा ॥८॥  
 न्यक्षेण सलक्षितलक्षणाघलक्ष्य. क्षमी रक्षितसश्रितश्री ।  
 लक्ष्म्या. सुत पश्य स रामवर्मा लक्ष्मीवतोमुष्य तु भागिनेय ॥९॥

\* \* \* \* \*

आधावतानेन वृतासिचर्मभीमोरुवाहायुगलार्गलेन ।  
 शूरा निकृता भुवि शत्रुवीरनारोप्यशेषा द्विगुणीभवन्ति ॥१०॥

\* \* \* \* \*

शक्तिः क्षमा शौर्यवती निसर्गा ज्ञानञ्च वाग्मिदयानुविद्धम् ।  
 अन्धाधितास्तिकथयुतञ्च दानं लैंगुण्यभेदैकगुणे ततो.य ॥११॥

\* \* \* \* \*

अज्ञानवृक्षाशनिसन्निपात प्रहयातिवल्लीमणिक्ल्पशास्त्री ।  
 कस्येष पश्यादरभूर्न लोके शस्त्रोपजीवी ब्रजचक्रवर्ती ॥१२॥

\* \* \* \* \*

यादक् स्त्रियो रूपमिद तवास्य तादक् च पश्यामि नृपस्य पु स ।  
 ज्योत्स्नी यदि त्व विधुरेष नून भास्वानथो चेद्भवती दिनश्रीः ॥१३॥  
 नायम्महात्मा कृतवान् विवाहमालोहिताच्च सुमुख सुवक्ष्मा ।  
 त्व कन्यका सर्वगुणप्रकाशा श्रीमानसौ पञ्चकपञ्चकायु ॥१४॥  
 आयुष्यतोप्यस्य तवापि वत्से दूरस्थितिर्नाभिमतो ममेयम् ।  
 हैमस्य वा चारुविभूषणस्य माणिक्यमुख्यस्य च क समोन्य ॥१५॥

\* \* \* \* \*

We get from the description certain interesting historical details. In the first place the Perumptappu Müppil was then holding court at Mahodayapuram,<sup>14</sup> modern Cranganore, and he was

14 This expression is a literal Sanskrit rendering of the Malayalam expression Perumpatappu, which means *extending wide*

15 Mr U S P Iyer understands that Yuvarāja Rāma Varmā was the son of Lakṣmī Rāni. This is wrong

16 Vide citation ४ given above

then having some sort of all-Kerala supremacy,<sup>17</sup> though the extent of it is not clear. Secondly, the name of the then reigning monarch was Rāma Varmā,<sup>18</sup> the son of Rāni Lakṣmi<sup>19</sup> and that he had a nephew Rāma Varmā who was the *Yuvarāja*<sup>20</sup>. Further, we also know that these kings were contemporaries of Kerala Varmā of Kayankulam.

We shall now try to see if it be possible to fix up the dates of these Rāma Varmās with some degree of approximation at least. It is said that three ladies of Kandyūr are mentioned in the *Unnini-lisandēśa*,<sup>21</sup> one of the greatest *Sandēśakāvya*s of Malayalam literature and possibly the best of the type, and one among them is a Unniyatī. This work is said to have been written about 1374 A.D. when the king of Kayankulam was a Ravi Varmā who is described as an aged king.<sup>22</sup> There is nothing improbable in identifying the Unniyatī of the *Kāvya* with the Unniyatī of the *Sandēśa*. We also know from the *Kārāymakkarana* of the *Ūrālars* of the Irīñjalakkuda temple<sup>23</sup> that the king of Kāyankulam in 1341-42 was a Ravi Varmā,

17 Mr. Lycer concedes this point in his article on the subject. He says that the Perumpatappu Mūppil holding court at Mahodayapuram was the Emperor of Kerala, thereby suggesting that he had some sort of all-Kerala overlordship (vide pp. 38 & 39, and further substantiates his position with reference to Viraiñghavacakravarti. This view is perfectly in keeping with the view we have already elaborated in our paper 'Kings of Cochin versus Emperor of Kerala, published in the *Maharaja's College Magazine*, vol. IX, no. I, pp. 11-13.

18 Vide citations  $\mu$  &  $\xi$  given above.

19 Vide citation  $\xi$  given above.

20 Vide citation  $\xi$  above.

21 Vide the Journal quoted in note 9 ante page 24.

22 *Ibid*.

23 Vide the *Bulletin of the Sri Rama Varma Research Institute*, Trichur No. II Temple Studies Irīñjalakuda Temple. We give below a literal rendering of the *Kārāymakkarana* —

"The *Kārāyma* deed written in the month of Thulam 517 ME. The agreement entered into between the people of the nine families who own *Kārāyma* rights in the Irīñjalakuda-Ksetra and who took the Mānikka gem on *Kārāyma* and Ravi Varmā who is the lord of Onattu-Kara and who gave the Mānikkaratna as *Kārāyma*.

who may be identified with the Ravi Varmā of the *Sandēśakāvya*. If these identifications are correct, then the father of Unniyati, the consort of Yuvarāja Rāma Varmā of the Perumpatappu Svairūpam must be the immediate predecessor of Ravi Varmā who was the king of Kayankulam in 1342 A D. In which case the two Rāma Varmās, the Perumpatappu Mūppil and his nephew, must be contemporaries of both Kerala Varmā and Ravi Varmā of Kayankulam, and that means they are the Rāma Varmās who are mentioned as being the first kings of Cochin in the *Tenkailanāthodaya*.

This conclusion finds some support in the circumstances leading to the execution of the *Kārāyimakkarana* of the Mānikkaksetra of Irinjālakuda. The Perumpatappu Mūppil had already been granted by the year 1336 large powers in the temple<sup>21</sup> and yet no reference is found made in the temple chronicles to this suzerain lord either in the matter of loaning the gem, or in the execution of the *Kārāyimakkarana*, by which two very important rights were granted to the king of Kayankulam, namely the right of appointing the

Referring to the Mānikka-ratna received on Kārāyima, the people of the nine families gave in writing to accompaniment of *Nirudaka* as *Kārāyima* right in their *Mānikka-ksetra* the *Kārāyima-melāyima-sibānam* and the *Sri-kovilpani-taccuta-kammal-avarodha-sibānam* to be conducted without deviating from the customary usages obtaining in the *Sanketa* to keep the *Bhāndāra* and render accounts to the Sabhāyogam in the *Vātal-mādhama* of the temple. Similarly, giving to the nine families the *Mānikka-ratnam* as *Kārāyima*, Ravi Varma received in writing to the accompaniment of *Nirudaka* as *Kārāyima* right the *Samudāya-melāyima-sibānam* and the *Sri-kovil-pani-taccuta-kammal-avarodha-sibānam* in the *Mānikka-ksetra*, belonging to the people of the nine families who received as Kārāyima the *Mānikka-ratna* in return. In this wise receiving the *Mānikka-ratna* as *Kārāyima* gift and giving back in writing to the accompaniment of *Nirudaka* the *Samudāya-melāyima-sibānam* and receiving this in writing by Ravi Varma from the nine families, attesting witnesses Tarananallūr Nampūtiri, Akor Nampūtiri, Matiyatt Tānni and Pāmbum Mekkatt. Written with their knowledge and in the hand-writing of Turuttikatt Kutal.”

This is no doubt a very interesting document for more reasons than one, and particularly to the students of language and of history, particularly of the temple at Irinjālakuda.

24 Vide article mentioned in note 23 ante

the Samudāya Melayma and the temple architect According to our interpretation of the references in the Śiva-vilāsa, this lack of reference is easily explainable it must have been at the instance and with the cognisance of the Perumpatappu Mūppil that the loan was made and the document executed We, therefore, hold that the Rāma Varmās mentioned in the *Kāvya* must have been living in 1342 A D

From what has been said it will be clear that these two Rāma Varmās can with a fair degree of accuracy be ascribed to the middle of the 14th century A D and that means they can be identified with the Rāma Varmās mentioned in the *Tenkailanāthodaya*, who are described as the first kings of Cochin<sup>25</sup>

*Vitandirābhānam*,<sup>26</sup> of an unknown author, mentions a Rāma Varmā, at whose instance was the work written compare the following extracts

अहो चूषिंसरित्कल्लोलहस्तालिङ्गितप्राकारमेखलाया केरलकुलराजधान्याः श्रीरामवर्म-  
परिपालिताया महोदयपुर्या इत्यादि

Also compare

यावत् खण्डेन्दुमौलि. श्रयति गिरिसुता यावदास्ते सुरारे ।  
वक्ष्यन्तीणहारदुयमशिशाबलिते देवतामङ्गलानाम् ॥  
यावद्वक्त्रेषु मैत्रीमुपनयति गिरामीश्वरी पद्मयोने ।  
तावद लक्ष्मीप्रसृति खयमवतु भुवम रामवर्मा नरेन्द्र. ॥

Here again the Rāma Varmā is described as holding court at Mahodayapuram and as the son of Laksmī Rāni The latter of these two facts is a clue which justifies our identification of this Rāma Varmā with the Perumpatappu Mūppil who figures in the *Kāvya*,

25 Mr U S P Iyer's dating of these kings is evidently wrong Vide note 6 ante

26 Vide *Vijñānadarśikā*, part IV, p 207, also *History of Sanskrit Literature in Kerala* The former writer forgets that the poet has mentioned this Rāma Varmā as holding court at Mahodayapuram and therefore has tried to connect this king with the king who reigned between 1565 and 1600 This, it needs scarcely be said, is totally wrong

and the elder Rāma Varmā who is mentioned as the founder of the city of Cochin

We may here sum up the characteristic features of the hero panegyried in the works mentioned above. The Perumpatappu Mūppil described in the *Śivavilāsakāvya* is the king of all-Kerala who held his court at Mahodayapuram, which was then the premier city in all-Kerala, he was a brave king and heroic warrior, graced with all regal qualities. The Yuvarāja Rāma Varmā was equally great as a warrior—adorned with physical strength and valour which are toned down by patience and forgiveness, with knowledge which is enhanced by kindness and sweetness of disposition, and with charity which is characterised by selflessness and religiosity. He is described as the flash of lightning which roots out the darkness of ignorance and the divine tree which supports the creeper of fame. Even when due allowance is made for the imagination and exaggeration of the poet, enough yet remains in the poem which would show that these two Rāma Varmās were very eminent kings, an aspect which is also borne out by the description given by Nilakantha. They were both great warriors and statesmen, well versed in the arts, both of peace and of war.

K. RAMA PISHARODI

## Army and War in Mediaeval Ceylon

1 *Mercenaries* and *militia* were the two constituent parts of the Sinhalese army in the mediaeval period (Cf H W C o d r i n g t o n, *Short Hist of Ceylon*, pp 64-70, G C M e n d i s, *Early Hist of Ceylon*, pp 83-85) Terms for, soldier 'are *yodha*, *bhata*, and if their bravery is to be emphasised by the poet *sūra* hero' A peculiar term for 'mercenary' is *āyudhiya* (*Mhvs*, 61 69) or *āyudha-jīvam* (66 67), one who is living by bearing arms or by military service

The *mercenaries* got payment from the king They were *Sihalas* or more frequently people who came over to Ceylon from Southern India *Damilas*, *Keralas* and *Kannātas* (*deśāntarānī-vāsino yodbā* soldiers domiciled in a foreign country, 69 18) In the old Mahāvamsa neither *Keralas* nor *Kannātas* are named at all, and the *Damilas* were but the hated enemies of the Sinhalese people For the first time at the end of the 3rd cent A D *Damilas* occur as soldiers in the service of a Sinhalese ruler (36 49) *Abhayanāga*, the younger brother of *Vohārikatissa* was forced to take flight to main India owing to a crime he had committed at court He returned afterwards to Ceylon at the head of a *Damila* army, defeated and killed his brother and ascended the throne

In the 7th cent King *Aggabodhi* III was supported in his war with *Jetthatissa* by *Damila* troops he had hired in India, and *Jetthatissa*'s dignitary *Dāthāsiva* also had *Damila* soldiers in his service when he himself took the crown from *Aggabodhi* (44 105, 125) It seems that at that time the mercenary system was already established or at least not unknown in Ceylon The kings could not dispense with it though it sometimes caused serious troubles

We are told in 55 1 sq that King Mahinda V, 981-1017, was unable to satisfy his troops by giving them their pay. Therefore a mutiny broke out, and when the king had taken refuge in Rohana in the remaining parts of the country the brutal soldiery of Sihalas, Keralas and Kannātas carried on the government as they pleased. On hearing this the Cola king sent an army to Ceylon and made it a province of the Cola empire (H W C o d r i n g t o n, II, p 40, G C M e n d i s, *Early Hist of Ceylon*, p 55). A public calamity befell the Kerala mercenaries during the reign of the usurper Māgha, 1214-35. They oppressed and harassed the people in a terrible manner, plundered their houses and took away their possessions, and Māgha himself, whose power was depending on this soldiery, had delivered up to the Keralas whatever else belonged to the Sihalas (80. 61-77).

2 Later on the Velakkāra mercenaries played an important rôle in the king's army. They were, no doubt, a warlike tribe or clan or a military community of Dravidian origin and may be compared with similar communities within the Cola army as the Maravaras (76 130, 246) or the Kallaras, the Golihalas and the Kuntavaras (76 246, 259) who are mentioned in the description of King Parakkamabāhu's campaign against the Cola king Kulāśekhara.

We learn from South Indian inscriptions that they for the first time came to Ceylon with king Rājendra I by whom the conquest of Ceylon mentioned above was completed in the first half of the 11th century (W i c k r e m a s i n g h e, *Epigr Zeyl*, II 247). Since that time they had great influence in the Island serving as mercenaries to the king. But they appear to have been a rather tumultuous element within the army. Already about the year 1089 we hear that they rebelled against king Vijayabāhu I. The revolt was put down and the leaders were punished with bloody cruelty (60 35-44). Half a century later they, suborned by Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha, deserted king Gajabāhu, and, supported by their

defection, the two brothers attacked Rājarattha. But the king defended his dominion successfully. We may assume that in this case also a severe punishment of the mutinous mercenaries took place (63. 24 sq.)

Even during the reign of Parakkamabāhu we hear of a Velakkāra revolt. When the king began his campaign against Rohana the Velakkāras banded themselves together with the Sihala and Kerala mercenaries and revolted in order to profit by this opportunity and to take possession of Rājarattha. However the mutiny was suppressed by the king, the leaders were killed and the landed property formerly granted to the mercenaries as payment was withdrawn from them (74. 44 sq.)

There is in Polonnaruwa a fine slab erected by the Velakkāras with a Tamil inscription which, as I believe, must be dated immediately before the revolt that took place at the beginning of King Gajabāhu's reign in the year 1137. The Velakkāras at that time, as the self-confident and proud tone of the inscription shows, were on the summit of their wealth and power, having regained their former influence after the first rebellion against Vijayabāhu in the year 1089. In the inscription they declare their agreement to protect the temple of the Tooth Relic, though they were themselves adherents of a Śaiva sect. But on undertaking the control of that sacred shrine they were so bold as to call it the property of the Velakkāras and regarded it as their own charitable institution under their entire support. So they assigned to it lands, guards, etc., for its maintenance (Wickremasinghe, *Ep Zeyl*, II, p. 247).

In the later chapters of the *Mahāvamsa* we do not hear any more of the Velakkāras, but in the 13th century *Āryas*, i.e. Rājputs were serving as mercenaries of the Sinhalese king side by side with Sihalas. Their leader bore the interesting name Thakuraka which corresponds to the modern family name Tagore (Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. Thakoor). He is said to have

killed the usurper Mitta with his own hand, and after this resolute deed the mercenaries banded themselves together and reinstated the legitimate king Bhuvanekabāhu in the royal dignity (90 12 sq )

3 The *militia* is called 'the army dwelling in the country' (ratthavāsikā senā *Mhvs* 70-89, 75 102) and were agriculturists who were tilling and watering their fields and waiting for the harvest in perpetual fear of demons who might annihilate the whole work, the Sinhalese were never warlike people. The militia was, therefore, of no great military value. CORDINER, in his description of Ceylon, as it was shortly after its occupation by the Englishmen, says 'An attempt was made some years ago to train a body of them (i.e. of the Sinhalese) as soldiers, but, after great perseverance, it completely failed of success. A life of military discipline proved, in the highest degree, irksome and uncongenial to their habits. They deserted in great numbers, and examples intended to terrify, only stimulated those who remained to abandon the service' (*Ceylon*, I, pp. 92-3). In mediaeval times the Sinhalese were hardly better soldiers. We often read in the chronicle that the soldiers are running away on all sides as soon as they see themselves exposed to an unexpected danger (*Mhvs*, 66 89-90, 104, 67 48). Such passages are met with chiefly in that part of the chronicle the favourite hero of which is Parakkamabāhu, and it may sometimes have been the unsophisticated chronicler's intention to exalt the king's heroism in comparison with his suite. But we also hear that a general of king Gajabāhu owing to an inauspicious dream fell from his bed and ran away into the forest where he was wandering about during the whole night, until at daybreak he reached his village. His men too, when they heard of the general's flight, left their weapons behind and followed their lord in bewilderment (66 47 sq). So much seems to be certain that such scenes were by no means strange or unusual, much less contemptible in the chronicler's eyes.

General Gokanna's army which was made ready by him in all

haste for warding off Parakkamabāhu's general Māyāgeha consisted of the troops sent to him by king Gajabāhu, of his own former army and of the army dwelling in the country, that is, of regular troops and militia. Apparently the militia was the last hope. The minor Mānābharana is said to have armed the able-bodied inhabitants of his two provinces, the two portions of Rohana Atthasahasaka and Dvādasasahasaka (*balam ratthadvayanivāsīnam* 70 187, cf 70 260) in order to be ready for war, if Parakkamabāhu should succeed in conquering Pulathinagara and then menace Rohana. In the ensuing war two generals of Parakkamabāhu, Deva and Kittī, who had too far penetrated into the province of Rohana, were encircled by the hostile army together with the militia-men (*sakalārātivāhīni sa-ratthavāsīkā* 72 127). In the later war when general Rakkha attacked the Rohana troops in the flank near Simātālatthalī his unexpected appearance caused surprise and terror among the rebels and they called upon the militia for assistance in this dangerous situation (75-102).

As militia men the *Vyādhas* took a particular position in Parakkamabāhu's army (69 20, cf below). The word is here, no doubt, the Pali equivalent of the modern Vaddā, the name of the wild tribe of huntsmen who are believed to be the remnant of the aboriginal population of Ceylon. It is obvious that these people who were intimately acquainted with the wilderness, could be of good service to a commander of troops as scouts or guides. In a similar connection the word *kirāta* occurs in 72 208. It is said here that the *Kirātas* were skilled in wandering by night in the wilderness of forest and mountain and slew many people by night and day. In Sanskrit and Pali *kirāta* denotes a wild jungle-man of dwarfish stature. Can it be that the *Mbus* 72 208 preserves the memory of a race of pygmies formerly living in some districts of S E Ceylon? Traditions concerning such a race are mentioned in *Journal R A Soc*, Ceylon Br XXIII, no 67, 1914, p 288 sq.

• Even professional *thieves* practised in house-breaking (*samdhimbhedassa kusalā corā* 70-168) were employed in war by Parakkamabāhu. They were sent by him in the middle of the night to a fortified camp (*dugga*) erected by the enemy to undermine it with sharp antelope horns (*migasīngāni*) and so to take it. Antelope horn was perhaps the name of an iron-instrument comparable to a miner's pick. *Coras* were also engaged in the siege and capture of Pulatthinagara (70 285)

4 The traditional name in India for a complete *army* is the four-membered army '(senā cāturangīni in the ancient *Mahāvamsa*, 18 29 etc., and in its mediaeval portion, 70, 217 etc.), because it is composed of elephants, horses, chariots, and foot soldiers. In the 13th century the four constituent parts of the army of Parakkamabāhu II were the *vīramahāyodhā*, the great warriors, i.e. the foot soldiers, *hatthipakā*, the elephant drivers, *turugasādi*, the horsemen, and *rathimo*, the charioteers' (88 34). This however seems to be but a poetical paraphrase of the traditional name which in fact hardly suits the mediaeval Sinhalese army, for I believe that H. W. Codrington (ll p. 69) is right, when he says, 'In the twelfth century there is no indication of the existence of organised units of elephants, chariots, or cavalry in Ceylon, indeed the thickly wooded nature of the country, in which the operations took place, renders it very doubtful whether they could have been used to any extent.'

It is true that in the earlier centuries of the mediaeval period elephants were used as animals for riding in battle by kings or their substitutes (41 23, 47 sq., 50 21 sq.). But otherwise elephants are never mentioned in the description of a battle. In 70 228 sq. we hear that king Gajabāhu's generals when preparing the final resistance placed in readiness well-armoured elephants but this is hardly more than a poetical phrase, for in the following chapters we do not learn anything about their employment. Parakkamabāhu is said

(69. 22-3) to have brought up many sons of distinguished families in his own palace with the wish that people skilled in the art of riding elephants and horses should increase in number. This notice, however, does not concern but sport, and bodily training in general, not military exercise especially. The Ramanas contrary to the Sinhalese were using elephants in war. When, therefore, Parakkamabāhu prepared the Rāmañña campaign, he provided his soldiers with a peculiar sort of arrows for the defence of those animals (76 48)

As to horses, in one case only it is related that a royal prince, Kassapa, the younger brother of king Sena I, was on horseback, in battle (50 26-28) but we may infer from the narration itself that this was something extraordinary. In the Cola army cavalry was numerous and the report in the *Mabāvamsa* on Parakkamabāhu's war with Kulaśekhara clearly shows how much the Sinhalese were impressed by this fact. The capture of many horses in the various battles is repeatedly exalted by the chronicler (76 100, 298, 331)

The bulk of the mediaeval Sinhalese army consisted of foot soldiers with the baggage train (*bala-vāhana*). Even the officers (*sāmantā*) were never on horseback. Their conveyance was a palanquin, on the march as well as in battle, as we may infer from 72-100 (*Cūlavamsa*, trsl I, p 328, n 2, H W Codrington, II, p 75). We must, therefore, also translate the word *yāna*, generally meaning a vehicle, in this connection with palanquin, not with chariot (70 85, 122). The badge of the officers was an umbrella probably of different colour (66 49, 70 122), as the white umbrella was that of the king.

*Trumpets* and *drums* are frequently mentioned in the chronicle. It is shown by the word *sankha* (85 113, 89 46, Sk *Śankha*) that what we call trumpets were conches. They are often called victorious or auspicious shells (*jayāsankhā* 65 27, 88 75, *mangala-*

*sankehā* 74 222) From 72-119 *pañca-mahāsadda-sankeha-nāda* (filled) with the din of the five loud clanging conches we may perhaps infer that so many forms or kinds of conches were in use.

The words for 'drum' are more various. It is a well-known fact that the Sinhalese people are very fond of drumming and beating the drums with admirable rhythmic art. More than sixty sorts of drums exist now in Ceylon, of large or small size, one-headed or double, narrow or wide in the middle, each bearing a peculiar name. It must have also been the same, or nearly the same in the mediaeval period. The most common name for a military drum is *bheri* (Sk *id.*, Sinh *beraya*), also *ranabheri* battle drum or *jaya-bheri* victorious drum (70 227, 75-104, 76-161 88 75). Other words are *kāhala* (74 222, 75 104, Sk and Sinh loanword *id.*), *dundubbi* (85 113, Sk, Sinh *id.*), *ālambara* (69 20, Sk *ādambara*) and, mentioned in the latest part of the chronicle, *mad-dala* (96 15, 99 46, Sk *mardala*). We may notice here that in time of peace 'drum-beating and blast of trumpets were never lacking on festive occasions (72 315, 74 221), and that public proclamations used to be made by beat of drum.

Flags (*dhaja* 85 114) were also in use in the Sinhalese army. King Gajabāhu boasts that all his enemies were taking to flight because they could not behold his victorious flag (*jayaddhajam* 70 225, cf 88 75). According to a later passage (99 44, 18th cent) we may assume that the militia contingents of the different districts were distinguished by different flags, probably by flags of different colours.

5. In the *Mahāvamsa* five kinds of weapons (*pañcāyudha* or °*āv* 41 48, *dasaddhāyudha* 70 229) are distinguished, but they are never enumerated. Clough in his *Sinhalese Dictionary* s v says they were sword, spear, bow, battle-axe, and shield. This is hardly correct, for the shield cannot be called *āyudha* which always denotes an offensive weapon, nor do I know whether the

battle-axe was ever in use among the Sinhalese I think that *pañ-cāyudha* was simply a traditional name similar to *caturangini senā*, and used by the chronicler without considering the actualities

The first and foremost weapons were bow (*cāpa*, *dhanu*) and arrows (*sara*, *bāna*, *usu*, *salla*) The archer is called *dhanuggaha* (70 116, 72 244, Sk *dhanurgraha*), *dhanuddhara* (83 45, Sk *dhanurdhara*) or *issāsa* (72 245, Sk *isvāsa*), the archery *dhanusippa*

It is a phrase often met with in the chronicle that the archers rain an uninterrupted shower of arrows on the enemy (*saravassa* 66 27, 70 114, 72 134, 246, 250, *saravutthi* 74 96, *bānavutthi* 74 117) Whether poisoned arrows were ever used by the Sinhalese is extremely doubted It is true that poisoned arrows are mentioned in the chronicle but only among the Ramanas and the Jāvakas Parakkamabāhu had provided his soldiers whom he sent to Rāmañña, with medicine, preserved in cow horns for the healing of venomous wounds caused by poisoned arrows (*visa-pitasalla*- 76-49) And the Jāvakas who had invaded Ceylon in the 13th century are said to have harrassed the people with their poisoned arrows (*visa-diddhehi bānehi* 83 38) likened to terrible snakes, they even shot such arrows swiftly one after another from a machine (83 44) It appears from the tone of these reports that here the chronicler is touching a strange foreign custom which was unknown and unheard of to the Sinhalese people and looked to them like a diabolic practice

A peculiar kind of arrows is called *gokannaka*, probably after their form The word corresponds to Sk *gokarna* which occurs in the *Mahābhārata* in the same meaning Such sharp-pointed (*tikkhagga*) arrows were used for defence against elephants (76 48)

Archery was highly developed and esteemed in India as well as in Ceylon Kittu, afterwards king Vijayabāhu I, is praised for his skill in the use of the bow already in his thirteenth year (57 43) In the army raised by Parakkamabāhu there was a troop of excellent

archers, called, moon-light archers (*candālokadhanuddharā* 69 19) because they were versed in night-fighting. In the ancient *Mahāvamsa* 23 86 archers are mentioned who hit their mark guided only by sound (*sadda-vedhino*) and others who were able to hit a hair (*vāla-vedhino*) and others who hit their mark by the light of a lightning (*viṃṇu-vedhino*). The last group is mentioned in the mediaeval period also *akkhanavedhino issāsā* (72 245), and we shall be allowed to assume that the other groups were not unknown at the same time.

6. For the sword we come across the names *asi*, *kbagga* (Sk *asi*, *kbadga*) and less frequently *tharu* (*Mhvs*, 69 22, Sk *tsaru*), but it does not seem that different forms of the sword are denoted by those words. They are merely synonymous. The sword was used in hand-to-hand fighting, and sparks were flying from the clash of swords in such a combat (72 84). Training in the manipulation of the sword as well as in that of the bow belonged to the education of princes and sons of noble families (64 4, 69 22). The Sihalas, after having vanquished the Jāvakas, got as booty their elephants and horses, their swords and many other weapons together with their trumpets, drums, and flags (88 74). The sword was the principal weapon in the hand of the king (66 24, 31, 108), and two royal swords are distinguished in 72, 102 *sq*, one being called the Jambudīpa blade and the other the Sihala blade. The latter appears to have been the more terrible weapon. The dagger (*churika* 39 27, *asiṭuttaka* 41 24, *nikkarami* 44 112) is mentioned as royal weapon. It was also weapon of the Kerala mercenaries (55 6) and among the different regiments of Parakkambāhu's army there was also that of the dagger bearers (*churikaggā-bakā* 69 24).

The heavy lance (*kunta*) is often mentioned in the chronicle. In ancient Ceylon a lance with a relic was the badge and standard of king Dutthagāmaṇi (25 1, 26 9 *sq*). In the 17th cent

bows, swords, lances, etc (*dhanukhaggakuntādini* 96 14, cf 99 49) were the weapons of the foot soldiers. The spears given by Parakkamabāhu to the Vyādhas (69 20) were probably javelins. The word *sattikā* used in this passage is Sk *śakti* + suff *ka*. Another word for a dart or some other light missile is *samara*. Parakkamabāhu's warriors who had taken up a position in the stronghold of Āligāma killed many enemies with arrows, darts and javelins (*usu-tomara-sattihi* 70 116) which they flung from the turrets of the gate. The meaning of *sattba* is doubtful. The pursuers of king Bhuvanekabāhu are said to have pierced the king's litter *ukkha-satthehi* so that everything was in tatters. The king sprang to the ground from his litter and fled by foot (90 7-8). My translation was, 'with their pointed spears' (*Cūlavamsa*, trsl II, 11), but, with their sharp swords (Cf Sk *śastra*) would perhaps be better. We have seen above that light missiles were shot by the Jāvakas from a machine (*yanta*). Such a machine from which stones were hurled, apparently something like a catapult, was also in use among the Sinhalese (72 251).

An ancient and primitive weapon was the *club* (*muggara*). It is however remarkable that even Parakkamabāhu enrolled in the army raised by him several thousand soldiers, tall men and strong, who were armed with clubs (*muggarike yodhe* 69 17). The most ancient weapon was, therefore, not yet out of use in the 12th century.

Among the *defensive arms* (*kavacāni* 69 7, 38, or *vamma* 76 47, opposite to *āyudhāni*) the shield (*phalaka*) must be mentioned. It was probably made of wood but it is doubtful whether it was always worn and by all soldiers. When Parakkamabāhu was attacked in the wilderness by a dreadful bear he forced the beast down with the edge of his shield and killed it with his sword (67 42). In 74 73 it is said that two generals of Parakkamabāhu provided for their troops arrow protectives consisting of buffalo-skin'

(*māḥisacammamaye bānavārane*) It seems that leathern doublets are meant by this expression, but their use was apparently an isolated case

7 When *war* is imminent it is necessary first of all to provide the food supply for both the army in the field and the population at home Therefore Parakkambāhu, ere he began the campaign against *Rājarattha*, took care in every possible way to enlarge the cultivable area of his province so that he might be able to store a large quantity of grain (*Mhvs*, 68 7-53) His financial reform served the same purpose (69 27 sq) We need not add that also stores of armour and weapons of every kind and many other things formed parts of the war material (*yuddhōpakarana* 69 5, 14) For the war in Rāmañña the king had supplied for his army not only the iron arrows against elephants and medicine for the healing of venomous wounds, but also armour and weapons in abundance, and provisions for a whole year such as rice and the like, as well as all kinds of remedies for curing the poison of infected water in the many swampy stretches of the country, also iron pincers for extracting arrow-heads which are difficult to move when they have pierced deeply and the shaft has broken The army was also accompanied by skilful physicians and serving women (*thiyo paricārīkā*) who were to attend sick and wounded soldiers (76 47 sq)

The soldiers themselves were trained for the military profession already at peace by manoeuvres Parakkambāhu in order to test the fitness of his men arranged fights on the street, sifted out the most skilled people and dismissed those unfitted for fight They were to till the fields and perform other works living at home (69 37-8) Sham-fights (*yodbakilā*) in which the soldiers could show their skill in handling the weapons were also in use (89 26, 31)

Before the beginning of the war against Rājarattha Parakkambāhu is said to have worked out with ingenuity in a way suited to the locality and the time, and the plan of campaign He did so

with careful study of literary works valuable for carrying on war, such as the text-book of Kotalla, i.e. the *Kautaliya Arthaśāstra*, and the *Yuddhannava*, probably a part of the *Agnipurāna* which bears the separate title *Yuddhajayārnava*. The plan was written down and handed out to the officers with the strict order not to swerve by a hair's breadth from the king's instruction (70 56-8)

It is however impossible to carry through a war successfully without an accurate knowledge of the military power of the hostile king and of the political and financial situation of his country. Such a knowledge must be acquired by *espionage*. Prince Parakkamabāhu is said to have done so (66 126 sq.) during his sojourn at king Gajabāhu's court in Pulatthinagara. We must not accept this report as historical in its details, for the chronicler followed here, as I have shown in *Beitrag zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens* (in honour of H. Jacobi), p. 418 sq., the text of the *Kautaliya*. He wished to describe his hero as a ruler who in all his qualities corresponded to the ideal of an Indian king who is versed in the *nīti*.

The prince is said to have sought out clever and astute men and sent them forth in various disguises in order to become acquainted with the people in the outlying districts, whilst he himself confined his observations and inquires to the town and its inhabitants. In the enumeration of these spies in the *Mahāvamsa* the ascetic (*tāpasa* 66 135) corresponds to the *tāpasa* in the *Kautaliya*, the prisoner (*rasakriyābhīṅṅa* 66 138) to the *rasada*, the sorcerer and fortune-teller (*bbūtavijjāvidū* 66 138, *sāmuddikādīkânekakalakkhanaññu* 66 132) to the *sāmedhika* (cf. *angavidyā*), and the itinerant trader selling glass bangles and similar trifles to the *vaḍḍhaka* (*Kaut.*, I 11 and 12). In order also to find out among the king's dignitaries those whom he could win over and to apply the right method for doing so he tried to distinguish between those who were ambitious (*abbimānino*), those who nursed a grudge (*samkuddhā*), those who

were afraid (*bhitā*), and those who were avaricious (*luddhā* 66 142) These four-groups exactly correspond, even in wording, to the *mānwarga*, *kuddhavarga*, *bhitavarga* and *lubdhavarga* in the *Kautiliya*, I 14

There are some more spies of other character mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* as well as in the *Arthasāstra*. But so much seems to be certain that the *Kautiliya* and perhaps also other works of the Indian *nīti* literature were well-known and eagerly studied in mediaeval Ceylon, and what they taught was probably also applied by the kings as far as it was possible or advisable. It is however very improbable that Parakkamabāhu personally practised espionage at Gajabāhu's court, as it is described in the chronicle, for such an activity was too risky and could hardly be kept secret.

8 As to the war itself four 'means of success' (*upāyā*) are mentioned in the chronicle 58 3. The same distinction occurs in the Indian *sāstras*. In the *Kautiliya* the four stratagems are enumerated (II 10, Shamasastri, ed.<sup>2</sup> p. 74,<sup>8</sup> trsl., 84) *bheda* division of the enemy, *danda* open war, offensive, *sāma* friendly negotiations, *dānāni* gifts or bribes. The character of the war itself was mainly depending on that of the country. In the mediaeval times Ceylon was, for the greatest part, thickly covered with forest, and frequently the assistance of scouts (*carā* 66 99, 75 64) was necessary to show to the soldiers a road leading through the wildness. They were probably recruited from the local militia, perhaps also from forest tribes (see above in 3). Often the war was hardly more than a guerilla (*corayuddha* 75 135). In this respect the description of the beginning of the second Rohana campaign is very interesting (75 1-18).

In the first campaign the sacred relics of the *dāthādhātu* and the *pattadhātu* had been captured by Parakkamabāhu's generals (74 138). That was certainly an important moral success. But in order to achieve the main object of the whole undertaking, the

subjection of the province, the king was forced to begin a new campaign. He first intended to invade Rohana from north-east through the districts of Dīghavāpi and Guttasālā, now Buttala. The resistance offered by the Rohana people was apparently weak, but when it seemed to have been suppressed at one place, it at once broke out anew in another. In spite of the victories reported by his generals the king gave up his plan and decided to attack the province from its north-west frontier. After the first defeats in this final phase of the terrible war, the Rohana people themselves proclaimed the guerilla. They said 'Save the wilderness, there is for us no other protection. In every way our land is furnished with mountain wildernesses and the like. Therefore at all inaccessible places let us throw up many entrenchments, make all the well-known high ways impassable, lay down many robbers' paths (*coramagge*), and when our land has been made impassable let us gather ourselves together and open battle' (75 31-33)

An ambushade is described in 66 72 sq. Prince Parakkamabāhu on his way to Pulatthinagara was pursued by his uncle's officers and their troops who had been sent forth to bring him back. When he heard at Buddhagāma that they were approaching, he left in front space for the advancing army and placed his bravest men in ambush on both sides of the road. Then when the whole of the hostile force had advanced to the centre he suddenly fell upon them and had numbers of soldiers cut down. In a similar manner when Gajabāhu's troops approached the stronghold of Mihiranabibbala, the warriors of Parakkamabāhu feigned as if they were giving way, and thus enticed the enemy into an ambush of soldiers who had been hidden in the forest and suddenly made a dash on them (72 246 sq.)

The tactics of outflanking the enemy were also known. We can hardly understand the undertakings of the Damilādhikārin Rakkha against Mahānāgahula in the final stage of the Rohana

câmpaign, if we do not assume such a method of warfare (75. 83 sq) The basis of Rakkha's operation was Donivagga, that is the district round Pelmadulla. S E of Ratnapura, from here he first tried to advance directly to Mahānāgahula along the road which at present runs through primeval forest from Madampe to Ambalan-tota But he realised that a break through along this highway was impossible and we hear in v 98 that he marched with a strong force to Sūkarālibheripāsāna That is a place near the modern Deniyaya, south of the Rakvana mountain range Obviously Rakkha had crossed this range on the Bulutota pass and thus made an outflanking manoeuvre The enemies were surprised and alarmed, for they had not expected an attack from this side because the road leading from Donivagga to Navayojana, i e the Bulutota pass was very difficult (75-72) to negotiate and they had not sufficiently secured their left flank Rakkha won the ensuing battle and was able to advance to the hostile capital

The descriptions in the chronicle of a battle are of no great interest They are always made according to a certain poetical model The simile is generally a thunder-storm The soldiers are pouring out a rain of arrows or the arrows are the cloud by which the heavens are darkened The battle-cry of the warriors is compared to the thunder, the sparks flying from the clash of swords are like the lightnings (72-84, 75-63, 110-11, 131-32 etc) In a very artificial and fictitious passage (76-160-61) the battle-field is compared to the ocean in a heavy storm Often a general is said to be a lion that has broken into a herd of elephants or gazelles (72-2-3, 69)

A peculiar heroic feature in battles of ancient times was the single combat between the leaders of the two armies That of Dutthagāmani and Elāra near the southern gate of Anurādhapura (25-67 sq) is a classical example In the mediaeval period such a combat is mentioned between Dāthāpabhuti and his brother Moggallāna,

6th c (41 49). In later times we do not hear any more of such heroic deeds. King Vijayabāhu I, 1059-1116, is said, it is true, to have challenged the Cola king (60 30 sq), but this was rather a theatrical pose or a poetical exaggeration. The single combat never took place. In his adventurous youth Prince Parakkamabāhu sometimes is reported to have personally taken part in fighting (66 103-4, 67 48), if this is not simply an embellishment of the narration made by the chronicler who wished to exalt the bravery of his favourite hero. After he had become king, Parakkamabāhu in all his wars generally remains behind the army in the headquarters or in the capital sending therefrom his commands to the generals in the field. Once when he was present in the most critical phase of a battle against Mānābharana he cried for his sword (72 102). However he made no use of it, but looked significantly at the faces of his generals who had given way, but turned now again towards the enemy and flung themselves into the midst of the hostile army.

The victory (*jaya*, opp *parājaya*, *parābhava*) was celebrated by a festive entrance into the capital of the victorious army. When the dignitaries of Parakkamabāhu had finished the Rohana campaign and occupied the whole province they marched at the head of their troops to Pulatthinagara. Accompanied by the dwellers of the city who played music, shouted with joy and waving cloths let their cries of victory resound, they drew near the palace and rendered homage to the monarch (75 200 sq).

After a successful war the heads of the hostile officers who had been killed in battle together with their umbrellas and palanquins, the weapons captured during the campaign, and the captives caught alive were sent to the king (70 122), and the victorious generals were honoured by titles and ornaments (*ābharanāni*; 72 320) corresponding to our medals.

*Naval battles* are mentioned at the beginning of Parakkamabāhu's war with Gajabāhu and were fought by the king's generals,

in the middle of the sea 'near a place called Muttākara' This name and the fact that pearls were captured as booty seem to prove that the Gulf of Mannar was the seat of this naval war (70 63 sq , 91 sq) Some of the Sinhalese kings also sent ships across the sea to Southern India to wage war with the Pāndus and Colas Thus did Sena II in the 9th cent , Kassapa V and Udaya IV in the 10th cent , and Parakkamabāhu I in the 12th cent , (51 22 sq , 52 70 sq , 53 46 sq , 76 86 sq) The latter even is said to have made an enterprise against Rāmañña (76 44 sq) In none of these cases we hear that a naval battle was given by the enemies in order to repel the aggressors When Parakkamabāhu sent many hundred ships, which sailed a day and a night on the back of the ocean, to Southern India the Damilas restricted themselves to defend the coast and to prevent the Sinhalese army from landing (76 89 sq) As the ships had to lie in deep water the Sinhalese commander made the troops get into hundreds of boats of small size In order to protect them from the rain of arrows that came flying from the Damilas who were standing on the coast, he had shields made of leather set up in front of the soldiers Thus he landed on the coast and after putting to flight the Damilas he took up a firm position near the harbour

9 *Fortified camps* or temporary fortresses (H W C o d i n g t o n, 11 p 70) played a great part in the wars in mediaeval Ceylon The same was the case in main India since ancient times The first chapter of the tenth book, on war in the *Kautaliya* contains the rules concerning the laying out of a fortified camp (*skandhāvāra-nveśa* S h a m a s a s t r y, ed<sup>2</sup> p 363, trsl , p 437) In the *Mahāvamsa* the word for such a fortress is *kbandhāvāra* exactly corresponding to the expression used in the *Kautaliya* It is met with already in the oldest part of the chronicle (10 46, 25 20, 37 19), and in the fifth century king Dhātusena waging warfare with the Damilas who at that time had ravaged Ceylon, is said to have laid

out such camps in the Island, twenty-one in number (*khandhāvāre nvesetvā* 38 36) But the expression *khandhāvāra* rather occurs seldom in later chapters (70 138, 161, 167), it is replaced by *dugga* (cf 55 28, 58 42) This word corresponds to *durga* in the *Kaṭṭaliya* (e g *durga-nveśa* 2 4 s f , td<sup>2</sup> p 57') which however here as well as in the *Mahābhārata* appears to denote a permanent rather than a temporary structure (cf *Kaṭṭ* , 2 2, ed<sup>2</sup>, p 114 *durgavidhāna*)

Fortified camps were constructed wherever the army had reached an opportune position in order to serve as entrenchments against sudden attacks and as basis for further operations In the history of Parakkamabāhu's campaigns against Rājarattha and Rohana many *duggas* are enumerated, and the names of the places where they were laid out sometimes enables us to state the vicissitudes in war which so often are veiled in the chronicler's report

As an example I shall excerpt the description of the military operation of Senāpati Deva who commanded the troops in the district Gīribā, south of Kalāveva He first raised an encampment on the bank of the Kālāvāpi river Then he threw a bridge across this river, marched off and built a new encampment near Angamu and took up a position there The leader of the hostile army did the same at a place called Senāgāma After it had been captured by Deva the enemy built four encampments more, apparently in order to stop the advance of Deva, but they were all successively taken away by Parakkamabāhu's general (70 123-136) The word for, 'encampment' is always *dugga*, one only which was erected by Gaṇabāhu's officers near Teriḡāma is called (v 138) *khandhāvāra*

When after the death of Mānābharana<sup>2</sup> the Rohana people wished to save their independence and were expecting the invasion of Parakkamabāhu's army, they built at each difficult spot as far as the frontier of the province many camps, had trenches dug everywhere, placed their barricades and made the roads in-

accessible with felled trees. Then they took up their place in one of those camps (74 31-35). But the general Rakkha having broken through three different fortifications advanced up to a big forest where the Rohana people had laid out one behind the other seven fortified camps (74 55-66). Here Rakkha's advance came to a standstill, and the seven strongholds were conquered only when his army had been enforced by the troops of the general Bhūta (74 75-6). In this passage the term *dugga* is used for all those camps and fortifications.

Such a temporary fortress which was erected by Parakkama-bāhu's officers near Mihiranabibbila is described (72 232-53) in detail. They had stakes made like spear-points and driven into the ground. Outside these they had stakes of greater size driven in and had them interwoven with branches. Between the two rows of stakes they had a trench dug with pitfalls, and similar trenches at other places also. Then they had the big forest felled round the camp over a tract two or three bow-shots in extent. The footpath leading through the wilderness was made impracticable by sharp thorns which were covered with sand and withered leaves. In the middle of the fortification (*dugga-maṅṅambī*, v 244) a structure of four storeys was erected, from which when the enemy approached the archers rained a hail of arrows and stones, and burning sharp-pointed bamboo rods were hurled from engines.

10. Imposing strongholds were built in Ceylon on some of those isolated gneiss rocks which rise abruptly from the lowland and form such a characteristic feature of the landscape. The most famous example is the Sīgiri rock (Sihagiri) with its stronghold erected already in the 5th century by king Kassapa I (*Mhvs*, 39 2-3). A similar stronghold was that on the Vātagiri, now Vākiriḡala in the Kegalla district (58 31, 60 39), built in the 11th century. Others were erected in those times of terrible perturbation when Māgha was reigning in Ceylon 1214-35, by Sinhalese noblemen

who wished to maintain their independence, as in Dakkhinadesa on the Subha mountain, now Yāpaḥu (= *yasa-pabbata*), and on the rock of Jambuddani, modern Dambadeniya, and in Rohana on the Govindasela rock which is now called Westminster Abbey (81 2-6, 15-16)

The big towns, especially the capital cities of Anurādhapura and Pulatthinagara, were fortified with wall and moat, with turrets and bastions (cf below) Defence and besiege of strongholds are described often enough in the chronicle but generally in a conventional form The defence of a fortified camp has been quoted above in 9 In a similar manner the stronghold of Āligāma was defended by general Rakkha When Gajabāhu's troops attacked it, the Sihala archers standing on the gate-turrets, slew numbers of the foe with various missiles Other warriors took up their position at the gates which the enemy tried to blow up The combat ended with a sally of the Sihalas who suddenly burst forth and cut down the foe (70 112 sq)

The stronghold Semponmāri in the Pāndu country was captured by the Sihalas within half a day After they had broken through two outer-walls and four gate-towers, they penetrated into the interior of the fortress and slew there the Damilas, many thousands in number (76 241 sq) When Parakkamabāhu after many actions approached Pulatthinagara and had sent in advance his light troops, the Vyādhas and Kirātas, the dwellers in Pulatthinagara were living as in a besieged town As circulation on all the roads leading to the city was stopped by those troops they dared not even by day leave their houses and go outside the gate when they wanted supply of water and wood In the shops here and there on the outskirts of the town the various businesses were completely given up (72 209 sq) When captured by storm the towns were plundered and destroyed in the most reckless manner

## The Early Home of the Imperial Guptas

I-Tsing visited India in A D 671 or 672 and returned to China in A D 693-694. In his *Kau-fā-kao-sang-chuen*, an account of fifty-six Buddhist pilgrims, who visited India, he narrates that 'about forty stages to the east of the temple of Nalanda, descending the Ganges, one arrives at the temple of Mrgaśikhāvana. "Tradition says that formerly a Mahārāja called Śrī-Gupta built this temple for the use of Chinese priests. He was prompted to do so by the arrival of about twenty priests of that country who had travelled from Sz chuen to Mahābodhi Temple to pay their worship. Being impressed by their pious demeanour, he gave them the land and the revenues of about twenty villages as an endowment. This occurred some 500 years ago."<sup>1</sup>

I-Tsing's report places Mahārāja Gupta some time between A D 173 and 194. The grandfather of the Mahārājādhirāja Candragupta I was, as is known from the Gupta inscriptions, the Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta.<sup>2</sup> As Candragupta ascended the throne in A D 319, Gupta is to be placed in the second half of the third century A D. Fleet remarks that "as it is now certain that the era used by the early Guptas commenced from A D 319-20, the Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta, mentioned by I-Tsing and referred by him to about A D 175, cannot be identified with the founder of the early Gupta family, who lived in the fourth century A D." Allan is, on the other hand, inclined to identify I-Tsing's Śrī-Gupta with the grandfather of Candragupta I, "considering the lapse of time and the

1 Chavannes, *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, p 82. A plus de quarante relais (yojanas) à l'est du temple Ni-lan-t'ouo (Nalanda), en descendant le K'iang-kia (Gange), on arrive au temple Mi-li-kia-si kia-po-no (Mrgaśikhāvana). Beal, *Life of Huen Tsang*, Introduction xxvi.

2 *CI* p 15

3 *Ibid.*, p 8, fn 3

fact that the Chinese pilgrim gives this information on the authority of a tradition, handed down from ancient time by old men "' Following this identification Allan concludes that Pātaliputra had been in the possession of the Guptas since the time of the Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta

Needless to mention that the traditional report generally lacks precision. Hiuen Tsang, depending on the traditional report places Budhagupta (A D 477) in the pre-Christian era <sup>5</sup> He also places Śilāditya, king of Mālava, sixty years before his visit to Mālava i.e. in A D 580 <sup>6</sup> But a record of the Maitrakas establishes that Śilāditya was ruling in A D 609 <sup>7</sup> Hence Allan's view that I-Tsing's Gupta is identical with Gupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, cannot be rejected simply on the ground that the tradition removes one from the other by nearly one hundred years

The scholars, though they differ from one another in regard to the identification of the two kings as one and the same, agree in thinking that I-Tsing's Gupta ruled in Pātaliputra, the capital of Magadha. But the discussions made below will prove that their location of Gupta's kingdom is faulty

According to I-Tsing, as has already been noticed, the temple of Migaśikhāvana is forty stages east of Nalanda, descending the Ganges. Shortly after this statement I-Tsing lays down that Nalanda is seven stages north-east of Mahābodhi. Cunningham's map places Nalanda forty miles north-east of Bodh Gaya. This makes one stage of I-Tsing equal to nearly six miles (5 5/7 miles) Migaśikhāvana, which is, according to the above calculation, two

4 *Gupta Coins* Intro p xv

5 *Bal's Life*, p 110

6 *Bal's Records* II, p 261

7 *Bom Gaz* vol I, pt I

8 *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes* p 84—À plus de sept relais (yojanas) au nord-est du temple de la Grande Intelligence (Mahābodhi), on arrive au temple Na-lan-t'ouo (Nalanda)"

9 *ASI*, XV, pl 1

hundred and twenty-eight miles east of Nalanda, following the bank of the Ganges, is to be placed in the Murshidabad District, Bengal. That Gupta held sway over at least some part of Bengal, finds corroboration in another statement of I-Tsing. I-Tsing states that the land, which the king Gupta granted to the temple of Mrgaśikhāvana, "has now reverted to the king of Eastern India, whose name is Devavarma, but he is said to be willing to give back the temple-land and the endowment in case any priests come from China."<sup>10</sup>

I-Tsing's report places Magadha in Mid-India,<sup>11</sup> and lays down that Tamralipti<sup>12</sup> and Harikela (Ho-li-ki-lou)<sup>13</sup> are respectively the southern and eastern limits of Eastern India. Harikela is the other name of Vanga, modern East Bengal. Dr. R. C. Majumdar<sup>14</sup> identifies Devavarma with the king Devakhadga of the Khadga dynasty of East Bengal. In this circumstance the temple-land, which reverted to Devavarma, does not seem to have been situated in Magadha, but in East India.

The above discussion leads to a definite conclusion that I-Tsing's Gupta held sway over the Murshidabad District.

If Allan is right in identifying I-Tsing's Śrī-Gupta with Śrī-Gupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, doubt may be reasonably entertained whether Magadha was an early possession of the Imperial Guptas. Possession of Magadha by Śrī-Gupta would imply that his kingdom extended from the District of Shahabad, Bihar, to the District of Murshidabad, Bengal. The Gupta inscriptions<sup>15</sup> describe Śrī-Gupta as a Mahāiāja, a title indicative of lower political status. It is unlikely that a petty ruler of Śrī-Gupta's status held sway over an extensive territory, comprising the Districts of Shahabad, Patna,

10 *Buddhist Life*, Intro., p. xxvii.

11 *Life of Hsuen Tsang*, Intro., p. xx.

12 *Ibid.*, p. xxx.

13 *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, p. 106.

14 *Early History of Bengal*.

15 *Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions*.

Gaya, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, and Murshidabad, including Santal Parganas. Moreover the evidence, hitherto available, will not support the conclusion that Śrī-Gupta's kingdom extended beyond Murshidabad.

Thus the early home of the Imperial Guptas is to be located in Murshidabad, Bengal, and not in Magadha.

Some coins bearing the legend Candra (gupta I) are known.<sup>16</sup> They demonstrate the marriage between Candragupta I and the Licchavi princess, Kumāradevi. V. A. Smith,<sup>17</sup> while discussing the importance of these coins, remarks—"It seems probable that at the time of this fateful union the Licchavis were masters of the ancient imperial city (Pātaliputra), and that Candragupta I by means of his matrimonial alliance, succeeded to the power previously held by his wife's relatives." Allan<sup>18</sup> criticises Smith's view by pointing out that "I-Tsing's evidence suggests that Pātaliputra was in the possession of the Guptas even in Gupta's time." In his opinion Candragupta conquered Vaiśālī from the Licchavis, and "that his marriage with Kumāradevi was one of the terms of the treaty of peace."

But the above discussions show that Smith's view, viz. that the Licchavis were in possession of Pātaliputra in the early part of Candragupta's reign, cannot be rejected simply on the ground that the city was in the possession of the Guptas from the time of Śrī-Gupta.

If Smith's view proves to be true, it will follow that Candragupta I transferred his capital from Bengal to Magadha, where his successors ruled for a long time.

D. C. GANGULY

16 *Gupta Coins*

17 *Early History of India* Second ed., p. 265

18 *Gupta Coins* Intro p. xix

## The Dutch in Bengal after Bedara

### *Dependence of the Dutch on the English*

The defeat of the Dutch at Bedara in November, 1759, dealt a crushing blow to their hopes "to rival the political power of the English in Bengal,"<sup>1</sup> and henceforth their existence in Bengal became entirely dependent on the goodwill of their rival, the English. The Nawab of Bengal began to look on them as "an unloved guest," whose departure, rather than existence, he now desired most. The Dutch traveller Stavorinus, who visited Bengal during 1769-71 A D., has thus described the situation of the Dutch after 1759 — "Since the unfortunate issue of our expedition to Bengal in 1759, the reputation of our countrymen has been on the decline, and we are obliged to be not a little dependent upon the English, with respect to the piece-goods wanted for our cargoes, both for Batavia and for Holland. In the beginning of the government of the Director V— (Vernet), in the year 1765, or 1766, when Lord Clive was still in Bengal everything seemed to take a friendly aspect, and arrangements respecting trade were about to be made to mutual satisfaction and advantage. Both these gentlemen came to an agreement, that all the aurungs, or weaving manufactories in Bengal, should be numbered, in order that a repartition might afterwards be made for so many aurungs to each nation for the purpose of weaving the goods they wanted, and two Commissioners were appointed, to this end, respectively, by the English, the Dutch and the French, to go through the whole country and ascertain the number of manufac-

<sup>1</sup> The importance of the victory of Bedara for the English was aptly hinted at by Clive in the following sentence —

"Thus ended an affair which, had the event been different, threatened us in its consequence with utter destruction, for, had the Dutch gained the same advantage over us, we have now the most convincing proofs to conclude that the remembrance of Amboyna would have been lost in their treatment of this colony." Malcolm, *Life of Clive*, vol II, p 89

ories . But these excellent arrangements were all broken, by the departure of Lord Clive from Bengal, his Lordship was succeeded by Mr Verelst, with whom the Director V—shortly afterwards fell out, and their disagreement was carried to such a point, that upon paying the customary annual national visit to Calcutta, Mr V—was treated in a most improper and humiliating manner, whence, in the end, so great a breach arose between these two chiefs that the above arrangements were, much to our prejudice, entirely set aside. The English had equally, on their sides, much reason to be discontented with Mr V—as he had used his utmost endeavours to favour the French in all things, notwithstanding they (the French) had no power to render our Company any service or even to help themselves, and the English were much hurt at this conduct especially at Mr V—'s selling all the Japan copper, which the Dutch ships brought to Bengal, to the French, without allowing them the opportunity of purchasing a single pound, for a considerable time although they offered a higher price than was obtained from the French. This was evidently not only unfriendly but wholly incompatible with the interests of the Company, which appears the more strongly if we consider that, upon the least difference with the Moors the Council at Hughli were obliged to have recourse to the mediation and protection of the government at Calcutta, as was the case, two or three times, while I was in Bengal.<sup>2</sup> The Dutch commerce in Bengal, formerly 'very profitable, now ceased to be so''<sup>3</sup>

*Relations between the Dutch and the Nawab of Bengal*

The relations between the Dutch and the Nawab's government did not also turn out to be cordial. The Dutch had annexed the village of Partabpur near Hughli to their territory, and Mirza Kazim,

2 Stravonius, *Voyage to the East Indies* vol I, pp 499-501

3 *Ibid*, pp 324-25

formerly *nab* of the *faujdar* of Hugli, and an inhabitant of that village, had connived at this encroachment of the Dutch for the sake of their protection. Muhammad Reza Khan, *nab* Nazim of the minor Nawab Saif-ud-daulah, visited Hugli in February, 1768, argued before the Dutch Director Mr G L Vernet that Partabpur was within the area of Hugli and was "never annexed to Chinsurah" and "wanted him to restore it to the Nawab". We do not know if it was actually restored or not. There were also other faults on the part of the Dutch which excited the displeasure of the Nawab's government against them. The Dutch Company had to pay certain duties to the Nawab for conveying goods up and down the river Ganges, but these had not been paid by Mr Vernet for several years. The Nawab thereupon ordered the *faujdar* of Hugli to exact his lawful dues in a forcible manner, and the latter accordingly sent a *chubdar* to the Dutch Governor demanding the money and threatening him that "in case it were not paid, he would not suffer any more goods belonging to the Dutch to pass". The Director "took umbrage at this peremptory message, and after having violently abused the poor *chubdar*, sent him to the fiscal De Saumaise, and had him bound to the whipping post and unmercifully flogged". At this the *faujdar* of Hugli detained all calicoes and other piece-goods intended for cargoes for the Dutch ships, which were to sail for Europe in the month of November 1768, and he also invested Chinsurah on the land side on 31d October 1768, with ten or twelve soldiers.<sup>7</sup> All the "approaches and barriers were so closely guarded, that no one could go in or out. This occasioned in the ensuing days such a scarcity of provisions, among the inhabitants of the village that many of them perished for want. Besides this blockade in the land side, the Moors (the Muslims) had also beset the river,

4 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol II, pp 231-32

5 Stavorinus, *op cit*, vol I, p 115

6 *Ibid*

7 *Ibid*

above the village, so that nothing would be brought down the water, and from below, there was little to be obtained, while there was any rice, seven pounds weight were sold for a rupee, but it was soon consumed<sup>8</sup> On a reference being made by Mr Vernet, the Dutch Council thought it useless to use force and decided to settle the matter amicably through the mediation of the English. A Dutch deputation consisting of Mr Ross, the Chief Administrator, and Mr Van Braam, the Controller of Equipments, settled the affair with the English Council in Calcutta and Muhammad Reza Khan. On their promise that the Nawab's duties should be quickly paid, the Dutch goods were released, the Nawab's soldiers left Chinsurah on the 15th October, and the navigation of the Hugli river was opened<sup>9</sup>

*Dutch actions during the administrations of Cartier and Hastings*

But both the English and the Nawab's government kept a strict watch on the movements of the Dutch. They were required by the Naib Nazim "not to send more than one European with a fleet"<sup>10</sup> Officers were appointed at Kalpi to inspect their ships as also of the other Europeans like the French and the Danes, to take strict account of the cannon, arms and military stores on board their ships and to prevent them from sailing up the Kalpi with more than 24 guns and stores in proportion and 250 men in one ship, which were considered sufficient for a merchant ship<sup>11</sup> These officers were ordered "not to use violence without just cause and on no account to receive gratuities from anyone"<sup>12</sup> The regulations of the *Nizam* were, however, scarcely obeyed by the Dutch, the French and the Danes<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, they obstructed the business of the *faujdar* and oppressed the people<sup>14</sup> In 1771 the

8 Stavorinus, *op cit* vol I, p 115

9 *Ibid*

10 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* vol III, p 27

11 *Ibid*, p 42

12 *Ibid*

13 *Ibid*, p 138

14 *Ibid*, pp 249-50

Director of the Dutch Company committed a murder, and the victim's heirs petitioned to Sayyid Muhammad Ali Khan, *faujdar* of Hugli for redress<sup>15</sup> Mr John Cartier, the Company's Governor in Calcutta, thereupon, authorised the *Naib Nazim*, Muhammad Reza Khan, to write to the *faujdar* of Hugli, to put a stop to the illegal actions of the Director of the Dutch Company<sup>16</sup> Further, disputes generally took place between the Director of the Dutch Company at Chinsurah and the officers of the *Nizamat* on the question of respective rights and privileges Considering it desirable to put a stop to such disputes, Warren Hastings, who succeeded Mr John Cartier as the Governor of Bengal, wrote to Nawab Mubarak-ud-daulah and his guardian Muni Begam, on the 11th May, 1773, to call upon the Director of the Dutch Company to produce copies of *firman*s by virtue of which his Company claimed privileges in Bengal<sup>17</sup> The Nawab acted accordingly It is not known if the Nawab's orders were complied with by the Dutch or not But the Dutch Director defied the authority of Khan Jahan Khan, the *faujdar* of Hugli, who thereupon requested the Company's Governor to "give him definite directions for his guidance and to ask the Nawab at Murshidabad to reprimand them and issue a *parwanah* empowering him to stop their boats of grain, etc"<sup>18</sup> As desired by the English Governor,<sup>19</sup> the Nawab issued a *parwanah* to the *faujdar* of Hugli asking him "to stick to the privileges of his office and not to give up his authority"<sup>20</sup>

*Hostile Anglo-Dutch relations during the War of American Independence*

In course of a few years, the Anglo-Dutch relations in India turned to be hostile under the influence of extra-Indian politics The adhesion of Holland to the league against England during the

15 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* vol III

17 *Ibid*, vol IV, p 56

19 *Ibid*, pp 161-62

16 *Ibid*, p 255

18 *Ibid*, p 149 and p 168

20 *Ibid*, p 168

War of American Independence was followed by a declaration of war on the part of England and seizure of Dutch colonies. In pursuance of this policy, Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, drove the Dutch out of Madras and Pulicat, and in November 1781 captured the Dutch settlement of Nagapatam<sup>21</sup>. The Dutch forts and factories in Bengal and Bihar were also seized by the English without much difficulty, as the English, apprehending a rupture with the Dutch for some time, had not allowed them to maintain strong garrisons in their settlements<sup>22</sup>. But after the termination of the War of American Independence by the Peace of Versailles in 1783, the Dutch got back most of their possessions in India,<sup>23</sup> and in the year 1778 the Dutch settlement of Baranagar was exchanged with the English territories contiguous to their factory at Hugli<sup>24</sup>.

*Anglo-Dutch alliance during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*

The Dutch power was badly affected in Europe during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. On the conquest of Holland by France in 1795, the Dutch possessions in India were placed under the protection of the English for their safety against the French,<sup>25</sup> and the English issued the following proclamation<sup>26</sup> — “Whereas armed Force acting under the pretended authority of the persons now exercising the Powers of Government in France, has entered into the Territories of his Britannic Majesty’s ancient allies, their High Mightnesses, the States General of the United Provinces, and has forcibly taken possession of the seat of Government, whereby the Stad-holder has been obliged to leave his own country and to take refuge in Great Britain, We do by this Proclamation

21 E. H. Nolan, *Illustrated History of the British Empire in India*, II, p. 400

22 *Siyar-ul-Mutakberin* (Eng. trans.) IV, pp. 118-19

23 Consultations, 23rd Nov. 1784 (Imperial Records Dept., Foreign Branch)

24 Consultations, 12th Jan. 1789 (Imperial Records Dept., Foreign Branch)

25 Letter from G. Hay, Secretary to Government, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, 14th August, 1795 (Patna District Judge Court Unpublished Records)

26 *Ibid*

issued in virtue of his Majesty's Commands, invite and require all Commanders and Governors of Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies, belonging to the said States as they respect the sacred obligation of honour and allegiance and fidelity to their lawful sovereigns (of their adherence to which they have at all times given the most distinguished proofs) to deliver up the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories into his Majesty's possession, in order that the same may be preserved by his Majesty until a general Pacification shall have composed the differences now subsisting in Europe, and until it shall please God to re-establish the ancient constitution and Government of the United Provinces, and in the meantime we do hereby promise upon the assurance of His Majesty's Royal Word that so long as the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories shall continue to be possessed by His Majesty, they shall be held and treated upon the same Terms with respect to all advantages, privileges, and Immunities to be enjoyed by the respective Inhabitants upon which the Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies are held and treated which are now subject to his Majesty's Crown, or are otherwise possessed by the Company of Merchants trading from England to the East Indies under His Majesty's Royal Charter."

*Loss of Dutch possessions in India*

The Dutch gradually lost all their possessions in India during the first three decades of the 19th century. The Marquis of Wellesley contemplated an expedition against the Dutch at Batavia, as the Dutch were then in alliance with the French, but it could not be carried out.<sup>27</sup> When Mr Sohnlein, the Chief of the Dutch factory at Patna, died in May, 1803, his effects were sent by Mr Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, according to the desire of the

<sup>27</sup> *Journal of Indian History*, 1932, p. 52

deceased, to his executors, Messrs Bowman of Chinsurah and Ullman of Fultah <sup>28</sup> During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Minto (1807-13), the Dutch lost Cape of Good Hope, the Spice Islands and Amboyna <sup>29</sup> But Java and the Dutch possessions within the jurisdiction of the Madras Government were restored to the Dutch by Lord Hastings <sup>30</sup> The territories of the Dutch in *moujah* Octler Nowapore in paragana Sonhit near Balasore, from which the Dutch agent at Balasore had been dispossessed, were also given back to them in 1820 <sup>31</sup>

During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Amherst, a treaty was concluded between England and Holland with a view "to place upon a footing mutually beneficial to their respective possessions and the commerce of their subjects in the East Indies so that the welfare and prosperity of both Nations may be promoted in all time to come, without those differences and jealousies which have, in former times interrupted the Harmony which ought always to submit between them, and being anxious that all occasions of misunderstanding between their respective agents may be, as much as possible, prevented" <sup>32</sup> The important terms of the treaty were the following —

Art 8—His Netherlands Majesty cedes to His Brittanic Majesty all establishments on the continent of

<sup>28</sup> Letters from Messrs Playdell and D V Keirim to H Douglas, dated 23rd May and 24th June, 1803 (Panna District Judge Court Unpublished Records)

<sup>29</sup> Thointon, *History of the British Empire in India* IV, pp 181-95 pp 200-201

<sup>30</sup> Consultations, 26th October and 17th December, 1816 (Imperial Records Department, Foreign Branch)

<sup>31</sup> Letter from D A Overbeck, Resident at Chinsurah, to W L Melville *Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack*, dated Chinsurah, the 2nd February, 1820 (Cuttack Unpublished Records) Copies of these records were lent to me by Principal K P Mitra of Monghyr, for which I thank him sincerely

<sup>32</sup> Proceedings of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council in the Foreign Department, under date the 14th October, 1824 (Cuttack Unpublished Records)

- India, and renounces all privileges and exemption enjoyed or claimed in virtue of those establishments
- Art 9—The Factory of Fort Marlborough, all the English possessions on the island of Sumatra are hereby ceded to His Netherland Majesty, and His Brittanic Majesty further engages that no British settlement shall be formed on that island, nor any treaty concluded by the British authority with Native Prince, chief or state therein
- Art 10—Town and fort of Malacca and dependencies ceded to Brittanic Majesty
- Art 11—His Brittanic Majesty withdraws objection to the occupation of the Island of Billiton and dependencies by agents of Netherland Government
- Art 12—His Netherland Majesty withdraws objection to occupation of the Island of Singapore by subjects of His Brittanic Majesty No British establishment to be made on the Carimon Island and Island of Baltam, Bintang, or other islands
- Art 13—Delivery of all possessions on the 1st March, 1825
- Art 14—Inhabitants for 6 years of the date of ratification of the Treaty may dispose of property as they like "

Thus by the year 1825 vanished all the possessions of the Dutch in India

KALIKINKAR DALLA

## Nawab Muhammad Ali and the Siege of Arcot (1751)

### *Introductory*

The contemporary historian, Robert Orme, wrote in 1764 that Captain Clive, on his return from Trichinopoly in the beginning of August 1751, proposed as the only resource left to the English, to attack the possessions of Chanda Sahib in the territory of Arcot, "offering to lead the expedition himself which he doubted not would cause a diversion on the part of the enemy's force from Trichinopoly" Following him, other writers of eminence have given Clive the whole of the credit for conceiving the idea of the diversion on Arcot Sir George Forrest repeats the same in his *Life of Lord Clive* (1918) and says that Clive, on his return to Fort St David, made "a proposal which was an example of daring and military sagacity", viz, if a swift dash should be made on Arcot, Chanda Sahib would be bound either to lose the seat of his government or send a large portion of his besieging force from Trichinopoly to protect it or to take it" A study of the records of the English Presidency and of other indigenous sources will, however, point to the fact that it was Nawab Muhammad Ali, the son of the martyred Nawab Anwaru'ddin Khan, who was besieged in Trichinopoly by Chanda Sahib assisted by the French, that insisted, almost from the very beginning of the siege operations at Trichinopoly, on the necessity for, and the importance of, an attack on Arcot, and the English Governor Saunders wholly approved of the plan and supported it from the first

### *Muhammad Ali on the importance of Arcot*

Nawab Muhammad Ali who had taken shelter in Trichinopoly after the assassination of Nasir Jang, in December 1750, had all along been urging on the English the necessity of their promptly

sending reinforcements to him. He assured Governor Saunders, in his letter to Fort St. David (received 2/13th March 1751), that Mir Asad of Chetpat, Mutabir Khan of Ranjangudi, Hirasat Khan and Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore were all his friends and his troops could take shelter in their forts whenever they might be sent to take possession of the Carnatic country.<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Ali thus gave out his plans. "I do therefore give it as my opinion that it is highly necessary to strengthen the affairs of Trichinopoly Fort, retake Madura (from Alam Khan, an adherent of Chanda Sahib who had to come to be in possession of it in the beginning of 1751) and settle Tinnevely, but at the same time we ought to be mindful of the affairs at Arcot, and use our endeavours to weaken the enemy, for if we proceed to Arcot before we retake Madura, Alam Khan will grow powerful. On the other side, if we neglect Chanda Sahib on account of Madura, it will prejudice our affairs. We must therefore be mindful of both these affairs and to that end I think it requisite to send a part of my army with a detachment of your troops to Madura and the other part of the army shall be commanded by my brother Abdul Vahab Khan who in conjunction with your troops are abroad upon the expedition to Arcot."<sup>2</sup>

Writing a few days later, the Nawab was sanguine that Madura could be easily retaken and it should be secured "before we think of settling the affairs of Arcot." Governor Saunders appreciated the wisdom of the plan of the Nawab, but he deprecated the sloth of his movements. He thus wrote to Muhammad Ali on the 30th April/11th May 1757—"Am doubtful whether you have come to a final resolution. Our troops have been abroad above a month, when

1 No. 29 of Country Correspondence, Public Department. Records of Fort St. George (1751)

2 Letter No. 59 of Muhammad Ali to Fort St. David received 20th April 1751.—For Cope's failure before Madura see Orme, vol. I, pp. 169-170 and Orme Mss. O. V (India Office). Hill's *Catalogue*—O. V. 14, 21

they first went out Chanda Sahib had gained no advantage and it was thought your joining us would entirely frustrate his designs On receipt of your letter, I wrote to the Deputy Governor of Madras to send a detachment to Vellore, but the affair was finished It is my opinion that if you don't attack Chanda Sahib in this province, he will attack you, if his forces come into your country they will plunder and ruin it, but if yours enter his, it will be the contrary The friendship and regard I have for you induce me plainly to tell you what I think "

Muhammad Ali was apprehensive of Chanda Sahib's march on Trichinopoly and was chagrined when Cope had to send away a detachment to Fort St David under definite instructions from Saunders He could only repeat his firm conviction that "if this (Trichinopoly) is preserved, we shall be enabled to retake Arcot "

*Muhammad Ali repeats the urgency of a diversion on  
the Arcot country*

But the nearer Chanda Sahib approached Trichinopoly, the more frightened Muhammad Ali came to be, for his own safety The latter was prepared to deliver up the districts of Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevely to the English, provided they allowed him 2 lakhs of Madras pagodas every year for his expenses, as an alternative, he desired the English to negotiate with the French and conclude a peace between him and Chanda Sahib so that "each of us may remain in peaceable possession of his respective country, that is, I in Trichinopoly and its dependencies, and Chanda in Arcot "" At the end of the letter containing the above alternatives, Muhammad Ali wrote in his own hand thus —"Please raise as great a disturbance as possible in Conjeevaram etc countries " Muhammad Ali was already getting to be suspicious of the English and could

3 The Nawab's letter to Governor Saunders received on the 29th July/9th August/1751 (No 103—Country Correspondence, Public Department 1751)

be easily persuaded into believing that they were ready to abandon him. So when Governor Saunders wrote to Chanda Sahib taxing him with having unjustly seized the Trichinopoly country, advantage was taken of his sealed letter to prepare an inner slip as though addressed by Saunders to Chanda Sahib offering to deliver up to the latter the Fort of Trichinopoly and the person of Muhammad Ali on certain conditions.<sup>4</sup> A letter of Muhammad Ali to Governor Saunders received on the 15/26 August, discloses how he did not feel very secure in the possession of English friendship, he thus began his letter — "I have had the pleasure to receive a letter from you wherein you are pleased to intimate that affairs in this World are not always upon the same footing so that I should by the help of God continue to be mindful of my own affairs. I do not doubt but you will be mindful of the friendship between us according as you have wrote to me."

Nawab Muhammad Ali had, for some months past, been stressing on the value of a diversion in the country of Arcot. He had all along been holding that if troops had been despatched from Madras, they could have taken possession of several places in the Arcot country and the enemy might have been obliged to desist marching on Trichinopoly.<sup>5</sup> At first Governor Saunders and his

4 Dodwell remarks that this was "a device characteristic of Duplex, no matter whether proposed by him or not." For the reply of Chanda Sahib to Saunders see No 109, Country Correspondence, 1751, Public Department, letter received on 20/31 August.

5 *Vide* para 4 of the Nawab's letter received at Madras on the 26th May/6th June (No 74 of Country Correspondence 1751). Again in his letter to Saunders received on the 27th June/8th July 1751, the Nawab reiterated his advice in the following words — "Be pleased also to send a proper assistance and a supply of warlike necessaries. Sometime ago I desired you by several letters to send a small force from Madras to assist my amaldars to take possession of the several districts lying that way, if this had been done the enemy might have been deprived of the revenues of the country which in all likelihood would have obliged them to decline their march this way and then our troops would have fought them to their entire defeat in that country."

Council thought that this might be effected by Captain Gingeñs leaving sufficient number of men in Trichinopoly and marching with a detachment into the Arcot country

Rightly therefore does the contemporary annalist of the Carnatic, Burhanu'd-din, in his *Tuzuk-i-Wálájábí*, write thus —“When weakness overtook the besieged at Natharnagar, (Trichinopoly) on account of the protraction of the seige and the stubbornness of the enemy, Hazarat Aala (Muhammad Ali) devised to divide the attention of the enemy and thus to remove the weariness of his own men and to clear the roads for the coming in of provisions Accordingly Hazarat Aala despatched Muhammad Madinah Ali Khan and Mr Clive, the Sirdar of the English army, with sepoy who bore hatred to the enemy to subdue the town and the fort of Arcot and thus to exhibit their courage ”

*Governor Saunders appreciates the Nawab's idea*

Governor Saunders now began to appreciate the value of the Nawab's proposal At first he was very hesitating He wrote to the Nawab on the 23rd August thus —“As I judge a diversion in the Arcot country may be serviceable to your affairs, I have sent a party of men with good officers to Madras to be reinforced with more, these are to raise money for you whatever is got is entirely for you, but in case of hostilities the plunder is to be half yours, the other half to the officers and men, as soldiers who venture their lives ought to be rewarded ” The Nawab responded to this letter by writing to his Diwan, Şampat Rai, who was at Madras to send Walí Muhammad Khan or some other officer along with the English troops and also to write to Bommarazu and other poligars

6 From the manuscript translation by Mr Muhammad Husain Nainar, Senior Lecturer in the Islamic section, Oriental Research Institute, University of Madras This translation (in process of publication by the Madras University) has been annotated by the writer with historical notes

for help. He then envisaged the consequential happenings in the following words — “As soon as our troops have begun incursions in the Arcot country it will hinder the enemy from receiving the revenues which will weaken them greatly and they cannot divide their troops in case they march with their whole army towards Arcot, my troops shall pursue them jointly with yours and those of Mysore and Tanjore. If it happens that the enemy retreat and our troops pursue them, I shall then be able to collect money from different parts which will be a means to gain our ends. You will in no way neglect to disturb the Arcot country and take possession of the several districts. This may probably withdraw the enemy’s troops from this (Trichinopoly) country.” Muhammad Ali urged thus in a subsequent letter, in reply to Governor Saunders,<sup>7</sup> after Arcot had been actually taken from the enemy and before its full significance had been grasped by the English, and when Clive actually proposed to abandon Arcot and to strengthen himself in Timuri — “It is highly necessary for us to take care of this place, it has pleased you to fortify the fort at Vriddhachalam. I cannot omit writing to you that Arcot is the metropolis of the Carnatic country so that the Fort will be of better use to us than Vriddhachalam, I must repeat you will take care to make it strong by demolishing all the buildings which may be destructive to it. By the blessing of God the present success will procure you a great name in the Deccan and Hindustan countries and also in Europe. Please to take diversions in the several districts round your place.”

7 Saunders felt that though the English and the Nawab’s forces might be strong enough to keep Arcot, they would never be able to collect the revenues from the poligars, without some of the Trichinopoly troops joining them. The enemy was strong in cavalry while they had none and therefore when they were beaten, they could not be pursued. He added “It is thought this will not divert Chanda Sahib from his enterprise on Trichinopoly, there is no time to lose, exert yourself, engage Chanda, if possible and send some horse to Arcot.” (Letter No 193, Country Correspondence of 1751)

*The immediate effect of the capture of Arcot*

Actually the English capture of Arcot<sup>8</sup> did not make any great impression on the country, nor did it much disturb the minds of the Pondicherry people. News of the English march to Arcot did not reach Dupleix for a week, and Polur Muhammad Ali Khan, a brother of Chanda Sahib who was the Killadar at Arcot and evacuated it after a little or no resistance, was promised reinforcements from Pondicherry where the crafty Madame Dupleix gave out as her advice that it would not be advisable to recall Chanda Sahib's troops or the French troops from before Trichinopoly.<sup>9</sup> The two sons of Bangaru Yachama Nayak of Venkatagiri, whose vakils were at Pondicherry, soliciting Dupleix's favour, were written to immediately to send troops for the help of Polur Muhammad Ali Khan. It was, however, Dupleix that realised the seriousness of the event, he became greatly put out and urgently wrote to Chanda Sahib who had already despatched 1,000 horsemen, to write to his son Raza Sahib to march at once to Arcot with another body of 1,000 horse, and that Chanda Sahib himself should immediately cross the Cauvery and deliver an assault on the Trichinopoly fort.

Nawab Muhammad Ali rightly cautioned Governor Saunders to urge Clive and Muhammad Hamid to fortify Arcot and endea-

8 Governor Saunders wrote to Muhammad Ali on August 15/26, that he had resolved to leave only three or four hundred men at Trichinopoly and make a diversion on the Arcot country with the rest, and join the Nawab's forces and raise contributions, consistently with the Nawab's desire. Subsequently he wrote to Nawab (30th September/11th October) that he had actually ordered a diversion into the Arcot country in order to draw off the enemy from Trichinopoly. Clive embarked with 130 men from Fort St David for Madras on August 22/September 2. He got a reinforcement of 80 men at Madras and proceeded to Arcot on August 26/September 6, with a body of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys and 8 officers and 8 field pieces. Passing on through Conjeevaram the force reached the neighbourhood of Arcot on August 31st/September 11, and they took possession of the Fort next day, hoisting both the English colours and Muhammad Ali's flag.

9 As reported by the Pondicherry Diarist, Anandā Ranga Pillai (vol VIII)

your to get in provisions and also to send reinforcements to Arcot from Madras and Fort St David. The English troops and the Nawab's troops were very deficient in cavalry, their sallies could not be long, and Clive's assault on Timiri was unsuccessful (17th September). A week later, the reinforced enemy took up a stand within 3 miles of Arcot, and then Clive could only make a feeble attack upon him. The latter seized the big pagoda of Conjeevaram, and Clive had to use great skill in conveying safely the two eighteen-pounders that were sent to him from Madras. Raza Sahib finally began the famous siege of Arcot which lasted from the 4th October to the 25th November. Even when the siege was raised after the failure of a final attack, Governor Saunders did not seem to have valued much the undisturbed possession of Arcot and the neighbouring forts of Timiri and Kaveripak, as in his opinion "it will only weaken our small force greatly to leave men in them".

Thus it will be seen that the credit for the initiative of the idea of diversion made on Arcot should go in a very large measure to Nawab Muhammad Ali whose repeated requests opened Governor Saunders' eyes to the possibilities of success attendant on the plan, while Clive eagerly took advantage of the opportunity offered by it and persuaded Saunders that he could do it, when Captain Gingsens doubted his own capacity for the task.



Seated Sūrya at Ūnzī  
North Gujrat



Trilokyamohanī  
A rare image of Viṣṇu with 16 hands  
(according to *Rupamaṇḍana*)



A circular image of Vishnu from Gujarat



A woman with a child (in black granite)  
(from *Kotyārka Vijapur Taluka Baroda*  
*Territories*)

## Gujarātī or the Western School of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture

### *The Western School of Mediaeval Sculpture*

The Western School of Indian Sculpture flourished in three ramifications of which one lies to the west of a line which begins at the latitude of Delhi and may be drawn through Ajmer southward to the river Tāptī. Some of the best-known monuments lie in Gujarat, and so the westernmost branch of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture should better be styled as "Gujarātī".

### *Nomenclature "Gujarātī"*

The nomenclature of the Mediaeval Sculpture and Architecture presents considerable difficulty. In any case, a sectarian classification (such as that forms the main defect of Fergusson's work), is quite misleading. For just as in the case of Sculpture and Painting, there are no Buddhistic, Jaina or Brāhmanical "styles" of architecture, sculpture and painting, but only Buddhist, Jaina and Brāhmanical buildings, paintings and images, in the Indian style of their period.

The Indian painting, architecture and sculpture is one but there are provincial variations in its formal development, existing side by side with the secular variation in pure style. Hence, in respect of these, the only adequate classification is geographical. "Gujarātī" is therefore the apt name for the Western Indian School.

### *Gujarat, an art-province*

Gujarat—the mediaeval Gujarat of the days of the Solankis and Vāghelās—in her palmiest days, say from the 10th century to the

1 Cf *Indian Sculpture* (Heritage of India Series, Calcutta 1933) by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, p. 105

end of the 13th, had evolved a provincial school of sculpture, the existence of peculiar specimens of which have been recorded in the dhyānas (descriptions) of the images by Sūtradhāra Mandana (circa 1450 A D) in his three compendiums on the subject the<sup>2</sup> Rūpa-Mandana, the Rūpāvatāra and the Devatā-Mūrti-prakarana

Gujarat enjoyed political tranquility in the reign of the Solanki kings—in the time of Mūlarāja, Bhīmadeva, Siddharāja, Kumārapāla and some others of the Vāghela branch, though occasionally it was disturbed by the inroads of Moslem iconoclasts. And this was the time when art, literature, etc., could flourish in Gujarat.

Gujarat deserves, therefore, to be considered as an art-province, with a dialect of its own, although it is related to that of the contemporary currents in the other two branches of the Western school of sculpture. It can be said that mediaeval craftsmen from Gujarat to Orissa share common traditions.

#### *Contemporary Mediaeval Art in India*

The best period of mediaeval art in India, ranged from the 9th century onwards to the 13th century, before the general conquest of the various provinces by the Mahomedans, when the Hindu artistic talent got a set-back and soon degenerated into a decadent art. This is the period when the Pāla and Sena schools of art flourished in Bengal, and reached its zenith. The Utkal and the Kalinga art flourished in Orissa, as manifest in the temples at Puri, Konārka and Bhuvaneśvara.

Indian architecture and sculpture, in a way, illustrate the background of philosophy and religion, that are still blended together in this country. Sculpture and pictorial representations of our different gods and goddesses are significant inasmuch as that a kind of symbolism meant for meditation attaches to them. This gives a peculiar importance to the different texts on Śilpa.

2 Published as No XII in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series, (1936)

In the Indian idea, the artist, the Śilpīn, is not a peculiar individual with special gift of experience, but simply a tradesman meeting a general demand. His vocation is hereditary, and he receives his education in the workshop. His genius is not an individual achievement, but it manifests the quality of the society at any given period in the work of a single school. Therefore practically the same grade of vitality appears everywhere, and the workmanship of individual is only to be distinguished in the Hindu and the Jaina temples of Gujarat and in the style of miniature-painting in Jaina and non-Jaina MSS of the Gujarati school which bear out this truth.

#### *Śilpaśāstras*

These Śilpa-śāstras, as far as they are known hitherto, deal either with image-making with regard to iconography and iconometry, or else with the theory and practice of painting, but not with the theory and but little with the technique of sculpture as a plastic art. The artist in India is not the master of his own theme, nor does he choose his own problems. For him they are laid down in the Śāstras or canonical prescriptions, which lay down instructions to make such and such images in such and such a fashion.

#### *Abnormal forms*

At times changes in the prescribed abnormal forms of images are done at the instance of a certain class of donors, who do not like such grotesque forms with a large number of heads, and accordingly by reducing the number of faces make the image as natural as possible. Moreover, much depends on the stone they work upon. If the stone is weak at certain spots, the sculptor fashioned it according to convenience, and thus either reduced the number of heads or changed the order of symbols—and these naturally constituted the iconographic peculiarities of these images.

*Harmonising the abnormal*

Sometimes the texts prescribed abnormal descriptions of images, but, here the individual talent of the Śilpin is found to come to his help. In the creation of abnormal types (in case of image having more than one head or more than two hands or having non-human form) the idea is new and the conception bold. Here the clever artist is found able to harmonise the seemingly impossible theme into a graceful work of art. Several artistic examples of the important deities in the Brāhmanical pantheon—Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa, Śakti, etc. are found in Gujarati sculpture.

*Artistic peculiarities*

The artistic peculiarities of Gujarati sculptures bear a close resemblance to the specimens hailing from Bengal in the Pāla and Sena periods. The delicate ornamentation, artistic expression, boldness of outline, definiteness of detail and the pleasing effect produced on the minds of every onlooker make the images of the mediaeval period the product of the best days of Hindu art, particularly in Gujarat. The execution of these images seems to be perfect, but gaudy and much detailed. The figures are beautifully and yet delicately ornamented, the expression is natural, serene and peaceful. The frame of the body, the garments, the various ornaments and the symbols are found depicted faithfully, according to the dhyānas in the texts.

*Characteristics of the Gujarat branch*

In the Gujarati branch of Western Indian Sculpture, a strained motion (instead of the easy and swaying state of poise in which classical reliefs had dwelt) in its nervy elegance, overstresses the curves, so that they have a tendency to become angular, not far remote from that of the Gujarati paintings of the same age.<sup>3</sup> Such

3 Cf. *Indian Sculpture*, Plate L, fig. 114

vestiges as there are of modelling in this region are laid flattened and angular, with an acute and fantastic outline

A beautiful variation of the Āryāvarta or Indo-Aryan style, found in Rajputana and Gujarat is characterised by a free use of columns, carved with all imaginable richness, strut brackets and exquisite marble ceilings with casped pendants

By an unfortunate error Fergusson described this Western or Gujarati style as the "Jaina Style" In reality it has no concern with any special kind of religion, and is Jaina merely because Jains were numerous and wealthy in Western India in the late mediaeval period as they are still When power passed into Muslim hands the so-called Jaina style, i e., to say the local style was applied with the necessary modifications to the needs of Mahomedan worship We need hardly mention the two temples at Mount Abu as being unsurpassed models of this wonderful style

#### *Sūtradhāra Mandana*

Both Mandana and his father Śrī Ksetra were under the patronage of Mahārānā Kumbhakarna, the celebrated king of Mewar (Medapāta), and an outstanding personality of the middle of the 15th century (reigned 1419-1469 A D) Rānā Kumbha was a distinguished hero, a man of letters and a noted builder of monuments His Kumbha-merū-prāsāda at Chitor is well known It, therefore, stands to reason that Mahārānā Kumbha should be a patron of architects and sculptors, just like king Bhoja of Dhārā to whom goes the credit of the compilation of *Samarāngana Sūtradhāra* (G O Series, vol XXV), a work on mediaeval architecture, and like king Someśvaradeva who compiled his *Mānasollāsa*, an encyclopaedia on useful topics (G O Series, Vol 28)

Thus it is evident that Mandana's handbooks on architecture and sculpture enjoyed considerable popularity with artists and crafts-

men The Oriental Institute collection of MSS at Baroda alone includes 7 MSS of *Rūpamandana* and about 5 MSS. of *Rājavallabha Mandana*, some of these embellished with running translations in Gujarati prose, some centuries old Mandana seems to have been a prolific writer of treatises on architecture and sculpture The following is a list of works ascribed to him, the titles ending with his name, viz, *Vāstu-mandana*, *Prāsāda-mandana*, *Rājavallabha-mandana*, *Rūpamandana*, etc

Mandana's works seem to have enjoyed wide popularity throughout the length and breadth of India In the unique library of Kāvīndrācārya,<sup>4</sup> a Deccanī Brahmin, and a very learned man, the head of the Pandit community of Benares of his time (17th century) who ultimately took Sannyāsa, copies of Mandana's works were deposited Thus within two centuries after compilation, we find copies of Mandana's texts, deposited in Benares, the great centre of Indian culture From Benares Mandana's works probably spread to other places, westwards as well as eastwards MSS of his works are also met with in the South<sup>5</sup>

#### *Variety of forms of Viṣṇu*

From the original form, developed many other forms of Viṣṇu, according mostly to the individual taste and conception of the authors and sculptors or the donors of the different images When the worshipper thought that with four arms his god does not become powerful enough, he increased the number of hands from two to four, six, eight, ten, twelve, fourteen, sixteen, twenty, or more When, again, the sculptor thought that his god with one face was not able to display all his might or illustrate the mythology connected with the god, he went on adding faces

4 G O Series No 17 (1921) 'Kāvīndrācārya Grantha Sūci'

5 Vide T A Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*

one after another till he was satisfied. Sometimes new forms are described in the dhyānas or executed in actual sculptures and then the authors on Śilpa enjoined the execution of such images in that fashion.

Viṣṇu being one of the chief deities of the Hindu Pantheon, is very frequently represented in sculpture. He is conceived in various forms, and the sculptures of all these forms are found in temples in North and South India. Usually Viṣṇu's symbols are the Conch and the Disc, but when four-armed he carries in addition the Lotus and the Mace. The conch-shell is symbolical of eternal space, the wheel of eternal time, the mace of eternal law and the unfailing punishment consequent on its breach, and the lotus symbolizes the ever-renewing creation and its beauty and freshness.

By way of illustration as to the uniqueness of iconographical materials in Gujarat we mention the iconographic characteristics of certain Viṣṇu and Śakti images found alone in Gujarat, and nowhere else. These are described in the Rūpamandana and not in any other Śilpa work. Images like those of Acyuta (four-armed, with its 24 varieties due to the permutation and combination of the four symbols held in the four arms), of Vaikuntha (one-faced, eight-armed and seated on Garuda) and of Viśvarūpa (four-faced, twenty-armed, and mounted on Garuda) are thus unique and rare in the history of Indian sculpture.

*Their variations from Rūpamandana*

Sometimes, however, images are met with in Gujarat, which are in the main in accord with the descriptions in the Rūpamandana, but differ in certain details from the same. And it is very probable that the sculptures of the mediaeval period had kindred texts to guide their artists, which canons were, however, modified or changed by the time of Mandana.

Mandana's compilations on sculpture are more interesting in that they contain descriptions of certain rare and abnormal images of Visnu and varieties of Gaurī, which are found nowhere else in India. It is for the same reason that T. A. Gopinath Rao has drawn upon the text of Rūpamandana in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (1916, 4 vols.) for description of rare and unique images. However, he has not been able to support the text from Rūpamandana with adequate photographs of actual images. Dr. B. Bhattacharya's paper on 'Eight mediaeval images in the collection of Prince Pratāp Sinh'<sup>6</sup> although based on a study of actual images, could not be illustrated.

#### *Discovery of rare Visnu images*

I have, however, been able to take photographs of some of the rare Visnu images, mentioned in the *Rūpamandana* during my research tours in North Gujarat, at the instance of the Bombay University, (see Illustrations)

#### *Section in Rūpamandana on Jaina Iconography*

The other noteworthy feature of the *Rūpamandana* is that different forms of Hindu and Jaina images have been described along with Āyatanas or the companion deities or the attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣinis, as the case may be. This is explained by the fact that the rich Jaina community in Western India was very influential at the court of Rājput kings. The warlike Jaina ministers and merchants were also great patrons of art. They were great builders. Hence the section on Jaina iconography in Mandana's work is highly justified, as it was principally designed to guide the artists and craftsmen of Rājputana and Gujarat.



Soma (Moon)

*(from the Sūrya-Kunda at Madherā 11th century)*

Gujarat is a rich mine of fine sculptural remains, in spite of this fact nobody has attempted a detailed and intensive study of such artistic specimens of the mediaeval period. Whenever the detailed series of sculptures from Gujarat shall be reproduced, it will be invaluable as a key to Brahmanical and Jaina iconography. It is also likely that such a study would contribute to the history of art, in its aesthetic aspect as well.

M. R. MAJUMDAR

## Kulatattvārṇava—a spurious work ?

This work has been published by the *Midnapore Prādeśika Brāhmana Sabbā*. The single Ms is said to have been taken from Vikramapura to a Navadvīpa *tola* from where it travelled to Midnapore. The authorship has been attributed to Sarvānanda, son of Dhruvānanda of *Mahāvamśa* fame. The following reasons make us question its genuineness.

(a) No book of this name and of this author was known before. This is no doubt an argument *ex silentio*. But in case of the *Kulāśāstras* this argument has some weight. Very few *Kulapañjikās* have been published or read by few. But many have heard the names of the important works. They are generally transmitted from generation to generation. Before the publication of Dhruvānanda's *Mahāvamśa*, it was known that there was a work of this name and author. The works of Harimīśra and Edumīśra have not yet been found. But they exist in quotation of later authors. It is rather strange that so important a work as *Kulatattvārṇava* by the son of a celebrated *ghataka* was never heard of before.

(b) Every important event in this work is dated. We have got dates for the introduction of Kulinism by Vallālasena, Danujamādhava's *Śrotṛya* divisions, for Dattakhāsa's reforms and for Devīvara's *mela-bandhana*. The curious fact is that all these dates tally with the results of the recent historical researches. So far as we know, no Sanskrit work gives so many correct dates, not even the *Rājataranginī* (all of the dates in it have not proved to be accurate). If the *Kulatattvārṇava* proves to be a genuine work, it must be regarded as a unique work, so far as its dates are concerned.

(c) Dattakhāsa's reforms are narrated in the book, against which a section of the Śrotriyas revolted. They refused to accept his decisions and left Bengal and settled in Midnapore and became known as *Madhyaśrenī*—a section of the Brāhmanas found only in that district (*ślokas* 380-396). It may be that Dattakhāsa was an *amātya* of Rājā Ganeśa during whose rule there was a Hindu revival. It is now held by competent scholars<sup>1</sup> on numismatic grounds that Rājā Ganeśa had the *viruda* Danujamardana. But in the *Kulatattvārnava* his *viruda* is Kamsanārāyana. Kamsanārāyana of the *Vārendra Kulapañjikās* flourished in the latter half of the sixteenth century<sup>2</sup> while Ganeśa ruled in the beginning of the fifteenth. The real cause of this confusion in this book is, it is to be suspected, due to Mr N N Vasu's article in the *Sābitya Parisat Patrikā*, (vol IV, p 146). Those who are responsible for this part of the *Kulatattvārnava* will do well now to revise it, because Mr Vasu has changed his opinion. Rājā Ganeśa and Kamsanārāyana are two different persons and flourished in two different centuries. The revolt of a section of the *Rādhiya Śrotriyas* against Dattakhāsa's reforms and the rise of the *Madhyaśrenī* have been given undue importance in the book. This revolt is not mentioned in any other book. Is it because that it has been published from Midnapore?

The reading of the book leaves the general impression that it is a recent compilation, based on the *Kārikās* of Harimīśra and Edumīśra and Dhruvānanda's *Mahāvamśa*, as published in the *Vanger Jātiya Itihāsa*, vol I. Modern researches about the chronology of the royal dynasties of Bengal have been utilised

PRAMODE LAL PAUL

1 Dr N K Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology of the Sultans of Bengal*, Intro

2 *Sābitya Parisat Patrikā*, 1341 BS, p 16

## The Māndūkya Upaniṣad and the Kārikās of Gaudapāda

The question of the relation of the *Gaudapāda Kārikās* to the *Māndūkya Upaniṣad* has been engaging the attention of the present writer ever since Mr Professor Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya raised a discussion over it<sup>1</sup>

The *Māndūkya* is traditionally regarded as one of the ten major upaniṣads, and the kārikās of Gaudapāda are supposed to be explanatory verses thereon. The *Muktikopaniṣad* names 108 upaniṣadas and holds that the *Māndūkya* alone is enough to liberate a man.

There is a good deal of controversy over the extent of the *Māndūkya*, which is set forth in Professor Bhattacharya's paper referred to above. While present-day Advaitins are unanimous that the twelve prose passages found interspersed in Gaudapāda's work constitute the upaniṣad, most Vaiṣṇava commentators of it since the days of Madhvācārya have, on the other hand, held the kārikās of the first book also to have been a part of the upaniṣad, Puruṣottama, the grandson of the siddhādwaitin, Vallabhācārya, going further and holding the entire work of Gaudapāda as a part of it. It has also been pointed out by Bhattacharya that all the four books of the kārikās have been severally held by others as distinct upaniṣads, while some latter-day advaitins have accepted the Vaiṣṇava view. Mr B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma has pointed out<sup>2</sup> that kārikā I 17 is referred to in *Sūta-sambhitā*, IV 55, as *Śruti*, and he has further attempted without success to prove that both

1 'The Māndūkya Upaniṣad and the Kārikās of Gaudapāda' *IHQ*, I, pp 119-25, and 295-302

2 'Some light on the Gaudapāda Kārikās' 'Further light on Gaudapāda Kārikās,' and 'Still further light on Gaudapāda Kārikās'—in the *Review of Philosophy and Religion*, II, pp 35 ff, III, pp 45 ff and IV, pp 174 ff

Śankara and Sureśvara knew the kārikās of BK I to have been a part of the upanisad. All that he has succeeded in proving is that a few of these kārikās have been mentioned as *Śruti* in Śankarācārya Apocrypha like the 'Viṣṇusahasranāma' commentary, the 'Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpaniya' commentary, and the 'Vivekacūdāmani'. Bhattacharya has pointed out that Śankara, in his commentary on *BS*, II 19, distinctly refers to kārikā I 16 in the following terms — *atroktam vedāntārtbasampradāyaviḍbhīrācāryaiḥ*. It is also found that in his *Brahmasiddhi*, Śankara's senior contemporary, Mandanamīśra, quotes kārikā, I 11, but does not mention it as *śruti*. Nor does Sureśvara refer to kārikās BK I as such. He refers to them as 'āgama-mātram' or 'vedāntokti', but that is because the entire work of Gaudapāda is described as the 'Āgama-śāstra' and the first book is particularly named the 'āgamaprakarana'.

So there can be no doubt that Śankara and his contemporary advaitins did not look upon the kārikās of BK I as part of the *Māndūkya Upanisad*. If the prose passages and the kārikās had been works of the same author, there is no reason why the prose passages should use the terms 'vaiśvānara' and 'turiya', while the kārikās vary them as 'viśva' and 'turya', nor should we expect in such a case a difference of opinion as between prose passage 9 and kārikā 19, BK I. Madhva, however, anticipated these difficulties when he said that Varuna, in the shape of frog, saw the passages, while he introduced explanatory *mantras* in the shape of the verses which had been seen by Brahmā, the creator, a view which he supports by quotations from certain Purānas which, according to Bhattacharya, cannot be traced in the printed editions thereof. This practically amounts to an admission that the prose and the verse portions of BK I are not works of the same author.

\* Prof Bhattacharya thinks that the twelve prose passages are a later work than the kārikās of Gaudapāda, and that probably it is a post-Śankara work, since Śankara is not found referring to them, even where one would expect him to do so, in this recognized commentaries. He is also of opinion<sup>4</sup> that the author of the commentary on the *Māndūkya* and kārikās is not really Śankara, but somebody else assuming that great man's name,—a view which it should be possible to accept in spite of tradition and the opinion of such a distinguished scholar as Mm Prof S Kuppuswami Sāstri to the contrary.

One may also readily accept Bhattacharya's view that the kārikās are by no means what they are supposed to be, namely, a sort of vārtika on the *Māndūkya Upanisad*, since they have no characteristic of a vārtika which consists in discussing what is said, what is not said and what is badly said (*uktānukta-durukta-cintā vārtikam*—Rājaśekhara). The reasons set forth by Prof Bhattacharya need not be repeated here.

But one cannot help joining issue with this erudite scholar when he insists that the *Māndūkya Upanisad*, that is, the twelve prose passages, is a post-Śankara or even a post-Gaudapāda work. First, the tradition that the *Māndūkya* is one of the ten major upanisads cannot be discarded without adequate reason. Secondly, Y Subrahmaniya Sarma has pointed out<sup>5</sup> that Sureśvara actually quotes from this upanisad and names it —

एषो ऽन्तर्ग्र्याम्येष योनिः सर्वस्य प्रभवाप्ययो ।

माराङ्क्येय-श्रुति-वच इति स्पष्टम् अधीयते ॥

Thirdly, Māndanamisra, who like Sureśvara, was a senior contemporary of Śankara, quotes the Nrsimhottaratāpanīya passage *ekam amrtam ajam*, and the *Māndūkya* words—*sarvajñah*, *sarveś-*

4 *Sir Ashutosh Silver Jubilee*, vol III, pt 2, pp 101-110

5 *Review of Philosophy and Religion*, IV, p 220

*varah*<sup>6</sup> Fourthly, Śankara's commentary on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up*, IV. 2 3 and 4, leaves hardly any doubt in one's mind that he is referring therein to the *Māndūkya*, though not expressly naming it. I refrain from quoting the relevant commentary *in extenso*, and hope that my readers will take the trouble of reading the commentary at first hand. Swami Mādhavānanda, in the excellent translation of Śankara's commentary on this *Up*, appears to have come across references to the *Māndūkya* in the *bhāṣya* for he names this *Up*, in the list of abbreviations, prefixed to his work, but I have unfortunately failed to trace the references. Then, again, in view of Sureśvara's quotation of the *Māndūkya* passage containing the expression, *prabhavāpyayau*, it seems likely that Śankara, too, had this passage in mind when he used the expression in his *BS*, I 1 9, commentary and not *Katha*, II 3 11, as Bhattacharya contends, for the expression appears to have a somewhat different import in the latter context. Lastly, Bhattacharya has himself shown that the terms 'Vaiśvānara' and 'Turiya' are older than 'Viśva' and 'Turya' found in the kārikās, and also that the prose passages have a tinge of the language of the Brāhmanas. For all these reasons it would be legitimate to hold that the *Māndūkya* is a pre-Śankara and pre-Gaudapāda work and that it would be wrong to reject the tradition that it is one of the ten major upanīśads. Even Nāgārjuna might have borrowed the word 'prapañcopaśama' from it.

We shall now proceed to discuss the real problem before us, viz, what is the relation of the kārikās to the Upanīśad. In agreement with Bhattacharya, I have already said that the kārikās of Gaudapāda are not a vārtika on the *Māndūkya*. What, then, is the relation between the two? To come to a finding on this point, it is necessary to examine first what it is that the kārikās aim at. Are they pure Vēdānta as the orthodox commentators would have

us believe? Most probably not. It stands to the credit of Poussin<sup>7</sup> and Bhattacharya<sup>8</sup> that they have been the first to tell us what the kārikās really aim at. The kārikās of the first BK establish non-dualism of the Māndūkya type, the second and the third BKs, have, to use Poussin's words, a *double entendre* or, in the language of Prof. Bhattacharya they begin with the Vedānta and end with Buddhism, while the kārikās of the fourth BK confine themselves to the exposition of Mahāyāna Buddhism, mainly of the Vijñānavāda but partly also of the Mādhyamika variety. Bhattacharya points out how, in this book, the terminology used is entirely Buddhistic, such upanisadic terms as 'ātman' and 'brahman' being discarded, how the word 'agrayāna' (which means 'Mahāyāna,') is used and how the author begins by saluting the Buddha and ends by telling us what the Buddha did not teach.<sup>9</sup> Any one having a moderate acquaintance with Yogācāra and Mādhyamika literature, who goes through the kārikās dispassionately, will have little doubt left in his mind that the sole object of Gaudapāda in writing this prakarana work was to show, first, what Vedāntic non-dualism really stood for and, next, to make out that Yogācāra and Mādhyamika Buddhism could be reconciled to it and placed on an upanisadic basis.

The question which now confronts us, and which should not be difficult to answer, is how the *Māndūkyaopanisad* came to have a place at the head of the kārikās. Even in the case of an upanisad, we know that the *Nṛsiṃhapūrvaṭāpaniṣya* quotes almost the

7 'Vedanta and Buddhism,' *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 129-40.

8 'The Gaudapāda Kārikās on the Māndūkya Upanisad,' *Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference*, pp. 439 ff.

9 According to Poussin and Bhattacharya Kārikā 99, BK, IV, tells us what the Buddha did not teach. I am inclined to think however, that the Kārikā tells us what the Buddha taught, it repeats what has been said in the introductory Kārikā I, viz, that 'jñeya' is not different from 'jñāna'. This, however, does not affect the conclusions arrived at in this paper.

whole of the *Māndūkya*. Now, Gaudapāda, in order to show that his views had the support of the *Śruti* could do no better than to begin his prakarana work of four Books with the quotation of the *Māndūkya* passages. After quoting six prose passages, Gaudapāda introduces some of his verses with the words, *Atraite ślokā bhavanti*, and the process continues till the entire Upanisad is exhausted. The introductory words do not mean, in this case at least, that the verses are older than the prose passages. Gaudapāda evidently preferred the *Māndūkya* to any other Upanisad because this very brief and unambiguous work was best calculated to support his own point of view, and he has distributed the prose passages just as they suited his purpose.

The commentator of the Upanisad and the Kārikās, whoever he might be, was, therefore, perfectly right when he said that this 'prakarana' work of four Books began with the words "*Om ity etad aksaram*" But this does not certainly mean that the entire work is Gaudapāda's in the sense that there is no such thing as a *Māndūkya Upanisad*, as Dr Venkatasubbiah contends<sup>10</sup>. The entire work is Gaudapāda's, but he has quoted the entire *Māndūkya* in support of his thesis. This seems to be the right solution of the problem before us.

AMARNATH RAY

10 See his paper in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1933, pp 181-193

## Sūrjanacarita of Candrasekhara

(A mahākāvya of the sixteenth century)

A complete ms of this *mahākāvya* is contained in the Government collection of mss deposited in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and has been noticed by Rajendra Lala Mitra,<sup>1</sup> Theodor Aufrecht,<sup>2</sup> and Hara Prasad Shastri.<sup>3</sup> It is written on country made paper in Nāgara character. There are 87 folios, each containing ten lines. The appearance of the Ms is old and its extent in ślokas is 2200. The work consists of twenty *sargas* and contains 1446 verses.

### *Its contents*

After a few invocatory verses, the author states that Diksita Vāsudeva was the first amongst the princes of the Cauhāna-vamśa (I, 9). He lived in the city of Vrndāvati (I, 19) and his activities were restricted mainly to the banks of the river Carmanvatī (I, 18). His son was Naradeva (I, 20), his son Śricandra (I, 21), his son Ajayapāla (I, 22). He built the fort named Ajayameru (I, 23), his son Jayarāja (I, 24), his son Sāmantasimha (I, 25), his son Gūrjaka (I, 26), his son Candana (I, 27), his son Vajra (I, 29), his son Viśvapati (I, 30), on the advice of his spiritual preceptor's son Sunaya (II, 13) he set out to worship the goddess who is described as *sakalārthadātṛī* and *śumbhāsuraprasāmanī*<sup>4</sup> in the Śākambhari janapada.<sup>5</sup> Accompanied by Sunaya, the king arrived at the temple

1 *Notices of Sanskrit Mss*, Calcutta, vol I, 1871, No LXXVI, pp 42-43

2 *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, Leipzig, 1891, p 181

3 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss*, Government Collection, pp 8-9, No 3084

4 She is also called Astamūrtehkutumbini (III, 11), Bhavānī (III, 26), Girirājapatnī (III, 37), Nāgarāja-kanyā (III, 36), Ambā, Ambikā, Gaurī, Sankara-priyā Acalaputrī, Śumbhadarīya-dalānī, Andhaka-varijyā, Indirā, etc

5 Also called Śākambhari-deśa (III, 9)

of the goddess and Viśvapati worshipped her by undergoing many austerities. The goddess being pleased gave him her blessings and directed the prince to rule over that *janapada* which was named after her (IV, 25). After this king Viśvapati brought the whole world under his yoke. His son was Harirāja (IV, 43), a devotee of Hari. The Yavanapati, feeling encouraged by the death of the "son of Vajra", invaded the Cāhamāna territories by crossing the Sindhu. But Harirāja soon defeated the Pārasika army which consisted of Hūnas, Madras, Cīnas and Mlecchas and celebrated his victory by building the Yodhapuradurga near Mandapapura at the sight of which the Turuska lords trembled in fear (IV, 47-53). His son Simharāja was childless, so to save the *Cauhāna kula-rājadhāni* Vrndāvati from falling into the hands of enemies he crowned his nephew Bhimadeva (V, 30). In the course of his (Bhīma's) *digvijaya*, he passed through Magadha, Gaudopakantha, Vanga, Kalinga, Karnāta, Kuntala, banks of the rivers Pampā, Godā, Tāpī, Tāmraparnī and the city of Dvārāvati, he defeated the Khasas, the Śakas living on the banks of the river Sindhu, and the Kāambojas, after extending his power to the Himādrībhūmi and Kāmarūpa, he returned to his capital Vrndāvati (V, 41-63). His son was Vīgrahadeva (VI, 1). He defeated the Gurjaras and annexed their extensive kingdom (VI, 3). His son was Gundadeva (VI, 15), his son was Vallabha (VI, 16) who defeated the Cēdīpāla and the Bhoja-bhūpati and having imprisoned the latter entered Śākambhari-pura, after some time he sent him back to his own country with gifts and presents (VI, 18-31). His son was Rāmanātha (VI, 33), his son Cāmunda (VI, 35) was a great votary of Vrsānka. He defeated the Yavanānika-nāyakas and threw the lord of the Śakas into prison (VI, 42). His son was Durlabharāja (VI, 43), and the latter's son was Dusaladeva (VI, 44). His son was Visala (VI, 45) who defeated king, Karna and entered Avantīnagarī. Several verses are devoted to a *prāsasti* of this city and references are made to the god Mahākāla and

the river Sīprā (VI, 49 ff) After bathing in this river and having worshipped Pramathanātha (VI, 63), he made the Mālava prince his tributary and returned to his own city (VI, 81) His son was Prthvirāja (VI, 82), his son Valhana (VI, 83), his son Analadeva (VI, 86) to whom are devoted the whole of the 7th and the first twenty-five verses of the 8th *sarga* The poet however devotes his labours not to record the king's victories but to a description of the seasons and of Puskara On the advice of his *Purodhas*, the king went to this sacred *tirtha* and built a magnificent temple of Hari and constructed a garden round it The son of this king was Jagadeva (VIII, 26) and his son Viśaladeva (VIII, 28) His son Ajayapāla (VIII, 29) married Vijayā The poet then seems to describe the *ujjayayāna* of this prince and incidentally gives a description of many flowering plants and trees In the course of his travels the king notices a beautiful girl on the side of a tank It was a case of love at first sight but before the king could approach her she disappeared in the water of the lake The prince however meets a Siddhapurusa and is informed that she was named Vijayā and was the daughter of the Vāsuki-vamśaja Nāga Sudāma On his advice he worshipped the god Ananta and having dived into the tank went to the *Phaniloka* The poet devotes a number of verses to a fanciful description of the land of the Nāgas and then describes how the prince met its king Vāsuki and the Nāga Sudāma The Siddha now makes his appearance and through his intercession the king succeeds in marrying Vijayā With the permission of the lord of the Pannagas, he then returned with his queen to his capital In course of time he adopted the life of a Vānaprastha after placing his son Gangadeva on the throne (IX, 73) His son Someśvara married Karpūradevī, a daughter of the king of the Kuntalas (X, 4) He had two sons of whom the elder was Prthvirāja and the younger Mānikya The whole of the tenth *sarga* is nearly devoted to the career of the former prince (X, 10ff) While he was resting in a pleasure garden outside the city of Vrndāvati, a female messenger

(*dūtī*) came to see him. She said that she came from Kānyakubja, the capital of the king who was followed in war by 9,00,000 horsemen (*aśuvārā-navalakṣa-sankhyā*)<sup>6</sup> He had a beautiful daughter named Kāntivatī who had fallen in love with Prthvirāja on hearing his praise from the *cāranas* who visited her father's court. Seeing no hope of union with her beloved, she began to languish. Her condition became desperate when she heard that her father was thinking of marrying her to another prince. Prthvirāja tells the messenger that the father of Kāntivatī was his sworn enemy but still he would devise some means to help her. He then visits the great city of Kānyakubja (*Kānyakubjam nagaram garīyah*), ingeniously comes into touch with his beloved princess, and secretly entering the female quarters of the palace of Jayacandra, the father of Kāntivatī, unnoticed by the guards, (*Pratibāras*) eloped with her. Though pursued by the army of the irate Jayacandra, he succeeded in reaching Indraprastha (also called Hariprastha) with his bride. He then attacked the pursuing Kānyakubja army and destroyed it in the waters of the Yamunā. We are next told that Prthvirāja conquered all the quarters and though he defeated and imprisoned Śāhāvadina 21 times, he released him each time. But the ungrateful Yavana by some means having once defeated and imprisoned him carried him to his own country and blinded him. While in this condition he was discovered by a *cārana*, whom he had once befriended. On the advice of this *vandī*, he gave up all ideas of putting an end to his life by *prāyopaveśa* and having formed a secret plot with this minstrel succeeded in killing Śāhāvadina during a tournament. The Muslim prince was shot through his *tālumūla* by a *śabdabhedī-vāna*. In the confusion which followed, the *vandī* and Prthvirāja both escaped on a

6 This king was named 'Jayacandra' and not 'Jayacandra' as in the text. See Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol 1, 1931, pp 536 ff.

fleet Persian horse (*vanāyuja*) to the Kurujāngala. The Cāhamāna prince died in this Punyaksetra. He was succeeded by his son Prahlāda (XI, 1) and he by his son Govindarāja (XI, 3). The latter was succeeded by his son Nārāyana (XI, 4) and the latter by his son Vāgbhata (XI, 5) who captured Ranastambhapura by defeating the Yavanas. The latter's son Jaitrasimha (XI, 6) built Simhapuri and was succeeded by his powerful son Hamiradeva (also called Hammiradeva) (XI, 7, 12 & 14). Except the first few verses of canto XI, practically the whole of this *sarga* and the next one (XII) are devoted to the career of this prince. We are told that he conquered the whole earth and fought with the Turuskas. He captured Ranastambhapura having expelled the Yavanas from the city (XI, 17). The poet then gives an elaborate description of the king's journey to a city named Pattana accompanied by his *Pattarājñi*, *Purohita*, feudatory princes, *sadasya*, *vayasya*, *saciva*, cavalry and elephants. He arrives at the banks of the river Tiladronī and bathed in its waters. Then follow the descriptions of forests and Pāriyātragiri and other mountains, the king saw the god Vilveśvara (Mahādeva) and worshipped him. After some time he entered the above mentioned *Pattanākhyam nagaram* whose praise was sung by the Carmanvatī. He bathed in this river and not only worshipped Mrtyuñjaya and performed the *Tulādāna* but also a big *Saptatantra* (*Yajña*). While engaged in these Alāvādina finding him away from Ranastambhapura, started with a powerful cavalry force to attack his capital. The front portion of his army was under the command of his dear brother Ullūkhāna (XI, 65). Hearing of this invasion, the Cāhamāna prince consulted Vidyābhata and other *Mantrimukhyas* and began to move his cavalry and elephants in the direction of the enemy. His Senāpati attacked and routed the Yavana encampment at Jāgarapura which was under the direct charge of Ullūkhāna. The latter appeared before the Sārvabhauma of the Sakas and told him of the disaster. The lord of the Pārasikas then besieged the city of the Cāhuvāna

(XI, 71).<sup>7</sup> In the meantime "the son of Jaitra" had also entered his city. While the outer ramparts of the fort (*durgānta*) were being attacked by Muslim artillery (XI, 73), a messenger (*sandeshahara*) came to the court of the Cāhamāna prince bearing a proposal from the Śākādhipa. It amounted to this,—(i) Giving up of those who had taken shelter with him from the fury of the Yavana prince<sup>8</sup> and (ii) submission and payment of tribute Unless Hammira accepted this *sandhi*, he would meet with the same fate that had overtaken Gayāsadina (XII, 21) In reply the Cāhamāna prince told him that it was inconsistent with the traditions of his line either to humbly pay tribute or to hand over those who had been granted asylum One of his predecessors Harirāja after defeating the Pāraśīkas had built the formidable fort of Upasodhapura (XII, 27), another, Cāmunda after defeating the Śaka-cakravartin brought him in chains to his capital, a third Jaitrasimha bravely defended Yoginipura when Gayāsadina went to the land of Indra (XII, 28-29) He denied all liability for the looting of the Yavana camp at Jagarapura and in the end proudly refused to submit, and challenged Allāvādina<sup>9</sup> to do his worst (XII, 33-38) The Muslim *dūta* left the Cāhamāna court in high dudgeon and told Hammira that he would soon die like a fish caught in a net (XII, 40-42) After the departure of the messenger, the Cāhamāna prince accompanied by his *mantrins* got up on the top of his fort and noticed the constantly increasing and numerous forces of his enemy Then thinking as follows —

समरे शमयन्ति वैरिवर्गानथवा जीवनमेव यापयन्ति ।

इह काचन चाहुञ्जानवशे विदिता नैव हि पद्धति स्तृतीया ॥ (XII, 49),

he took leave of the ladies of his household and his Purohita and surrounded by his followers and those whom he had given refuge,

7 Same as Cāhamāna See Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol II, 1936, p 1052, fn 1

8 *Mahimā-Sāhīmukhāns Turuska-mukhyān* (XII, 10 & 30), also Ray *ibid* p 1102

9 Sometimes spelt 'Alāvādina', see XII, 4

issued out of the fort and engaged the Muslim forces in furious combat. The battle rages for some time outside (XII, 75) the fort and Hammira is killed (XII, 76-77), in the meantime, the *Mabisis* had burned themselves in fire.

The next canto (XIII) begins with the name of a prince called Mānikyarāja<sup>10</sup> who is described as the younger brother (*jaghanyaya*) of Prthvirāja, the seventh predecessor from Hammira (XII, 1-2). Mānikya's son was Candarāja (XIII, 6), his son Bhimarāja (XIII, 7), his son Vijayarāja (XIII, 8), his son Rayana (XIII, 9), his son Kolhana (XIII, 10), his son Vanga (XIII, 12), his son Deva (XIII, 13), his son Samarasimha (XIII, 14), his son Narapāla (XIII, 15), his son Hammira (XIII, 16), his son Varasimha (XIII, 17), his son Bhāramalla (XIII, 18), his son Narmada (XIII, 19), his son Arjuna (XIII, 23), his son Sūrajana (XIII, 49)<sup>11</sup> by his queen Jayanti, daughter of Daśaratha (XIII, 28). Arjuna obtained this son as a special favour from the god Śauri (Viṣṇu) whom he worshipped. The remaining portion of canto XIII (verses 49-80) and *sargas* XIV to XIX are devoted by the poet to the career of this king. Some 20 verses (XIII, 50-70) describe the beauty, gifts and prowess of Sūrajana. He owned the city of Vrndāvatī by hereditary rights and captured many other *durgas*. The poet then gives us an account of his victorious campaigns (*āsājatra-yātrā*) (XIII, 72ff). By defeating the lord of Mālava (*Mālavanām-adhīsam*) he captured *Kotākhyam durgam* (XIII, 76). He also conquered Telanga, Kerala, Andhra, Karnāta and Lāta (XIII, 79). Then follows an elaborate description of the king's marriage with Kanakāvati, the daughter of Jagamāla (XIV, 1ff). The latter is described as a *bbūbbri* (king) and lord of Vamśavahālā, Jagamāla-pattana is mentioned as his capital. Sūrajana goes to this city and marries Kana-

10 See, canto X, 7 — नृपस्तयो. पूर्वजमाह पृथ्वीराज स माणिक्यमथानुजातम् . see also *ibid*, X, 9 — विभज्य राज्यं भुजवीर्यभाजौ पित्वा-प्रणीत प्रतिपालयन्तौ ।

11 Sometimes spelt 'Sūrajana'

kāvati. Many verses describe the beauty of the bride, the ceremonies and the pleasures of the married pair (XIV, 6-88) With Jagamāla's permission the Cāhamāna prince then arranges to start for his own city The mother of the bride gives her daughter advice on her duties and responsibilities (XV, 16-33) After reaching his capital Sūrjana passes some time in pleasure with his wife in a pleasure garden (XV, 34ff) The poet describes the king's pleasures in summer in a *dhārāgrha* Women dressed in *dukūla* and *kañcuka* and with their lips coloured (*ayāvakam dantacchadam*) (XV, 70, 73)<sup>12</sup> took active part in water sport In course of time a son named Bhoja was born to the king by his *Pattamahisi* Kanakāvati (XVI, 1) The poet then again describes Sūrjana's wars and victories Akavara is introduced and praised, we are told that this prince who lived in Dhillinagara and had brought the whole world under his power, besieged the capital of Sūrjana The attempts of the Yavana generals however, did not meet with any success King Sūrjana defeated the Turuska and Pāraśika hosts thirteen times Then the *Humātmaja* (Akbar) himself came to battle with the Cāhamāna prince (*Jāngala*, XVI, 11) In the preliminary engagements which seem to have taken place on the banks of a tank or lake (*sarī, brada, tatimī*) Akbar's hosts were defeated inspite of the personal encouragements of the Muhammadan emperor The Muslim army rallied a little towards evening, but soon darkness descended and the armies were separated The valour of Sūrjana drew unstinted praise from the *Humātmaja* and next morning before the battle began, the latter sent a *saciva* to the fort of the former to open negotiations for peace Led by the *Pratihāra* of the Cāhamāna prince, he came to the royal presence and eloquently pleaded for the conclusion of peace which would lead neither to loss of glory nor material loss The proposal of the emperor was that he should receive from the Cāhamāna prince Ranastambha-durga in exchange of territories on the banks of the

<sup>12</sup> See *Kumārasambhavam*, V, 11

sacred rivers Narmadā, Yamunā (Mathurā-mandala) and Jāhnavī. After some deliberation Sūrjana accepted the peace proposals of the Śaka king and started on what looks like a pilgrimage. Leaving Ranastambhapura, he pitched his camp on the Narmadā and after subjugating the neighbouring regions went to Madhupurī on the banks of the *Kalinda-kanyā*. After passing the rainy season in Vrndāvana, he started for Vārānasi, halting on his way at the junction of the Yamunā and the Gangā (i.e. Prayāga) to perform suitable religious ceremonies. Starting from here in the month of Māgha (*tapasī*) (XIX, 7) he reached Vārānasi and from the *Vyāsa* Gopāla got a graphic account of the excellence of the place (XIX, 9-34). The rest of the *sarga* is devoted to a description of the many meritorious acts of Sūrjana viz., gifts to many *yācakas*, Brāhmanas, excavation of tanks, *tulāpurusa* etc. In the end he attains *Stbānutvam* in Kāśī and Kanakāvati and his other wives burned themselves on his funeral pyre. The last canto opens with a note of sorrow at the death of Sūrjana (XX, 17). His son Bhoja conquered *Gurjararājabbūmi* (XX, 9). On the occasion of his coronation *Vyāsa* Gopāla's son Cakradhara stood in front of the Cāhamāna prince. Description of the ceremonies connected with this event and his *prāsasti* takes us practically to the end of this *sarga* and the *mahākāvya*. We are told that he was Dillīśena-puraskṛta (XX, 63) and he defeated the Suhmas, Vangas, Vaidarbhas, Traigartas, Mālavas and the Gāndhāras. He is still called Vrndāvati-nāyaka. His death seems to be referred to in the penultimate verse (XX, 68) of the last canto of the work.

#### *Its author*

Unlike some other historical *kāvya*s, the *Sūrjana-carita* does not give us any information about the author in the colophons at the end of each *sarga*. The only information about the author which we can gather from the internal evidence of this big work is in the last verse of the last *sarga* (XX, 64). It runs as follows —

गौडीयः किल चन्द्रशेखरकविर्यः प्रेमपात्र सता  
 मम्बद्यान्वयमण्डनात् कृतधियो जातो जितामिमत ।  
 निर्बन्धानुप-सूर्जनस्य नितरां धर्मैकतानात्मनो  
 ग्रन्थोऽयं निरमायि तेन वसता विश्वेशितुः पत्तने ॥

.Kavi Candrasékbara is described as *Gaudiya* and the son of Jitāmītra who was an ornament of the *Ambastha* family We are further informed that he composed this *grantha* at the request of *Nrpa* Sūrjana in the *Pattana* of the ruler of this Viśva (Vārānasi) Several authors with the name Candrasékbara are known One was the author of the *Smrtiratnākara* But he belonged to the 14th century<sup>13</sup> and as such cannot be identified with our author As Sūrjana and Candrasékbara were apparently contemporaries of Akbar (1536-1605 A D), we must try to find out an author of the 16th century The *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* of Kṛsnadāsa Kavirāja refers to one Jitāmītra<sup>14</sup> as a disciple of Śri-Gadādhara Pandita, a contemporary of Caitanya The same work also refers in another place to the Vaidya Candrasékbara<sup>14a</sup> We are told —

বাবাণসীঘণো প্রভুর ভক্ত হিনজনে ।  
 চন্দ্রশেখর বৈষ্ণব আঁব মিশ্র তপনে ॥  
 বঘুনাথ ভট্টাচার্য্য মিশ্রের নন্দনে ।  
 প্রভু যবে কালী আইলা দেখি বৃন্দাবনে ॥  
 চন্দ্রশেখর ঘরে কৈল দুইয়াস বাস  
 তপন মিশ্রের ঘরে ভিক্ষা দুইয়াস ॥

This Candrasékbara was a Bengali Vaidya resident in Benares As Caitanya was born about 1498 A D and entered into the *Sannyāsa āsrama* about the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, his disciple Candrasékbara was certainly a contemporary of the emperor Akbar and the Cāhamāna prince Sūrjana It is thus probable that our author is identical with this disciple of Caitanya But as yet I am unable to produce any evidence that

13 Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p 448

14 P 82 Adilīlā, XII

14a *Ibid*

this *bhakta* was also a poet and an author or that Jitāmītra, the disciple of Gadādhara, was the father of Candrasekhara, the disciple of Caitanya

### *A Historical Kāvya*

The generally accepted view that ancient and early mediaeval Hindu authors were not familiar with the true conception of real history must be considerably modified in the light of the following statement of Kalhana —

श्लाघ्य स एव गुणवान् रागद्वेषबहिष्कृत ।  
भूतार्थकथने यस्य स्थेयस्येव सरस्वती ॥<sup>15</sup>

But unfortunately, with the exception of the last four cantos of the *Rājataranginī*, we have not yet discovered many historical works written in the spirit and with the historical detachment of the Kashmirian author. We are however long familiar with the historical *kāvya*<sup>16</sup>. Though their authors could never afford to be really impartial and take a detached view of events, yet as contemporary documents they cannot be ignored by the student of history. The present *kāvya* shows that the work begun by Harisena, Bāna, Padmagupta, Bilhana, Vākpati, Sandhyākara Nandī, Hemacandra and others was continued by their successors at least up to the 16th century A D. We must also remember that with the exception of the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī we are not familiar with any other work by a Bengali poet which can be called a true historical *kāvya*, though we know a number of Bengali authors of the 15th and the 16th centuries who composed poetical works which can be called non-historical *kāvyas*. The *Haricarita* of Caturbhuja (1493 A D), Murāri Gupta's *Caitanyacarita* (c. 1528 A D), and Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Uddhava-sandeśa* and *Hamsa-dūta* (c. early 16th century) may be

15 *Rājataranginī*, I, 7

16 Keith, *op cit*, pp 144 cf., also Keith, *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, pp 61 ff

mentioned in this connection <sup>17</sup> Umāpati Dhara's Deopara *Prāsasti*, though scanty, may however, be included in the list of historical *kāvya* by a Bengali author of the first half of the 12th century A D <sup>18</sup>

H C RAY

17 I am indebted to Dr S Sen of the University of Calcutta and Mr C Chakravarti, of the Bethune College, Calcutta for some suggestions in this paper

18 See my *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol I, 1931, p 362 Bhatta Bhavadeva's *Prāsasti* is really a record of a Brāhman family and as such cannot be properly called a historical *kāvya*, see *Ibid*, p 255

## The Date of the Kaumudīmahotsava

कौमुदीकारकं चन्द्रं चूडायां विभ्रतं सदा ।  
उसाया रमणं नत्वा विचारं कश्चिदारमे ॥  
क कालो नाट्यबन्धस्य यः कौमुदीमहोत्सवः ।  
यज्ञेन निर्णयं कार्यं प्रश्नस्यास्य समीक्षकैः ॥  
गुप्तानां समये जाता नाट्यस्यास्य निबन्धिका ।  
इति यत् केचन प्रोचुस्तत्साधु नैव भासते ॥  
ब्रह्मव्याख्याननिष्ठं च नानात्वस्य च नाशकम् ।  
कथयन्ती शिव कर्ता विस्पष्ट सूचयेदिदम् ॥  
व्याख्याता ब्रह्मसूत्राणां शङ्कराचार्यसंहिता ।  
शिवावताररूपी स श्लेषेणाल हि सूचितः ॥  
अतः सा शाङ्करात्कालान्नैव पूर्वमजायत ।  
इत्येतच्छकनुमो नूनं प्रतिपत्तुमसंशयम् ॥  
यदि सा विज्जकाप्रख्या प्रसिद्धा काव्यकारिका ।  
धनिकादवलोकस्य कर्तुं न परभाविनी ॥  
अथ चेद् विज्जका न स्यादेतच्चापि हि दुर्वचम् ।  
इत्यतश्चाधिकं वक्तुमयुना नैव शक्यते ॥

Since the late Dr K P Jayaswal wrote on the "Historical Data in the Drama *Kaumudīmahotsava*" in the *ABORI*, vol XII, pp 50-56, the drama has attracted considerable attention. Jayaswal (henceforth abbreviated as J) took it as a work of the early Gupta period and he drew from it a good deal of material for the reconstruction of the early history of the Guptas<sup>1</sup>. Several scholars have accepted the historical conclusions of J without properly examining whether the text of the drama really supports them or not<sup>2</sup>. The highly speculative character of these deductions did not, however, escape the critical eyes of the late Prof Winternitz, who said that 'there is no justification at all for assigning this *Kaumudīmahotsava*

1 *History of India 150 AD to 350 AD (JBORS, Vol XIX)*, pp 113-121

2 See, e.g., E A Pires, *The Maubans*, pp 25-35

drama to 340 A D <sup>3</sup> Winternitz, however, did not make a detailed refutation of J's views and Mr Dasharatha Sharma found fault with him and supported J <sup>4</sup> In view of the important character of the historical deductions of J, the question of the date of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* (henceforth abbreviated as *Km*) needs be re-examined, though from the literary point of view the drama is not of much value.

The author's name has not been fully preserved, not also in the colophons of the unique manuscript on which M Ramakrishna Kavi and S K Ramanath Sastri based their editions <sup>5</sup> The author's name appears in the prologue of the drama but a part of it is missing Its conclusion *-kayā (nibaddham nātakam)* makes it certain that the writer was a female whose name ended with the syllable *kā* Mr Kavi says that he noticed traces of "a part of *ja* underneath the worm-eaten portion" <sup>6</sup> and a suggestion has been made that the name of the authoress was *Vijyākā* <sup>6a</sup> J however, ignored this and inferred from the verse (Prologue, v 3) that her name was *Kīśorikā*, daughter of *Krsivala* <sup>7</sup> No Sanskritist familiar with prologues in the *Abhīññānaśakuntala*, the *Venīśambhāra* and other Sanskrit dramas will take this verse as conveying any sense other than that of *rtu-varnana*

कृष्णशारा कटाक्षेण कृषीवलकिशोरिका ।

करोत्येषा कराग्रेण कर्णे कलममञ्जरीम् ॥

in autumn the young girl (*kīśorikā*) of the peasant (*krsivala*) is placing sheafs of paddy on her ears. There is no reference to the authoress <sup>8</sup>

3 *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, p 362

4 *JBORS*, vol XXII, pp 275-282

5 *Dakshina-Bharati Sanskrit Series* No 4, Madras, 1929

6 Introduction, p 3

6a Mr Kavi must be wrong in his view that the writer was not a woman (Introduction, p 2)

7 *ABI*, XII, p 50, n 1

8 Cf Winternitz, *op cit*, p 361, n 10

J inferred from the undermentioned words of the Stage-Manager in the prologue that the authoress was a contemporary of the characters in the drama —

तदानीं ( तदिदानीं ? ) तत्रभवतः पाटलिपुत्राधिपतेः सुगृहीतनाम्नो देवस्य कल्याण-  
वर्मणा. प्रतिनगराज्यलाभसंबर्धितदृष्टिद्विपरसकुलेऽपि राजकुले पुनरयमपरः प्रत्यासीदति  
कौमुदीमहोत्सवारम्भः, तदहमपि स्वकुलोचितेन सङ्गीतकसेवाधिकारेण लब्धावसरो राजकुलं  
प्रविशामि । ( प्रविरय ) प्रयुक्तपूर्वेषु पूर्वसृष्टिक्लिशेषु का पुनरभिनवरमणीया कृतिरभि-  
नेतव्या । भवतु, यत्तदस्यैव राज्ञ समतीत चरितमधिकृत्य कया निबद्धं नाटकम् । तदिदानी-  
मप्रतः कृत्वा मगधराजान्त पुरमवतरामि ॥

If the above be compared with the prologues in other Sanskrit dramas, J's conclusion cannot be regarded as the only possible one. In the prologue of the *Uttararāmacarita* the Sūtradhāra says

एषोऽस्मि कार्यवशादायोध्यक्तदानीन्तनश्च संवृत्तः । ( समन्तावलोक्य ) भो भो ।  
यदा तावद्ब्रभवत् पौलस्त्यकुलधूमकेतोर्महाराजरामस्यायमभिषेकसमयो रात्रिन्दिवमसंहतानन्द-  
नान्दीकृतात् किमस्य विभ्रान्तचारणानि चत्वरस्थानानि । .. एहि । राजद्वारमेव  
स्वजातिसमयेनोपतिग्रावः ।

Here also the Stage-Manager affects to be a contemporary of the characters in the drama. With the exception of the sentence एषोऽस्मि कार्यवशादायोध्यक्तदानीन्तनश्च संवृत्तः, the Stage-Manager's words in the *Uttararāmacarita* are similar to those in the *Km*. In the prologue of the *Venisambhāra* we have the same affectation of contemporaneity without even a qualifying sentence as in the *Uttararāmacarita*. As soon as the Stage-Manager has introduced the names of the drama and its author to the audience, some one shouts from the green-room,

भाव, त्वर्थता त्वर्थताम् । एते खल्वार्यविदुराज्ञया पुरुषा सकलमेव शैलूषजनं व्याहरन्ति  
—“प्रवर्त्यन्तामपरिहीयमानमातोद्यविन्याम-दिका विधयः । प्रवेशकाले किल तत्रभवत्  
पाराशर्यनारदतुम्बुरुजामदग्न्यप्रभृतिभिर्मुनिवृन्दारकैरनुगम्यमानस्य भरतकुलहितकाम्यया स्वयं  
प्रतिपन्नदौत्यस्य देवकीसूनुश्चक्रपाणेर्महाराजदुयौधनशिबिरं प्रति प्रस्थातुकामस्य” इति ।

The Stage-Manager then joyously says,

अहो नु खलु भो, भगवता सकलजगत्प्रभवस्थितिनिरोधप्रभविष्णुना विष्णुनाद्यानुगृहीत-  
मिदं भरतकुलं सकलं च राजकमनयो कुरुपाण्डवराजपुत्रयोराहवकल्पान्तानलप्रशमनहेतुना  
स्वयं सन्धिकारिणा कंमारिणा दूतेन । तत्किमिति पारिपार्श्विकं नारम्भयसि कुशीलवै  
सह संगीतम् ।

The Assistant now enters and the two carry on conversation in the same strain, as if they are contemporaries of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas

In the *Mrcchakatika* the Stage-Manager in course of his talk with his wife flares up and curses that his friend who has enjoined a costly *vrata* on her should receive capital punishment at the hands of king Pālaka, as if they were all contemporaneous with that king. The Manager also holds a dialogue with Cārudatta's friend, Maitreya, "in the sky." In the *Vikramorvaśīya* while the Stage-Manager is talking with his Assistant, cries of help are heard from behind the Stage and the Manager feigns that he does not know what they mean and then after affected reflection says that Urvaśī is being carried away by Asuras and her friends are crying for help. In the *Mudrārāksasa* (as in the *Venīśambhāra*), while the Prologue is in progress, the character in the opening scene, Cānakya (like Bhīma in the *Venīśambhāra*), takes serious exception to the words falling from the lips of the Stage-Manager and begins his angry speech. Similarly in the *Ratnāvalī*, Yaugandharāyana, the first speaker in the Prelude to Act I, takes up with approval from behind the stage a verse uttered by the Stage-Manager while the Prologue is still continuing. Of the so-called Bhāsa dramas each one (with the exception of the *Cārudatta* which is only an abridged version of the *Mrcchakatika*) includes within the Prologue the first sentence of the first speaker of the opening scene.

All this shows that our dramatists often put anachronous words in the mouths of the Stage-Manager and his assistants. The words of the Stage-Manager in the Prologue of the *Km*, therefore, need not necessarily make him or the authoress a contemporary of Kalyānavarman.

We cannot thus assume that the date of the work is the same as that of the story. If, however, the story is historical, its date will give the uppermost limit of our drama. But is the story

historical? None of the characters of the drama are known to us from inscriptions, coins or literary references. J. equates Candasena, the villain of the drama, with the famous Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. This Candasena was the adopted son of Sundaravarman, king of Magadha, but he got estranged from his adoptive father probably when, as J. plausibly supposes, a son (Kalyānavarman) was born to him, which probably made Candasena suspicious about the chance of his succession to the throne. Candasena allied himself with the Licchavis, the enemies of the house of Magadha, and attacked Pātaliputra. Sundaravarman is said to have been victorious in the battle. He spared the life of Candasena but disinherited<sup>9</sup> him and banished him to the Licchavi territory (p. 30). But Sundaravarman himself died soon after, seemingly of wounds received in the battle, and Candasena came back and occupied the throne of Magadha. Kalyānavarman, the young son of Sundaravarman, had been removed to safety by his partisans and he grew into manhood, when a *coup* was arranged which installed him on the throne of his father and Candasena was killed.

J. thinks that this Candasena is the historical Candragupta I because both of them had connexions with the Licchavis and had accession of territory through their help. There is no doubt that Candragupta I married a Licchavi princess, Kumātadevi, *through whose right* he and his son Samudragupta ruled over lands that did not originally belong to them. But about Candasena we are only told that he had connexion (*sambandha*) with the Licchavis—  
 तत स्वयं मगधकुलं व्यपदिशन्नाप मगधकुलवैरिभिर्मल्लैर्लिच्छविभिः सह सम्बन्धं  
 कृत्वा लम्धावसर कुसुमपुरमुपरुद्धवान् । (p. 30). Nothing is said here about

9 अपहस्तयित्वा in the text. This rendering is suggested by MM Dr Ganganatha Jha.

a marriage relation which J. naively assumes<sup>10</sup> The context rather suggests that it was only a political alliance.

It is difficult to understand why Candragupta I, supposed to be the same person as Candasena, should become the adopted son of another king, when his father, Ghatotkaca, was already a king The Gupta inscriptions from the time of Samudragupta and the coins of Candragupta I and Kumāradevī suggest that Candragupta I succeeded to the dominion of the petty kings (Mahārāja, which does not necessarily mean 'feudatory king'), Gupta and Ghatotkaca, and became an emperor (*Mahārājādhirāja*) when he received considerable addition to his territory through marriage with the Licchavi princess. Candasena's rule, on the other hand, was only through the usurpation of Sundaravarman's throne If the Licchavis had kept him on the throne of Magadha, Kalyānavarman would have had to cross swords with them when he conquered Candasena and the *Km* must have mentioned this feat of the new king

Then the drama distinctly says that Candasena was killed after the *coup* of Kalyānavarman दिष्ट्ये दानी प्रतिलब्धराज्याभिषेको देव कल्याणवर्मा दिष्ट्या वत्सानुबन्धो निहनश्चरडसेनहतक । (p 36) The meaning of वत्सानुबन्ध is not very clear But the only way in which it can be construed is as a Bahuvrihi compound adjective to चरडसेनहतक meaning 'along with his issue' This meaning is made quite explicit by the following verse

प्रकटितवर्णाश्रमपथमुन्मूलितचरडसेनराजकुलम् ।

कल्पन(?)मिव नमति जन ( सकलः ) कल्याणवर्माणम् ॥

So the entire family of Candasena was uprooted by Kalyānavarman But Candragupta I seems to have had a peaceful end and certainly left sons, the great Samudragupta and other princes of equal birth (*tulyakulaja*-) referred to in l. 7 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (Fleet, No 1) J's assumption that "Candra-

gūpta I who was dying either of wounds or of a broken heart on his expulsion from Pātaliputra, addressed Samudragupta, one of his younger sons, with tears in his eyes, and with the tacit consent and approval of his Council of Ministers,—‘You now, my noble sir, be the king (“protect the kingdom”)’ and expired”<sup>11</sup> goes against both the *Km* and the Allahabad Inscription. The *Km* shows that Candasena, the alleged counterpart of Candragupta I, was not expelled from Pātaliputra when Kalyānavarman became the king but was killed (*nibatah*). He could not, therefore, have the time to give the alleged charge to one of his sons in the presence of the “Council of Ministers”. Then, what “Council of Ministers” could sit in deliberation or even give “tacit consent” near the death bed of a king who had been dispossessed of his realm? Then, the tears in the eyes of the historical Candragupta I as recorded in the genuinely historical Allahabad Inscription (ll 7-8), which I ascribes to Candasena, are clearly tears of affection and not of sorrow. The words in the inscription are

आर्यो हीत्युपगुह्य भावपिशुनैरुत्कण्ठितै रोमभिः

सभ्येषु च्छ्वसितेषु तुल्यकुलजम्लानाननोद्वीक्षितः ।

स्नेहव्यालुलितेन बाष्पगुरुणा तत्त्वेक्षिणा चक्षुषा

य पित्राभिहितो निरीक्ष्य निखिला पाद्येवमुर्वीमिति ॥

“whom his father embraced, saying ‘verily, noble thou art,’ with his hairs, indicative of affection, standing erect, while the members of the court heaved with joy but (princes) of equal pedigree looked on with pale features, and then scanning him with eyes rolling with affection and laden with tears (of joy) and penetrating into (his) true nature, said ‘Thus protect all this earth’ ” We have here very clearly the words of a prosperous king, seated in state in his court, naming a successor and charging him to protect the earth as he did it (एवम्) and not the plaintive words of a king, lying

mortally wounded in the field of battle, who has lost his all and asks one of the sons to regain the lost dominion. The other princes could not have turned pale because they were not given charge of an extremely difficult and hazardous task, a life and death struggle against tremendous odds. Actually the inscription refers to a peaceful succession. J's interpretation of these lines makes a travesty of the actual text. We must, therefore, conclude that the end of Candasena's career as given in the *Km* makes his identification with Candragupta I impossible.

Then there is the difference in name. J finds no difficulty in taking *Canda-* as the Prakrit form of Sanskrit *Candra*-<sup>12</sup> and Dasharatha Sharma supports it.<sup>13</sup> *Candra-* of Sanskrit becomes *Canda-* and not *Canda-* in Prakrit.<sup>14</sup> A preceding and not a following *-r* ordinarily cerebralizes a dental.<sup>15</sup> It is only in Jaina Prakrit (Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina Mahārāstrī) that *-dra-* sometimes becomes *-dda-*.<sup>16</sup> Even in Ardhamāgadhī *Candra-* becomes *Canda-* and not *Canda-*<sup>17</sup> and the form *Canda-* is extremely rare in Jaina Prakrit.<sup>18</sup>

12 *JBORS*, XIX, p 113

13 *JBORS*, XXII, p 276

14 *Dhanapāla, Pālalacchīnāmamālā* v 5. The grammarians add an alternative form *Candra-* without assimilation (Vararuci, III 4, Hemacandra, II 80, Mārkaṇḍeya, III 4, Trivikrama, I 4, 80). *Canda* is not vouched for by any grammarian or lexicographer.

15 R Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, §291

16 *Ibid*, §294

17 Haragovinda Das Seth, *Pāśasaddamahannavo* pp 393-394. Compare, e.g., *Canda-* for Sanskrit *Candra-* in the *Aupapātika Sūtra*, §36 (ed Leumann, p 57) by the side of *Kbuddaḡa-* for Sanskrit *Ksudraka-* in the same text, § 38 (p 48). Canda also cites only the form *Canda-* and not *Canda-* in his grammar of the Āśva Prakrit (*Prākṛtalaksana*, II 1, III 39).

18 *Ibid*, p 392a. The author has cited an illustration from Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*. The reason for *Candra* not becoming *Canda* is not far to seek: the preceding *-n-* protects the dental *-d-* from change. The alleged instance of *Candra-* becoming *Canda-* in Prakrit in the Kodavali Well Inscription of Vāsisthīputa-sāmisiri-Cadasāt (i) (*JBORS*, XIX, p 113, n 4) is extremely doubtful for there the Sanskrit form of the king's name seems to be Vāsisthīputra *Canda-svātī* and not V *Candra-svātī*, (Cf Sten Konow, *ZDMG*, LXII, p 591) a form favoured by the

• Dasharatha Sharma says "The Prākṛta name Chandasena is turned into Chandrasimha by Ksemendra Somadeva, however, gives it as Chandasena in his Sanskrit version of Brhatkathā. This shows that the Prākṛta Chanda has been always regarded as the equivalent of not merely Chanda, but also of Chandra"<sup>19</sup> The fact stated here is not correct. It is true that in the Nirṇay Sagar edition of the *Brhatkathāmañjarī* of Ksemendra the name of the king of Tāmralipta in the eighth story of the Vetāla in the *Śāsāṅkavatilambaka* twice occurs as *Candra-simha* (verses 420 and 430) corresponding to the consistent reading *Canda-sena* in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva,<sup>20</sup> but it also occurs there as *Canda-sena* for the same individual within the self-same story (vv 446, 449, pp 323-4), which shows that *Canda-sena* is the form of the name in the *Brhatkathāmañjarī* also and *Candra-simha* is only a wrong reading confined to two places. Nowhere else in the *Brhatkathāmañjarī* does *Candra-* in a proper name show the variant *Canda-* in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*<sup>21</sup>

majority of the Purāna manuscripts, the *Vāyu*, the *Brahmānda* and most manuscripts of the *Matsya* supporting *Candaśrī Sātakarnī* and only the *Viṣṇu* and stray manuscripts of the *Bhāgavata* and one manuscript of the *Matsya* favouring the spelling *Candraśrī*. (Cf F E Pargiter, *Purāna Text of the Dy of Kali Age*, p 43 and fns 19, 22) It is true that Rapson read the legend on the coins of this king as *Raño Vāsisthīputasa Sri-Cada-Sātisa* with a dental *-d-* (*Cat Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, pp 30-1) But the letter which he reads as *-da-* is hardly different from the letter in the coins of a different fabric, seemingly of the same king, to which he gave the value of *-da-* (*Cat Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, pp 32-3, pl VI) If the legend on the coins of this Vāsisthīputra (Rapson, nos 117-124) must be read with a dental *-d-* so can be read the name in the Kodavali Well Inscription Cf H Krishna Sastri in *EI* XVIII, p 317

19 *JBORS*, XXII, p 277, n 1

20 *Lambaka*, XII, *Taranga*, XIV (*Nirṇaya Sagar* edition, pp 421 ff) It is the seventh story according to the order in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*

21 Critical editions of the *Brhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* based on very thorough examination of all available manuscripts are a great necessity. Study of these two texts will then be placed on a scientific basis

In the *Km* we find that *Candra-* appears as *Canda-* (p 7, ll. 11, 14, 19, p. 14, l. 14, p 21, l 2, p 28, l 2, p. 46, ll 11, 13) On the other hand, Candasena's name always appears in the Sanskrit passages as *Canda-sena* and not as *Candra-sena* (p 29, l 8, p 30, l 19, p 32, l 5 and p 36, l 13) Consequently the text of the *Km* goes against the phonetic equation proposed by J

It is thus clear that the *Km* cannot be taken as referring to Candragupta I<sup>22</sup> Nor can we determine the date or the historicity of Kalyānavarman, Candasena and Kirtisena Consequently the story cannot help us in fixing the upper limit of the date of the drama

Now let us look for other indications in the work for the date. The very first verse which gives a clear indication is as follows

श्रीमद्वैयाघ्रचर्मास्तररचिततले स्थसिडले सनिषणः  
 कृत्वा पर्यङ्कबन्धं फणमणिकिरणक्षारिणा तत्क्षेण ।  
 नानात्वग्रन्थिभेत्री धियमिव विकिरन् दन्तकान्तिच्छलेन  
 ब्रह्मव्याख्याननिप्रस्तव भवतु तम कृत्तये कृत्तिवासा ॥

The authoress is here paying obeisance to Śiva (*Krttwāsas*) The second half of the verse uses two adjectives for *Krttwāsāb* which are remarkable (1) नानात्वग्रन्थिभेत्री धियमिव विकिरन् दन्तकान्तिच्छलेन ("spreading, as it were, in the form of the lustre of his teeth, the knowledge that cuts the knot of duality") and (2) ब्रह्मव्याख्याननिप्र The second

22 It is surprising how Jayaswal could gather from *Km*, IV 6

(कारानिरोधपरिपाण्डुकपोलरेखाकारा निरोधविधुरा प्रकृतीश्वरार ।

कारक्षणेन ककुभो वशमानिनाय कारस्कर स खलु सम्प्रति पाथिवेषु ॥ )

that Candasena was a Kāraskara (=Dhanri Jāt of the Punjab) by birth The last line of the verse means that in course of his oppressions Candasena has now (*samprati*) become a "veritable Kāraskara among kings" Āryaraksita is explaining to Vardhamānaka how Candasena has become unpopular among his subjects To take Candasena as a born Kāraskara from this passage is doing violence to the text J is wrong in taking the Kāraskaras as a northern people They seem to have belonged to the Deccan (*Matsya Purāna*, Ch 114, vv 45-49) But *kāraskarab* in *Km* IV 6 seems to mean a poison tree (*Pāṇini*, VI 1 156, *Bhāgavata Purāna* V 14 12 and *Rājasiṅghantu*, IX 142) Candasena had thus become a "poison tree" among kings by his misdeeds

adjective is striking Why is Śiva connected with *brahma-uyākhyāna* (exposition of Brahman)? Is it not very strange? If, however, we suppose that the authoress was thinking of the great Śankarācārya, believed to be an avatāra of Śiva, both the adjectives become appropriate The whole energy of Śankarācārya was spent in establishing the *advaita* doctrine and refuting dualism and he is known as *the* commentator of the *Brahma-sūtras*, at least among Advaitins *Brahmauyākhyānanisthah* would admirably suit the well known teacher of *Brahma-vidyā*—ब्रह्मव्याख्याने निष्ठा=सतताध्यवसायो यस्य, 'who is always engaged in the exposition of Brahman' For Śiva the construction is not easy it will have to be something like this—ब्रह्मव्याख्यानानां=वेदान्तवाक्याना (1) निष्ठा=अवसानं तात्पर्यं यस्मिन्, "who is the end of expositions of Brahman") It is more usual to have a Bahuvrīhi compound of *nisthā* with a word in the locative than with one in the genitive Similarly the adjective नानात्वप्रन्थिमेत्री धियमिव विकिरन् would refer to Śankarācārya more directly In the case of Śiva the interpretation will have to be a little round about—Śiva is supposed to give higher knowledge, which an Advaitin will assume to be a dispeller of dualism As regards the adjective in the first half of the verse the portion from श्रीमद्वैद्याघ्नचर्मास्तररचिततले to पर्यङ्कबन्धम् will suit Śiva and his incarnation equally well, for Śankarācārya as a Sannyāsin must have used a seat of tiger skin when engaged in yogic contemplation It is only फणमणिकिरणक्षारिणा तत्क्षेण that creates some difficulty in the case of Śankarācārya, for it is not easy to believe that he used an actual snake for tying himself fast (*paryanka-bandha*) Is *taksaka* in his case to be understood as the T-shaped wooden rest, called *tākhā* in Hindi, much used by Sādhus? It may have had a sharp metallic end for splitting fire-wood <sup>22a</sup> Even then फणमणिकिरणक्षारिणा remains unexplained What-

22a This suggestion has emanated from a friend of mine, who is not only a good student of *yoga* but a practical yogin himself

ever that may be the other adjectives clearly suggest that the authoress is referring here together to Śiva and his incarnation Śankarācārya. Compare the words of Sāyanācārya at the beginning of his vedic commentaries,

यस्य निश्चसितं वेदा यो वेदेभ्योऽखिल जगत् ।

निर्ममे तमहं वन्दे विद्यातीर्थमहेश्वरम् ॥

Here Sāyana has identified Brahman, his *īsta-devatā* Śiva, and his guru Vidyātīrtha. Our authoress seems to have held Śankarācārya in similar regard. In any case, the idea नानात्वग्रन्थिमेत्रो वियमिव विकिरन् hardly be understood before Śankarācārya popularised the *advaita* doctrine.

The work is then to be assigned to a date not earlier than that of the great Vedāntist Śaṅkara is usually believed to have lived between 788 and 820 A D<sup>21</sup> but this date now appears to be too late<sup>21</sup>. In any case, this much can be safely said that he lived sometime between 650 A D and 800 A D. This would then represent the upper limit of the date of the *Km*.

As one carefully goes through the drama one finds that this upper limit is confirmed by the borrowings of the authoress. Dasha-ratha Sharma and D. R. Mankad have shown the influence of Kālidāsa's writings in this drama<sup>21</sup>. One can considerably add to their lists. Thus

*Km*, p. 4, ll. 14-15 ( निमित्तं सूचयित्वा ) किं नु खलु स्फुरति दक्षिणो मे बाहुः.  
This is clearly suggested by *Abhijñānaśakuntala*, Act I ( निमित्तं सूचयन् ) शान्तमिदमाश्रमपदं स्फुरति च बाहुः कुत फलमिहास्य (Ed. Patankar, Poona 1902, p. 11). It should be noted that the throbbing of

23 K. B. Pathak, *IA*, XI, pp. 174-5, XLII, p. 235, *JBBRAS*, XVIII, 218, D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, XLI, 206 etc. K. T. Tulang pleaded for an earlier date in *IA*, XIII, 95-103 and Introduction to the *Mudrārāksasa* (BSS), pp. xxxix ff. See also J. F. Fleet, *IA*, XVI, 41-2.

23a See T. R. Chintamani, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, III, pp. 39-56, S. Kuppaswami Sastri, *Brahmasiddhi*, Introduction, p. lviii etc.

24 *IHQ*, X, pp. 763-6, XI, pp. 147-8, *ABI*, XVI, pp. 155-157.

- Dusyanta's right arm soon secures him a good damsel, whereas Kalyānavarman gets Kīrtimati after a long time
- P 6, l 1 एदिणा (=by the Aśoka tree growing wild in the forest) पञ्चादिद्रा दाणि पमञ्चवशापावपाणं समिद्धी Cf *Abb* I 17 cd, दूरीकृता खलु गुणै-  
रुद्यानलता वनलताभिः (P 11)
- P 10, ll 1-2 कथमेषा वक्त्रामोदप्रसक्तं मधुकरयुवानं लीलारविन्देन निवारयन्ती हन्त अन्त-  
र्हिता तरुसङ्घटे, clearly suggested by *Kumārasambhava* III 56,  
सुगन्धिनिश्वासविवृद्धतृष्णं बिम्बाधरासन्नचरं द्विरेफम् ।  
प्रतिक्षणं सम्भ्रमलोलदृष्टिलीलारविन्देन निवारयन्ती ॥  
The underlined expressions are identical It is more natural that a line in verse should have been copied in prose than the other way about
- P 11, ll 5 ff The discovery of the pearl necklace inadvertently left by Kīrtimati was probably suggested by the *mrnāla-valaya* left by Sakuntalā in Act III of *Abb* according to not only the long addition in the Bengali recension but also verse 25 (p 76) of the Devanāgarī text
- P 15, ll 25-26 आश्रयति माधवी चेदाश्रमसहकारपादपस्कन्धम् । स्वार्थकीता लभते  
निवृत्तिमारण्यको वग reminds one of the talks between Anasūyā, Priyamvadā and Sakuntalā in Act I of *Abb* (pp 15-16) about the *navamālikā* Vanajyotsnā The *mādhavī* creeper is named just before this in the Kashmiri recension (ed K Burkhard, p 28) and immediately after in the Bengali text (ed Permchand Tarkavāgīśa, pp 14-15)
- P 22, l 16 तत प्रविशति कामयमानावस्थः कुमार । Cf *Abb* Act III तत. प्रविशति कामयमानावस्थो राजा (p 53), using a form (*kāmayamāna-*) which is unusual in classical texts, though grammatically correct
- P 44, ll 18-19 रम्यद्वेषनिबन्धनो मनसि मे वियोगोचितसन्ताप. | The underlined expression seems to have been suggested by रम्य द्वेष्टि etc in *Abb* VI 5 (p 150)
- P 48, ll 7-8 The Vidūsaka's mistaking a picture-roll thrown in that direction by Nīpunikā for a serpent seems clearly to have been suggested by the incident of Irāvati's maid Nīpunikā throwing a stick at the sleeping Vidūsaka in Act IV of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and his mistaking it for a real snake (ed S P Pandit, p 121, ll 158 ff) It is more natural to mistake a stick as a serpent than a picture-roll

If Kālidāsa be assigned to the reign of Candragupta II Vikramāditya (c 380-c 415 A D) or of Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya (c 415-455 A D) or his son Skandagupta Vikramāditya (455 A D —c 467 A D), the *Km* cannot be dated as early as c 340 A D I am, however, of opinion that Kālidāsa lived before Aśvaghosa (second century A D) who borrowed from him and not *vice versa*<sup>25</sup> If my view about the date of Kālidāsa (not later than 100 A D) is correct, there will, of course, be no difficulty in dating the *Km* at about 340 A D on account of borrowings from Kālidāsa But there are works of dates later than 340 A D whose influence we can trace in the work.

The proclamation under orders of the minister Mantragupta for the celebration by the citizens of Pātaliputra in Act V of our drama (p 39), an incident of no importance in the plot, seems clearly to have been suggested by a similar order of Candragupta Maurya in Act III of the *Mudrārāksasa* (and its forbiddance by Cānakyā), a very important event in the development of the plot of that drama If the *Mudrārāksasa* be assigned to the time of Candragupta II, the *Km* cannot be assigned to a period even before the accession of Samudragupta, a predecessor of Candragupta II. According to J's theory the reign of Candasena = Candragupta I was followed by the accession of Kalyānavarman and his brief rule, after which Samudragupta came to power and ruled long enough to complete his extensive conquests The rule of Candragupta II, therefore, would thus begin at least 20 to 30 years after the alleged date of the composition of the *Km*

But the *Mudrārāksasa* cannot be assigned to even such an early date as the reign of Candragupta II The evidence of manuscripts is more in favour of the reading पार्थिवोऽवन्तिवर्मा for the close of the

25 See *Allahabad University Studies*, vol II, pp 79-170, *IJH*, vol XV, pp 93-102 and *Kuppuswami Commemoration Volume*, pp 17-24

last verse than पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः । Consequently we should assign Viśākhadatta to the time of Avantivarman, very likely the Maukhari king, father of Grahavarman. This Avantivarman we should place in the second half of the sixth century and that is very likely the date of the *Mudrārāksasa* <sup>26</sup>

There are still later works whose influence we can discern in the *Km*. The *Nāgānanda*, passing in the name of king Harsavardhana (606-647 A D), <sup>27</sup> has supplied three motifs to our authoress. (1) The first one is the manner of the first meeting of the hero and the heroine. In the *Nāg*, Jimūtavāhana comes to the Malaya mountain and meets Malayavatī in the temple of Gaurī, after she had worshipped the goddess. There is love at first sight on both the sides. Malayavatī feels so bashful that she cannot directly face Jimūtavāhana but slightly turns her face and feels like getting away from the place. Soon a hermit comes and calls her away. While going she keeps on slyly looking at Jimūtavāhana. In the *Km* Kirtimatī comes to pay her respects to Candī Vindhyaśāsinī and after coming out of the temple sees Kalyānavarman. Here also there is love at first sight and the same bashfulness on the part of the heroine, who sits behind her friend Nipunikā but keeps on sending stealthy glances at the prince. A maid now announces that her place for residence has been got ready and she should now go there. Kirtimatī leaves the place with difficulty, again and again looking at

26. Sten Konow's recent attempt at securing support for his view (*Das indische Drama*, pp. 70-1) that Viśākhadatta lived in the reign of Candragupta II from the title *Devī-Candragupta* of the author's other drama (*JBORS*, XXIII, pp. 450-1) is unconvincing.

27. The foreigner I-Tsing, who came to India after the time of Harsa, naturally knew the work as Harsa's, as it circulated in the king's name. But there is internal evidence in the *Ratnāvalī* (Prologue, verse 5 and the whole trend of the Stage-Manager's speech) showing that the *Ratnāvalī* was written by a person who wanted to please the king. The *Priyadarśikā* and the *Nāgānanda* seem to have been written by the same courtier-Pandit.

Kalyānavarman and tarrying on various pretexts The agreement of the two motifs is striking

The sense of one verse in our drama,

याता नितम्बगुर्वी यावद्यावन्मृगेक्षणा दूरम् ।

बिम्बितगात्रीवान्तस्तावत्तावदवगाढा मे ॥

uttered by Kalyānavarman after Kirtimatī leaves his company, becomes clear when we place before us the corresponding utterance of Jimūtavāhana,

अनया जघनाभोगभरमन्थरया तथा ।

अन्यतोऽपि व्रजन्या मे हृदये निहित पदम् ॥ (*Nāg* I 19)

The last line of the latter verse explains the corresponding line of the former We are to supply हृदयम् after अवगाढा मे in *Km*, I 26d The two verses have other points of contact

2 There is another partial agreement between the two works In the *Nāg*, the heroine is appraised in her dream by the goddess Gaurī about her coming marriage with the hero (Act I) and in *Km* the nun Yogasiddhī makes the false claim before the king of Mathurā that the goddess Candī has enjoined her in a dream about the marriage of Kirtimatī with Kalyānavarman (p 38, l 9 to p 39, l 3 and p 39, l 21 to p 40, l 3) This ruse of Yogasiddhī is an absolutely unnecessary one As Kirtisena was a friend of Kalyānavarman's father (p 40, l 17) and Kalyānavarman is now established on his father's throne, there is no reason why the king of Mathurā should not readily agree to marry Kirtimatī to Kalyānavarman, the moment such a proposal was made by Yogasiddhī or by Kalyānavarman himself

3 The third motif agreeing in the two works is this In the *Nāg*, Act II, the next meeting of the hero and the heroine takes place thus Jimūtavāhana enters a sandal bower with his confidant and Malayavatī and her maid who were already there now move away and watch them from behind a tree Malayavatī overhearing

their talk only from the middle supposes that the prince is in love with some other woman about whom he is talking and whose portrait he has just painted on the floor of the bower. She is deeply hurt, leaves the place and tries to kill herself. Ultimately she is saved and she is told that the person Jīmūtavāhana was talking about was her own self and all doubts are dispelled when she is shown the picture he has painted. The marriage of the pair comes immediately after this event. In the *Km*, Act V, we have some of these elements partly reproduced. The meeting of the hero and the heroine here is not their second one, though it is certainly their second appearance on the stage together<sup>28</sup>. But their marriage and final union are to come just after this. Kalyānavarman, now the established king of Magadha, is conversing with his confidant in a bower in his palace garden and Kīrtimatī, sent by her father for marriage with him, is approaching that spot along with her friend Nīpunikā. Nīpunikā shows her the joint portrait of Kalyānavarman and Kīrtimatī which has played an important part in the development of the plot. Kīrtimatī does not look at the whole of the picture and supposes that the woman painted by the side of Kalyānavarman is some other girl with whom he is in love and is deeply tormented at the thought. Nīpunikā makes her look carefully at the picture and she realises with joy that it is her own self that is painted by the side of her lover. Nīpunikā throws the picture inside the bower and the king and the Vidūsaka come out when the lovers meet. The mistake of Kīrtimatī about the female companion of the king in the picture, though short-lived, is extremely unnatural.

We then, find the influence of another work contemporaneous with the *Nāgānanda*, viz, the *Harsacarita* of Bānabhatta. After Kalyānavarman is firmly seated on the throne, Kirtisena, the

<sup>28</sup> Verses 26 and 27 in Act V show that the lovers had met after Act I and the incidents described in Acts II and III and *not* "seen each other only once before the marriage" as J. hastily supposed (*ABI*, XII, 52)

king of Mathurā, sends to him along with his daughter a wonderful necklace of *gajamuktā*, tracing back its origin to the Mahābhārata War, which was kept in the family as a precious heir-loom (*Km*, p 42). It seems that our authoress was influenced here by two incidents described in the *Harsacarita*, the gift of a wonderful umbrella sent by Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, to Harsavardhana soon after his accession, to secure his political friendship (*Ucchvāsa* VII) and of a pearl necklace of alleged mythic origin which was once in the possession of the historical Nāgārjuna who gave it to his friend, king Sātavāhana, which in course of *śiṣya-paramparā* reached the hands of the Buddhist teacher Divākaramitra, who gave it to Harsavardhana after he rescued Rājyaśrī (*Ucchvāsa* VIII)

There are also traces of the influence of a still later writer, viz, Bhavabhūti, who is assigned to the end of the seventh century A D<sup>29</sup> In Act V of the *Km* when Kīrtimati is approaching the bower in the garden of Kalyānavarman already occupied by the king, as soon

29 S K Belvalkar, *Rāma's Later History*, HOS, vol XXI, pp xli-xlvi. Some scholars now suppose from the joint testimony of a manuscript of the *Mālatīmādhava* (S P Pandit, *Gandavaho* BSS, p ccvi) and the *Pratyaktatvaprādīpa* of Citrukha with its commentary, the *Nayanaprasādini*, by Pratyagrūpa (Nirnaya Sagar edition, p 265) that Bhavabhūti was the same person as Umbeka, commentator of Mandana's *Bhāvanāviveka*, and very likely one of the pupils of Kumārila Bhatta. This identification, if accepted, would corroborate the latter half of the seventh century as the date of Bhavabhūti. I am myself not convinced about the identification. I fear that though Pratyagrūpa definitely identifies Umbeka with Bhavabhūti, Citrukha's own words—

न हि पुरात एव सन् नाटकनाटिकादिप्रबन्धविरचनमात्रेणानामो भवति भवभूति । उक्तं चैतदुम्बेकेन 'यदाप्तोऽपि कस्मैचिदुपदिशति न त्वयाननुभूतार्थविषय वाक्य प्रयोक्तव्य यथाङ्गुल्यग्रो हस्तिग्रथशतभास्ते" ।

definitely suggest that he distinguished between Bhavabhūti and Umbeka. If he had identified them he would have said उक्तं चैतलेनैव instead of उक्तं चैतदुम्बेकेन just after referring to Bhavabhūti. The style of Umbeka, as far as it can be judged from his commentary on the *Bhāvanāviveka*, appears to be different from that of Bhavabhūti's dramas and it shows no sign of the well-known self-consciousness of Bhavabhūti.

as she hears his voice, she gets horripilations all over her body She asks Nipunikā to stand in front covering her from the sight of the king, when the maid says jestingly भट्टिदारिए, कीस मए वारण अणोस (सी) अदि ? एा तुए एव्व सव्वंगोणो आसुत्तो रोमचकंचुओ. Kirtimati feels ashamed at this physical manifestation of her sentiments and says हला किं मं लज्जावेमि ? (p 46) This last sentence immediately reminds us of a passage in the Third Act of the *Uttararāmacarita* Rāma has fallen into a swoon and the invisible Sitā touches him at the bidding of Tamasā to bring him back to consciousness Rāma regains consciousness and catches hold of the invisible hand of his beloved Sitā gets very much agitated and it is some time before she can withdraw her hand Tamasā wistfully looks at her and says

सखेदरोमाश्रितकम्पिताङ्गी जाता प्रियस्पर्शवशेन बाला ।

महन्नवाम्भ.प्रविधूतसिक्का कदम्बयष्टि स्फुरकोरकेव ॥

(v 43), when Sitā is filled with shame and says to herself अम्महे । अवसेण एदेश अत्ताणएण लज्जाविदम्हि भजवदीए तमसाए । This speech of Sitā has clearly suggested Kirtimati's words Kirtimati has no reason for feeling any shame particularly before her confidante Nipunikā But Sitā has good reason for feeling ashamed at the words of the goddess Tamasā, for, she adds herself, किं ति किल एसा भणिससदि । एसो दे परिच्चाओ एसो अहिसङ्गोत्ति । (*Uttararāmacarita*, S K Belvalkar, p 45) Then again in the same Act of the *Km* when Kalyānavarman comes out of the bower, he unexpectedly finds Kirtimati in his front and he takes her into his arms and congratulates himself on his good fortune, but says to the Vidūsaka that he can hardly believe his eyes

पश्यतोऽपि न विश्वास सखेदस्य सखे मम ।

सङ्कल्पच्छ्वा देव्या बहुशो वञ्चिता वयम् ॥ (verse 29)

The second half of the verse immediately reminds us of Rāma's words in the Third Act of the *Uttararāmacarita* सर्वथा स एवैव भगवाननेकवारपरिकल्पनानिमित्तो विप्रलम्भ पुन.पुनरनुबध्नाति माम् (p 46) Rāma's supposition is justified by the fact that though he

felt the touch of Sitā he could not see her nor did his companion Vāsantī have any experience of her presence. Hence he thought that he had an illusion. In the case of Kalyānavarman, he saw, heard and touched Kīrtimatī, who was accompanied by her maid, and his companion, the Vīdūsaka, also saw the two ladies. Under the spell of the words of Bhavabhūti ringing in his ears, our authoress has failed to realise the absurdity of Kalyānavarman's apprehension of illusion.

The *Uttararāmacarita* may not be the only work of Bhavabhūti to which our authoress is indebted. The Buddhist nun Kāmandakī in the *Mālatīmādhava*, equally interested in Mālatī and Mādhava, who helps in bringing about their mutual love and subsequently contrives their marriage, seems to be the original of the nun in the *Km* who was once the nurse of Kalyānavarman, but turned a nun after the death of Sundaravarman and his queens and became attached to Kīrtimatī. She too played an important part in the development of their love and later arranged their marriage. Painting of the picture of an absent lover or beloved for finding a little solace in separation was popularised by Kālidāsa (*Abhijñānaśakuntala*, Act VI, *Meghadūta*, ed. Nandargikar, *Uttaramegha*, verse 44). Bhavabhūti has introduced in the *Mālatīmādhava* (Act I) the motif of the hero and heroine painting each other's portrait on the self-same canvas. Mālatī who had seen Mādhava earlier and had already fallen in love with him painted his portrait to divert herself. After their meeting was arranged in a garden through the intrigues of Kāmandakī, Mādhava also fell in love with her. Shortly after this, his servant Kalahansa brought to him the portrait painted by Mālatī which he had obtained through two intermediaries. Mādhava painted on it the portrait of Mālatī at the suggestion of his friend Makaranda and the picture was conveyed to Mālatī through the same channel. Kāmandakī had a secret hand in the whole affair. We can trace the influence of this motif in the *Km*. After the first meeting

of Kalyānavarman and Kīrtimatī, the latter pines for the prince and in trying to divert herself paints his picture. The portrait is conveyed by a happy accident to the nun, Yogasiddhī, from whom Kalyānavarman's friend, the Vidūsaka, receives it (Act II). Under her instructions, he conveys it to the prince. He makes him paint on it the picture of Kīrtimatī (Act III). This joint portrait is then carried to the nun and is subsequently utilised by her for bringing about the marriage of the two lovers (Act V). There are some more differences in the details of the two motifs, e.g. (1) Mādhava writes on the completed picture the verse जगति जयिनस्ते ते भावा &c (*Māl*, I 39) but Yogasiddhī writes the verse शौनकमिव बन्धुमती (*Km*, II 15) when only the prince has been portrayed on the canvas by Kīrtimatī and (2) the completed picture returns to Mālātī in Bhavabhūti's drama but goes to Yogasiddhī in the *Km* to be shown to Kīrtimatī only in Act V. Still the general agreement of the two motifs is quite manifest. The indebtedness of the *Km* to the *Mālatīmādhava* in this respect cannot be proved but appears to be likely on account of the certain influence of the *Uttararāmacarita* pointed out above and Yogasiddhī's agreement with Kāmandakī.

This motif of a joint portrait is also found in the *Ratnāvalī* ascribed to Harsa (Act II) and in the *Dāśakumāracarita* (*Ucchvāsa* V) of Dandin (circa seventh century A.D.). It is not impossible that our authoress got a clue from Dandin. The *Dāśakumāracarita* also shows a nurse of a prince turning a nun out of sorrow after she lost trace of the prince in her charge and her royal master lost his kingdom (*Ucchvāsa* III). The resemblance of Kālyānavarman's nurse, Vinayandharā, later becoming the nun Yogasiddhī, in the *Km* with woman may not be accidental.

Then the motif of the growing in the Vindhya forest of Rājavāhana, son of the dispossessed king of Magadha, and his subsequent attainment of the ancestral kingdom in the

romance of Dandin may have suggested to our authoress the secret rearing up in the Vindhya forest of Kalyānavarman, prince of Magadha, and his subsequent return to Magadha as its king. The story may thus have absolutely no basis in history.

We thus see that we cannot place the *Kaumudīmahotsava* earlier than 700 A D. This is the upper limit for its date. Can we fix a lower limit? Unfortunately we have no means at our disposal to do that. We may, however, become more precise about the date of the work if we can be sure about the name of the authoress. A suggestion has been made that it is *Vijṅkā*. *Vijṅkā* or *Vijjakā* is well known as a poetess, whose verses are preserved in works on anthology and whose name is variously given as *Vijjakā*, *Vijṅkā*, *Vijjā* or *Vidyā*<sup>30</sup>. The extant verses of this *Vijjakā* make it extremely likely that she is the *Vijayānkā* (or *Vijayā*?) of Karnāṭa country named by Rājaśekhara,

सरस्वतीव कार्णटो विजयाङ्गा जयत्यसौ ।

या वैदर्भगिरा नाम कालिदासादनन्तरम् ॥

because they are all in good *Vaidarbhi* style and we know that the poetess called herself *Sarasvatī*,

नीलोत्पलदलश्यामा विज्जका मामजानता ।

वृथैव दरिडना प्रोक्त सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥

(*Śārngadharapaddhati*, no 180)

It is, however, extremely doubtful if we should follow Mr P V Kane<sup>12</sup> in further identifying her with *Vijaya-mahādevī* or

30 *Subhāstāvālī*, ed Peterson and Durgāprasāda, nos 158, 1141, 1175, 1523, 2090, 3137, 3138, *Śārngadharapaddhati*, ed Peterson, nos 180, 451, 509, 582, 1003, 1131, 3746, 3769, 3794, *Kavindravacanasamuccaya* (?), ed F W Thomas, nos 298 and 500, *Saduktikarnāmrta*, ed Rāmāvatāra Śarmā (Lahore, 1933), I 23, II 121, 131, 141, 214, 564, 1032, 1402, III 71, 91, 151, 284, IV 493, V 741

31 No 184 in the *Śārngadharapaddhati*, where it is anonymous. The verse is ascribed to Rājaśekhara in Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvalī* (P V Kane, *Sāhityadarpana*, Introduction, p xli)

32 *Sāhityadarpana*, Introduction, p xli

Vijaya-bhattārikā (the queen of Candrāditya, son of the Cālukya Pulakesin II), who calls herself *kalikāla-pratīpaksabhūtā* in her Kochrem plates (Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions*, no. 24) and whose Nerūr plates (Kielhorn's *List* no. 23) give the date of 659 A D.<sup>33</sup> It is difficult to believe that the royal panegyrics भृपाला शशिभास्करान्वयभुवः (*Saduktīkarnāmṛta*, III 15. 1) and यशःपुत्रं देव &c (*Ibid*, III 28. 4) could have been written by a queen or a princess. If it is justified to infer from the missing letters in the name of the authoress in the prologue of the *Km* that it was *Vijjakā* or *Vijjakā*, *Vijjakā*'s date would be the date of our work.

*Vijjakā* is either later than Dandin or is his contemporary, because of her proud assertion, नीलोत्पलदलरथामाम् &c referred to above, in which she clearly refers to Dandin's *Kāvya-darśa* I 11 d. The question of Dandin's date is a vexed problem in the history of Sanskrit literature.<sup>34</sup> He is perhaps later than Bhāmaha but there is nothing to show that Bhāmaha's date is as late as 700 A D. Bhāmaha's alleged borrowings from Dharmakīrti really appear to be borrowings from Vasubandhu and Dinnāga.<sup>35</sup> Consequently it may be possible to assign Dandin to the seventh century A D. In any case he is not later than the eighth century. The seventh or the eighth century would thus represent the upper limit of *Vijjakā*'s date, which we have already found to be the upper limit of the *Km* on account of

33 Appendix to *LI*, vol VII, p 5, n 9

34 See S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, vol I, pp 58-70, Batuk Nāth Śarmā and Baladeva Upādhyāya, *Kāvya-lankāra of Bhāmaha*, Introduction, pp 35-40, A. B. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p 375, n 2-5, P. V. Kane, *Sāhitya-darpana*, Introduction, pp xxv-xi

35 Batuk Nāth Śarmā and Baladeva Upādhyāya, *op cit* pp 40-55, H. R. Rangaswamy Iyengar, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference*, Part II, pp 419-424. I would myself place Dinnāga, who is, according to Buddhist tradition, the *parama-guru* of Dharmakīrti (seventh century A D), in the sixth century and his teacher Vasubandhu in the time of Narasimha-gupta (c. 473 A D), the only Bālāditya, son of a Vikramāditya, known to history.

the reference to Śankarācārya and on account of the borrowing of ideals from other authors. The lower limit of Vijjakā is supplied by the quotation of her verse दृष्टिं हे प्रतिवेशिनि etc (*Sārṅga-dharapaddhati*) no 3769, *Kaṁdravacanasamuccaya*, no 500, *Saduktikarnāmṛta*, II 14, 1) in the *Dāśarūpāvaloka* of Dhanika (II 21) whose date is the tenth century<sup>36</sup> and in the *Abhidhāvrttimātrkā* (p 12) of Mukulabhatta who lived in the first half of the tenth century<sup>37</sup>. Consequently Vijjakā is to be assigned to a date between the seventh and the ninth centuries A D. Vijayā named by Rājaśekhara certainly lived before 900 A D. If the authoress of the *Km* is Vijjakā or Vidyā she has to be placed between the seventh and the ninth centuries A D.

But can we be sure that she is Vijjakā? Till other manuscripts are discovered and they clearly shows the reading *Vijjakā*, we must take the guess with extreme caution, particularly as there is no clear evidence in favour of Vijjakā's authorship of the *Km*. None of the verses in our drama can be traced among the verses ascribed to Vijjakā in the anthologies<sup>38</sup>. The style of Vijjakā is definitely *Vaidarbhi* but the same can hardly be said of the *Km* which seems to use the *Pāñcālī* style. There is also greater grace and much higher poetical quality in the preserved verses of Vijjakā than in our drama. Then Rājaśekhara's statement shows that she belonged to the south (Karnāṭa), whereas our authoress who knows not only Kauśāmbī but also Suyāmuna = modern Sujāwan on the Jumna, near Allahabad (I 11),<sup>39</sup> was pro-

36 S K De, *op cit*, pp 131-4, P V Kane, *op cit*, p lxxxvii

37 S K De, *op cit*, p 76, P V Kane, *op cit*, p lxxxv

38 I have also not been able to find the verses in the *Km* quoted in any of the anthologies or works on *alankāra*.

39 Sujāwan is on the right bank of the Jumna, a few miles above Allahabad and very near Bhita. The Archaeological Department of India is to be congratulated for starting excavation at Kauśāmbī and resuming operations at Bhita. The Department should also pay attention to Sujāwan, which is sure to yield a rich harvest to the spade of the excavator.

bably a northerner Her identification with Vijjakā is, for these reasons, extremely doubtful

Consequently in the present state of our knowledge we fail to fix the lower limit of the work or to settle its approximate date The only definite conclusion we have been able to arrive at is that it was not written before Śankaiācārya This serves at least one useful purpose, viz , the rejection of the inferences about the early history of the Guptas made by Jayaswal on the basis of this work <sup>10</sup>

स्वर्गतो विबुधः सोऽयं भिन्ननिर्त्ससमाह्वयः ।

प्रियतामनया कृत्या ज्ञेवेशचन्द्रशर्मण ॥

K CHATTERJOPADHYAYA

40 It is sad that the great scholar Jayaswal is no longer living to reply to my criticisms or to accept my findings

## The Causeway of Giants at Angkor Thom

Everybody knows that the bridges, which cross the moats of Angkor Thom and give access to the five gates of the city, are decorated by balustrades, constituted by two huge nâgas with hoods turned outside and with bodies supported by giants in stone which represent on one side the Devas and on the other the Asuras

This motif which is found also in other monuments of the same period (end of the 12th century A D ) is generally interpreted<sup>1</sup> as the representation of the churning of the ocean, an architectural symbolism of which there are other examples<sup>2</sup> In a remarkable article entitled "Angkor in the time of Jayavarman VII" and published in the *Indian Art and Letters*<sup>3</sup> my friend and collaborator M Paul Mus gives a quite different interpretation of these bridges with balustrades of nâgas supported by the giants, and I propose to confirm his interpretation with new arguments and make his information more complete on certain points

M Paul Mus finds in these bridges of Angkor Thom a representation of the rainbow which according to Indian tradition is the link of union between the world of men and the world of gods which is materialised on earth by the royal city His interpretation is based on a verse contained in the Sanskrit inscription dedicated by Jayavarman VII at the south-western corner of the outer walls of Angkor Thom These verses are

*Vilasita-vyâlikhacchrnga eko  
bbuṣasadanasangâgâdhatānyā pī tena  
anukuruta ime te nirmite çrīmahâçri-  
jayagiriṣayasīndhū tadbrhatkīrttikotim*

1 Cf *BEFEO*, XII, 9, pp 181-182

2 Among the first works in which this hypothesis has been formulated, C J Commaile, *Guide aux ruines d'Angkor*, p 110

3 Vol XI, 1937, pp 65-75

“One scraped the bright sky with its pinnacle and the other in its unfathomable depth reached the world of serpents, the Çrīmahâjayagiri and the Çrīmahâçrijayasindhu erected by Jayavarman both emulated the arc of his mighty glory”<sup>4</sup>

I have proved already that Jayagiri and Jayasindhu are the names given respectively to the outer wall and the moat of the city<sup>5</sup> “According to this poetical comparison, says M. Mus,<sup>6</sup> the Mountain of Victory and the Sea of Victory emulate the Arc of glory of the King. But the meaning of the latter term is not questioned—a king’s arc of glory is the representation of the Arc of Indra, or in other words the rainbow, itself symbol of the divine power of sovereigns. Let us now take our stand before the actual landscape of Angkor Thom. The Mountain of Victory and the Sea of Victory here become before our eyes, if we may so put it, a rampart and a moat. The third expression is missing. This should be a materialisation of this same rainbow which we learn from elsewhere to be a divine bridge. The conclusion is obvious—the Arc of Glory of Jayavarman VII, vying in splendour with the rampart and the moat, is the bridge which is the worldly representation of the rainbow”

M. Paul Mus has interpreted the expression *anukurutah* as meaning that the rampart and the moat “rivalled in splendour” with the bridge, but I do not think that this is exactly what the poet wanted to say. The poet wanted probably to note that the glory of the king, poured out in the universe from the heaven up to the under-world, was exalted in the architectural complex comprising, in the sky, the rampart that reaches the heaven and, below, the moat which in its depth reaches the world of serpents. This is at least the first interpretation which occurs to anybody who may be a little acquainted with the style of the Sanskrit inscriptions of

4 *BEFLO*, XXVIII, p. 88

5 *Ibid*

6 *IAL*, p. 70

Cambodia. But one is never sure of having exhausted all the niceties of a Kāvya stanza even though he may have drawn two or three meanings from it, because the subtleties of the court poets are infinite, and in the present case M Paul Mus is certainly justified in drawing a third meaning relating to bow, and in discovering in it an allusion to the rainbow of which the material representation is the bridge of giants

I can besides furnish another argument in favour of his interpretation. The five gates of Angkor Thom are decorated at their angles with gigantic heads of tricephalic elephants. One of these elephants at least (the Gate of Victory, north-east corner) still bears an image of Indra holding the Vajra and it is not too much to suppose that each of these elephants bore a similar image.<sup>7</sup> The rainbow is the bow of Indra and the presence of that god at the end of the bridge in the axis of the nâgas certainly confirms the hypothesis of M Paul Mus.

On the other hand I am not quite in agreement with him when he writes "The plastic motif of the churning, in which the great serpent already appeared, was no doubt, through association of ideas *the first model* for this new construction."<sup>8</sup> If the giants of the bridges may be an innovation of Jayavarman VII, the motif of nâga as balustrade of the bridge is much more ancient and goes back to the beginning of the classical Khmer art. The oldest example of it is found at Bakong which is dated from 881 A D.<sup>9</sup> Now there is no necessity of bringing in the myth of the churning to explain the architectural motif of the bridge with the double nâga-balustrade. The rainbow theme is sufficient, and to the arguments cited by M Paul Mus<sup>10</sup> I may add another which is more actual. In the popular Siamese and Cambodian imagery

7 H Marchal, *Guide archéologique aux Temples d'Angkor*, p 85

8 *IAL*, p 71

9 G Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, I, p 31

10 *IAL*, pp 70-71

the rainbow staircase by which the Buddha descends from the heaven of the Thirty-three is always represented with two hand-rails in the shape of nâgas of which the heads touch the ground

It is not without interest to note that the first occurrence of this motif at Bakong, towards the end of the 9th cent., belongs to a period in which some Javanese influence is recognisable in the Khmer art, as a consequence of the reign of Jayavarman II who came back from Java

This influence is manifested amongst other things in Cambodia in the introduction of the *Kâlamakara-torana* motif with divergent heads of makaras<sup>11</sup> Its connection with the nâga-balustrade on one hand and with the rainbow<sup>12</sup> on the other is apparent This evidence goes to strengthen the thesis of M. Paul Mus but it places the introduction of the architectural motif in the Khmer country several centuries earlier

It is not therefore the myth of the churning of ocean which has furnished the Khmer architects with the nâga motif for the decoration of the balustrades of their bridges, although this myth had certainly inspired the constructors of the causeways of Angkor Thom and contaminated the more ancient theme of the rainbow bridge

It may be noted in this connection that the presence of the two serpents does not in any way stand in the way of our recognising in the causeway of giants a plastic representation of the churning, as M. Paul Mus thinks "At Angkor Thom, he says, there is not *one* serpent, there are *two* Gods and Titans each carry their own Further instead of pulling against each other, they are in two parallel lines facing those who arrive It is quite clear that they

<sup>11</sup> G. de Coral-Rémusat, 'Influences javanaises dans l'art de Rolôh,' *JA* CCXXIII, 1933, p. 190

<sup>12</sup> G. de Coral-Rémusat, 'Animaux fantastiques de l'Inde,' *BEFEO*, XXXVI, p. 430

are churning nothing''<sup>13</sup> This last remark is as judicious as the explanation which he gives a little later of the presence of the two serpents. It cannot be however denied that the representation of the churning at Angkor Vat<sup>14</sup> and Bayon<sup>15</sup> contains two serpents: one coiling around the mountain as a cordon to make it revolve, and the other reposing in the bottom of the ocean. Evidently the latter is so to say caught in the arms of the Asuras of the causeways at Angkor Thom and even if in this position the Asuras and the Devas cannot be regarded as churning anything, the two rows of the Asuras, the two serpents, the outer wall *Jayagiri* and the moat *Jayasindhu* do not constitute any less the essential elements of the churning, as it is represented in the bas-reliefs of the 12th century.

Why has this motif been added to that of the rainbow represented in a more simple way by a bridge with two hooded serpents? This innovation being no doubt due to Jayavarman VII, all that we know of the psychology of this great mystic supplies with a twofold reply to this question.

In the first place by having a representation of the churning of the ocean at the gates of his capital Jayavatman VII emphasised its divine character, because the *Jayagiri* and the *Jayasindhu* of which the names reminded his own thus became the cosmic mountain and ocean.

In the second place it was common literary theme abundantly exploited by the court poets to compare the battle with the ocean churned by the king in order to win Laksmi, the fortune, and also the *amrta* of Victory,<sup>17</sup> or again to compare the world with a mountain which the king revolves to get

13 *IAL*, p. 69

14 *Le temple d'Angkor Vat* (Mém. Arch. EFEO II), 3e partie, II, pls. 351-370

15 H. Dufour, *Le Bayon d'Angkor Thom*, inner galleries, pls. 78-81

16 G. Cœdès, *Un grand roi du Cambodge Jayavarman VII*, Phnom Penh, 1935

17 For example, the inscription of Tà Prohm, st. XXI (*BEFEO*, VI, pp. 52, 73)

•  
 the ambrosia of prosperity <sup>18</sup> Jayavarman VII, the protégé of the Victory, has given his name to the mountain of the outer wall and to the ocean of the moat. That will not perhaps be the proof of an exaggerated subtlety if we try to discover in the plastic representation of the churning, effected with the moat as the ocean, and the outer wall as the pivot, a kind of magic operation 'destined to produce the Fortune and to assure to the country the nectar of Victory and Prosperity' \*

G. CÉDES

<sup>18</sup> Inscription of Thnal Bâlây, south-east angle, st B XXI, *ISCC*, pp 435-445

\* Translated by Dr P. C. Bagchi, M.A., Dr ès lettres (Paris)

## Struggle for Supremacy in the Deccan

The Cālukya Taila II defeated and overthrew the Rāstrakūtas in 973 A D and the Cālukya kingship was once again revived in the Deccan. It reached its full glory during the reign of Someśvara I (1042-1068 A D). The accession of Someśvara II, son of Someśvara I, marked the beginning of the fratricidal war between Someśvara II and Vikramāditya (VI), and the decline set in. The feudatory states were the worst disintegrating forces in the body politic of those days. The feudatory princes always enjoyed vast political powers and privileges and were waiting for an opportunity to declare independence. Whenever the sovereign authority was weak, they rose in rebellion and often declared independence.

The fratricidal war between Someśvara II and Vikramāditya (VI), two sons of Someśvara I, broke the unity of the Cālukya empire and it was divided into two hostile camps. This also gave the important feudatory princes an opportunity to enhance their power. The Cālukya empire was reunited by Vikramāditya VI when he ascended the throne in 1076 A D after overthrowing his brother, but the solidarity of the empire could not be restored. The feudatory princes, the Hoyasalas, the Yādavas, the Kadambas and the Silhāras strengthened their position. The Hoyasalas twice rebelled against their sovereign and inflicted severe losses to the emperor, but they were suppressed.

The successors of Vikramāditya VI, however, were incapable rulers and they could not check the Hoyasalas from capturing the whole of the southern part of the Cālukya dominions. Besides the Hoyasalas, other feudatories had also begun minor conquests and annexations at the cost of their sovereign.

When Taila III came to the throne in 1151 A D the condition in the Cālukya dominions was in a deplorable chaos. The feudatory

princes were busy in asserting their power. The important feudatory princes, the Hoyasalas, the Kadambas, the Silhāras and the Yādavas practically became independent and severed their connections with the central government. Taila III was left to look after his own fate. The Kākatīyas had established their power in the eastern side of the Cālukya dominions and the Kākatīya Prolarāja inflicted a crushing defeat on Taila III. The Kalacurya Bijjala, who was appointed the commander-in-chief of the Cāluykan forces, was himself waiting for an opportunity to occupy the throne at Kalyānī. As revealed by many inscriptions, his authority had overshadowed that of Taila III and when the latter suffered defeat at the hands of the Kākatīya Prolarāja, Bijjala made full use of this event. Inscriptions from 1156 A.D. show that the Kalacurya Bijjala had begun the work of usurpation and Taila was made a puppet in his hands. The defeat of Taila III at the hands of the Kākatīya Prolarāja brought the crisis to the pitch, and the death of Taila in about 1162 A.D. left Bijjala ultimately supreme in the Cālukya kingdom. He occupied the throne and assumed full paramount titles. He was also helped in effecting the *coup-de-etat* by the Silhāra prince<sup>1</sup>

#### *Beginning of the Struggle*

The fall of the Imperial Cālukya power created an utter political chaos in the Deccan. The usurpation of Bijjala was quite sudden, he could not be acknowledged as the sovereign by other feudatory princes and they themselves began a hard struggle to strengthen their position and capture Kalyānī, if possible.

Bijjala, soon after accomplishing the *coup*, opened his campaigns to subjugate other feudatory chieftains. He had not to face any trouble in the north. The Silhāras were already friendly to him,<sup>2</sup>

1 B.G., vol I, pt II, p 475, fn 6

2 *Ibid*

it was from the south that he apprehended danger. The death of the Hoyasala Visnuvardhana stopped the northward expansion of the Hoyasalas and his successor Narasiṃha I could not continue his aggressive policy. The Pāṇḍya and the Kadamba territories, which served as the buffer principalities for the Cālukyas in the south, were subjugated by the Hoyasala Visnuvardhana, but just at the height of his success Visnuvardhana died. The Kadambas and the Pāṇḍyas, immediately after the death of Visnuvardhana asserted their power and carried on their struggle with Narasiṃha I, successor of the Hoyasala Visnuvardhana.

The fall of the Cālukya power threw the feudatories in a fit of indecision. The Pāṇḍyas and the Kadambas were fighting against the Hoyasalas with the Cālukya help on their back, but now they were fighting for their own existence against the Kalacuryas and the Hoyasalas. Inscriptions dated 1165 A D<sup>1</sup> and 1182 A D<sup>1</sup> show that the Pāṇḍya chieftain Vijaya Pāṇḍya recognised the Cālukya Jagadekamalla, probably a brother (?) of Taila III as their sovereign. The Nidugal chief Mallideva Cola Maharāja also recognised the Cālukyas as his sovereign in an inscription dated 1169 A D<sup>1</sup>.

Bijjala seems to have begun the drive against the Kadambas before the usurpation. In 1109 A D he attacked Billaya, the senior general of Banavāsī-nād, appointed by the Kadamba Mahā-mandaleśvara Kumāra Kirtti-deva<sup>6</sup>. He besieged the fort of Gutti and conquered it. Another inscription of about the same date records that "when Kirtti-deva's great minister Bammārāsa was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom, Bijjana-Deva's minister Soyavamarasa was fighting, saying, "I will besiege Gutti"<sup>7</sup>. Bijjala was ultimately successful in suppressing the Kadambas before

3 *EC*, vol XI, Dg No 77

5 *SIE*, A R 1917, No 733, *HISI*, p 116

6 *EC*, vol VIII, Sb No 416

4 *Ibid*, Cd No 13

7 *Ibid*, No 568

1163 A D<sup>8</sup> The Pāndyas also could not hold against Bijjala and accepted him as their overlord,<sup>9</sup> though sometimes they mentioned the Cālukya Jagadekamalla as their king<sup>10</sup>

The Hoyasalas were trying to continue their advance towards the north and led expeditions against the Kadambas. An inscription dated 1161 A D states that "Narasimha who astonished the world, when on hearing that a Kadamba army was at Bankāpura, being raised for assault, he crushed that force and won all its spoils, bringing glory to his father"<sup>11</sup> Yet another inscription records another conflict between the Kadamba and the Hoyasala forces<sup>12</sup> A third inscription dated 1161 A D reveals that the Mandalikas of the Kadamba Kirtideva were fighting against the Hoyasalas and besieging the fort of Gunnalagundi<sup>13</sup> Kirtideva ultimately seems to have gained some success against the invaders,<sup>14</sup> but the conflict between the Kalacuryas, the Kadambas and the Hoyasalas could not be decided finally. The Kadambas unable to fight two powers accepted the authority of the Kalacuryas and then a struggle between the Hoyasalas and the Kalacuryas began. They had already fought a battle on the banks of the river Tungabhadrā, before Bijjala usurped the Cālukya throne<sup>15</sup> The Hoyasalas had captured the fort of Gutti from the Kadambas<sup>16</sup> and began raids into the Kalacurya territory. In 1164 A D a Hoyasala general raided the Keriya-kāśīve Agrahāra<sup>17</sup> In 1164 A D Bijjala ordered his subordinate Talevūr Hendi Sovavarma (?) and other chieftains to attack the fort of Gutti and the invaders besieged the fort. The fort of Gunnalagundi, which was under the possession of the Hoyasalas was also besieged by Bammarasa and Virarasa in 1166 A D, but the Hoyasala general

8 *Ibid.*, No 177

10 *Ibid.*, vol XI, Dg No 43

12 *Ibid.*, Ak No 172

14 *Ibid.*, No 179

16 *MA SR.*, 1928, No 81

9 *Ibid.*, vol VII, Sk No 18

11 *EC.*, vol V, Bl No 193

13 *Ibid.* vol VIII, Sb No 306

15 *Ibid.*, vol XI, Dg No 42

17 *EC.*, vol XI, Dg No 84

was successful in driving away the invader by stratagem, as he had not sufficient force to fight openly<sup>18</sup>

These facts indicate that the struggle between the two powers continued without any final decision. Neither side was able to continue the struggle vigorously, because of the internal troubles. Not long after his accession Bijjala had to face a religious revolution in the capital and he was compelled to abdicate in favour of his son Soyideva in 1168 A D<sup>19</sup>. Rebellions had broken out in the different parts of the Hoyasala kingdom because of the weak rule of Narasimha. He had to abandon his campaigns in the north to find time and means to curb the rebellions.

The internal disturbances compelled the Kalacuryas and the Hoyasalas to stop the struggle. The Hoyasala Narasimha was dethroned by his son Ballāla II. He rebelled against his father and captured the throne<sup>20</sup> in 1173 A D<sup>21</sup>. For a couple of years after his accession, he seems to have been busy in restoring peace and order in his dominions. Narasimha had lost much of the Northern territories conquered and annexed by the Hoyasala Visnuvardhana. The Kadambas and the Pāndyas had again asserted their authority, and sometimes acknowledging the Kalacuryas and sometimes the Cālukyas, they were strengthening their own position. Ballāla immediately after restoring peace in his kingdom started towards the north and invaded the Pāndya principality, which had its capital at Uccangī.

Ballāla after making full preparations marched on to the Pāndya kingdom in or before 1177 A D<sup>22</sup>. The Hoyasalas captured the fort

18 *M A S R*, 1928 No 81

19 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions* pp 79-80, *B G*, vol I, pt II, pp 476-77

20 *M A S R*, 1926, No 55, p 67

21 *EC*, vol V, Hn No 119, Ak No 71, Bl No 118

22 *EC*, vol XII, Ck No 36, vol VI, Tk No 36

of Devadurga<sup>23</sup> and were then opposed by the Pāndyas at Ummadūr, where a fierce battle was fought<sup>24</sup> Ballāla showed great personal bravery in the battle and gained complete victory Ballāla attacked the fort of Uccangi, which was the centre of the Pāndya power. The fort of Uccangi was very big<sup>25</sup> and strong "with a moat like Pātāla, as broad as the eight cardinal points, high as the sky, extending in both directions, so that it was famed in the three worlds"<sup>26</sup> The fort was besieged and stormed The Pāndya chieftains, "King Kāma and the famous Odeya and their treasury, women and troops of horses were captured"<sup>27</sup> Ballāla now acquired the titles Gīridurgamalla and Śanivārasiddhi as the fort was captured on Śanivāra (Saturday)<sup>28</sup> The Pāndya chieftains Odeya or Udayāditya and his father Kāmadeva or Vijaya Pāndya<sup>29</sup> submitted to Ballāla for protection, who taking pity restored them to their principality<sup>30</sup> It seems very probable that they gave a princess of their family in marriage to Ballāla<sup>31</sup>

Ballāla now faced the Kalacuryas and the Kadambas, who had acknowledged the former as their sovereign<sup>32</sup> by the year 1163 A D When the Kadambas were attacked by the Hoyasalas, the Kalacuryas came to their rescue The Kalacurya Sankamadeva sent his general Kavanayya in 1179 A D<sup>33</sup> He pitched his camp at Bettaur, but he seems to have gained no success and therefore Sankamadeva

23 *Ibid*, vol V, Bl No 119

24 *Ibid*, Bl No 175

25 *Ibid*, Cn No 289

26 *Ibid*, Bl No 72, vol VI, Ak No 10

27 *EC*, vol II, No 327, Tr p 136, No 240

28 *Ibid*, vol V, Bl Nos 137, 175, Ak No 178

29 *Ibid*, vol XI, Cd Nos 13, 36, Intro p 18, vol IV, Ng No 70, *HISI*, p 373

30 *EC*, vol V, Bl Nos 136, 72, vol VI, Tk No 10

31 *MASR*, 1923, No 1, p 36

32 *Kadambakula*, p 138, fn 4, App III, No 10, pp 444-5, 140, *EC*, vol VII, Sk No 171, vol VIII, Sb No 431

33 *EC*, vol XI, Dg No 44

personally came down to the south to direct the campaign<sup>34</sup> From the inscription it appears that a battle was fought at Madavalli in 1179 A D between the armies of Sankama and Ballāla The battle of Madavalli does not seem to have been decisive and the two faced each other on the field of Hadadeyakuppa. The Hoyasala Ballāladeva ordered the van of his army to attack the Kalacurya forces commanded by Murāri Keśava-Narasimha and the general Gandava Canna-kālam Sāhani The Kalacuryas were probably defeated and they made peace as they were threatened by the Cālukya Someśvara IV, who seems to have been making an effort to regain the throne<sup>35</sup>

The withdrawal of the Kalacuryas with discomfiture left the Kadambas all alone at the mercy of the Hoyasalas During the campaigns against the Kalacuryas, Ballāla seems to have captured the Kadamba fortress of Udhare. It was under the command of the Hoyasala general Toya<sup>3</sup> Singeya-dannāyaka in 1181 A D<sup>36</sup> The Kadamba Kāmadeva who had succeeded his father Kirttideva in 1180 A D sent his generals Gāngeya-Sāhani, Beyama-Sāhani and Javaneya-Nāyaka to recapture the fort of Udhare They "coming with all the appliances" laid siege of the fort<sup>37</sup> The Hoyasala general seems to have been killed and the fort was surrendered to the Kadambas In 1181 A D Ballāla seems to have defeated the Kadambas<sup>38</sup> The struggle so far placed Ballāla in no territorial advantage

### *The Cālukya revival*

When this struggle was lingering on, suddenly the Kalçuryas were overthrown and Kalyāni was captured by the Cālukya Someśvara,<sup>10</sup> one of the sons of Taila III in 1183 A D<sup>10</sup> This again

34 *Kadambakula*, p 142

36 *EC*, vol VII, Sk No 212

38 *Ibid*, vol II, No 327

40 *SIEAR*, 1928-29, App E No 207

35 *Ibid*

37 *Ibid*

39 *El*, vol V, p 259

changed the political condition of the Deccan. The change did not wipe out the political chaos, but on the other hand made it all the more worse. The Cālukya Someśvara IV, as the inscriptions show, was greatly helped by his general Brahma. He is styled as “the establisher of the Cālukya sovereignty” and “the chief of all the leaders of the army”<sup>41</sup>. Another inscription records that Brahma “having vowed that he would uproot the destroyers of his masters, and make the Cālukyas again lords of the earth, became the destroying fire of the Kalachurya—(Kalacurya) kula”<sup>42</sup>.

Ballāla II wanted to take full advantage of the situation arising out of this restoration and change. A blow at this time, when Someśvara IV was not in a settled condition, would give an easy success. He, leaving the struggle with the Kadambas undecided, rushed to the north and invaded the Cālukya kingdom. An inscription dated 1183 A D of the reign of the Cālukya Someśvara IV records that Mahāmandaleśvara Ballāla's force was unloosing the waists of women<sup>43</sup>. Brahma seems to have been an able general. He drove away the Hoyasala raiders and the inscription records about Barmadevarasa as “a venomous serpent to the strong hill-fortress of the Hoyasalas, a thunderbolt of the king Bhuvanāikamalla” i.e., Someśvara IV<sup>44</sup>.

The revival of the Cālukya sovereignty by Someśvara IV only served as a passing episode in the then disturbed political condition of the Deccan. It was in a state of transition. The Hoyasalas were making a desperate struggle for northward expansion. The Yādavas in the northern part of the Cālukya dominions had also commenced their struggle for expansion towards the south. They were already fighting against the Kalacuryas. The Yādava Mallugi, predecessor of Bhīllama V (1183 A D — 1194 A D) had been fighting against

41 *EI*, vol V, p 250

43 *EC*, vol VIII, Sb No 419

44 *SIEAR*, 1915, App B No 458

42 *JRAS*, vol IV, pp 16-17

Vijjana, probably a Kalacurya prince and Dāda, his general, also claims to have defeated an army led by a Kalacurya prince<sup>45</sup> After the fall of the Kalacuryas, the Yādavas continued their hostility against the Cālukya Someśvara IV

In these circumstances, when the resources of Someśvara IV were crippled and few, the two strong powers advancing with grim determination to overthrow him, and the minor feudatories vacillating in their support and making their own position strong, it was not possible for the Cālukya Someśvara to hold his position for a long time In spite of all the heroism and superb generalship of the general Brahma, the odds were tremendously against him

*Fall of the Cālukyas*

Ballāla seems to have prepared to strike the final blow, if possible With his army he started towards Kalyānī He was opposed by the Pāndyas on the way The Pāndyas had always sympathy towards their sovereign, the Cālukyas They had no doubt submitted to the Hoyasala Ballāla, but when Someśvara IV came to the throne, the Pāndya chieftain Kāmādeva immediately transferred his allegiance to him Ballāla defeated Kāmādeva and killed him in battle in 1187 A D<sup>46</sup> The Kannada poet Rudrabhatta in his *Jagannātha-Vijaya* gives the title *ari-kāma-dhvamsī* (i e destroyer of the enemy Kāma) to Ballāla<sup>47</sup> He then invaded the Cālukya dominions The general Brahma opposed him with his force but suffered a crushing defeat The Gadag inscription records about the battle in the following words "And by force, he, the strong one, defeated with cavalry only, and deprived of his sovereignty the general Brahma whose army was strengthened by an array of elephants with a single

45 *EHD*, (Revised) pp 183-4

46 *EC*, vol V, Bl No 77, vol XI, Cd No 33

47 *IHQ*, vol IV, p 133

tuskless elephant, when, on account of an insult to his father, he was tearing the royal fortune from the family of the Kalacuryas<sup>48</sup>

This sealed the fate of the Cālukya Someśvara IV. His power was shattered and he left Kalyānī at the mercy of the invader and fled away to Jayantipura, where he was residing on the 19th September 1187 A D the date recorded in an inscription<sup>49</sup>. Mahāmandaleśvara Vijaya Pāndya was supporting him even there. Someśvara seems to have continued for sometime more. The Kadambas seems to have transferred their allegiance also and it was with them that Someśvara took shelter. An inscription dated Dec 25, 1189 A D reveals that Someśvara IV was continuing his sovereignty with the help of the Kadamba Kāmadeva<sup>50</sup>. This is the last known date of Someśvara IV.

#### *Fall of Kalyānī*

The victory of Ballāla over Brahma seems to have left him master of the situation and the country, but the overwhelming success was, not long after, eclipsed by another competitor, who was also advancing towards Kalyānī. The Yādava Bhīllama came to power in 1183 A D<sup>51</sup>. He was as ambitious as the Hoyasala Ballāla II and has been striving hard to gain territorial advantage out of this political confusion. He was also advancing towards Kalyānī. Ballāla after defeating the general Brahma, probably, captured Kalyānī, but immediately he had to face the opposition of the Yādava Bhīllama. Bhīllama defeated the Hoyasala Ballāla II and deprived him of the territorial advantages he had gained. Kalyānī was also captured. An inscription dated 1189 A D records that Bhīllama "had become the beloved of the goddess of sovereignty of the Karnāta country and was reigning over the whole kingdom"<sup>52</sup>.

48 *El*, vol VI, p 92 Vs 35-36

49 *EC*, vol XI, Cd No 33

50 *Ibid*, vol VIII, Sb No 129

51 *El*, vol III, p 217, *SIEAR*, 1930, App E, No 108

52 *BG*, vol I, pt 11, pp 518-19

Hemādri also states that Bhīllama "having attained the sovereignty of Kalyāni put to death the Hoyasala king"<sup>53</sup> Hemādri is definitely wrong in stating that the Hoyasala king was put to death as it is known from various sources that Ballāla continued the struggle for a long time. But Hemādri makes it clear that Bhīllama attained the sovereignty of Kalyāni from the hands of the Hoyasalas. Having captured Kalyāni Bhīllama pushed on at the heels of the Hoyasalas. They were compelled to vacate all the territory formerly included in the Cālukya dominions. The Yādavas even entered the Hoyasala dominions and a battle was fought between the two forces at Alūr in the Hassan district of the Mysore state.<sup>54</sup> Bhīllama carried on his conquests vigorously and Hemādri states that Bhīllama having become master of the country north of the river Kṛsnā founded the city of Devagiri and crowned himself a king.<sup>55</sup> The Gadag inscription dated June 23, 1191 A.D. also suggests that Bhīllama had his supremacy established<sup>56</sup> and he was residing at his victorious camp at Herūru.

#### *Turn of the tide*

The events had moved with a dramatic rapidity. The Hoyasalas had been for years past making constant struggle for supremacy. They had fought against the Kadambas, Pāndyas, Kalacuryas, and the Cālukyas. They were on the point of success, when suddenly the Yādavas deprived them of all territorial advantages and they were driven away almost to the south of the river Tungabhadrā. It seemed that the Yādavas had established their supremacy and for about four years, no doubt, they maintained it, but after that the tide again turned.

53 *EHD*, (Revised), p. 243, App. C1, Vs. 38-39

54 *Ibid*

55 *MASR*, 1926, No. 9, p. 41

56 *EI*, vol. III, p. 219

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*Battle of Sorātur*

The Hoyasala Ballāla silently made preparations and organised his forces for another conflict. He marched with his army towards the north and the Hoyasala and the Yādava armies faced each other on the battle-field of Sorātur. The Yādava Bhīllama arrayed a vast horde of 200,000 foot soldiers armed with thunderbolts<sup>57</sup> and 12000 cavalry<sup>58</sup>. After a 'fierce' and 'bloody' battle the Yādava army was completely routed and annihilated. Bhīllama himself fled away from the battle-field with the remnants of his army. He was hotly pursued by the Hoyasalas up to Belvola and the Krsnā river with a terrible massacre<sup>59</sup>. The *Vyavahāraganita*, describing the battle, records that out of the 12,000 cavalry of Bhīllama "five parts fell into the river, six fled away in all directions, four fell in the battle, four returned back and Bhīllama fled in confusion from the battle-field with the remaining six hundred horsemen"<sup>60</sup>. But as pointed out by Mr Venkatasubbiah, the testimony of the inscriptions and the *Vyavahāraganita* clearly show that Bhīllama was not killed in this battle as taken by almost all scholars<sup>61</sup>. The battle of Sorātur was fought before December 23, 1190 A D, the date recorded in an inscription which also states that "Ballāla put them (Yādavas) to flight and slaughtered them from Sorātur to the banks of Krsnaveni"<sup>62</sup>. Ballāla having defeated Bhīllama captured the forts of Kurugod, Sorātur, Erambarage (modern Yellburga in the Nizam's dominions), Gutti, in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency, Bellittige, Rattihalli, Hangal and Lokkigundi in the

57 *EC*, vol XI, Dg No 25

58 *Ibid*, Kannada Ms No A, 14, Govt Oriental Library, Madras, pp 42-3,  
46, *IHQ*, vol IV, pp 126-7

59 *EC*, vol XI, Dg No 25, vol V, Cn No 179

60 *IHQ* vol IV, p 127, Kannada Ms No A, 14, GO Lib Madras, pp 42-3,  
46

61 *IHQ*, vol IV, p 124

62 *EC*, vol XI, Dg No 25, *IHQ*, vol IV, pp 125-6

Bombay Presidency and Ballale (Bellary), Haluve, Männūr, Malanga hill Dhorevadi, Gttavalalu, Udhare and Kalādi<sup>63</sup>

When Ballāla was busy in capturing these forts, Bhillama once again reorganised his forces, and with a fresh army he again crossed the river Krsnā and as his Gadag inscription dated June 23, 1191 A D shows, he pitched his camp at Herūru, 30 miles north of Gadag<sup>64</sup> This inscription again indicates that Bhillama had once again recaptured a part of the lost territory

#### *Death of Bhillama*

The Hoyasala Ballāla lost no time to check Bhillama. The two armies again met in the neighbourhood of Gadag, possibly at Herūru, where Bhillama, as stated above, had pitched his camp. In this battle the Yādava Bhillama lost his life and Ballāla gained a signal victory once again over the Yādava army. After the death of Bhillama, as indicated by the Gadag inscription of Ballāla II dated November 21, 1192 A D, the command of the Yādava forces was taken by Jaitrasimha or Jaitugi, son of Bhillama. The Gadag inscription states that Ballāla had his victorious camp at Lokkigundi and had defeated Jaitra-Simha, i.e. Jaitugi, "right hand of Bhillama"<sup>65</sup> Jaitugi, successor of Bhillama, continued the struggle and was fighting from the fort of Lokkigundi. Ballāla defeated Jaitugi and recaptured the fort<sup>66</sup>. An inscription of later date records that by "plunging it into water, namely, the blood of the enemy, Pāndya king so that it hissed and splattered, Vira Ballāla whetted the sword, which he bore in his valorous arm, on the whetstone, namely the head of Bhillama and sheathed it in the lotus mouth of Jaitugi"<sup>67</sup>. Again Ballāla II is referred to as the "smiter

63 *EC*, vol XI, Dg No 25, vol V, Cn No 179

64 *El*, vol III, p 219

66 *Ibid*

65 *Ibid*, vol VI, p 93

67 *EC*, vol V, Bl No 77

on the cheek of Bhīllama's army" "driver of Jaitrahuta" <sup>68</sup> An inscription dated 1194 A D records the capture of Lokkigundi from Jaitugi as follows "when he (Ballāla) fought Jaitugi, who was with an army in the great fortress, which with high ramparts, lofty bastions, mounted with astonishing flag-staves, even combined masses could not attack and escape, he soon captured Lokkigundi" <sup>69</sup> Ballāla again recaptured the fort of Kurugod in 1195 A D <sup>70</sup> and was residing at Erambarage, modern Yellurga in 1196 A.D <sup>71</sup>

In the meantime Ballāla had also defeated the Pāndyas The last known date of the Pāndya Udayāditya, also known as Tribhuvanamalla, is January 24, 1194 A D <sup>72</sup> Nolambavādi 32,000 province seems to have passed in the hands of the Hoyasalas as an inscription records "Thrashing the Pāndya king on the field of battle, terrifying and putting to flight hostile kings, by the might of his arm, (Ballāla) ruled the celebrated Nolambavādi" <sup>73</sup> Another inscription records that Ballāla had his capital in the Nolambavādi country <sup>74</sup> Ballāla also defeated the Kadambas for rebelling against him The fort of Udhare was besieged and captured <sup>75</sup> Having captured this Kadamba outpost, the Hoyasalas advanced towards Hangal, the Kadamba capital in 1196 A.D Ballāla pitched his camp at Muttala-Keregeri and the city was besieged He was opposed by the Kadamba general Sāhani, but he was defeated and killed in the battle <sup>76</sup> Hangal was also besieged, but there is no evidence to show that it was captured <sup>77</sup> The Kadambas were subdued at least for some years, though they continued raids in the neighbouring territory

68 *Ibid*, vol VI, Kd No 117, Cm No 72

69 *Ibid*, vol V, Ak No 5

70 *Ibid*, Bl No 204

71 *Ibid*, Ak No 104

72 *Ibid*, Bl No 77

73 *EC*, vol V, Hk No 56, vol XI, Hn No 70

74 *Ibid*, vol VI, Mg No 4

75 *Ibid*, vol VIII, Sb No 439

76 *Kadambakula*, App III, No 16, pp 453-4

77 *Ibid*

Ballāla seemed successful in establishing his supremacy. The Yādavas were defeated and driven away and the Kādambas and the Pāndyas were compelled to submit. The Hoyasalas gained possession of all the territory upto the Krsnā and the Mālprabhā rivers.

*The last phase*

The Yādavas had suffered crushing defeat and retired from the field. Jaitugi had not the generalship of his father. The Hoyasalas, when their boundary reached the Krsnā and the Mālprabhā rivers, did not press their victories further northward. Both sides stopped the struggle. But the struggle was not finally closed. Though the main struggle between the Yādavas and Hoyasalas was closed, the Kadambas continued to maintain a suppressed hostility, and the inscriptions suggest that raids were carried by the Kadambas into the Hoyasala dominions in 1203,<sup>78</sup> 1207 and 1208,<sup>79</sup> but the Hoyasalas could not be exterminated from their territory. Dr Fleet also thinks that the Kadambas were subjugated by the Hoyasalas after 1196 A D, but they continued to carry raids<sup>80</sup>. Mr Moraes seems to be opposed to this view, but his arguments are not conclusive.<sup>81</sup> Ballāla also defeated the Kadamba Vijayāditya of Goa and exacted tribute, but shortly after that he seems to have freed himself from all obligations.<sup>82</sup>

The Yādava Jaitugi was succeeded by his son Singhana. The date of his accession is still a matter of dispute among scholars. The available epigraphic evidence is also very meagre and conflicting. Some inscriptions would suggest that Singhana came to power in 1197 A D,<sup>83</sup> and another inscription may suggest that Jaitugi was killed by Ballāla in about 1197 A D.<sup>84</sup> Contemporary inscriptions

78 *B G*, vol I, pt II, p 563

80 *B G*, vol I, pt II, p 563

82 *Ibid*, p 202

84 *EC*, vol V, Bl No 77

79 *EC*, vol VII, Sb Nos 171, 305

81 *Kadambakula*, p 146

83 *ASR*, 1928-29, p 172

also show that Ballāla was in possession of the territory upto Kalyāṇi in the north, but the city itself was not included

For some years Singhana seems to have consolidated and organised his kingdom after the severe disruption caused by the constant Hoyasala aggression and with the opening of the 13th century, he began his invasion of the south. The accession of Singhana marks a new epoch in the Yādava regime and the political and diplomatic history of the Deccan. The southward drive had begun in full swing and Singhana personally seems to have conducted the campaign. Raids by freebooters for plunder and loot specially of the cows and the young girls was a conspicuous dark trend of the early mediaeval political condition of the Deccan. From an inscription dated 1206 A D, it seems, that Singhana had recaptured all the territory upto the Bijapur district, and Keśavadeva Dandanātha, governor of Tāravādī 1000, was governing over that part<sup>85</sup>. Another inscription dated 1211(?) records that when Ballāla was at Hallevūr i.e. Vijayasamudra Singhana carried raid upto that part<sup>86</sup> (i.e. modern Hassan district, Mysore State). In 1212 A D the Yādavas raided Bandalike in the Shimoga district and seized the people and the cattle and closed the stores of grain<sup>87</sup>. Singhana carried a second raid in the same year<sup>88</sup>. Ballāla does not seem to have been able to put a stiff resistance and Singhana slowly maintained his advance. Before 1215 A D Singhana was able to reconquer Banavāsī and other territories, lost by Bhīllama. A Belgaum inscription dated Thursday, September 24, 1215 A D clearly designates him as the ruling sovereign. It records that having accomplished conquest over many kings Singhana gave charge of the kingdom to his minister Sarvādhikārī Rāya-nāyaka Nārāyana and himself was engaged in various pleasures. The minister also claims to have defeated many enemies

85 *SLEAR*, 1927-8, App E, No 264

87 *Ibid*, vol VIII, Sb No 309

86 *EC*, vol V, Ak No 137

88 *Ibid*, No 376

and granted some taxes and tolls on silk and two oil mills to the Brāhmanas<sup>89</sup> Singhana had thus recovered all the lost territories before 1215 A D<sup>90</sup> The Udri inscription dated 1217 A D states that Singhana defeated Ballāla and captured Banavāsī 12000<sup>91</sup>

The Kadambas had been playing a dubious game They also began raids along with Singhana and diplomatically avoided to recognise either the Hoyasalas or the Yādavas as their sovereign<sup>92</sup> Singhana had also succeeded in extending his sway upto the Anantapur and the Kurnool districts of the Madras Presidency<sup>93</sup> A part of the Kadamba territory was also incorporated into the Yādava dominions

Complete supremacy over the Deccan was established by Singhana by the year 1215 A D The Kadambas resented an encroachment on their territory, but their resistance was broken down

When Singhana was busy in his bitter struggle against the Hoyasalas, his generals were waging wars against minor feudatory chieftains

Bhoja, a Silhāra prince, was ruling over the Konkana country The famous fortress of Panhālā, then known as Pannāla or Ponnāla was included in his territory Bhoja had gained independence in 1179 A D<sup>94</sup> and during the turmoil, he is said to have attained great power<sup>95</sup> Singhana invaded his territory and Bhoja shut himself in the Panhālā fort It was stormed and Bhoja had to fly away<sup>96</sup> As a result of this victory, all the Silhāra territory was annexed by the Yādavas and an inscription dated 1217 A D in the

89 *EC*, vol VII, Sk No 95

90 *IA*, vol II, p 297, *SIEAR*, 1927-28, App E, No 264, 1928-29, Nos 50-1, 53, 55, 63, 1929-30, App E, No 62

91 *EC*, vol VIII, Sb No 135 92 *Ibid*, vol VIII, Sb Nos 439, 478

93 *SIEAR*, 1920, No 345, *HISI*, p 133, *IMP* vol, I, Ap. 186, vol, II, Kl No 221

94 *EC*, vol II, No 424

95 *Graham's Kolhapura*, p 397, No 7

96 *EC*, vol VIII, Sb No 135, *BG*, vol I, pt, II, p 254, fn 1

Parhālā fort indicates that the conquest took place before 1217 A D <sup>97</sup>

Singhana appointed his general Vicana to conduct military campaigns in the southern part of his dominions. He was appointed Viceroy over the southern provinces. His father's name was Cikka and had a brother named Malla. Vicana in one of his campaigns defeated<sup>98</sup> and overthrew the Kadamba Sovadeva Tribhuvanamalla<sup>99</sup> of Goa, whose known date is 1218 A D <sup>100</sup>. The Kadamba principality was also annexed but later on it was restored to the Kadamba Śasthavarman <sup>101</sup>. The Ratta chieftain Laksmideva II, who had succeeded his father Kārtavīrya IV in about 1218 A D <sup>102</sup> was also defeated by Vicana <sup>103</sup> and the Ratta territory was incorporated in the Yādava dominions. The Guttas, who were ruling in the present Dharwar district of the Bombay Presidency were also defeated, but they were not exterminated and allowed to govern their principality <sup>104</sup>. Vicana also claims to have erected a pillar of victory on the banks of the river Kāveri<sup>105</sup> and relieved Singhana of the anxieties from the southern part of his dominions. Vicana extended the frontier of the Yādava kingdom so that in the south it reached the river Tungabhadrā and to the west it was bounded by the Arabian Sea.

### *The struggle closed*

By the middle of the second decade of the 13th century the Yādava Singhana established his complete supremacy over the Deccan. The Hoyasalas, who were the only powerful competitors in the field were driven away. The Hoyasala Ballāla II also realised

97 *Ibid*, vol VIII, Sb No 135

98 *JBBRAS*, vol XV, p 387, L 28

100 Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, pt II, No 68, *Kadambakula*, p 206

101 *IA*, vol XIV, p 288

102 *BG*, vol I, pt II, p 557

103 *JBBRAS*, vol XV, p 387

104 *Ibid*, p 389

105 *Ibid*, p 387

that any more fighting on that front was a mere waste of energy. His family had made a hard struggle, but in 1215 A D they had not an inch of that territory. This probably cannot be taken as the only reason for the termination of this long-drawn and bitter struggle.

A peep into the history of the southern India gives a more definite and weighty cause. The Cola kingship had slowly begun its decline. The Pāndyas of Madurā, their feudatories, had begun to strengthen their position, while the king of Ceylon was waging war with the Colas. Jatāvarman Kulaśekhara was followed by Māravaram Sundara Pāndya in 1216 A D<sup>106</sup> and the Cola Kulottunga was succeeded by his son Rājarāja III in the same year<sup>107</sup>. The Pāndyas had sufficiently strengthened their position by this time, while Rājarāja III was an incapable ruler. As suggested by Mr Nilakantha Shastri, 'old memories of help by Kulottunga to Vikrama Pāndya vanished away during the new reigns of Rājarāja III and Sundara Pāndya' and according to "the law of life in those days among Indian kings that he who could not be a hammer had to be an anvil,"<sup>108</sup> Sundara Pāndya became hostile to the Cola Rājarāja III. Māravaram Sundara Pāndya had no obligatory scruples towards the Cola Rājarāja III and immediately after his accession, he invaded the Cola country. Now began a bitter struggle between the Colas and the Pāndyas. The Cola empire had clearly begun to show signs of disintegration. The Hoyasalas grasped the situation rightly. The policy of expansion towards the north met with an utter failure. The south now afforded a better and lucrative field for expansion. The Colas were fighting a defensive game against the Pāndyas, who were very aggressive. If the Colas could be helped against the Pāndyas some territory may be gained

<sup>106</sup> KAN Shastri—*Pāndyan Kingdom*, p 143, *El*, vol VIII, App II, p 24, *SIEAR*, 1927, para 41

<sup>107</sup> *El*, vol VII, pp 9, 174f

<sup>108</sup> *Pāndyan Kingdom*, p 146

for this and the Hoyasalas immediately took the side of the Colas and they now began their struggle in the south. The Yādava Simhana also did not continue the struggle when the Yādava dominions touched the river Tungabhadrā. He had also better attractions in the north. The Paramāra kingdom of Mālava and the Caulukya kingdom of Gujrāt had merged into chaos and became weak. After he had attained his objective in the south, Simhana turned towards the north. The two combatants, the Hoyasalas and the Yādavas, in this way began their struggle in different fields and closed their struggle for supremacy in the Deccan.

SANT LAL KATARE

## Contributions to the Bhāsa Question

It is a matter of regret that the evidences in Indological studies are still so unreliable that the age of a certain *pièce de littérature* cannot be placed even between centuries, still more regrettable is the persistency with which the literary productions in India try to camouflage the age of a specific work. The plays, ascribed in the years of their discovery to the poet Bhāsa, have been enquired into from the linguistic, grammatical and literary points of view but practically with no definite result. The opinion favoured mostly is that *Svapnavāsavadatta* and *Yaugandhārayana* are works from the pen of Bhāsa, and these two dramas, as they are preserved, may be regarded as adapted copies not deviating much from their originals. While for the other plays there seems to exist no sufficient reason to ascribe them to Bhāsa. The main argument advanced against this assumption, consists in the agreements in style and language, repetition of phrases and stanzas. The late Prof. Winternitz tried to show<sup>1</sup> the differences between the plays, the subject of which was borrowed from the *Mahābhārata* with regard to their style, metrics, literary merits, and general character. It seems, however, that also these arguments are more or less the outcome of subjective reasoning. Nobody will or can deny that the *Ūrubhanga* is superior in language, using the *kāvya* style, to the other one-act-plays, thus creating a gap between the former and even plays like *Bālacarita*, *Pañcarātra*.

There exist some possibilities with regard to the claim of originality and adaptation respectively. First, these plays believed to be of high quality, like *Y*, *Su*, *Ū*, are well written originals, the other plays are not well written, but they are also originals

1 Bulletin of the Rāma Varma Research Institute, V, 1937, iff

Secondly, as for the hypothesis that the plays are adaptations and compilations, it must be concluded that these supposed adapters and compilers have in some cases maintained (*Y*, *Sv*, *Ū*) the beauty of the original, but not so in all cases, in other words, some plays represent the originals fairly well, but not all. Thirdly, the plays believed to be written by a poet of great literary merits are not adapted, the other plays of less literary value are adapted versions, and even the contrary is possible, i.e., the merits of the better plays are due to able adapters. Thus the view, brought forward by Dr Sukthankar,<sup>2</sup> that *Y*, and *Sv* are by the same author while the authorship of the rest of the dramas is still quite uncertain, is contradicted by the same scholar's list<sup>1</sup> of common passages, in verse and prose, of longer and shorter extent. The explanation<sup>3</sup> that "the coincidences in formal technique are almost certainly to be explained as due to the activity of adapters" leads to the conclusion that the plays, other than *Y*, and *Sv*, may represent originals in some way adapted as *Y*, and *Sv*, and that becomes obvious if the conspectus of common passages is arranged not only according to the wording, but according to the relation between the single plays. Not only in different plays occur common places, but also in the very same play the wording is repeated *verbatim* in different places. This feature seems to be in accordance with the assumption that the plays are adaptations by some literateurs whose poetical wealth might have been not great and is responsible for these repetitions. Then, of course, the originality of none of these plays can be maintained. To quote some instances

*Sv*, 21, 6f = 34, 5f, 43, 10f = 58, 14f<sup>4</sup>

*Dūtav*, 32, 5 = 34, 6f

2 JBRAS, NS 1, 1925, 143

3 ABORS, IV, 1923, 167ff

4 JBRAS, I, 139

5 Quotations for convenience according to the *editio princeps*

- Pratim , 11, 1f = 12, 12f , 67, 3=93, 2, 17, 1=102, 7,  
 12, 2f=14, 2f , 63, 17f = 109, 2f , 29, 16=31, 1  
 Cārud , 40, 12f =46, 13f  
 Pañc , 9, 9=42, 20  
 Abis , 15, 2=56, 6f 11, 9=IV, 15

One could object and explain these repetitions by pointing out that they are merely stereotyped formulas originating from a given situation. This argument, however, loses its weight in view of a case like that in Pratim , 66, 8-11 = 110, 10-13, where a whole verse is repeated, or, in view of Ū , verses 41 and 62

हृतं मे भीमसेनेन गदापातकचग्रहे ।  
 समं ऊरुह्वयेनाद्य गुरो पादाभिवादनम् ॥  
 संयुगे पारङ्मुलेषु गदापातकचग्रहे ।  
 सममूर्ह्वयेनाद्य रपोंऽपि भवतो हृतः ॥

Still more the homogeneous wording becomes evident from a conspectus of identical passages in two or more plays

- Avim , 45, 1f Bālac , 10, 1f  
 Abhis , 27, 4f 71, 15f Ū , 95, 18/96, 1 99, 16f /100, 1  
 110, 13 Dūtav , 28, 4f Karnabh , 72, 8f Pratim , 91,  
 9-11 Pañcar , 5, 9-11 Cārud , 8, 1  
 Abhis , 23, 10f Sv , 25, 9 56, 5 ( S u k t h , 38) <sup>6</sup>  
 Prat , 63, 15 65, 15 Ū , 99, 15 Sv , 1, 12 2, 6 (46),  
 Sv , 66, 15 Abhis , 42, 16 (8)  
 Bālac , 7, 7-10 Cārud , 17, 8-10 (39)  
 Abhis , 6, 3 Ū , 103, 4 Prat , 17, 9 Bālac , 6, 9 Sv.,  
 9, 5 (49)  
 Abhis , 30, 15 59, 5 Pañcar , 30, 5 31, 22 32, 1 Bālac ,  
 58, 1, 11f (29 58a)  
 Abhis , 27, 1f Pañcar , 24, 8 (20)

6 The numbers in brackets refer to Dr Sukthaukar's numbers in his "List of Recurrences and Parallelisms" in ABORS, IV, 170ff

- Sv , 24, 5f 28, 5 Avim , 105, 15 Pratim , 5, 2. 58, 1.  
 Abhis , 66, 5 Prat , 63, 3.  
 Dūtav , 31, 18 Sv , 7, 9  
 Prat , 25, 19 Abhis , 43, 14 (60)  
 Abhis , 16, 11 Bālac , 8, 2  
 Avim , 54, 3 Sv , 56, 8 (40)  
 Abhis , 62, 3 Ū , 87, 14 88, 15 (47)  
 Abhis , 54, 12f Dūtav , 30, 20 (cf Bālac , 22, 11)  
 Pañcar , 39, 12 Bālac , 61, 7 (43)  
 Pratim , 42, 18f Abhis , 3, 14f (124)  
 Pratim , 86, 6f Abhis , 10, 11f } (34)  
 Pratim , 86, 11f Abhis , 10, 14 }  
 Dūtagh , 52, 4 Pratim , 58, 2f  
 Abhis , 12, 4 Ū , 114, 10 Pratim , 38, 14  
 Pratim , 73, 3f Madhy , 25, 1-3 (45)  
 Abhis , 26, 3f Pratim , 90, 8f cf Abhis , 52, 3f (31)  
 Dūtagh , 69, 8 Pratim , 20, 11 (56).  
 Prat , 62, 8f Pratim , 25, 10 86, 13f 113, 9f  
 Karnabh , 71, 14 72, 2 Dūtagh , 49, 14 Pañcar , 23, 9  
 45, 3 Pratim , 60, 16-61, 1  
 Avim , 107, 5 Ū , 93, 3  
 Cārud , 8, 10 Sv , 64, 12 cf 69, 4 Avim 83, 1f (42),  
 Pañcar , 48, 9 Dūtagh , 66, 1 Prat , 67, 8 71, 14 (41)  
 Madhy , 12, 4 13f Dūtav , 32, 5 36, 4f.

Apart from the recurrences of verses or parts of them at the end of the plays,<sup>7</sup> passages of the *sthāpana*<sup>8</sup> or stage directions, the list shows that practically all the plays are interconnected by repetitions<sup>9</sup> of the expressions of some length. Thus it seems unfound

7 Sukthankar's List, ABORI, IV, 1923, Nos 1 2 5 6 17

8 Ibid, No 23

9 Ibid, p 179ff

ed to assett any difference between certain plays like Prat , and Śv , and the other plays

A further argument raised against the authorship of Bhāsa are passages quoted in sources other than dramas of the same title as the printed texts, but missing in the latter. It must, however, be stated that prejudice or subjective reasoning may have influenced the decision. The materials<sup>10</sup> can be classified under these heads

- A references to Bhāsa or works ascribed to Bhāsa in the printed texts
  - B quotations from his plays which are not found in the published texts
  - C quotations which occur in the published texts
    - (a) without being ascribed to Bhāsa or
    - (b) a play ascribed to Bhāsa or a specific work
  - D Uncertain allusions
- A 1 A reference to Bhāsa ascribed to Rājasékhaia in the Sūkti-muktāvali (1)
- 2 Kālidāsa mentions Bhāsa in Mālavikāgnimitra (3)
- 3 Features of Bhāsa's works are described in Harsacaita (5)
- 4 Bhāsa is called a "friend of fire" in the Gaudavaha (10)
- 5 Bhāsa is mentioned along with other poets like Urva, Bhāravi, Bhavabhūti in Somadeva's Yaśastilaka, IV (vol II, p 113)
- 6 A reference to *krīdā* in Sv , in Abhinavagupta's Commentary on Nāṭyaś , and to a *nāṭaka* Sv ,<sup>11</sup> (13)

<sup>10</sup> Collected in C R Devadhar's edition of the Bhāsanāṭakacakra Plays ascribed to Bhāsa (Poona Oriental Series—No 54), Poona 1937, Appendix C, pp 573-577 to the numbers of this list mention the numbers given above in brackets. On the verses ascribed to Bhāsa in Anthologies see App D, pp 578-580. These verses are not considered here.

<sup>11</sup> Ed GOS 36, p 39, I, 106 (?), p 87 respectively. For an explanation of the word *krīdā* cf a forthcoming paper of the late Prof Winternitz in the Woolner Comm Volume.

- \* 7 A reference to the *artha-* and *kāmaśrngāra* in the Tikāsarvasva of Sarvānanda <sup>12</sup> (18)
- 8 The same reference, nearly *verbatim*, is found in the Nātakalaksanaratnakośa (ed DILLON, p 117, lines 2826ff), but Sv, is not mentioned there (21)
- 9 An identical verse, occurring twice in Kaumudimahotsava,<sup>13</sup> II, 15 and V, 9, mentions the hero Avimārika and the heroine Kurangī, but refers perhaps only to the story, and not to the play Avimārika (24)
- 10 Commentary on Śākuntala, attributed to the 14th century A D,<sup>14</sup> says that the Sūtradhāra in the play Cārudatta uses Prākrt, a fact found in the edition of this play (25)
- 11 The Nātyadarpana (p 53) mentions a play Darida Cārudatta
- B 1 A verse quoted by Abhinavagupta from a work of the "great poet Bhāsa" in his Commentary on Nātyaśāstra (ed GOS No 36) p 320 The verse is defective in its first *pāda* and seems to refer to a play the plot of which is the abduction of Sītā by Rāvana, the verse contains the prediction of Rāma's revenge Such a verse could have had its place in Pratim, VI, 16 where Bharata is mobilizing all his forces to help Rāma as well as in Abhis, II, 15 where Hanūmat gets enraged against Rāvana<sup>15</sup> (11)
- 2 A passage, occurring in Abhinavagupta's Commentary on Nātyaśāstra, p 251, seems to quote a poet Hāsa, for which Bhāsa has been proposed as an alternative reading by the

12 No edition of this Commentary on Amarakośa is at my disposal, Devadhar quotes under No 18 from p 147, under No 21 the same passage from the Nātakalaks

13 Ed Dakshina-Bharati Sanskrit Series, 4, Madras 1929

14 IHQ, V, 1929, 726

15 Less probable is the passage in Abhis, III, 21, as Hanūmat here is addressing Rāvana directly

Editor,<sup>16</sup> and a verse of his "in some nātaka"<sup>17</sup> This is quite uncertain

- 3 The verse, quoted by Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka, III, 14, is not found in Sv, but could have stood before V, 7 in Sv This verse shows some similar expressions *niskrāman, dvārapaksena, tāditah* correspond to the words of the quoted verse *pravista, sañcitapaksmakapātam nayana-dvāram, svarupatādanena udghātya*<sup>18</sup> (18)
- 4 The verse *mrteti* etc in Kāvya-darśa, II, 230 and Bhojadeva's Sarasvatikanthābharana refers to a scene like that in Sv, V where Udayana meets Vāsavadattā, but it is not stated that the verse is taken from Sv, though it would fit in the episode (14)
5. The verse quoted in Nāṭyadarpana from Sv, (GOS No 48, p 84) is not found in the printed text, but fits in the surroundings of Sv, IV<sup>19</sup> Both *śilātala* and *sephalīkā*-blossoms have been mentioned in the dialogue between Padmāvati and her maid already, and by the Vidūsaka addressing king Udayana<sup>20</sup> (22)

16 This reading has been accepted by P V Kane, Pathak Comm Vol, 394

17 The verse runs

दिवं याताश्चित्तज्वरेण कलिरित एवाभिवर्तते अशक्यमस्य पुरतोऽवस्थातुम् ।

18 The common picture to both the passages is the *brdayagrha*, not the door of the *samudragrhaka*, as the late Ganapati Śāstri explained in his Commentary, the latter building had hardly any doors For the beginning of the verse see F W Thomas, JRAS, 1925, 100ff

19 See Sukthankar, JBRAS, NS I, 1925, 136f

20 A similar incident with the contrary conclusion is found in Sv, V, after verse 3, when the Vidūsaka observes that Padmāvati must have been in the *samudragrhaka* and left, the king answers she cannot have been there and explains the reason for this surmise by the verse V, 4

शय्या नावनता तथास्तृतसमा न व्याकुलप्रच्छदा  
न क्लिष्टं हि शिरोपधानममलं शिर्षाभिधातौषधै ॥

- \*6 In the Nāṭakalaksanaratnakośa a verse is quoted (p. 41, line 970/2) from Cārudatta

शुष्कद्रुमगतो रैति ? आ.त्याभिमुखं स्थितः ।  
कथयत्यनिमित्तं मे वायसो ज्ञानपरिष्ठितः ।

The contents of this verse appear in the monologue of Cārudatta in the 9th Act of Mrcchak in a more detailed description of bad omens accompanying him on his way to the court. The second of the verses there (IX, 11) runs

शुष्कवृक्षस्थितो ध्वाक्ष आदित्याभिमुखस्तथा ।  
मयि चोद्यते वामं चक्षुर्घोरमसशयम् ॥

The words *vāyasa*, *ānimittam* and *mama* are found in the preceding verse (IX, 10) in Mrcchak

रुक्षस्वर वाशति वायमोऽयमात्यभृत्यो मुहुराह्वयन्ति ।  
स्वयं च नेत्र स्फुरति प्रमत्त ममानिमित्तानि हि खेदयन्ति ।

It is nowhere said that the verse belongs to Bhāsa, but it is quoted from a play Cārudatta which, as the printed text of this drama shows, is somehow connected with Mrcchak. The contents of the verse have to be derived from a general belief in omens like those in Brhatsamhitā, 95 (*vāyasaruta*) where verses as 2, 19, 38 express similar views about the bad omen of a crow sitting on a dry tree or facing the sun. The verse, however, points to the conclusion that a play Cārudatta existed, of which the edited text would represent a torso only, as Sāgaranandin in other places refers to the Mrcchak or to acts 5 and 8 of the same play under special names like Durdinānka and Motakānka (p. 118, lines 2857 ff, p. 130, lines 3122 ff, 3130 f). But Bhāsa is not mentioned as the author (23)

7. A verse quoted by Somadeva in his Yaśastilaka, V (II, p. 251) under the name of the *mahākavi* Bhāsa is found in a

slightly different version in the *Mattavilāsa* (p 7, lines 3ff) Whether this quotation, attributed to Bhāsa, has anything to do with the poet and does not merely range with the alleged quotations of his in Anthologies cannot be decided

- C a 1 The verse in *Prat* , IV, 3 which occurs in *Kaut* , *Arthas.*, X, 3, 150-52 and the last *pāda* of which is quoted in *Vāmana's Kāvyaḷ* , V, 2, 28, might have been so famous that it formed a common-place, neither the authorship of Bhāsa is stated nor is the source, while the *Nayacandrikā* (p 180) ascribes the verse to a *Manuniti* (2 and 7)
- 2 The verse *Bālac* , I, 15 and *Cārud* , I, 19, quoted by *Dandin*, *Kāvyaḷ* , II, 226 and found again in *Mrcchak* , I, 34, seems to be of a general character and is so well known that no author had to be stated At least neither Bhāsa nor a play of his is mentioned in connection with this verse (6)
- 3 In *Bhojadeva's Śrngāraprakāśa* XII the scene is described as found in *Sv* , V and takes place in the *samudragrbhaka* (16)
- 4 *Vāmana* quotes without stating his source in *Kāvyaḷ* , V 1, 3 a verse found in *Cārud* , I, 2 in a slightly different version which, however, is nearer to *Cārud* , than to *Mrcchak* , I, 9<sup>21</sup> (8)
- 5 *Vāmana* quotes in the same work IV 3, 25 again without indicating the author the verse found in *Sv* , IV, 7 (9)
- 6 *Śaradātanaya* does not mention Bhāsa in his quotation, *Bhāvaprakāśa*, VIII (GOS No 45, p 239), referring to the incident in *Sv* , how the king recognizes a peculiar ornament on *Padmāvati's* forehead which induces him to

21 Cf *Morgenstierne*, Ueber das Verh zwischen *Cārud* und *Mrcchak*, 12

believe that Vāsavadattā is still alive. The explanation must be that only Vāsavadattā could have done this ornament, a similar scene is found in Kathāsarits, III, 16, 31ff 70 101-103. This scene could have had its place in the last scene of Act IV in Sv, where Udayana meets Padmāvati, in IV, 5 the king agrees with Vasantaka's words that Vāsavadattā is no more (17)

- 7 In the Bhāvaprakāśa (p 239) the author quotes from Sv, the words *ebi Vāsavadatte, kva kva yāsi?*, a passage which is not found in the printed text, though it corresponds to the prose before Sv, V, 7 *Vāsavadatte, tistha tistha, hā dhik*. It is, therefore, possible that Śaradātanaya has not quoted *verbatim*, as both versions have eleven syllables, but that in Bhāvaprakāśa fits in the Śloka, it may be that *metri causa* its author has changed the wording, or, the quotation is taken from another source or version of Sv, (17)
  - 8 Sāgaranandin quotes in the Nātakalaksanaratnaśośa (p 51, lines 1203 ff) from Sv, the words of the Sūtradhāra after he has heard behind the scene shoutings for help, in a different, more detailed wording than found in the printed text (20)
- C b 1 Sāgaranandin quotes from Sv, the verse VI, 3 (17)
- 2 The Commentary on Śākuntala<sup>22</sup> gives the contents of the beginning of Cārudatta where the Sūtradhāra on account of the wish of the Natī who likes to have a meal after her fast, looks for some Brāhmana to invite him and seeing Cārudatta's friend Maitreya approaches and invites him. This is in accordance with the *sthāpanā* of the published text, the Natī has undertaken a vow, called *abbirūpapati*,

and wants a Brāhmana who is fit for a meal with people like her, i e who is poor, to be invited The Sūtradhāra is looking for a poor Brāhmana (*dariddabrahmana*) and meeting Maitreya invites him for dinner His words *nimantido si, āmantanassa mā daridda tti mam avamannabi* are reflected in the Commentary's āmantrananimantranātham, i e , for addressing and invitation

- 3 The same Commentary<sup>21</sup> quotes the verse 2 from Dūtagh , attributing it to the Sūtradhāra in the *sthāpanā*, the author is not stated
- 4 The Commentary<sup>21</sup> quotes the words of the Sūtradhāra from Sv

D As uncertain allusions must be considered the following

- 1 The verse in Bhāmaha's Kāvyaḷ , IV, 40ff seems to contain a reminiscence of Prat I, prose after verse 8, but no reference is given nor is it certain that the Sanskrit verse has anything to do with the Prākṛt prose-passage (4)
- 2 The verse in Bhojadeva's Sarasvatikanthābharana, V, 411 has nothing to do with the plays ascribed to Bhāsa (15)
- 3 The reference in Sarvānanda's Tikāsarvasva (on Amarakośa, p 305) *kūnam bāhuyugam iti Bhāsakavib* is in this form not quite intelligible, as in Amarakośa *kūna* does not occur and Bhāsa could not have explained like a lexicographer a word by a synonym (19)

The conclusions arrived at by these references are

- 1 A poet Bhāsa is known since Kālidāsa (A 1 2 B 1 [2 doubtful] 5 D 3)
- 2 His works are known since Bāna (A 3 4), *expressis verbis* ascribed to him is Svapnavāsavadattā (B 3)
- 3 Among the works which have been published the title

- of the following plays, without giving the name of the author, are mentioned in the sources

Sv , (A 5 6 7[?]) B 5 [see under] C. a [7, 8 b 1 4]

Cārud (Daridra°) (A 9. 10 B 6)

Dūtāgh , (C b 3), cf. below.

Avimāraka and Kurangī may refer to a play Avim. (A 8)

Avim , is referred to along with the titles Pañcar , and

Bālac<sup>26</sup> in the Commentary on Śākuntala, without the author's name

- 4 Some verses are quoted which are not found in the printed texts (B 1 2 3 4 5 6, C a 7, 8) but are not entirely out of place, a scene is referred to, also not found in the present text of Sv , (C a 6)
- 5 References to characteristics of the plays, contents, and quotations of prose passages and verses are in agreement with the respective passages in the printed (A 5 6 7 C a 3 4 b 1 2 3 4)
- 6 From the quotations in the Śākuntala-Commentary can be concluded that there existed a play Cārudatta which comprised more acts than the printed text has preserved (B 6)
- 7 From the quotation in Nātakalaksanaratnakośa is to be seen that there existed a version of Sv , with a different *sthāpanā* at least (C a 4 but cf C b 4) To a more extensive text of Sv , point also the quotations not contained in the printed

<sup>25</sup> IHQ, 725

<sup>26</sup> There exists, however a play Bālacarita dealing with the story of the Rāmāyana, mentioned in Sāhityadarpana, VI, 35, the same verse in Nātakalaksanaratnakośa, p 26, lines 611-13, but further quotations p 23f, lines 540 ff, p 32, lines 751-53

text (B 3. 4 5, C a 5 7) Finally a scene missing in the published version (C. a 6)

That the printed texts are not the only existing versions of the plays is to be seen further from the statement in the Śākuntala-Commentary (p 726) according to which the Sūtradhāra appears in one-act plays like Dūtagh, without an antagonist like a *nata*, etc., but also in plays comprising more than a single act as in Kalyāna-saugandhika,<sup>27</sup> in Pañcar, and this play is not considered to be a *nātaka*,<sup>28</sup> in Bālacarita. The Commentary refers to the *sthāpanā* in Bālac, and Sv, and to Avimāraka, in the latter, however, the dialogue between the Sūtradhāra and Natī is called *āmukha*, as in the play Tapatisamvarana,<sup>29</sup> which does not correspond to the printed text. The circumstance that with two exceptions (B 1 5) the author Bhāsa is not connected with the quotations or plays does not speak against his authorship as the same attitude has been taken and had to be asserted for other authors too, as the Commentary on Śākuntala does not give the name of the author in connection with his quotations, and so does the Nāṭyalaksanaratnakośa too. Lastly, the published texts cannot be taken as the only existing versions.

It has to be borne in mind that the editions are based on a few manuscripts and further finds of them may lead to more complete texts. But even with the material at disposal it can be shown that the existing editions offer some verses missing in the *editio princeps*. Thus Pañcar, (ed 1917), I contains 57 verses against 55 verses of the first edition (1912), verses 13 and 14 are new. In Act II of the same play verse 57 reads in the 2nd edition *yotra-*

27 Cf. IHQ, V, 726, note 2, where reference is made to the edition of the play by Dr. Barnett in BSOS, III, 33ff. and to a (not yet published) re-edition by Mr. V. Venkataram Sharma, this play, however, contains only a single act. This points again to a different version of this play also!

28 It is a *samavākāra*.

29 Published in TSS, XI

*yitvā* against *tulayitvā* of the first edition Verse 72 of the 2nd edition is new Whether Prat , IV in the prose portion at the beginning an Āryā is hidden, is doubtful, it would not change the text In Madhy , (ed Devadhar) verse 50 is not found in the previous editions

अज्ञानात् तु मया पूर्वं यद् भवान् नाभिवादितः ।  
अस्य पुत्रापराधस्य प्रसादं कर्तुमर्हसि ॥

It is doubtful whether this verse is necessary as its second line expresses the same contents as the following prose *putracāpalam ksantum arhasi*, and as uncertain is whether the verse, is not modelled in accordance with the prose or *vice-versa*, though the prose fits closer in with the admonition of Hidimbā *abhwādehi pīdaram abam sa abhwādaye* Moreover, Ghatotkaca was under the conditions of his meeting the father unable to salute him, still less in the manner appropriate for a son towards a father, in the prose version, therefore, Ghatotkaca does not beg his father's pardon for not having saluted him, only for his rashness, and now, at his mother's admonition he salutes his father This passage is too insignificant to allow conclusions, nevertheless, it shows the incompleteness of the manuscripts, the unreliability of the editions and gives some insight into the relation of prose and verse, the fabrication of which was so easy

Unsatisfactory as the result may be, in the present stage of knowledge no more can be asserted It seems, however, that there exists a possibility to ascertain from the cultural data the standard of life, religion state organization, science, etc By comparison with the corresponding conditions in other sources which can be dated definitely or approximately, an upper limit for the age of the plays, an indication even of their genuineness—with regard to the hypothesis of their adaptation in circles of actors—could be arrived at

One of the most striking features in the plays is the *pratimā-grha*, after which the *Pratimānātaka* got its name The *pratimāgrha* is a temple-like special building, containing a central hall (*garbha-*

*grha*) In this central hall there are nest pigeons, as to-day in the Gopuras of South-Indian temples. The outer walls are marked with *pañcāngulas* of whitewash mixed with sandal, the doors are festooned with garlands of flowers, fresh sand is strewn on the floor, in front of the building, flowers and fried grains before the entrance indicate an oblation by pious hands. While other temples have as an external sign emblems like weapons and banners, this building has nothing of this kind. The statues within the hall are made of stone. A *devakulika* is in charge of the *pratimāgrha*, a priest. These statues represent deceased kings, but of a king during his lifetime no statue is made.

The custom to imprint the hand with five fingers spread upwards is known from the Buddhist literature in Pāli and "mixed Sanskrit,"<sup>10</sup> in Brāhmanical literature the custom is mentioned in *Mrcchak*, X, 4, *Kādambarī*, 224, 16, the term occurs in Harsac, (ed. Fuehrer) 92, 2, 201, 3f, *Vāsavadattā*, (ed. Hall) 183, 3,<sup>11</sup> in Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka*, I, p. 49, 1, 490, 4, it is known from the basement of a *Stūpa*- and *cankrama*-relief of Barhut.<sup>12</sup> New, as it seems, is the cult of ancestors by erecting statues of them. The fact that the statues are executed in stone refers to a time which cannot be much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.<sup>13</sup> In the Nānāghāt cave inscriptions the names of members of the Andhra dynasty are mentioned above the position of heads of what were

30 Cf. PTS, Dictionary sv. Part V, p. 11 and the material collected by Vogel, *Verslagen en Mededeelingen d. K. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afr. Letterkunde*, R. V, D. 4, 1920, 218ff.

31 Śivarāma's *Darpana* gives the vernacular word *cutaka* and says at festivals they paint the walls for *ātārpana*.

32 Vogel 222f and Plate.

33 Coomaraswamy, *Gesch. d. ind. Kunst* 47 refers to the wooden image of Ketu mentioned in the Khāravēla Inscription of the Hāthigumphā as to the earliest human image. No passage of this sense is found in the inscription as the corrected reading of line 11, against JBORS, VI, 155f. 337ff., has been established by Sten Konow, *Acta Or.*, I, 22 and accepted in *Fp. Ind.*, XX, 79.

relievo figures now entirely destroyed,<sup>34</sup> of the king Simuka-Sātavāhana Sīmat, of the queen Nāganikā, of king Sīri-Sātakanī, of prince Bhāga, of the prince Hakuśiri, and of the prince Sāta-vāhana. Here are no ancestors represented, as the father of the queen Nāganikā, the *mahārathi* Tranakayira is found among the names, and contemporary personages, apart from the fact that these figures are no statues and not erected in a special building. Historical personages, however, are represented in large statues found in the mound Tokri Tilā near the village Māt, nine miles north of Mathurā, the inscriptions on which disclose them as Kaniska,<sup>35</sup> in the inscription on the pedestal of the second statue of Vima who is titled as *mahārāja rājātirāja Devaputro Kusānaputro Sabi Vema Taksama*, a *bakanapati Huma ksa* mentions to have erected a *devakula*, garden (*ārāma*), tank (*puskarinī*), and well (*udāpāna*)<sup>36</sup> Prof. Vogel has found the remains of the foundation walls and plinth of a building made of large bricks, about the centre of the building the main body of the statue, the head of which is missing, was discovered. Near the seated statue of Vima the standing statue of Kaniska was found inside the building. Close by, an inscribed pedestal of another statue was recovered. This inscription<sup>37</sup> mentions that a *bakanapati* Śaukra, son of the *mahādandanāyaka Masa*, ordered for the increase of the life and strength of the *mahārāja rājātirāja Devaputra Huviska*, the *devakula* of the grand-father of Huviska to be repaired which was in ruins. Lastly, in the same temple the statue

34 Luders=List Nos 1113-1118, Smith, ZDMG, 56, 653f quotes the late Bhagavan Lāl Indrajī, JBRAS, XIII, 311, on the custom of Jains and Nepalese Buddhists to have the figures of members of their families carved in their temples known by the name of Śālika. The order—father, mother, himself, wife, brothers, sons, etc., nearly agrees with the order in the Nānāghāt inscriptions.

35 Vogel, Verslagen en Meded., R IV, D 12, 1913, 272ff, recently La sculpture de Mathura, 21f, Pls. I-III.

36 For the reading cf AR, ASI, 1911/12, 120ff, Vogel, Versl 297, Jayswal, JBORS, VI, 1920, 12ff.

37 Daya Ram Sahni, JRAS, 1924, 401ff.

of Castana has been found<sup>38</sup> Thus the *devakula* of the Kuśāna rulers seems to have contained statues of Vima, Kaniska, and Huviska erected or repaired by a *bakanapati*, besides the statue of Castana the identity of which has not been established as yet with certainty The term *devakula* appears in a Sārada inscription from Hund<sup>39</sup> which record written in a barbaric Sanskrit mentions that the queen Śrikāmeśvarīdevī has caused to be erected something (*satka*) in a *devakula*, the name of the architect and of the scribe of the inscription are given, further, the time within which the building was constructed (168-169, probably of the Harsa era, i e 774-775 A D), but no clue as for the character of the *devakula* itself is found therein

The Morā well inscription<sup>40</sup> mentions the erection of the *pratimā* of five heroes (*pañca vīrānām pratimā*) by a Bhagavat Vrsna in the time of the Mahāksatrapa Rājūvula's son, the name of which is not preserved, these five vīras are hardly ancestors of a ruling dynasty<sup>41</sup> Reliefs of two kings of the Pallava dynasty, of Mahendravarman I and of his son Narasimhavarman Simhaviśnu I, each of these rulers accompanied by two queens, have been executed and labelled with inscriptions in the rock-cut temple of Ādivarāha-Perumāl at Mahābalipuram which may belong to the time of Paramēśvaravarman I,<sup>42</sup> i e end of the 7th century A D<sup>42</sup> Though these kings are grand-father and father of Paramēśvaravarman, the reliefs cannot be called ancestor-statues as also their two queens represented, as the reliefs are found, in a temple dedicated to Viśnu-Ādivarāha In the temple at Tiruvañcikulam, a suburb of

38 Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, JBORS, VI, 1920, 51ff

39a Edited by Rū Br Daya Ram Sahu, *Ep Ind*, XXII, 97f

39 Vogel, Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura, 184

40 Sir John Marshall, JRAS, 1912, 120 believes this expression of heroes to refer to the five Pāndavas

41 R.B H Krishna Sastri, *Memoirs ASI*, No 26, 1926

42 See *Ep, Ind*, XIX, 112

Crahanore the statue of Bhāskara Ravivarman is set up and worshipped<sup>43</sup> It has been objected that such a statue cannot be compared with those of the *pratimāgrha*<sup>44</sup> This is true, as there exists a difference within the locality, a Śaiva temple, containing the statue of one ruler and his consort, on one hand, and a special building containing the statues of all male ancestors of the visiting prince, on the other hand The custom to install statues of deceased kings in temples is known from South India and countries with Indian culture Into the 17th century leads the statue of king Tirumal (1623-1659), a Nāyak of Madura, who for the reception of the presiding deity of the place built the Vasanta or Pudo Mandapa (New Hall) the erection of which took more than twenty years (1623-1645) His statue is found in front of the great (eastern) Gopura of the Sundaresvara temple, Madura<sup>45</sup> The hall has four rows of pillars, and at each side of the central corridor are five pillars representing ten of the Nāyak's dynasty, Tirumalla is distinguished by having a canopy above his statue and two figures at his back, the figure at the left is his consort, a princess of Tanjore<sup>46</sup> Thus it seems that in later times statues of kings, accompanied by their consorts, and ancestors were erected in temples of deities This custom of erecting the statues in temples seems to be connected with and based upon a conception according to which the deceased

43 A K Pisharoti and K R Pisharoti, BSOS, III, 108, n 2 Cf Menon, History of Kerala, I, 309

44 T Ganapati Sastri, *ibid*, 629f

45 Fergusson-Burgess, History of Indian Archit, I, 386ff with plans and a photograph of the building For the reign of the Nāyak see R Sathyamatha Aiyar, History of the Nayaks of Madura, Madras, 1924, 110ff

46 Jouveau-Dubreuil, Archeologie du Sud de l Inde (Annales du Musée Guimet 26) I, 147ff, photograph of the entrance and interior of the "Tirumalla-choultri" Pl XLVI, XLVII A, of the statues Pl XLVII B Sewell, List of Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency I, 292—On horseback is the figure of Āryanātha, the Madaliyar, the prominent general of Viśvanātha who erected the thousand pillar Mandapa in the shrine dedicated to Sabhāpati

king becomes deified after his decease and identified with the deity of the temple

Such a custom can be traced in Kamboja from the 9th century to the 12th century A D<sup>47</sup> Not only deceased rulers, their ancestors, even living kings, erecting their own statues, were worshipped, or their consorts, or nobles who had sacrificed their life for the king, were honoured in this way, the identification of the royalty with the god, *kamraten jagat ta rājya*, the god is the kingship, led to the cult of deification of the king in the form of idols, Lingas, statues of Visnu, Buddha, and Bodhisattvas, according to the often tolerant faith of the dynasty Besides the temples of Bako and Lolei, the Bayon in Ankor Thom represent Hindu deities, Buddha and tutelary deities the majority of which were deified men in two forms as portraits and as deities the names of which they had received posthumously, thus forming a real gallery of historical portraits and a national pantheon<sup>48</sup> The same custom prevailed in Java for which the best example is the statue of king Erlangga (1010-1042), worshipped as Visnu at Belahan, erected in 1043<sup>49</sup> besides other kings<sup>50</sup> In Campā the kings associated their names with Lingas or

47 G Cœdès, Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de l'Indo-Chine 1911, 38ff, 1913, 89f, B R Chatterji, Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia, Calcutta 1928, 93ff 243ff

48 Coomaraswamy, lc 213f

49 Coomaraswamy, ibid, 209, Fig 360

50 Chatterji, lc 245 For the Javanese and Balinese custom of installing the image of a deceased king in a temple as a god of which the royal personage was considered to be an incarnation, see Stutterheim, JAOS, 51, 1931, 1ff The author is not right in declaring (p 4) "that in India there has never been found any statue of a deceased king in the guise of a god which was worshipped" On the divinity of kings cf Hopkins, ibid, 309ff

51 R C Majumdar, Champa (Punjab Oriental Series 16), Lahore 1927, 184 ff

52 Ep, Ind, XIV, 283, lines 20f Rāchamalla I, in the time of Rāchamalla II, Śaka 1103=1181 AD A Linga was adored probably in the Bayon under the title of *kamraten jagat ta rāja* or *devarāja* On the Linga in this meaning cf

gods, kings and nobles associated the names of their relatives with the gods of temples founded by them, according to inscriptions from the 5th to the 13th century A D , they identified or associated themselves with the gods by adding their names to that of the god, and also at times by making the image of the god resemble their own<sup>51</sup> There are instances of identification of deceased rulers with gods in India also, though statues of the king-god are not used, but they occur in the form of Lingas,<sup>52</sup> other instances are met in the time of the Candella king Prthivideva, and two queens of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya II, Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī, installed images of Śiva called Lokeśvara and Trailokyeśvara respectively, the Rājataranginī furnishes instances where temples were dedicated to gods named after their founder<sup>53</sup> In the year 1274 king Narasihapati of Pagān finished the Mengala-dzedi (Mangalacaitya) where besides holy relics, golden images of the disciples of the Buddha, golden models of the holy places, golden images of the king's fifty-one predecessors in Pagān and of the king and his family were deposited<sup>54</sup> The custom to instal Lingas of deceased Gurus called according to their names in a *guru(v)āyatana* perhaps with the portraits of the deceased is testified by a Mathurā inscription of the year 380 A D<sup>55</sup>

Bosch, Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde uitgeg. door het Konink. Bataviaasch Genootschap LXIV, 1924, 236ff, who establishes a unity of ruler-Linga and priest the latter being the Purohita of the king and high-priest of the *devarāja* in Kamboja, the author believes that the texts refer to an "original" Linga in Southern India (p 278ff) Majumdar, 186, Elliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, 116, Ep Ind, III, 1ff

53 Majumdar, 186, Elliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, 116, Ep Ind, III, 1ff

54 Marco Polo, 3rd ed, by Yule-Cordier, II, 114, for the date of the king the 13th century, cf vol III, 87f

55 Ep Ind, XXI, 1 ff Prof D R Bhandarkar believes (pp 4f) the *guruāyatana* adverted to in the inscription to resemble the *pratimāgrha*, but in the latter are to be found statues of the ancestors, in the former portraits or Lingas only, a carving of an ascetic, perhaps representing Lakulīśa, is found on the pilaster, and a trident, one would expect the portraits of the teachers mentioned in the inscription

The fact should not be overlooked that, though there exists a similarity of ancestor-worship, the *pratimāgrha* is a special building with statues of deceased rulers, even if the mythological character has to be taken into consideration. This institution of a special hall in a temple without any identification of the ancestors with deities is referred to in Haribhadra's *Nemināhacarit*<sup>56</sup>. Prthivipāla erected in Vimala's temple a Mandapa in which the statues of seven of his ancestors were represented riding on elephants. The hall and the elephants are still to be seen in the *bāthi khānā* or elephant room of the Dilwārā temple at Mount Abu, but there are only nine elephants of white marble, the figures of which have been explained to represent Seth Vimala (who had built in 1031 the Vimala vasati under Bhīma 1022-64), and his family going in procession to the temple, they are destroyed and an equestrian statue of Vimala of stucco and painted has been placed in the doorway. The names of nine of the riders are carved on their seats, six are dated in 1149, and three in 1180. Rānā Kumbha (1433-68) erected, as Tod<sup>57</sup> relates, a citadel on a peak of Abu, within the fortress of the ancient Pramara, in a rude temple the bronze effigies of Kūmbha and his father Mokala (1397-1413) received divine honours. It is well known that in Rājputana States the *chattris* or "umbrellas" are erected, of kings, of illustrious dead people and more specially of those who fell in battle. Royal cemeteries, sometimes containing the statues of the deceased, are set apart at one place, as at Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur, in Bikaner the place containing the royal *chattris* is called *devagadh* where statues of all the Bikaner rulers are found, from the fourth downwards, being worshipped every day and food being offered to

<sup>56</sup> H J a c o b i, *Sanatkumāracaritam*, ein Abschnitt aus *Haribhadras Nemināhacaritam* (Abhandl d Bayer Akad d Wissensch, Philos—philolog u hist Kl XXXI, 4, 1921) XI f. For a description of the temples see F e r g u s s o n-B u r g e s s, *History*, II, 36f.

<sup>57</sup> T o d, *Annals* (ed Crooke, London 1920) I, 336.

them<sup>58</sup> But the *pratimāgrha* is not a cemetery, nor are there *chattris* Statues of ancestors, however, are found at Mandor, the former capital of Marwar, 5 miles north of Jodhpur, where, besides some deities the ancestor-statues are cut out of the rock, but entirely detached from it, with their horses, weapons, all painted<sup>59</sup> “Another saloon, of similar architecture and still greater dimensions, adjoins that just described, it is termed *Taintis kula devata ra than*, or ‘abode of the (tutelary) divinities of the thirty-three races’ in short, the Pantheon of the Rajputs”<sup>60</sup> In a cave in the ground where the statues are installed, there is an altar sanctified by the name of Nahar Rao, a Nai, or barber, performs worship to the manes of this Rajput, while the ancestor-statues seem to be under the care of a priest

The archæological instances prove the existence of a custom to erect statues of ancestors and sometimes of their worship The most fitting parallel to the *pratimāgrha* dates from the time of the Kusānas, but the customs prevailed till Rājput times in a modified way<sup>61</sup> The literary references not so numerous are still not insignificant To mention first a less important passage in Dharmacandra’s Malayasundarikathoddhāra, a Jaina work of the 14th century, the story is told how king Satabala, instructed by the nun

58 Mm Haraprasad Shastri, JBORS, V, 1919, 559, cf Tod, Annals, I, 325 on Raghudeva “His image is on every hearth, and is daily worshipped with the Penates Twice in the year his altars receive public homage from every Scodia, from the Rana to the serf” Further see II, 678 on the worship of the ancestral manes by the Rānā in the cemetery at Ara (Udaipur), the cenotaphs of which are described II, 912f

59 A description and reproductions of all the figures are given in Tod, Annals, II, 842ff

60 Tod, *ibid*, 844, this pantheon is more correctly called *letis karor devatan sthān* “the abode of the 330 millions of gods”

61 The date of the Mandor statues seems to be unknown—Newspapers brought not long ago a notice that Sardar Chandroji Rao Angre who is in charge of the Foreign and Political Portfolio, Gwalior intends to erect an imposing statue in memory of his ancestor and founder of the Angre family, Kanoji Angre, on the Kasa Rock, Bombay harbour

Malayasundari comes to know that his father has attained *mukti*, he orders a temple to be erected in the place where his father has attained *mukti*, and an image of his father to be installed<sup>62</sup> More important is the passage in the drama Kundamālā, Act I, Sitā, who after her return from Lankā is led into a forest on the Ganges by Laksmana and informed that she has been exiled on account of her residence in Rāvana's palace, she asks her husband's brother taking leave from him to salute Ayodhyā and to wait upon the king who is embodied in a statue (*sussūśidavvo patimāgado mahārāo*)<sup>63</sup> This points to a statue of Daśaratha, Sitā who did not know personally the other ancestors had no reason to mention them, except her father-in-law It is curious that Bharata in the Pratim is not acquainted with the custom of erecting statues of the deceased rulers, the explanation that he lived since his childhood in his uncle's house (Act III), practically as an exile (Act VI, dialogue between Bharata and Kaikeyi), is not quite convincing as the young prince could have learnt even there something about the custom observed in his family, but from the dramatic point of view the author of the play had to eliminate such a knowledge of the prince whose surprise at his return is as great as the reader's impression of this scene In Varāhamihira's

62 According to the German translation by Hertel, Indische Märchen, 267 The devakula in Mucchak II, is an empty temple in which the Samvāhaka tries to pose as a *pratimā*, an idol of a deity, Māthura and his partner discuss the question whether the statue is of wood or of stone

63 Ed by Jai Chandra Shastri and translated by Veda Vyasa and S D Bhanot Lahore 1932, p 36, cf p 10 of the translation and p 14 of the Notes In the edition of the Dakshina-Bharati Series No 2 by M Ramakrishna Kavī and S K Ramanatha Sastri p 10 The date of the drama the author of which is supposed to be Dinnāga, in the Mysore Ms, Dhiranāga in the Tanjore Ms, is dated by the former Editors in the 5th century AD For a discussion on this passage which indicates nothing more than stated above in the text, cf ABORI, IX, 333f, X, 155, 157, XII, 97f, on the date Woolner, ibid, XV, 236ff, S K De, XVI, 158 The expression *pratimāgata* is found in connection with the Ayodhyādevatā which were worshipped in the prescribed temples (*prāśastayatanārcitāh*) in Raghuv, XVII, 36 It would go too far to see in this passage a hint to the *pratimāgrha*

Brhats, 58, 3 the size of a statue (*pratimā*) of Rāma is prescribed · *Dāśarathatanayo Rāmo balis ca Vairocanib śatam vimśam* i.e. the statue of Dāśaratha's son Rāma and that of Bali, Virocana's son, should be 120 *angulas* in height · Though Rāma's shrine has to be built in the South-eastern corner of a Viṣṇu temple,<sup>64</sup> thus indicating Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, there existed sculptures and bronzes of Rāma, of Sitā, and of Lakṣmana ·<sup>65</sup> The identification of Rāma and Viṣṇu caused the similarity of their representation ·<sup>66</sup> The Śilpāśāstras do not mention the statues of Rāma's ancestors as they are not understood as deities the abodes of which belong to the topics of this discipline, the term *pratimāgāra*, *pratimāmandapa* occurs in Mānasāra, 34, 24, 27f, a kind of pavilions, where the idol of a god is to be installed · In 34, 24, however, this pavilion (*pratimāgāra*)<sup>67</sup> is mentioned as the fourth among seven pavilions to be erected in front of a *prāsāda*, as the fifth the *sthāpanamandapa* is prescribed which is again a room for installing the idol of a deity · The *pratimāgrha* of the Pratimā appears not only to the returning of Bharata like a temple, it is higher than a palace (Act III), the man in charge of it is called *devakulika* who has to fulfil his duty (*naityaka*), consisting probably in daily offerings · The *devakula* is according to the Śilpāśāstra the private temple of the king (*Samarāṅganas* 15, 45) to be built in the North-eastern or South-western corner of the palace, with high pillars and *vedikā* (platform or balustrade?) · In the palace of the king representations of all the gods are permitted (34, 5), as in *devakula* also (34, 1) only the god to which the ruler is devoted and

64 Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, I, 191, Mānasāra, IX, 132

65 Rao, I, 186ff

66 Bhojadeva's Samarāṅganasūtradhāra, 77, 40 (in 42 Bali is mentioned as in Brhats) prescribes Dāśarathī Rāma to be made with two or eight arms, cf. Rao, I, 203

67 The translation by P. K. Acharya (p. 340) takes *pratimāgāra* as a pavilion "for the image (chapel)"

the *kuladevatā*<sup>68</sup> can be represented (34, 21) The term *devakūla*<sup>69</sup> used in the Mathurā inscriptions proves that a building like the *pratimāgrha* could be called a temple, but the Śilpaśāstra do not know a special building with statues of ancestors

Incomplete as this survey may be, it shows that the custom to erect statues of ancestors, of historical personages, of rulers was known in Northern India since the 3rd century A D, since the 5th century A D the custom is found in Campā, and later on in other countries which were influenced by Indian culture The custom of erecting statues was prevalent in mediaeval India as well, monuments and literary sources prove that the custom was not so strange as it appears, though an exact date of the use of a *pratimāgrha* is not yet possible

Another custom which occurs in the same play, in the Pratum, seems to be in some way surprising, it is the veiling of women of high rank Sitā (Act I) is ordered by Rāma when leaving the town with her for his exile, to take off her veil (*avagunthana*), as Rāma puts it (verse 29) "He, he, you citizens! Listen! Listen!

"Gaze freely on this my wife with your eyes full of tears, for without offence women can be looked at during a sacrifice, a wedding," when in calamity and in the forest "

68 *bhartrkuladevatā* are mentioned in Śākunt, V when Sakuntalā appears before her husband *devakulika* occurs in the Mahāvīyutpatti, 186, 78

69 D R Bhandarkar, Ep Ind XXI, 5 points out that there is a difference between the Kusāna's *devakula* and the *pratimāgrha* as the former was 'a cluster of *devakulas* commemorating the different Kusāna rulers, if one should be so rigorous at all, though the statues seem to have stood on the same ground (see JBORS, VI, 53), their purpose was hardly different from that of the *pratimas* in the Pratum

70 At the wedding ceremony the bride is covered with a new garment, cf Winternitz, Das altind Hochzeitsrituell 45 and 47 (for modern times) With the verse above may be compared Rām, VI, 114, 28

व्यसनेषु न कृच्छ्रेषु न युद्धेषु स्वयंवरे न कर्ता नो विवाहे वा दर्शनम् दूष्यते स्त्रियः ।  
In Rām VI, 111, 61f Mandodari, Rāvana's first queen, lamenting in view of her husband's body, mentions that she is not veiled and the other females have also put off their veils with their shyness

\* The widowed queens of Daśaratha, when entering the *pratiśmāgrha* (Act III) and meeting Bharata there, put off their veils, the prince reflects upon this gesture "The presence (of yours, i e. Sumantra) at every conduct (of them) reveals you to me"<sup>71</sup> The use of veils by Indian women is known since the classical drama In Kālidāsa's Śākuntala, V, Śākuntalā appears veiled before her husband, king Dusyanta, who does not recognize her, even when Gautamī unveils her with the words "Don't be ashamed for a moment!" Perhaps the veiling of Śākuntalā serves the dramatical purpose as the king, though admiring the beauty of his consort, does not recognize her, neither the veiled nor the unveiled In Mālavikāgn , V, Mālavikā is veiled with a silken veil to give her the position equal to that of a consort of the king (*devī*) An explanation of the value of the veil offers the scene in Mrcchak , IV when Vasantasenā releases Madanikā, giving her the status of a free woman enabling her to enter matrimony with a Brāhmana, her becoming husband Śarvilaka says that the veil by which Madanikā is entitled to be looked at as a free woman, is difficult to obtain The same role is played by the veil at the end of the drama where the king confers upon Vasantasenā the title *vadhū*, i e lady, free woman, and Śarvilaka veils her While in Mrcchak , Vasantasenā gets the veil bestowed upon her by the king as an ornament of her ladyship, she possesses a veil already in Act IV (beginning), may be that this veil is used only for going out by a palanquin Just so in Cārud , IV (ed 1922, p 89) the mother of the courtesan asks her by a maid to put on the veil after having done her finery along with the ornaments On the other hand, in this play Vasantasenā presents her ornaments to Madanikā, she calls her an *āryā*, neither the courtesan nor Sajjalaka mentions the veil Perhaps there existed veils

71 Woolner-Sarup translate (Thirteen Trivandrum Plays I, 177) "So intimate on all occasions, that tells me something" Perhaps instead of *mām sūcayati* should be read *tvām*

of different kinds, one for private use, one bestowed upon a woman of lower rank by the king electing her to the status of a free woman, and one belonging to high class women by birth. The scene in Ratnāvalī, III where Vāsavadattā unveils herself, has no deciding value. The *avagunthana*, worn over the garment, is mentioned in Kādambarī (ed Peterson), 10, 20, not only the Candāla girl, the cloth of which may be used to cover her, the woman of good family uses her veil when meeting secretly her lover (Sāhityad 3, 77 and verse before). On the other hand, within the house or palace women move freely, at least in the presence of the members of their family or well known officials and friends. Vāsavadattā, still a young princess uses an open palanquin when she left with her nurse as there is no offence for a maiden to be seen in public (Prat , III). When Udayana meets her as his wife (Sv , VI), he sends her to the *abhyantara*, the rooms for the queen (Prat , Act II end).

It would exceed the frame of these lines to give a comprehensive picture of the cultural life as offered by the plays. But just such an enquiry could bring some results as for the question of the homogeneous character of the plays. To quote only one instance in Prat III the palanquin is carried on shoulders by men, in Cārid Vasantasenā uses a palanquin on wheels (Act IV), it may be that both kinds existed or that ladies of the court did not use the latter kind of palanquins. The palace, town, the formulas of addressing, law, art, literature and religion, all that needs a careful consideration and comparison with corresponding sources. At least the discussion on the age and authorship of the thirteen plays would be brought in this way on a more objective ground than that on which it took place hitherto.

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