THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN
ARCHæOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES,
LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.

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FORMERLY LIEUT.-COLONEL, INDIAN ARMY.

16347

AND

Prof. DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.

VOL. XLV.—1916.

BOMBAY:
Printed and Published at the British India Press, Mazgaon, Bombay.

LONDON:
BERNARD QUARITCH, LIMITED, 11 GRAFTON STREET,
NEW BOND STREET, W.

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VOLUME XLV—1916.

MADHAVACHARYA AND HIS YOUNGER BROTHERS.
BY RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, M. A.; BANGALORE.

Several years ago I made, incidentally, a few remarks in my Archaeological Reports with regard to Madhavacharya, the great Advaita teacher, author and commentator of the 14th century, who was also known as Madhavamaty or Madhava-mantri by reason of his having been the minister of the Vijayanagar king Bukka I. I also gave briefly some grounds for the supposition that there flourished at about the same period another Madhava-mantri who was likewise a scholar, an author and a minister of the same king. My discovery of a work on rhetoric, styled Alākāra-sudhānādhi, by Sāyaṇa, also enabled me to give a few hitherto unknown details about Sāyaṇa and Bhogānatha, younger brothers of Madhavacharya. Finally, it was stated that Madhava, the author of the Sarvadārśanasanagraha, was quite a different person from Madhavacharya to whom the authorship of the work is generally attributed. On a perusal of my remarks in the above Reports, Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum, in a kind letter dated the 21st October, 1909, wrote to me thus:—

"The argument for the differentiation of Sāyaṇa-Madhava is very important, and I hope that you will put together your results soon in the form of an article in the J.R.A.S. For many years we have followed Burnell's conclusions in identifying Sāyaṇa, Madhava and Vidyāraṇya, in what is, I fear, an ανθρωπολογία; and I should be glad to have the facts readjusted."

But one circumstance or another has till now prevented me from giving the requisite attention to this work and satisfying Dr. Barnett's desire. Though late, I now address myself to this task and shall try to put together the results of my researches with regard to the subject. It is, however, necessary to remark at the outset that some of the facts that follow may not be quite new.

Madhavacharya.

Madhavacharya was a Brahman of the Bhāradvāja-gotra, Bōdhaṇya-sūtra and Yajuś-sākhā. His father was Māyaṇa, and his mother Śrīmati. He had two younger brothers named Sāyaṇa and Bhogānatha, the last being the youngest of the three. I give below

1 Report for 1908, paras. 55 and 83; and Report for 1909, para. 91.
a few extracts from the works of Mādhavāchārya and Sāyaṇa in support of the above
statements:

Sāyaṇa's Alaṅkāra-sudhānīdhi.

Parāśara-Mādhaviya.

Sāyaṇa's Subhāṣīta-sudhānīdhi

Sāyaṇa's Prāyaśchitta-sudhānīdhi.

Sāyaṇa's Yajñatāntra-sudhānīdhi.

Sāyaṇa's Mādhaviya-Dhātuvṛtti.

A mutilated inscription of the Arulāja-perumāl temple at Conjeevaram, which consists of a Sanskrit verse addressed to Sāyaṇa, also corroborates the details given above about Mādhavāchārya's gōtra, sātra, parents and brothers; only it has the name Māyaṇa where we should expect Mādhava and mentions Srikanthanātha as the gurus of Sāyaṇa.

Mādhavāchārya appears to have had a sister named Singale, whose son Lakṣmaṇa or Lakṣmīdharā was a minister of the Vijayanagar king Dēva-Rāya I. In the introduction to his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛiti and in a few other works, Mādhavāchārya names three of his gurus, Vidyātīrtha, Bhārattīrtha and Srikanṭha, in a verse which runs thus:—

2 Epigraphia Indica, III, 118.
Of these, Vidyātīrtha was considered by Mādhavāchārya and Sāyaṇa as an incarnation of Mahēśvara, as is indicated by the invocatory verse (नमः निर्मलति वेषः) in most of their works. An image of this guru was set up by Mādhavāchārya at Śrīnērī under the name of Vidyāśankara; and two inscriptions, of A. D. 1389 and 1392, register grants for the worship of this image. The above invocatory verse is also quoted at the beginning of the inscriptions, Epigraphia Carnatica, VI, Śrīnērī 5, 12, 14, 24 and 28, and several of the copper grants issued by the Śrīnērī matha bear the signature Vidyāśankara at the end. Vidyātīrtha was both the temporal and spiritual guide of Bukka I. An inscription, of A. D. 1376, seems to lead to the inference that by the favour of this guru Bukka I was able to bring the kingdom with ease under his control:—

श्रीमान् समर्थकालां स कल्याणं सुखेपमाचे स्थितां
विद्याशीर्ष्णुने: कृपायूत्थिष्ठै नोग्यमाचारे अन्वयम् ||

The following verse from Mādhavāchārya’s Anubhūtīprakāśa shows that he looked upon Vidyātīrtha as his chief guru:—

अंते निश्चितः दासोऽस्मातयानिपन्नवानिरिष्टः।
सोऽभिमानं सुखासुहः पात्रो विद्याशीर्षाः।।

From the colophon of his Rudrapraśna-bhāṣya, which is incorrectly attributed to Mādhavāchārya, we learn that Vidyātīrtha was a disciple of Paramātmatīrtha. The colophon runs thus:—

हि भास्त्रयमस्वपरत्त्र ज्ञाताचर्यार्नयित्विविद्याशीर्षविष्कर्तविस्मृतं द्रव्यमनाथं समात्।

The second guru Bhāratītīrtha is also referred to by Mādhavāchārya in the introduction to his Jaiminiya-Nyāyaśāstras as a verse which runs

स न्यायशास्त्रिविख्याति यथार्थावस्थानात्।
कृपायूत्थिष्ठानां स्वभावपरशिविन्दीनां नवम्।।

This guru is said to have written a work called Dṛṣṭīśīva, as well as a portion of the Pañcādāti-prakaraṇa. An inscription at Śrīnērī, of A. D. 1346, records a grant to him by Harihāra I and his brothers Kampaṇa, Bukka I, Mārapa and Muddapā.

The third guru Srikāśṭha is evidently identical with the Srikāśṭhanātha mentioned as the guru of Sāyaṇa in the Conjeeveram inscription referred to above. In the Bitragūṭa copperplate inscription, which records a grant to him in A. D. 1356 by Sangama II, he is referred to as the guru of the latter. The composer of this inscription was Bhogāṇātha, younger brother of Mādhavāchārya and Sāyaṇa, who styles himself the नमस्त्रिविद् or boon companion of Sangama II. From the high praise given incidentally to Srikāśṭha in one of the verses of his hitherto unknown poem called Mahāgaṇapati-stava by Bhogāṇātha, we may infer that he also looked upon him as his own guru. I give the verse below:—

मनस्त्रिविद् परेरुपि सर्वसु महारथ शैल् परेरुषं
चवा: शैलस: कलहगुप्तवस्य चिन्ह: परेरुपिवभव्य।।
मौलिकवेशपञ्जु ध्वजानही सदं त्वरमहै हेतुः।।

4 Epigraphia Carnatica, X, Mūllāgal 11; Ibid., VI, Śrīnērī 22.
5 See introduction to the Commentaries on the Vedas and to Jaiminiya-Nyāyaśāstras.
6 Epi. Car., IV, Yedatore 46.
7 Ibid., VI, Śrīnērī 1.
It is thus interesting to learn that all the three brothers—Mādhavāchārya; Śāyaṇa and Bhōganātha—looked upon Śrīkaṇṭha as their guru.

We may now proceed to say a few words about another minister of Bukka I, who was also known as Mādhavamāṭya or Mādhava-mañtri, and whose works and military exploits have therefore been ignorantly attributed to Mādhavāchārya himself. We may call this minister Mādhava-mañtri to distinguish him from Mādhavāchārya. He was also a great scholar and author. An inscription,9 of A. D. 1368, tells us that he was the son of the Brahmā Chāvaṇa of the Āngira-gōtra, that he was both a Vedic scholar and a great warrior, that he cleared and made plain the ruined path of the Upanishads and was hence known as Upanishamārga-pratishhēhōguru, that he conquered the country on the West Coast, that he was the minister of Bukka I, and was entrusted by him with the government of the province bordering on the Western Ocean, that through the favour of the teacher Kāśīvilāsā he attained celebrity as a Śaiva and that he worshipped Tryāmbakānātha (Śiva) as enshrined in his own favourite liṅga according to the tenets of pure Śaivism as directed by the Śaiva teacher Kāśīvilāsā-Kriyā-aktī. I append a few extracts from the above inscription in support of the details noted above:

---

9 *Epi. Cor.*, VII, Shikarpur 281.
10 *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, IX, 228.
11 *Epi. Cor.*, VIII, Sorab 375.
ing the province on the West Coast: from his capital Chandragupta, had Mādhava, disciple of Kriyāśakti, for his minister:

Another inscription at the Madhukēśvara temple at Banavāsi, dated A. D. 1368, records a grant while Mādhava-mantri was governing the Banavase 12,000 under Bukka I. Another, dated A. D. 1384, registers a grant by Mādhava-mantri, the great house-minister of Harihara II, while in the Male-rājya or the mountainous province on the west. The last record that we have to notice in connection with Mādhava-mantri is one in which he seems to have made a grant while on his death-bed. From it we learn, as shown by the extracts given below, that by the order of Harihara II Mādhava-mantri became the ruler of the Jayantipura or Banavase province; that, having defeated the Turushkas, he wrested the Konkāra capital Goa from them and reestablished the worship of Saptanātha and other gods there; that in the year A. D. 1391 he made a grant of the village Kuchara, naming it Mādhavapura after himself, to 24 learned Brahmans; and that on his death another Brahman named Narahari, who was a favourite disciple of Vidyāsāṅkara (i. e., Vidyātīrtha), was sent out to Goa by Harihara II as the governor of the Jayantipura province.

This record, too, applies the title Upanishanmōrga-pravartakādhyāya to Mādhava-mantri, whom it also designates Mādhavavarāja. The epithet bhūvanakāvira applied to him shows that he was a great warrior. Another inscription, of A. D. 1368, styles him "Mādārāsa Ojeyar, the great minister of Bukka I."
From what has been said above it is perfectly clear that Mādhava-mantri of the Angrasagotra, son of Chārūḍa or Chaṇḍi-bhāṣṭra and Māchambika, disciple of the Saiva teacher Kāstīlīla-Kriyāsakti, governor of Banavase under Bukka I and Harihara II, and vanquisher of the Turushkas at Goa, is a different person from Mādhavāchārya of the Bhāradvajagotra, son of Māyānā and Srimati, and disciple of Vidyātīrtha, Bharatītīrtha and Śrīkaṇṭha. Mādhavāchārya does not appear to have ever been a warrior, though his younger brother Sāyaṇa was, as will be shown further on. He had nothing to do with the conquest of the Turushkas and the capture of Goa. So, the following statement of some scholars about his valour in war have no ground to stand upon—

“Vidyārāṇya was not only a ripe scholar but also a valourous and tactful soldier who successfully fought against the Muhammadans and wrested the fort of Goa from their hands.”

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

By Dr. L. P. Tessitori, Udine, Italy.

(Continued from Vol. XLIV. p. 163.)

§ 146. The suffix -ḍaṇi, from Apabhraṣṭa -ḍaṇi < Skt. *-ṭakāṇ, is always used pleonastically, like in the Apabhraṣṭa. Examples are:

kāgāḍi “A female crow” (P. 374)
gāṭhādi “A knot, a bundle” (P. 283)
cāmāda “Skin” (P. 202)
bāpūḍaṇi “Wretched, poor” (P. 201) [ < Ap. bāppuḍaṇ]
maḍi “Mother” (Ṛṣ. 126)
vāṭaṇi “Speech, question” (F 728, 12)
sumiṣṭaṇi “Dreams” (Ṛṣ. 53)
maṇḍaṇi “Dirty” (F 596, 4)
rūḍaṇi “Good” (See § 19).

Not unfrequently -ḍaṇi is combined with the equivalent pleonastic suffix -aləṇi, thereby giving either -ḍaləṇi or -aləḍaṇi. Cf. the Apabhraṣṭa form bāhukahullaṇap, occurring Siddhāhem, iv, 430, 3.

Examples:

kūkhaṇī “Womb” (Ṛṣ. 67)
māḍaṇi “Mother” (Cāl. 10)
bagalaṇaṇi “Crow” (F 596, 4).

In the following instance, the suffix -ḍaṇi is used in the formation of an adverbial present participle: bhāmantaṇaṇ (F 694). With the ḍ element of -ḍaṇi I connect the pleonastic element ḍ, which is euphonically inserted after the a of the causals (See § 141, (3)).

§ 147. A suffix which has not yet been noticed in the dialects of the Old Western Rajasthani group, is the suffix -hoṇi, which is used after adverbial bases to derive locative adjectives. No instances of it occur in the Apabhraṣṭa, but it is no doubt congener with the Sindhi suffix -hə, which is used in exactly the same way (See Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 384-5), the only difference being in that before the latter suffix the terminal vowel of
the base is lengthened. I am inclined to explain -haū as derived from Sanskrit -stakāḥ, through Apabhraša -stakā, whence Old Western Rājasthāni *-stakāi > -haū; or possibly from Sanskrit *-stakāḥ, a suffix which could well be appended to adverbs to form adjectives with a locative meaning, as is shown by the Sanskrit example: yavat-thāh (Pāṇini, v, 2, 53; Manu, i, 20). From this suffix the following locative adjectives are derived in Old Western Rājasthāni:

ågahāi "Anterior" (P. 584) < *ågahāi < Ap. ågga- < Skt. agra-
arahāi "Near" (P. 479) < urahāi (Adi Č.) < Ap. ora-, avāra- < Skt. apāra-
pahāi "Remote, far" (Up. 149, 265) < pahāāi (Up. 54) < Ap. para- < Skt. pārā-
ūpahāi "Superior" (Adī. 55) < úpahāāi (Dač. v, 13, Up. 178) < *ūpahāi < Ap. uppari-
< Skt. upārī-

With the two first examples above, Sindhi ågāhō and orāhō may be compared (Trumpp, loc. cit.). Particularly important are the two forms urahāi and pahahāi, not only on account of their being connected with Old Western Rājasthāni *oilai and pailai (§ 143), but also because of their being the prototypes of Mārvāri varo, para, ro, which are used to form verbal intensives (Grierson, LSI., vol. ix, Part ii, p. 30). Traces of this use are already found in Up. and Adī Č., two Old Western Rājasthāni MSS. influenced by the Mārvāri tendency. Take the example following:

eka ápaśi ḍkhi pahri kāri "Having twitched off one of his own eyes" (Up. 265).

For other examples see § 78.

148. Other suffixes deserving particular notice are the following:

-åna, -āna, occurring in: rájāna (P. 181) and rajñāna (P. 171) "King";

-ima, identical with the Sanskrit kṛt-suffix -ima and used, as in Prakrit, to derive abstract nouns (in origin neuter adjectives substantivised, see Pischel, Prakr. Gramm., § 602, n. 1). Examples: lavažima "Beauty" (F 647);

-ivaī, occurring in: rájivaī "King" (F 647);

-eravai, a double suffix used in the Up. mostly in a comparative sense. For illustrations see § 79;

-tai, from Apabhraša *-talai < Skt. *-tvakam, occurring in: árvatāi "Distress,
anxiety" (P. 60, 97, 376) < Ap. *ārvatāai < Skt. *āturatvakam. Modern Gujarāti has orato and employs it in the sense of "Longing, desire". An instance of the weak form 
ta (<Skt. -taem) of this suffix, is mithyāta "Impiousness" (F 728, 18);


-rai, occurring as a pleonastic suffix in trijarai "Third" (Adi Č.).

149. Lastly, I may mention the negative prefix ana- (< Ap. a- < Skt. an-), which in Old Western Rājasthāni is very largely used before nominal as well as verbal forms.

A few examples are:

anahāri "Houseless" fem. (P. 602)

anadaevi āviu chā ṣhā "I have come here without being called" (P. 417)

jāga anaparastau "Not touching the legs" (Cītā.)

apadāhā "Ungiven" (Dač. i, 3)

dāi apalahica na hui "Nothing is impossible to obtain" (Saṅ, 10)

tā avajāīvai marama "Thou dost not know the secret" (P. 84).

(To be continued.)
THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF MAGADHA.

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(Continued from Vol. XLIV. p. 52.)

II.

1. Prehistoric Magadha.

The first distinct mention of Magadha, or rather the Magadhas, is in the *Atharvaveda* Veda. Men of Magadha are referred to in the *Yajur Veda*. These references show that the land had not yet been aryianised in that period. The settlement of respectable Brahmins in Magadha began only in the later Aranya period. The early sutras seem to have looked on the country as the abode of fallen Brahmins (Vratyas) who sought readmission to the Brahmanical order by performing purificatory ceremonies. According to the Pururas the kingdom of Magadha was older than the Mahabharta War. Brihadratha, the founder of the earliest dynasty of Magadha, was a son of Vasu Uparichara, the same as is mentioned in the Narayaniya section of the Mahabharta. Uparichara seems to be a historical personage as he is mentioned in various works—in the Masya, Vishnu, Vayu, and Bhagavata Puranas, and in the Harivamsa. He is styled king of Chedi in the last mentioned work. His son Brihadratha is named Maharahtha in the Vayu Purana and styled king of Magadha. The foundation of the Bhradhratha dynasty of Magadha by a younger son of a king of Chedi seems likely to be the historical background of these traditions.

Three generations from Brihadratha bring us to the Mahabharta War, and there were twenty-three generations from the War to the times of Gautama Buddha. It is true that the Pururas mention 32 kings from Brihadratha to the end of the dynasty. But the names of rulers after Sahadeva actually given is only 23. Adding to this list the seven other rulers of the Bhradhratha line, who were not of the same line as Sahadeva, but were descended from another son of Brihadratha, we get 30 names. Including Jarasandha and Sahadeva we get 32 names of rulers—all of whom were descended from Brihadratha by the evidence of the Pururas, and 23 of whom reigned in Magadha after Sahadeva, the contemporary of the Great War.

The Purasic story that the last of the Bhradhrathas was succeeded by Chanda Pradyota of Avanti, or by his father, implies that the Bhradhratha dynasty continued to rule down to the time of Gautama Buddha. But in the meantime Sinunaga usurped the throne of Magadha. It may therefore be supposed that the Bhradhrathas still remained as local chieftains of Magadha until the kings of Girivraja encroached on their territory and finally extinguished the line.

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1 See Macdonell and Keith: Vedic Index. II. 116. for the references.
2 In the Vayu Purana. Other Puranas differ—the Brahmayda has 22 names, the Bhagavata 21, and the Vishnu 21 only. The Masya has 22 names.
3 Brihadratha; Kusagra or Kusagria; Vishabha or Vishhabha; Pushpavat, Purtavat or Pusaya; Satyadharma or Satyajita; Sudhanwan; and Jantu or Ctra. The brother of Kusagra was Jarasandha, father of Sahadeva. The Pururas may have added these names together, although they were the names of contemporary, not of consecutive dynasties, thus getting 22 rulers in all.
4 This is the total number given in the Vayu and Masya Puranas: Brahmayda has another reading: Brahmayda! he: no: Nabhirari: kruvdh.
5 So the Vishnu and Bhagavata Pururas. The former names him Ripunjaya (Book IV, Chap. 24), and the latter Puradgaya (Book XII, Chap. 1, verse 2). But the Masya, Vayu and Brahmayda simply say that the Brihadratha dynasty had ended when the Pradyota dynasty was founded.
2. Magadha and other lands.

In the 7th Cent. B.C. there were several famous kingdoms in Hindustan. The Purāṇas give the lists of the dynasties of Kāśi, Kōsala, Kauśambi, Avanti, and Magadha. Of these Kāśi seems to have been the most flourishing kingdom. It is mentioned 428 times in the Aitāvattra, admittedly the oldest portion of the Buddhist Jātaka literature. Many kings of Kāśi mentioned in the Jātakas could be discovered in the Purāṇic lists. One may mention Brahmadatta, Vishvakṣena, Udakṣena, and Bhallata. Of the most famous of these, Brahmadatta and his followers, the Harivamsa says, there were different migrations—as Brāhmaṇas, foresters, deer, water-fowl, swans and Brāhmaṇas again. We have similar beliefs in the Jātaka tales, where Brahmadatta's reign is mostly referred to, he being an incarnation of the Buddha in some of his former births. Thus then, in the 7th Cent. B.C. Kāśi under Brahmadatta and his descendants seems to have been the most important of the kingdoms of Hindustan. Next in importance to Kāśi was Takkhaśila (Taxila), mentioned twenty-five times in the Aitāvattra, and the Kuru-Pancharālas mentioned nine times. Then comes, Magadha presumably under the last kings of the Purāṇic Bāhradratha dynasty. It is mentioned seven times. Of other kingdoms, the Buddhist records have only faint notices—of the Kōsala, Avantis, Vatsas, Mallas, Vidēhas, and of the frontier kingdoms of Śibi, Bhāruch, Kalinga, Sovirā, Mahishmaka, and Tāmraparāja.

Towards the end of the 7th Cent. B.C. the centre of importance and interest is shifted from the Western to the Eastern kingdoms of Hindustan. The Paccuppanna-Vattu mentions Kāśi only once, and the western kingdoms of Gandhāra, Kuru, Sivi, etc., not at all. Kōsala finds mention in 428 places, and there is mostly laid the scene of the Buddha's 'former births.' Some of the kings of Kōsala are prominent characters, e.g., Mahakōsala, probably an elder contemporary of the Buddha. It is clear from the Buddhist records that part of the Kāśi kingdom was absorbed by Kōsala in the best period of its existence. This is also indicated by the compound name Kāśi-Kauśalya in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. The other part was apparently held as a viceroyalty by the younger members of the House of Magadha after Śiṣunāga. But the triumph of Kōsala was short lived. The early Purāṇas mention only three rulers after the Buddha's death and the Bhagavata Purāṇa has only one. In the Vasavadatta of Bhāsa, Kōsala is not at all referred to, though Avanti, Kauśambi, the Vatsa country and Magadha figure in the political relationships. Chanḍa Pradyota of Avanti, the father-in-law of Udayana and contemporary of Ajātaśatru, Udaya and Dāraka, was the most distinguished king of his time. But the power of Magadha was rapidly gaining ground over Kōsala and Avanti.

3. Rajas of Girivraja.

The founder of the dynasty, Śiṣunāga 'took up his abode' at Girivraja after stationing his son at Benares. The Purāṇas add that Śiṣunāga "annihilated the renown of the Pradyotases." But, as shown in the last article, their version of the Śiṣunāga as succeeding the Pradyotases of Avanti cannot be accepted as historical. Śiṣunāga must

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6 Vishgu, P. IV, Chap. 19. 7 Harivamsa, Chap. XXI.
8 Brahmadatta king of Benares is the Bodhisattva in Jātakas 14, 67, 225, 248 and 459 in Füüsmboll's edition. The Jātakas state that Brahmadatta is the name of a family and not of any particular king. The Purāṇas have only one Brahmadatta.
9 I, 2, 9.
10 Śiṣunāga, for instance, "stationed his son at Benares" (as viceroy). This son Kākavarga afterwards became king of Magadha. (Māyaka and Vaya Purāṇas). That part of the Kāśi kingdom was incorporated into Kosala is seen from the Mahāvagga (VIII, 2).
therefore have been ruling in Benares before he became master of Girivraj, presumably then the capital of Magadha. It is difficult to tell who was the ruler of Kàṣi displaced by the Siśunāgas. Very possibly, it was one of the successors of Brahmadatta, the last of whom was Bhallaṇḍa of the Purānic list. Corresponding to him or his son we have Bhallatiya11 in the Jātakās. The other things we know about Siśunāga depend on scattered notices in the Buddhist legends. The Burmese legend of Gauḍama12 makes Siśunāga the protegé of a Nāga, when a child, apparently hinting at the fact that the king was of Nāga extraction.

The Nāgas were a prominent non-Aryan race in India. We have their name preserved in various parts of the country: Nāgarjuni hills, Nāgpur, Nāgaur, Nāgarkot, Nāgpatnam and Nāgarkovil. Nāga princes find mention in historical records. The Buddhist records speak of Nāga rulers in Kāmpilya and elsewhere, and the early Chōla traditions speak of Chōla kings marrying Nāga princesses in the south of India. Nāgadatta, and Nāgasena are among the names of kings mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. There is a Nāgarjuna in the dynastic lists of the Siāhāras of Nepal and of Kashmir. Nāgavardhana was a nephew of the Chāḷukya king Pulikesin II and Nāgabhāṣa was king of the Gurjaras about 800 A.D. It is possible that these princes could be affiliated ethnically to the primitive tribes of the Nāga hills.

Like the Dravidian princes with whom they intermarried the Nāgas were adopted into the Aryan fold, and their position gradually improved in the social scale. The Saisunāga princes are styled Kshatrabandhavah in the Purāṇas. Mr. V. A. Smith13 translates this epithet by 'kings with Kshatriya kinsfolk.' But the real meaning of the word is Kṣhatriya-dhamakah 'Kshatriyas of a very low order.' In modern times the Rāgas of Udaipur claim descent from Nagar Brahmins, and their ancestors are known as Brahma Kshatriyas.14

Of the second king, Kākavarṣa, all that we know is that Bāṣa15 has preserved a tradition to the effect that, curious of marvels, he was carried away by a condemned man to an unknown place in an aerial car, and that a dagger was thrust into his throat in the vicinity of the city. These traditions, combined with the appellation given to the king (Kākavarṣa means 'black as a crow'), seem to imply that the king was fond of new views and daring innovations, and that he was murdered by the orthodox party on account of his patronage of reformed views in religion, which were so much in the air in that century. The third and fourth kings seem to have been able warriors, as they are styled Kshemadharman16 and Kshatrajīt by the Brahmins, and Prasēnajīt and Mahāpadma by the Buddhist and Jainas. That they were making gradual conquests appears from the Mahāavagga,17 which says that Bimbisāra had the sovereignty of 80,000 villages and called an assembly of their 80,000 overseers. The only conquest mentioned of Bimbisāra is that of the Aśa country. So these villages of Magadha must have been acquired under the predecessors of Bimbisāra, who also appear to have made frequent attempts at the conquest of the Aśa kingdom as well.18

11 The Buddha in one of his 'previous births' — in the Bhallatiya Jātaka.
16 This may easily be considered a variant of Kshatradharman. For the next king Kshatrajīt or Kshatrajījas the Mātau P. has Kshemavīt or Kshemārīchis. For Mahāpadma, father of Bimbisāra, see Rockhill: Life of the Buddha (Dulce XI, f. 99). Prasenajīt appears in the Divyavadīna list, (Cowell’s Edition, page 369.)
17 Mahāavagga V, 1:
18 The Cāmpecgga Jātaka.

The probable patronage of new religions and the expansion of Magadha dominion under the Rajas of Girivrajā bore full fruit in the reign of Bimbisāra. He is named Śrēṇīya (guildsman) in the Jain records, and is designated a Vaiśya in the Buddhist Mahāvagga. Śrēṇīya was a common epithet of the king and not his proper name, as it is used only by the Jainas. He married a Vaiśālī princess according to both the accounts, though the name of the princess is given differently by the Buddhists and Jainas. The latter name her Chellaṇā, daughter of Chēṭaka, Rāja of Vaiśāli, while the former identify her with Vāsavi, niece of Gōpāla. The Vaiśāli marriage is probably significant in this connection. Vaiśāli was a great commercial centre, as shown by the clay-seals bearing inscriptions recently discovered there. We may naturally infer the expansion of commerce and growth of material prosperity in Magadha.

The Vaiśāli marriage may have been as much of political as of commercial significance. It was the seat of the Lichehavali federation, whose power was so great and so little curbed in the distant isolation of the doab of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, that we find connection with it giving prominence to the founder of the Gupta dynasty in later times. Bimbisāra had in his father-in-law a neighbour and ally, who could secure him immunity from disturbance on the North-Eastern frontier. By a second marriage with a Kōsala princess, Bimbisāra probably sought to disarm enmity in the west and he got a substantial cession of territory as dowry. The latter yielded a lākha a year and was given to the Queen as “bath and perfume money.” After having strengthened his frontiers and secured allies east and west, Bimbisāra set seriously to work at completing the conquest of the Aṅga kingdom, attempted unsuccessfully by his immediate predecessors. This conquest is referred to in the Champāgya Jātaka. It says that the Raja of Magadha was helped in this conquest by the Nāgarāja of Kampilaya in the Pañchāla country. But the details of the conquest, or the occasion thereof, cannot be made out from the records available to us. All that could be said for certain is that the Magadha kingdom extended eastwards so as to comprise also Aṅga, i.e., the modern Bhāgalpur and Munger. The expansion of Magadha and its growing importance led Bimbisāra to give up the unpretentious capital of Girivrajā and build the stately one of Rājagriha at the base of the hill.

The religious movements of the time had their culmination in the reign of Bimbisāra. Magadha could not have been free at this time from the influence of the spreading religion of Vāsudeva among the Śrāṣṭras in the far west. For there is mention of Baladeva and Vāsudeva in the Kama Jātaka and of Kṛishṇa, son of Dévakī, in the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad, where the scene is mostly laid in eastern Hindustan. So too the religion of the Buddhists, or men of revealed learning, had made an impression at that time, the very cousin of Buddha, Devadatta being one of their devout followers. To this period, also belongs the establishment of Buddhism, as the result of the systematisation of earlier doctrines by Siddhārtha Sākya-muni, a contemporary of Bimbisāra. The Mahāvagga says that the king was once rebuked by the Buddha, and that he assigned the bamboo-garden to the Buddha and his disciples. According to Aśvaghōsa,

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19 Mahāvagga I, 50. 20 See Dr. Bloch: See Arch. Surv. Rep. (Eastern Circle) for 1912. 21 Vaddhaki-Sākara Jātaka (No. 283) and the Tauchhā-Sākara Jātaka (No. 492). 22 The Pañcāla kingdom must have existed in Bimbisāra’s time, as the Pūrṇas premise its extinction only in Mahāpādha’s reign. (भागवत: पञ्चालित:—Mātaya P.) 23 See Jacobi: Introduction to Vol. XXII of the S. B. E. 24 Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has shown that the religion of Vāsudeva was contemporaneous with the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. It is referred to in the Niddāsa, Pāṇini and Patanjali, and in the Indikē of Magathenes. Vaiṣānavism, Śaivism and minor Religious Systems (Strassburg, 1913), pp. 3-13. 25 On the Adi Buddha, see Col. Waddell’s article in the J. R. A. S., 1914. 26 Buddha-Charita XV, 100.
Bimbisāra abolished the ferry fee for ascetics. He was also a friend and relation of Yādhamāna Mahāvīra. Jaina tradition of Bihar represents Bimbisāra as a devout Jain and credits him with the construction of many buildings in Bhāgalpur and other places. In the same period we have the formation of other sects, the most remarkable of which was that of the Ājīvikas founded by Gāsāla.

Traditions differ as to the last years of Bimbisāra. There is a story in the Iṣānānīṇa Nikāya to the effect that the king was murdered by his son Ājātascātra. It was developed into an impressive legend by the fertile imagination of later Buddhists. In the introduction to one of the Jātakas, for instance, we have a fanciful derivation given to the name. Even in his womb Ājātascātra conceived a longing for his father’s blood. Hence his name—“one who was a foe (to his father) while yet unborn!” The Burmese legend of Gaujama rounds off the story by saying that Ājātascātra killed his father by starving him in prison. But there is some doubt as to the authenticity of the Samañnapatha Sutta, wherein the story is embodied. The origin of the Sutta is given in the introduction to the Sanjīva Jātaka, which says that the Sutta was in two sections, whereas the Sutta now found in the Nikāya has no such division. Perhaps, the sentence which refers to the parricide, was added to the Sutta later on, another addition, evidently spurious, being made by the author of the Jātaka. Further, the Kulavagga distinctly states that Bimbisāra handed over the kingdom to Ājātascātra. Jaina tradition of Magadha ignores the accusation of parricide, and the popular Sanskrit derivation of the name is “one who had no enemy born in the world.” The parricide seems therefore to be as false as Kalāsaka of the Vaśiśta council, who likewise is not mentioned in the oldest account of the council in the Kulavagga. There is no reason for doubting that Bimbisāra lived 80 years, and resigned the throne to Ājātascātra a few years before his death. Deliberate resignation of the throne to a son is by no means a strange event in Indian history. Jains believe that Chandragupta Maurya resigned the throne to Bindusāra and went south with Bhadrabāhu.

5. Ājātascātra and the foundation of the empire,

Ājātascātra was the most famous king of the dynasty. The Brihad-Āraṇyaka and Kaushitaki Upanishads have an Ājātascātra, king of Kāśi, whom they speak of as a great king and as a patron of the Vedānta philosophy. The Brihad-Āraṇyaka is one of the oldest among the Upanishads. This king, therefore, should not be identified with Ājātascātra of Magadha who came several generations after him. Further, the Upanishads speak of him as king of Kāśi and of Videha, but they do not mention Magadha. The Ājātascātra of Kāśi, belongs, in fact, to a time when Kāśi was the most prominent kingdom in Hindustan. The Buddhist records have vague traditions of such a time. The Guţṭila Jātaka says, for instance, that Benares was “the chief city in all India.”

Though our Ājātascātra cannot be identified with his celebrated namesake of Kāśi, it must be remembered that both were kings of Kāśi. The Purāṇas are careful enough to state that Śisunāga was king of Kāśi before he became king of Magadha, and there is no evidence of Kāśi having been lost by the Magadhās at any later time before Ājātascātra. It is possible that members of the Śisunāga dynasty adopted some of the names of their

29 Mr. Chalmers, the translator of the Jātaka, has these remarks: “The interpolation is interesting as suggesting the licence with which words were put into the Master’s mouth by Buddhist authors.” (See Camb. Tran., Vol. I, p. 261 note).
30 Kulavagga VII. 3, 5.
31 Rice: Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, (1909).—Sec. 1.
predecessors on the throne of Kāśi. The Satāpatha Brāhmaṇa mentions Bhadrasena Ajātasatruvā i. e. as a son of Ajātaśatru. A variant of the latter name is Bhadra Srevya mentioned in the Vāyu P. as king of Benares. The name Bhadra Srevya occurs also in the Kūrma, Linga and Brahma Purāṇas and in the Harivaśi. Srevya is a name for Bimbisāra in Jaina works. The name Bhadra occurs in Udatyibhadra the founder of Pātaliputra and in Bhadramukha one of the epithets of Dāraka in Bhāsa's Vāsavadatta.

That Ajātaśatru was a 6th Cent. (B.C.) Harsha or Akbar is evident even from Buddhist records. He was a follower of the "previous Buddhas" and built a hall for Dēvadatta at Gayāśī. He was a devout Jain, according to Behar tradition, who "ruled the country for 80 years according to the laws of his father." One of his queens, Mallikā, was a follower of the Buddha. The king himself is credited with building a hall at Rājagriha 'for the Buddhists.' In the light of the general attitude of this king towards Buddhists we may interpret this to mean a hall of religious discussion rather than an abode of peace. But the later Buddhists could not conceive of such a king, except as coming to the Buddha as a penitent sinner, though they do not definitely say that he gave up Devadatta and became a follower of the Buddha. The legend to the last effect is probably not more than a few centuries old. It is found in the Māḷālaṅkāra Vattu translated by Bigandet. It says that the first Buddhist Council was held with his consent, that he prepared a hall for holding it, that he clamoured for a share of the relics of the Buddha after the Nirvāṇa, and that he inaugurated the Buddhist era. Even the latest addition to the Jātaka literature says of the king, that but for his joining Dēvadatta "he would have won the Arhat's clear vision of the Truth ere he rose from his seat."

Under Ajātaśatru the territorial expansion of Magadhā went on apace. His first war was probably with his uncle Pasenadi of Kōsala, who resumed the village of Kāśi given by Mahākōsala for his daughter when she married Bimbisāra. The opposing armies met and the Kōsala had the worst of it, when he was advised to change his tactics and feign a retreat. Posting his main army on a hill, and having his flank dominated by two hill forts which contained picked garrisons, Pasenadi allowed his enemy to pursue his retreat. Then Ajātaśatru was caught by the retreating army turning right about, taken in front and rear, and compelled to give up his claim. But Pasenadi subsequently gave his sister's stepson his own daughter Vajirā in marriage with the same village as dowry as had been given to her aunt. For some years peaceful relations appear to have been maintained between the two kingdoms. But some unmentioned cause, perhaps the death of Pasenadi or Vajirā, led to a breach between the two kingdoms, and Ajātaśatru expanded his dominion at the expense of Kōsala.

The next act of Ajātaśatru was the war with Vaiśali. He had been on terms of friendship with the Lichhehi princes who were his relations on his mother's side, and constructed a hall at Patna for receiving them. Soon, however, he developed designs of conquering his grandfather's kingdom. It was with this intent that later in the reign he fortified Pātalipūtra on the northern bank of the Sūn near its confluence with the Ganges, and connected it by road with Kuśinagara. This was planned by his ministers Sunidha and Vaśākāra. We hear of it as a frontier village of Magadhā in the

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33 Mahālakṣaṇa-Jātaka. (No. 28).
36 Sanjūra-Jātaka (Introduction).
37 The details have been made up from the Harivaśi-Māta-Jātaka (No. 239), the Vadhakā-Sākara Jātaka (No. 283), the Taṣekha Śākara Jātaka (No. 492). The defeat of the Kōsala is mentioned in the Kumārapāṇḍa-Jātaka (No. 415).
38 See S. E. XI, pp. 18-21.—Compare Fo Sho IV, 22 in Beal, S. E. XIX 249. See also Rockhill, P. 127.
39 "To repel the Vaijana" (Mahāvagga YL 23). But Hemachandra (Sahasvadvat-Carita) attributes the building of the fort to Udaya.
penultimate year of the Buddha's life. The Buddhist Suttas and the Burmese legend mention his fortification, and as the city of Patna quickly grew round the fort, we may assume that it had been the royal residence in the last years of Ajātastra. In the fight with the Licchhavis also Magadha won the day. But it is not to be supposed that (Kósala) and Vaissali became at once part and parcel of the Magadha empire. Their princes existed for two or three generations more, doubtless as vassals of the Magadha emperors. The last of the Purānic list of Kósala kings is Sumitra, a great-grandson of Kshudraka (= Virudhaka). There is no evidence that Vaissali was considered part of Magadha before about 100 B.C., when one of the Magadha kings is said to have made it his capital. If this tradition is worth anything, it may be taken to indicate that Vaissali was then made the base of operations for further campaigns in the Licchhavi country. The Magadha empire in the reign of Ajātastra must have extended north of the Ganges at least as far east as the Gandak, for we are told he constructed a road along that river, and provided it with resthouses at intervals. This road probably served as the eastern line of defence north of the Ganges.


The next king was Udaya whom Buddhist traditions consider a favourite son of Ajātastra. In the fourth year of his reign he is said to have built the city of Kusumapura on the southern bank of the Ganges. This implies that the king abandoned Rājagrīha for this more northerly seat on the Ganges, as a strategic measure for watching the Licchhavis on the north. It is hardly likely that the expansion of Magadha went on far under this king, who had such able rivals as Chanja Pradyota of Avanti and Yaungandharaya the minister at Kauśambi. The campaigns with the Licchhavis probably continued during the reign, but they could have hardly led to any appreciable results. The Jainas have a tradition that he was assassinated, and it is therefore likely that he ruled for 16 years as given in the Dipavamsa, and not 33 as in the Vishnu-Purāṇa.

When the king was cut off, the court apparently moved back to Rājagrīha, giving up for the time the campaigns against the Licchhavis. Darśaka quietly succeeded and he seems to have been a very young man at the time. But the political atmosphere of Hindustan was charged with electricity. Udayana of Kauśambi, a gay and light-hearted ruler, stood in imminent danger of losing his ancestral kingdom, where the discontent of the Vatsas was coming to a head under the arch-rebel Āruṣi. The river Ganges was

40) Kshudraka, the successor of Vasenaṅka in the Purānic list must certainly be identified with Virudhua the successor of Vasenadi according to the Buddhist works.
41) Aśvaghosha: Buddha Charita (S. B. E. XIX, p. 249)
43) Bigandet: op. cit. Vol. II, p. 95. The mention in the same work of Ajātastra having destroyed Vaissali (II. 113) means therefore little more than a temporary victory over the Licchhavis.
44) Jain traditions also agree with this. They further add that Udaya himself was childless. The Purāṇs distinctly declare that Darśaka was a son of Ajātastra and that Udaya ruled after him. The Purāṇs' order of rulers is, as we have seen elsewhere, not always correct. Putting all the traditions together, it appears highly probable that Udaya succeeded Ajātastra, and was succeeded by Darśaka, a younger brother of his, he being childless.
45) तै है धूरिर्गर्भोऽणमः पुत्रेण्वीर रूपाणि (Vidy P.)
46) This may be inferred from several passages in Bhāsa's Vāsavadatta: (Trivandrums, 1912).
47) It is noteworthy that Darśaka is not one of the Dramatis Personae. (Ibid, page 60.)
at this time the boundary between the Vatsas and Magadha, and there may have been a danger of the revolt being fomented by the latter power. Udayana had an able minister, by name Yaungandharāyaṇa, who appreciated the difficulties of the situation. Procuring the half-hearted consent of the Queen, Vāsavadatta, daughter of Pradyotā, he gave out that she was consumed by the flames in a general conflagration at Lāvāṇikā, where 500 women of the harem actually perished. Then he arranged the marriage of Udayana with Padmāvatī, sister of Darśaka. The marriage was of political significance to Udayana, as it meant not only Darśaka’s abstention from actively helping the insurgents of the Vatsa country, but prompt aid in putting the rebellion down. It is also of some social significance. Originally Nāgas by race, the kings had come to be looked upon as Vaiśyas, or at best as inferior Kshatriyas, in Bimbisāra’s time. The Magadha princess was taken as the crowned queen of Udayana, a high class Kshatriya. Thus the Nāgas were rising gradually in the social scale.

Nandivardhana and Mahānandin were the next two rulers of the dynasty. The Purāṇas know nothing more of them than their names, but the Buddhist records, which mention the names wrongly, embody traditions of some historical value. The first ruler they call Suṣumāga and say of him that he transferred his capital to Vaiśāli “not unmindful of his mother’s origin.” This vague statement perhaps implies that king Darśaka of Madhagha (whom the Buddhists call Nāga Daśaka) married a Vaiśāli princess. There is nothing impossible in this. The silence of the Purāṇas and Buddhist records about Darśaka, who is allowed a fairly long reign, combined with the fact that he was free to send his forces across the Ganges to help Udayana in putting down the Vatsa revolt, go to show that Magadha was free from disturbance on the eastern frontier. In keeping with the usual practice the war with the Lichchhavis under Udaya may have ended in peace on the death of that king followed by a marriage relations, between the two kingdoms. The son of Darśaka, to have his capital at Vaiśāli, must have inherited that kingdom from his mother, or have conquered it by war. Vaiśāli is mentioned as a city of Magadha in the Pārāyaṇavagga.

Mahānandin was probably the ruler whom the Buddhists name Kālāśoka. The chronological results lead us to this conclusion. Kālāśoka is said to have reigned a century after the Buddha, and the Buddhist council is said to have been held in the 10th year of his reign. The date for Mahānandin is 88—116 A.B. The second Buddhist council should therefore have been held in this reign. This result is confirmed by the Tibetan Buddhist tradition of a council being convened by king Nanda and Mahāpadma. Mr. Rockhill wonders why we have the singular number while we should expect the

48 Puṣṭāmaṇavimulatadbhāmaśāstra (Page 3) says Yaungandharāyaṇa to Vāsavadatā.
49 When Udayana had been out a hunting.
50 „तैस्मशशाजिनि मुग्धवनिश्चकायो चामरहितं न कथा” (page 11).
51 The same story is preserved in the Devyāvatńska where 500 women of the harem are said to have perished. (Chap. XXXVI.)
52 Pārāyaṇavagga I, 38.
54 Rockhill : Life of the Buddha, p. 186.
plural, since there are two kings mentioned. According to my theory this objection vanishes. If the Nanda referred to is Mahândin, Mahâpadma was only the crown prince, who helped his father in feeding the assembled brethren. Târânâth also believes in the story that the brethren were fed by Nanda.\textsuperscript{54} We have one more statement made of Kâlîkâ, which should therefore be applied to Mahâandin. It is to the effect that he made Pâtaliputra his capital.\textsuperscript{55} As the Purânic list of Kôsala comes to an end with the contemporary of Nandivardhana, it has to be presumed that that kingdom was absorbed into Magadha in Mahâandin’s reign.

(To be continued.)

\section*{MISCELLANEA.}

\subsection*{A NOTE ON THE NON-ARYAN ELEMENT IN HINDI SPEECH.}

In his article ‘On the non-Aryan Element in Hindi Speech’ (ante. Vol. I, p. 103), Mr. Growse says that the proportion of words in the Hindi Vocabulary not connected with Sanskrit is exceedingly inconsiderable. In support of his theory, he derives from Sanskrit, five out of 26 Hindi words, which, Muir says, have no resemblance to any vocabularies in Sanskrit books, and says that the remaining words can also be derived from Sanskrit.

I do not wish to discuss the accuracy of his derivations, but I should like to point out that five of the remaining words viz. 1. jhagrâ, a dispute; 2. ãfâ, flour; 3. ghusînd, to gulp; 4. khoîd, a bamboo tube for administering food or medicine to animals.

I have been led to think that jhagrâ is derived from Can. jaga, a quarrel, a dispute. Can. jaga is considered by Dr. Kittel to be a purely Dravidian word. Tel. ùgasa is also considered by Telugu Lexicographers to be a Dr. word. But Bhâstika-laśkâ’s Sâdānusāna gives Can. jaga as the Tadbhava of Skt. jhakta, which, however, I have not been able to find in any Sanskrit Lexicon. It is not improbable that Can. jaga is connected with Skt. changa, a he-goat, which, as Fred Smith says, in his World of Animal Life, “is sometimes very quarrelsome, and will butt with his horns at any stranger.”

2. ãfâ, flour, may be derived from Pkt. ãfâ, (Skt. keith) to boil. Pkt. ãfâ, can be traced back to Can. ãfâ (aâfâ) to cook Tu. ãfîl, cooking. Tel. ãfî, a flat thin cake (roasted on an iron pan).

3. ghusînd, to gulp, may be derived from Pkt. ghusî. (Skt. pd), to drink, which can be traced back to Can. and Tel. gusuku, a gulp (perhaps an onomatopoeic word).

Cf. Brahm guî, throat, Guî, ghusî, Sindhî guî also Can. goîa, a bamboo tube for administering food or medicine to animals.

4. khoîd, a bamboo tube for administering food or medicine to animals.

But I think the word may be derived from Tam. Mal. Tulu. kuîti, stake, peg. We thus have the interesting analogy.

Kuîti; khoîd, guî; ghusî, a gulp.

5. Sip, a shell is evidently derived from Pkt. sip, a shell, which can be traced back to Can. sip, sip. Tam. sip, sip, an oyster-shell. Cf. Tel. sip, a shell.

In this connection, I may also point out that Hind. Guî, ëî, P. ëî M. id. B.’ëî in the sense of heel, which is derived from Skt. aîhri (aîhri), foot by Mr. Beames in his Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, Vol. I, can be derived from Tam. Mal. Can. ãfî, a foot, Tel. aquu, without violating the law enunciated by him, viz., “when a syllable having a for its vowel is followed by one having i or u, these latter sometimes exercise an influence over the former, either by entirely superseding it or by combining with it into the Guna vowel.”

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\textsuperscript{54} S. B, E, XI, page XIX note.
\textsuperscript{55} Yuan Chwang (see Beal’s Buddhist Records, Vol. II, p. 83).
MADHAVACHARYA AND HIS YOUNGER BROTHERS.

BY RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, M. A.; BANGALORE.

(Continued from p. 6.)

"Vidyārāṇya's great literary fame has so completely eclipsed his career as a soldier that no writer dealing with his life has hitherto taken any notice of it."

It is unthinkable that Vidyārāṇya, a sanyāsi and a writer on the Dharmasūtra, could ever have exchanged the mendicant's staff for the sword.

There is a Śrāvṇa mātha of the Bhāgavata-sampradāya at Talkad in the Mysore State, which is known as the Bālakrishṇānanda mātha. It is also sometimes called the Koppāḷa mātha from a village of the name of Koppāḷa which belongs to it. The guru of the mātha is said to be descended in spiritual succession from Padmapādāchārya, the immediate disciple of Sankarāchārya, the three gurus that came after Padmapādāchārya being Vīṣṇuśvāmi, Kshīraśvāmi and Kṛṣṇānandavāmi. The god worshipped in the mātha is Gopaśrī. A palm leaf manuscript in the mātha contains a copy of an inscription which registers a grant to the mātha by Mādhava-māntri in Saka 819. There is an anikāt or dam across the Cauvery near Talkad which is known as Mādhava-māntri's kāṭe or dam. The above manuscript has likewise the following verse giving Saka 816 as the date of the construction of the dam by Mādhava-māntri.—

शारीर परवर्तितात्विकाः शास्त्रकथा वाक्यासरसतः
वेदशास्त्र सत्तासरसतः वस्माच च सर्वसिद्धः
सत्ताय गुरुवर्तितात्विकाः हस्तराजेामुपस्यादानां कृते

Kari-vana in the verse is a synonym of Gajārāṇya, the Purānic name of Talkad. A channel drawn off from the Cauvery near the Mādhava-māntri dam, which is known as Mādhavārāṇya channel, is also said to have been built by Mādhava-māntri. This Mādhava-māntri is in all probability identical with his namesake of whom we have spoken above, and the dates Saka 816 and 819 are no doubt pious mistakes for Saka 1296 and 1299 corresponding to A. D. 1374 and 1377.

Just as the military exploits of Mādhava-māntri have been ignorantly attributed to Mādhavāchārya, some of his literary works also have been fathered on the latter. As an instance, the commentary called Tātparyadipikā on the Satasambhitā may be mentioned. The following extracts from the commentary unmistakably prove that Mādhava-māntri, the disciple of Kāśivilāsa-Kriyāśakti, was its author.—

हि भान्ति भाषाविद्वानस्य काम्ब्रजनस्य विद्वानोऽविद्वानः
भान्ति भाषाविद्वानस्य काम्ब्रजनस्य विद्वानोऽविद्वानः

Still, the following verse shows the blind belief that vīyāraṇya was its author.—

हि भाषाविद्वानस्य काम्ब्रजनस्य विद्वानोऽविद्वानः

And in the Poona and Bangalore editions of this work the name of Sankarānanda is substituted for that of Kriyāśakti!

17 Epi. Car., III, Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 47.
Kriyāśakti appears to have been a prominent Saiva teacher of the 14th century. Though Mādhavāchārya, in the introduction to his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛiti, calls himself the kula-guru of Bukka I. (तद्विषारे मुकुटमुखिनि स्वय ममवतः) and Sāyaṅa, in the introduction to his Yajñatantra-sūryāditya, styles himself the awaya-guru of Sanga-ma II, an inscription,18 of A.D. 1378, mentions Kriyāśakti as the kula-guru of Hari-hara II.—

विनयसः साधारणस्वेदेभुवनः कल्पितः।
कियालस्वयं अङ्कितमात्रकोणसर्वः।

Two more inscriptions19 of Hari-hara II, dated A.D. 1398 and 1399, describe him as the worshipper of the lotus feet of Kriyāśakti.—

राजा राज्यवितान्तस्वात्मानं विजयापशुंकितस्वात्मानं निन्दितस्वात्मानं विपर्याप्तारं स्वात्मानं कियालस्वयं कियालस्वयं कियालस्वयं कियालस्वयं

I have hitherto purposely avoided the name Vidyāraṇya when speaking of Mādhavāchārya, because, though the tradition that Mādhavāchārya acquired the title of Vidyāraṇya after he renounced the world and became a sanyāsī is generally accepted, some scholars seem to doubt their identity, owing to the absence of epigraphical or literary evidence to prove it conclusively. For myself, I do not remember having come across any inscription which states explicitly that Mādhavāchārya and Vidyāraṇya were one and the same individual. But a few references to Vidyāraṇya in inscriptions and literary works seem to point to the identity of the two. I give below a few of these references.—

(1) In a work called Tilhi-pradipika by Nyāsimhasūrī,20 the author says in the introductory verses, which are given below, that Kālanirṣaya has been treated of by Vidyāraṇya and other authors.—

अन्तर्मा नासुरेश्रये विजयाधिपति माशिनयी नाते।
विनयस्वयं विजयाधिपति माशिनयी।
अन्तर्मा नासुरेश्रये जिमन्ति विनयस्वयं विजयाधिपति।
संहार भाषास्त्रायं सूचिन्तीकृतार्थिः।

Now, it is well known that Kālanirṣaya was a work of Mādhavāchārya.

(2) In his Vījasūtra-vṛtti, Rāganātha says that his work is based on Vidyāraṇya's verses, in a stanza which runs thus:—

विनयस्वयं विनयस्वयं विनयस्वयं।
संहार भाषास्त्रायं सूचिन्तीकृतार्थिः।

The reference here is clearly to Mādhavāchārya's Vaiyāsika-Niyamānāvadātara.

(3) Ahōbala-paṭita, the author of a large grammar in Sanskrit on the Telugu language, who is said to have been Mādhavāchārya's sister's son, mentions Mādhavāchārya's Dhātuvṛtti as a work of Vidyāraṇya.—

वेदाणि नाथप्रक्षानां विनयमुनिःस्वरा भाषाणिः
ग्रंथावलीमात्री सर्वाश्रयप्रस्तावं नाममेत्ता।
वानिकी नीलानिष्ठी नरसिंहानिश्चितता विनयमृतं वाणिकी नृसिंहानिश्चितता।

18 Epi. Cor., V, Channarayapatna 256.
(4) It is said that the Pañcadaśī-prakaraṇa was composed partly by Bhāratītīrtha and partly by Mādhavāchārya. Rāmakṛṣṇa, who has written a commentary on the work, begins and ends his commentary with obeisance to Bhāratītīrtha and Vidyāraṇya thus:—

नवया भीमराजसीरीयविद्यारण्यमुनिस्वरूपी।
नयात्रात्तिरिक्तप्रक्रिया किष्किषे पतिवीजना॥

हि उपरमास्वरीत्त्राजातार्थिभीमराजसीरीयविद्यारण्यमुनिविषयकर्णे भीतामन्त्रणविषुः
विराजिता पतिवीजनका।

We may therefore presume that Mādhavāchārya and Vidyāraṇya are identical. We have already seen that Bhāratītīrtha was one of the gurus of Mādhavāchārya and the juxtaposition of his and Vidyāraṇya’s names in the above extract may be taken to strengthen the above presumption.

(5) A copperplate inscription, dated A. D. 1386, gives the interesting information that Harihara II, described as the establisher of the path of the Vedas (वेदविविष्यविषयक) and a traveller in the path of dharma and Brahma (नामविषयक), gave in the presence of Vidyāraṇya-sripāda, a copper grant to the three scholars—Nārāyaṇa-vājapīyayājī, Narahari-sūmayājī and Pañjari-dikshita—who were the promoters (pravartaka) of the commentaries on the four Vedas. We know that Mādhavāchārya had a great deal to do with the composition of the commentaries on the Vedas, and it is very likely that the grant was made at his instance to the above scholars for their co-operation in writing those monumental works. If Vidyāraṇya had been a different person altogether, there would have been no necessity to make the grant in his presence.

As far as I can remember, this is the only inscription that furnishes the important information that several scholars helped Mādhavāchārya and Sāyaṇa in the composition of the commentaries on the Vedas. The three scholars mentioned above may be the progenitors of the three families which receive special honours even now at the Śrīṅgerī māṭha. An inscription, of about A. D. 1380, records another grant to Nārāyaṇa-vājapīyayājī, one of the above three scholars; and another, of A. D. 1416, registers a grant to Vidyā-bhaṭṭa, son of Pañjari-dēva who is most probably identical with the Pañjari-dikshita mentioned above. It is to be regretted that only one plate of the inscription referred to in the previous paragraph is available. It is, however, interesting to note that this plate alludes to a former grant made in A.D. 1381 to the same three scholars by Harihara II’s son Chikka-Rāya while he was the governor of Araga. This grant consisted of lands yielding an annual income of 60, 40 and 50 varaḥas respectively.

This inscription makes it quite clear that Mādhavāchārya was a sanyāsi under the name of Vidyāraṇya in A. D. 1386. Another inscription, dated A. D. 1378, tells us that he was a sanyāsi in that year, the grant recorded in it having been made by order of Vidyāraṇya. In the light of these facts the following statements, which are based on the wrong identification of Mādhavāchārya with Mādhava-mantrī, are clearly untenable:—

"Mādhavāchārya acquired the title of Vidyāraṇya after he retired from worldly affairs and became a Sanyāsi. This event took place after the year A. D. 1391."²⁵

"The exact date at which Mādhavāchārya’s tenure of ministership came to an end cannot be ascertained. Judging from epigraphical evidence it must have terminated after the year A. D. 1391."²⁶

²¹ Mysore Archaeological Report for 1908, para. 54.
²² Ibid., Śrīṅgerī 34.
²⁴ Epi. Car., VI, Sringeri 23.
²⁵ Epi. Car., VI, Koppara 30.
²⁶ Ibid., p. 376.
I may also add here that another inscription,\(^{27}\) which appears to be dated in A. D. 1377, also mentions Vidyaranya. We are therefore led to the conclusion that Madhavacharya must have been a minister sometime before A. D. 1377. According to tradition he died in A. D. 1386 at the ripe age of ninety. That he lived more than eighty-five years is made evident in the following verse from the Devayaparādhastātra, a work said to have been composed by him:

\[
\text{परिवर्तनः डेवाय विविधपरिवर्तनकुलताय}
\text{मन्यते पञ्चाशिविकविवक्षणगीते यु वशसि।}
\text{इति वैन्यात्सवव बनि कुरा नायि नविनता}
\text{निरांतरेन्तं वृक्षार्दजनिक यांसि शरणं।}
\]

Before taking leave of Madhavacharya, it is necessary to say a few words about the authorship of the Sarvadarisansangraha, which is generally believed to be one of his works. The quotations given on page 2 make it abundantly clear that Mayasa was the father of Madhavacharya and Sayasa. Sayasa styles himself Mayasa-Sayasa in accordance with the well-known practice of giving the father's name first. What do we find in the Sarvadarisansangraha? The following extracts from this work plainly indicate that Madhava, its author, was the son of Sayasa:

\[
\text{अष्टस्मात्सवनुपयुष्यादिकोष्ठमें यदावसा।}
\text{किंचिं मायास्वेश नवेद्वर्तनं तां।}
\text{अष्टस्मात्सवनभवः न्रूपस्यास्वस्वस्वस्वस्ववेशं गौतमे।}
\text{इति अष्टस्मात्सवनाधिकोष्ठमें नवेद्वर्तनं तां।}
\]

If Madhavacharya had been the author of the work, he would certainly have styled himself Mayasanu-prayogavatsthum and sayasanabhava; and, as far as we know, there is no other work of his in which he styles himself sayasanabhava. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that Madhava, the author of the Sarvadarisansangraha, is a different person altogether from Madhavacharya.

Who may this Madhava be? I venture to think that he is the son of Sayasa, the younger brother of Madhavacharya. From Sayasa's Alankara-sudhānīdhi, which was referred to on pages 1 and 2, and which will be noticed in detail further on, we learn that he had a son named Mayasa who was skilful in writing poetry and prose (मायसा गद्यपारम्परपात वाक्यविश्वमुखव), And the Conjeeveram inscription alluded to on page 2 is said to have the name Mayasa in the place where one would expect the name Madhava. It may therefore be supposed that Mayasa is a corrupt form of Madhava and that the Madhava of the Sarvadarisansangraha is identical with the Mayasa of the Alankarāsudhānīdhi.

Nor are other grounds wanting to support this conclusion:

(1) In the manuscripts of the Sarvadarisansangraha, the following sentence, which states that Sāṅkara-darīana, having been treated of elsewhere, has been omitted here, occurs at the end of Pātañjala-darīana:

\[
\text{इति परं सत्त्वदरिणिर्मूर्ति शाक्तार्थमनम्य। नित्यांशित्वम्योपनिलेन।}
\]

And the colophon at the end of Sāṅkara-darīana, which runs:

\[
\text{इति अष्टस्मात्सवनाधिकोष्ठमें सत्त्वदरिणिर्मूर्ति शाक्तार्थमनम्य नित्यांशित्वम्य।}
\]

attributes its authorship to Sayasa. From this we have to infer that Sāṅkara-darīana having been treated of elsewhere by his father Sayasa, Madhava omitted to write on it in his work.

\(^{27}\) \text{Epi. Car., VI, Koppa 19.}
(2) It is believed that the Sarvadarsanasaṅgraha was one of the earliest works of Madhavachārya, but there is internal evidence to show that it must have been written at least a generation after the time of Madhavachārya. Madhava quotes two verses—

इवाद्यत्वंप्रेरितस्मि तं नानाशायारं—from the Tattvamuktākālaṇa of Venkaṭanātha or Vedāntāchārya who died in A.D. 1370. He also refers to the commentary on Ānandatīrtha's bhāṣya in the sentence

विद्वानांविनिर्देशानीः भाष्यायनानां इवाद्यत्वं.—

Here the reference is evidently to the commentary of the great commentator (Ṭīkāchārya) Jayatīrtha, who succeeded Akṣobhyatīrtha. The latter, who was the fourth in apostolic succession to Ānandatīrtha or Madhvāchārya, is said to have died in A.D. 1367. Jayatīrtha is said to have been the guru of the mātha for 22 years. So he must have died in A.D. 1389 or 1390. The following verse embodies a tradition that in a philosophical debate between Vidyāraṇya and Akṣobhyatīrtha, the latter vanquished the former:

अस्तनाम् नस्तनमनि प्रकोपदनेिनि।
विद्वानांविनिर्देशानीः भाष्यायनानां इवाद्यत्वं।

It is also stated that Vedāntāchārya acted as the part of an umpire in connection with the above debate. It is therefore clear that Madhavachārya, Akṣobhyatīrtha and Vedāntāchārya were contemporaries; and Jayatīrtha, the successor of Akṣobhyatīrtha, may have been a younger contemporary of Madhavachārya, as he is stated in the Jayatīrtha-vijaya to have come in contact with Vidyāraṇya. It is not unreasonable to suppose that at least a generation would be required for the works of Vedāntāchārya and Jayatīrtha to get currency so as to be quoted by others. In these circumstances the Sarvadarsanasaṅgraha cannot be the work of Madhavachārya, but of some one who lived at least a generation after him.

(3) Madhava begins his work with obeisance to a guru named Sarvajña-Viśṇu, who was the son of Sārīgāpāṇi. In no work of either Madhavachārya or Sāyaṇa do we meet with the praise of this guru. From the colophon to the Tarkabhāṣā-vyākhyā, we learn that its author Čennubhaṭṭa was the son of Sarvajña-Viśṇu, that he had an elder brother named Sarvajña and that he was patronised by Harihara II. It runs thus:

इति ओऽहरिन्द्ररावणप्रलम्बन सहसरसविद्वानुविश्वासराशत्रयुमृशत्र सद्यानुत्रेन चेल्लनहेन विशिष्टतायां

An inscription, of A.D. 1380, which refers itself to the reign of Harihara II, mentions Sarvajña-Viśṇu-pura as another name of the village Homma. In his Sāṅkara-darsana Sāyaṇa quotes from Sarvajña-Viśṇu's Vīravaraṇavivaraṇa—

नूतनं विवरत्नसम्र रसहस्रसप्रभुण्युमरोदयः

From these references Sarvajña-Viśṇu appears to have been a contemporary of Harihara II and Sāyaṇa. Some would have us believe on the authority of the Punyayōkamaṇjari that Sarvajña-Viśṇu was the name by which Vidyatīrtha was known before he became a sanyāsī. But this is not likely, as Vidyatīrtha must have died before Harihara came to the throne. In his Catalogus Catalogorum, under Sāyaṇa, Aufrecht says that Viṣṇu-Sarvajña was Sāyaṇa's teacher, but it is not clear on what authority this statement is based. If this is true, Madhava’s guru was probably the son of Sāyaṇa’s teacher Viṣṇu-Sarvajña, who may have had another name Sārīgāpāṇi. This supposition derives

28 Anandāśrama Series, p. 44.
29 Ibid., p. 60.
30 Padmanabha's Life and Teachings of Madhavachārya.
31 Epi. Car., IV, Chamarajanagar 64.
some support from the fact that Sarvañja-Vishṇu (i.e., Sarvañja’s son Vishṇu), as stated by Chennubhaṭṭa, had a son Sarvañja, evidently so named after his own father Vishnu-Sarvañja (i.e., Vishṇu’s son Sarvañja).

I would close the account of Madhavāchārya with a verse in praise of him from the Alankāra-sudhānīdhi of Sāyaṇa. This verse, by a pun on the words, likens him to Vishṇu.

Sāyaṇa.

Sāyaṇa was the minister of four Vijayanagar kings, namely, Bukka I, Kambaṇa, Sangama II and Harihara II. This is made evident in the colophons of his various works. Thus, in some of his commentaries on the Vedas he styles himself the minister of Bukka I (ढूक्करालसाकालवाच्यवर्ण्यांत शरमण); in his Subhāśita-sudhānīdhi he calls himself the minister of Kamba-Rāja (see page 2); in his Dhātuvṛtti, Prāyaśchitā-sudhānīdhi, Yajñatantra-sudhānīdhi and Alankāra-sudhānīdhi he styles himself the minister of Sangama II; and in his commentaries on the Satapatha, Taṅtirīya and Yajurvēda Brāhmaṇas he calls himself the minister of Harihara II. Purushārtha-sudhānīdhi and Ayurvēda-sudhānīdhi are two more of his works. The latter, a medical work, is referred to in Sāyaṇa’s Alankāra-sudhānīdhi (आलंकारसुधानीचित्तिनिम: श्रीसायणावैविष्ठं नेवद्वे), and in a later medical work called Prāṇavartamāla written under the patronage of Venkateshvar辟hu by Śrīśālānātha, who says that an ancestor of his wrote a compendium of the Ayurvēda-sudhānīdhi at the instance of the minister Sāyaṇa.

The Alankāra-sudhānīdhi of Sāyaṇa is interesting in several ways. It gives a few hitherto unknown details about Sāyaṇa and his brother Bhoganātha, which are of considerable interest and importance. Before proceeding to notice these details, it may not be out of place here to give some account of the work itself. As may be inferred from the name, it is a treatise on rhetoric. Unfortunately the manuscript in my possession is fragmentary, containing only two ummēhas or chapters and a portion of the third. The whole work appears to contain ten ummēhas. One remarkable peculiarity of the work consists in the majority of the illustrative examples being in praise of the author himself. This peculiarity is not met with in any other Sanskrit work on rhetoric. When the rules as well as the illustrations are composed by the same author, the illustrations are, as a rule, in praise of some deity, or of some king or chief who was the patron of the author. The authors and works referred to or quoted from in the course of the fragment are the following:

Authors—Abhinavagupta, Ānandavardhana, Udbhaṭa, Kuntaṭa, Gopālasvāmi, Bharatihari, Bhaṭṭanāyaka, Bhāmaḥ, Bhāsa, Bhoganātha, Bhūja, Mahīma, Rudraṭa, Vāmana, Vidyādhaṇa and Sankuka.

Works—Udāharaṇa-māla, Gaurināthahūṣṭa, Brīhaṅkathā, Mahāgaṇapatistotra, Mahāviracharita, Mahatmāstotra, Mālātīmādhava, Rāmōḷāsa, Lōchana, Vākyapadiya, Vēṇasamhāra, Vyaktiveka, Srīnārāpanya, Srīnārāmaṇjari, Tripuraśiva and Vishamabāṇali.

Of the above works, six are by Bhoganātha, the younger brother of Sāyaṇa. These will be noticed later on when speaking of Bhoganātha. One of these, the Udāharaṇa-māla, appears to have been specially written in praise of his elder brother Sāyaṇa.
We may now proceed to give the few new items of information about Sāyaṇa which can be gathered from the stanzas given as illustrative examples in the Alaṅkāra-sudhānī-dhī. From the following stanza we learn that Sāyaṇa had three sons named Kampāṇa, Māyaṇa and Singaṇa, and that the first son was a musician, the second a poet and the third a Vedic student.—

Kampāṇa was apparently so named after Sāyaṇa’s patron Kampāṇa, father of Sangama II. Māyaṇa was already referred to and identified with Mādhava, the author of the Sarvadārasanāsangraha. That the king Kampāṇa died either before Sangama II was born or when he was a mere child, and that Sāyaṇa administered the kingdom as regent during the minority of Sangama II, may be inferred from these verses.—

The following verses show that Sāyaṇa himself taught Sangama II from his childhood and gave him a liberal education befitting his position.—

The epithet Ngaṅgaḷayaśāvatār, an incarnation of Vyāsa, applied to Sāyaṇa, is noteworthy. His martial valour and conquests are referred to in the following extracts.—

The last verse refers to a victory gained by Sāyaṇa over a king named Champa. A king called Vira-Champa, the son of a Chōla king, is mentioned in an inscription, of Saka

42 In a recently discovered copper grant of Harīhara II, dated A. D., 1377, Sāyaṇa and his son Singaṇa figure as the donees. Mysore Archaeological Report for 1915, para. 89.
1236, at Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District. Champa conquered by Sāyaṇa may perhaps be the grandson of the above.

There is also a mutilated verse referring to an attack on Garudanagara by Sangama II and Sāyaṇa and the defeat of the chief of that place.

According to Aufrecht, Sāyaṇa died in a. d. 1387.

**Bhōganātha.**

Bhōganātha, the younger brother of Sāyaṇa, was already referred to (page 3) as the composer of the Birraguṇa grant, in which he styles himself the *narm-sachiva* of Sangama II. The following verses from the *Alaukārṇ-sudhānādhi* bear evidence to the intimacy between Sangama II and Bhōganātha and thus substantiate Bhōganātha’s statement that he was an intimate companion of Sangama II.

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Though Bhōganātha was known to be a poet by reason of his having composed the Birraguṇa grant, no information was available as to any of his works. It is therefore gratifying to note that the *Alaukārṇ-sudhānādhi* names and quotes from six of his works. Their names are (1) Rāmōḷāśa, (2) Tripūra-vijaya, (3) Uddāharaṇa-mālā, (4) Mahāghana-patī-stava, (5) Sūngāra-mahājari, and (6) Gaurināthāśātka. In one place Sāyaṇa says, "Examples of the rules have to be sought for in Bhōganātha’s works (नर्मसाचिवसब्दे नै ज्ञानप्रदयनं आतमकः), thus indicating the regard in which he held his brother’s works. A verse from (4) was quoted on page 3 when speaking of the Guru Sṛṅkaṇṭha. Several of the verses quoted above in praise of Sāyaṇa’s valour are from (3). A few verses will be given below from his other works, namely, (1), (2), (5) and (6).

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1) The verse beginning अन्योन्य, quoted above, is also from this work.

(6) केतरय प्रसाव शैवप्रविन्धीद्वाद विभागन

(1) and (2) appear to be kāvyas based on the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas. The quotations prove that Bhōganātha was no mean poet. He was a worthy brother of Madhavāchārya and Sāyaṇa.

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23 *Epi. Ind.*, III, 70.  
31 *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 711.
THE NYASAKARA AND THE JAINA SAKATAYANA.

By K. B. Pathak, Chitrashala, Poona.

(Continued from Vol. XLIV. p. 279.)

The remark in the Kāśikā runs thus:

समान्त्वेदित योगविधान हस्तिसाध्य रिक्ष्यते। 
स्म सप्त: साध्ये साधारणी हस्तिसाध्यः। 
काश्म नागदि। 


The words साध्ये and साधारणी being provided for in Chandra's Sūtra (b), we are forced to look to Pāṇini's Sūtra (b), in order to find out what words constitute the पवार्तन in Chandra-sūtra (a). So Chandra-यक्कारण्य must be pronounced defective. Probably Chandra must have mentioned the words of his पवार्तन in the Chandravritti and in that case, the vr̥tti must have been composed by Chandra himself. The course followed by Sākaṭāyaṇa is decidedly superior. He says:

संसारस्य धनर्विदुष्टु च ॥ २, १०९।

समान स्रवयं स्रवयं तु कृषि हस्ति-वित्तेति, पवार्तनं धनर्विदुष्टु स स्रवयं सुवच्छ नववच्छ वरवच्छ ॥

सह्यं कृषि, कृषि, रत्नसूत्रिः साध्यं सिद्धां धनर्विदुष्टु कृषिन्यं धनर्विदुष्टु कृषिन्यं धनर्विदुष्टु ॥

एवं परं परं जस, जस, नावी, नावी, नावी, नावी ॥

चन्द्रवृत्तिः ॥ २, १०९।

The पवार्तन is as peculiar to Sākaṭāyaṇa as the पवार्तन is to Chandra. Yaksavarman has this Sūtra but without the जन, because his Chintāmaṇi is an abridgment of the महामूल: "the extensive commentary", which is no other than the Chandravritti containing the महापरं पवार्तन peculiar to Sākaṭāyaṇa's Sabdānuśāsana. Chandra has the following Sūtra

सर्वस्य रवित्तमार्थे ॥ २, ४।

and in the extract from the Chandravritti given under this Sūtra, we read कर्दिकु चक्रक्षु अष्टक्षु।

कृषिकु चक्रक्षु। सुखा: सि, सि। स्मेया: सि। स्मेया: सि। स्मेया: सि। स्मेया: सि। स्मेया: सि। स्मेया: सि। स्मेया: सि। स्मेया: सि। अनिच्छु कृषिकु चक्रक्षु।

The inference from this is that one Sūtra teaching पुंज्यक्ष in सुल्गी, &d.c., which cannot come under सर्वस्य, has dropped out of the text of Chandra's Sūtras as they appear in the German edition. This is plain from the Sabdānuśāsana of Sākaṭāyaṇa, where we have the following two Sūtras instead of one:

सर्वस्य: सर्वस्य पुज्रान् ॥ ॥

अमृभिः ॥ २, ४०।

मुखीयानुसार ॥ ॥

Amogh. II, 2, 47.

The source of the Chandra-sūtra is not given in the German edition. It can be traced to the Vārtika सर्वस्य पुज्रान् पुंज्यक्ष: in the Mahābhāṣya (Pāṇini II, 2, 26) and मुखीयानुसार: is taken from another Vārtika कृषिकु चक्रक्षु अष्टक्षु: in the Mahābhāṣya (Pāṇini V, 3, 42).

It is thus manifest that the internal evidence supplied by this Sabdānuśāsana is so strong, that it entirely agrees with the external evidence derived from epigraphic and literary references in supporting the conclusion that Sākaṭāyaṇa himself wrote the Chandravritti as well as the Sūtras.

The word Vākyapadiya is mentioned as the name of a literary work in the Kāśikā on Pāṇini (IV, 3, 88). This work of Bāthinari is also mentioned by Sākaṭāyaṇa in his Amoghavṛtti (III, 1, 189) and by Hemachandra in his Brihadāvṛtti (VI, 3, 20). Sākaṭāyaṇa¹

¹ By the expression कृषिकु मुखीयानुसार Sākaṭāyaṇa alludes to many authors whose works are now lost to the world.
has laid under contribution Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, Chandravāyikaraṇa, Jainendra-Vyākaraṇa and the Nyāsa of Jinendra-buddhi. We also read:

अध्याय-वाच्य: परिभाषणमय अद्वेल श्रवणियसुम्बृत।
शुद्भकल्लव प्रहर्न मन्त्रात्। अमोघ. IV, 1, 252.
श्वर्येश्वरी की मार्गी नायाप्राप्तिमाणित युगपत:। अमोघ. IV, 1, 253.
कहाँ उपस्थत? (धर) सीवः। अमोघ. II, 4, 182.

Umāsvātī's Tattvārtha-sūtra has ten chapters and is accepted as an authority by both the Digambara and Svetāmbara communities. The following remarks are most interesting:—


विशालवाली अध्याय इत्यादि भवस्य प्रयोगसामान्यांत्यितियसे अन्मोघ रस्त्वयो मन्त्रात्। रोपज्जः। मथे वेदे चालिनियें मय्यान धरे। विशालवाली (धर) प्रयोगमय वेदांकां मय्यान। वेदांकां (वेदांकां) पौर्णमाण्ड सवे गोमन: सवे गोमन: शवे (धर) पूर्ण शालामंत्रिक (धर) ये मथे नायाप्राप्तिमाणित युगपत:। अन्मोघ. II, 4, 182.

Yakshavarman says:—

वेदांकां मथे वेदांकां पौर्ण (धर) मय्यान धरे। अन्मोघ. III, 2, 120.

In my paper entitled Bhamaha's Attacks on the Buddhist Grammarian Jinendra-buddhi. I have shown that Kumārila has severely attacked the authors of the Kāśīkā for defending Pāṇini's terms जनकः and प्रभवोक्त्रक and that the Nyāsa-kāra has not heard of Kumārila's criticism, while it is well-known to Haradatta, the later commentator of the Kāśīkā. It is interesting to note here that the Jaina Sāka'ayana, who has obviously heard of Kumārila's criticism, goes out of his way to defend these irregular compounds जनकः and प्रभवोक्त्रक by admitting them into his Amoghavātti, though he is careful to avoid their use in his own Sūtras, as will be seen from the following passages:—

कामिणि वा च II, 1, 48.

रोजांनिपतित त वा च II, 1, 44.

The chronological relations between the authors whose works we are speaking of may be indicated thus:—

Bhartṛihari, the author of the Vākyapadiya died A.D. 650.
Jayāditya, one of the authors of the Kāśīkā died A.D. 661.
The Nyāsa-kāra Jinendra-buddhi A.D. 700.
Kumārila A.D. 750.
Jaina Sāka'ayana, contemporary with Amoghavārsha I.A.D. 814.
In my paper entitled Bhâmâha's Attacks on Jînendrabuddhi referred to above, I have stated that, according to an anonymous verse current among the Jainas in Southern India and a reference in the Ep. Carn. Vol. VIII, p. 268, Prabhâchandra is credited with the authorship of a Nyâsa on Sâkâtyâyana's Sâbdhânuśâsana. Can this be reconciled with the date which we have assigned to Sâkâtyâyana? This question can be answered in the affirmative, since Prabhâchandra, in his second work entitled Nyâyakumudachandrodvâya, Idar MS. p. 249a cites the following verse from Guâbhâdra's Atmânâsâsana:

अत्मानुसासन न जादिनाथ विद्वानो न जनेन्द्र नवकर्मिन्

Atmânâsâsana, verse 35.

Guâbhâdra was the teacher of Kriśñârâja II, while the latter was Yuvarâja. It is thus clear that Prabhâchandra lived on into the first half of the ninth century. It is possible that he may have written a commentary called Nyâsa on the Sâbdhânuśâsana of Sâkâtyâyana, whose literary activity must be placed between Saka 736—789. But to be able to pronounce a definite opinion on this point, we must wait till we have discovered at least one manuscript of the Sâkâtyâyana-nyâsa. At the same time we must remember the interesting fact that in his first work entitled Prameya-kamala-mârtanda Prabhâchandra very frequently quotes Sûtras from the Jainendra-nyâkârana.

The fact that Jainendra-sûtras are often quoted in the Prameya-kamala-mârtanda may only indicate that the first work of Prabhâchandra was composed before the accession to the throne of Amoghavardha I.

Another commentary on the Sûtras of Sâkâtyâyana, which deserves to be noticed here, is the Prakriyâ-sañgâgra of Abhayachandrasûri, who is also well-known as the author of a Sanskrit commentary on the Gomatasûra, a work written in Mâgadhi by Nemichandra to instruct his patron Châmuñjârâja. At the end of each chapter of his Sanskrit commentary Abhayachandra calls himself Abhayachandrasûri, Abhayasûri or Sûri. In the concluding verses of the Prakriyâ-sañgâgra we are told that:

सूरी कृतिरिथ

this is the work of Sûri, i.e., Abhayachandrasûri. His pupil Keśavavarṇi or Keśava, who has rendered into Canarese the Sanskrit commentary on the Gomatasûra alluded to above, says that he finished his work in Saka 1281. From this fact it may be concluded that the Sâkâtyâyana-prakriyâ-sañgâgra of Abhayachandra was composed shortly before Saka 1281.

As I have already said, the Jaina Sâkâtyâyana has been undeservedly forgotten among the Svetâmbarâ Jainam community, being superseded by the more celebrated Hema-chandra. But among the Digambara Jainas the belief is current that this author is identical with his celebrated namesake of antiquity. The elder Sâkâtyâyana also enjoyed distinction as a great grammarian, being quoted by Kâtyâyana in his Vâjasaneyasûra Prâtiśûkhyâ IV, 127 and 189, by Pâsini in his Ashtâdhvâyi III, 4, 111 & VIII, 3, 18, and by Yâska in his Nirukta I, 4. Patañjali says:

वेयाकर्तनिं शाक्तकारणं आह भाषुं नामिते Mahâbhâsya III, 3, 3.

वेयाकर्तनिं शाक्तकारणी रूपारं अर्थं धक्तकारणं वास्तं नामिने Mahâbhâsya III, 2, 15.

The latest reference to the elder Sâkâtyâyana is the following:

वेयाकर्तनिं शाक्तकारणं Kâśîka I, 4, 86.

After the middle of the seventh century the elder Sâkâtyâyana's work must have been lost beyond recovery. In the twelfth century Vardhamâna, the author of the Gâryatânahamadadhi, knows only the Jaina Sâkâtyâyana, whom he frequently quotes. Bopadeva and Bhaṭṭoḍjîdkiśita, who also often refer to the Jaina grammarian, speak of him as Abhinava-Sâkâtyâyana6. Prof. Macdonell's description of him, as the pseudo-Sâkâtyâyana,7 is hardly fair, considering the high place which this eminent Jaina author occupies in the history of Sanskrit literature.

7 Hist. of Sans. Lit. p. 432.
THE ANcient HISTORY OF MAGADHA.

BY S. V. VENkATESwARA AIYAR. M. A., L. T.; KUMBAKONAM.

II.

(Continued from p. 16.)

7. The First Emperors of Hindustan.

Mahâpadma was the first emperor of Hindustan. He was the son of Mahânandin by a Sûdra concubine. Dr. Bhau Daji and Mr. V. A. Smith have said that he was the son of the queen by a barber paramour, but there is no evidence to this effect. The Purânas say that himself of servile origin, "he caused the destruction of Kshatriyas like a second Paraśurâma," that "urged on by prospective fortune he uprooted all Kshatriya families" and that he brought the whole of Hindustan under his umbrella and reigned sole emperor there. This is no mere boast, as the several dynasties of North India come to an end about this period. Taking only the most important dynasties we get the synchronistic table from the Purânas:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Magadha} & \text{Avanti} & \text{Kûśāmbi} \\
\text{Ajātaśatru} = & \text{Chândela} & \text{Udayana} = \\
\text{Udaya} = & \text{Pradyota} & \text{Narâyaṇa} = \\
\text{Daraśaka} = & \text{Pâlaka} & \text{Ahîñara} = \\
\text{Nandîvardhana} = & \text{Visûkhayâpa} & \text{Khandapaṇi} = \\
\text{Mahânandin} = & \text{Janaka} & \text{Nirâmitra} = \\
\end{array}
\]

(Kûsala.)

(Vîrûḍhaka.)

(Kushādra.)

(Kaundîka.)

(Suratha.)

(Sûta.)

Consistently with their statement that Mahâpadma was the sole ruler of Hindustan, all the Purânas agree in winding up the dynastic lists of all other kingdoms—Kurus, Pâñchali, Aikshvakas, Kûlakas, Hûlayas, Kâlingas, Sâkas, Maithilas, Vîthôtras and Sûrañas. Perhaps, most of these kingdoms had lost their independence even before and had become tributary to the rising power of Magadha. Mahâpadma probably made them integral parts of the Magadha empire.

The Arthaśâstra of Kauḍîya furnishes us with complete information as to the polity of Hindustan under the first of its emperors. That it describes a condition of things prior to the formation of the Maurya empire is clear from the fact that it assumes the existence throughout of small kingdoms independent of each other and makes no reference to an empire. Most of these arrangements and institutions were adopted by the Mauryas, as the Indika of Megasthenes confirms in many respects the data of the Arthaśâstra. A few points of importance may be noted in which pre-Mauryan conditions, as revealed in the Arthaśâstra differ from Mauryan conditions as observed by Megasthenes and preserved in the well known fragments of his work. The admiralty and commissariat departments

55 The expression is significant. 

56 There are, of course, variant readings of the proper names. But the number of generations given is sufficient for our purpose, as is clear from the extracts given from the Vîshnû-Purâṇa Book IV.
of the army were non-existent in the earlier period. In civil government a Privy Council of 12 or 16 members (or of a smaller number according to exigencies) is found working in the early period, but it is not mentioned by Megasthenes. The military and municipal boards mentioned by Megasthenes are not found in the Arthasastra, which assumes that these departments were presided over by single officials. Certain forms of torture, not existing under the Mauryas, existed before their time. Lastly during the period before us there were independent tribal communities within the Magadha empire, implying that the emperors did not interfere with the constitutions of conquered cities.

Legend has largely gathered round the person of the last of the Nandas, who is named Sahalya by the Purânas and Sahalin by the Buddhists. During his reign there was such an extraordinary growth of material prosperity that he became a by-word for avaricious hoarding of wealth, and his treasuries were spoken of centuries after his death. They were pointed out to Yuan Chwbang as contained in five stūpas near Pataliputra. The parsimony and avariciousness of Nanda the last are confirmed by the Mudrârâkshasâ tradition.

8. The Revolutions.

All this time the extreme west of India, the plains of the Panjab, were little affected by the events in the east, cut off as they were from that region by the deserts of Râjputâna. Taxila was, however, an eminent place of learning, whither went for education youths from distant Aiga and Magadha. Between 516 and 485 B.C., Darius Hystaspes had an Indian province in his Persian Empire and Indian soldiers were fighting at Marathon side by side with the Imperial army against the Greeks. Soon after, however, Western India seems to have broken away from Persia. When Alexander invaded India there were numerous Indian Princes in the Panjab and Sind, Porus and Amphі being the chief. These were not in a position to beat the Greek monarch single handed and the civil war in Magadha made Magadhan designs impossible in this region. The withdrawal of Alexander coincided with the efforts of Chandragupta Maurya to usurp the throne of Sahâlya. Chandragupta found that the stratagems of Chânâkya placed the whole of Hindustan like ripe fruit into his hands. He was, therefore, in a position to bring the extreme west of Hindustan also within the limits of the Empire.

How these revolutions were accomplished we can learn from the traditions that have been preserved. That the opposition to Chandragupta was by no means weak stands clearly in the evidence. The Purânas say that Chânâkya took twelve or sixteen years to conquer Magadha for Chandragupta and himself remained minister for several years more. The Mudrârâkshasâ tradition implies that the Nandas had strong partisans, who would fight to the death on behalf of their master. It is difficult to believe that any minister, however

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57 "वधासाथाय्” इति काँटिष्ठ्यः।
Arthasastra, (Mysore, 1909) page 29.

58 Lists of officials are given ibid, in pp. 20-22.

59 See punishments given on pages 221, 222. Among others मुष्टानिशिरं काताकालेन | the crime being a petty theft of less than two pugas.

60 कुलाय वा मेधारवः कुलसहस्रो वि कुलेऽः।
(p. 35 ibid).

61 Beal Buddhist Records, Vol. II. p. 94.

62 The Purânas say that Kauśalya took 12 or 16 years to make an end of the (Saisumåga) dynasty. Allowing for exaggeration, it may have taken a few years at least. Hence the statement in the text.
great a master of statecraft, as Châṇakya was, could have supplanted a reigning emperor on the throne, an emperor whose army was doubtless extensive and efficient.63 According to the Játakas and the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya, the army was no mere rabble, but was splendidly organised in various arrays—in the form of a lotus, or of a waggon, or of a circle. Nor have we clear evidence that any part of the army deserted to the Maurya, nor that he had anything like the means required to raise forces equally strong. There could have been no national discontent in any of the provinces of the empire, for each conquered tract was apparently allowed to retain its old institutions. When Kautilya says कुस्त्रय वा नवेढ़राज्य and cites the Lichchhavis as an instance, we presume that the tribal republics of the clans were not stamped out by the autocracy of the Saisumāgas. So too the rules of international law given by the author of the Arthaśāstra indicate that the kingdoms of the empire enjoyed a large measure of autonomy within the imperial jurisdiction. Only one explanation seems possible of the Maurya usurpation—that Chandragupta had the assistance of some foreign powers to back up the diplomatic efforts of Kautilya.

We have to rely mostly on the Greek writers as to how Chandragupta conquered Magadha, as Châṇakya never drops a hint on the subject. A curious story is given by Justin.64 Chandragupta became king in a miraculous fashion with the help of a lion and an elephant which came to him. This is a legendary way of representing the fact that he received substantial aid from kings, whose emblems were the lion and the elephant. The kings of Kalinga had the elephant as their emblem. There is even now an important town there named Gajapatinagaram. As late as Kâlidâsa’s time the kings of Kalinga were famous for their elephant force.65 Ancient dynasties of Kalinga are mentioned in the Purâṇas, and we find that the Kalingas were an independent kingdom in the account of Megasthenes. If then the ruler of Kalinga helped66 Chandragupta Maurya in effecting the dynastic revolution at Magadha, we could easily explain why it remained unconquered under the first two Mauryas. A breach in the relations of the two kingdoms in Aśoka’s reign led to his conquest of Kalinga.

The other kingdom which assisted Chandragupta may be identified with Simhapura or Salt Range, where was a kingdom of as ancient fame as Taxila. The chief of that region Saubhauti was one of those who readily submitted to Alexander.67 It is possible that when the death of the conqueror became known, he gave up the cause of the Greeks and allied himself with the rising Maurya power, taking advantage of the general Hindu rebellion that was set up against Macedonian rule in India.68

Having expelled the Macedonian garrisons, Chandragupta won from Seleucus the cession of Ariana, including Kabul, Herat, Kandahar and Makran. On the western side the empire now extended as far as the Hindu Kush. On the east, probably the river Brahmaputra formed likewise a scientific frontier. On the south, there is no clear evidence that the empire extended beyond the Vindhayas. The Aśoka inscriptions in Mysore

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63 According to Greek writers it amounted to 80,000 horses, 200,000 foot, 8,000 chariots and 6,000 elephants.
64 Justin’s Historiae Philippicae Book XV, Translated by McCrindle (Invasion of Alexander the Great. See pp. 327, 328).
65 Kautilya, Canto, IV verse 40, where Kalinga Raja is styled रजसचार; |
66 The passage in Justin is to the effect that the elephant “fought vigorously in front of the army” of Chandragupta and the lion “first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne.” McCrindle, Ibid, p. 328.
67 Y. A. Smith; Early History of India (1914) page 80.
68 I am unable to accept Mr. Jayaswal’s conjecture (See ante) as to Chandragupta receiving help from the Aṣṭika robber-tribe. That view is based on the torturing of a text which is easily explained as it is विरदिदित्ति: is simply ‘in twelve years’ i.e., 16 (years). One Vāyu MS. has विरदिदित्ति: ‘in 12 years.’ This agrees with the Māsāyana version. संस्कृतमिथिलाक्षणम्. It is beyond doubt that the passage refers to years (12 or 16) and not to any tribe.
should be interpreted as representing those regions rather as friendly states than as integral parts of the empire. The expansion southwards was along the east and it did not proceed farther than Kalinga, which was conquered by Asoka in the 9th year of his reign.


1. Śiśunaga. c. 608—590 B.C.
   Probably of Nāga extraction. Established his son at Benares after supplanting the Brahmadatta dynasty, and himself at Girivraja in Magadha.

2. Kākavarna. c. 590—564 B.C.
   Viceroy at Benares under his father ‘Fond of Marvels.’ Tolerated dissent in religious matters. Assassinated.

3. Kshēmavarman. c. 564—544 B.C.
   Alias Prasēnajit (Buddhist and Jaina tradition). A great conqueror.

4. Kshetrajit. c. 544—520 B.C.
   Alias Mahāpadma (Buddhist tradition). The first of the Nandas. Expansion of the Magadha kingdom: “80,000 villages.” Attempts at the conquest of Aiga.

5. Bimbisāra. c. 520—492 B.C.

6. Ajātaśatru. c. 492—460 B.C.
   Alias Kujjika (Jaina). Contemporary of Vardhamāna Mahāvira.70 Patron of religious controversies—Ādi-Buddhism, Buddhism, and Jainism. Successful wars with Kosala and Vaiśāli. Fortification of Pātaligrāma by his ministers.

7. Udaya. c. 460—444 B.C.
   Growth of Pātaligrāma into the city of Pātaliputra. War with the Lichchhavis of Vaiśāli continued. Assassination of Udaya.

8. Darsaka. c. 444—420 B.C. Alias Nāgadasaka (Buddhist).
   At Rājagriha. Marriage of his sister Padmāvati to Udayana of Kausāmbi, followed by an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Kausāmbi.

9. Nandivardhana. c. 420—398 B.C.

10. Mahānandin. c. 398—370 B.C.


11. Mahāpadma. c. 370—342 B.C.

First Emperor of Hindustan. Other ancient kingdoms of Hindustan—Avanti, Kauśāmbi and Kōsala— are absorbed into Magadh.

12. Sahalya. c. 342—32071 B.C.

Avaricious. Civil War in the last years of his reign. Usurpation of the throne by Chandragupta Maurya, with the aid of the kings of Kalinga and Simhapura.

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69 On this point I am unable to agree with Mr. Smith and Prof. Rapson. (Ancient India, 1914).
70 That Mahāvira was a younger contemporary of the Buddha.
71 The date according to Prof. Hultzsch of the beginning of Chandragupta’s reign. (J. R. A. S. 1914.)
THE HISTORY OF THE NAÎK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

CHAPTER III.

SECTION VII.

The Naik Finance.

(Continued from p. 118.)

In spite of the defects which I have pointed out in the Naik administrative machinery, central and local, which Viśvanātha and his minister established or perfected, there is no doubt whatever that it was eminently suited to the people and the times. It was this eminent suitability that enabled the dynasty of which Viśvanātha was the founder to be in power for nearly two centuries. But it is not in the field of politics alone that we see the organizing and systematizing genius of Viśvanātha (or his minister). His statesmanship and skill is seen in the financial administration also, which he placed on a comparatively sound and healthy basis. It is indeed true that, so far as he himself was concerned, he was more a sacrificer than a gainer. The difficulties of conquest and settlement and the shortness of his rule did not enable him to reap the harvest of his reforms. They went only to impoverish him, as he expended all the gigantic accumulation of property, which his father had made, and which he of course inherited. But what he gave his successors got. By freely placing his private resources at the disposal of the State, he weathered it through a time of stress and trouble, organised in the meantime an elaborate financial system, and thus placed the crown of his successors on the rock of security. The use of his private wealth was thus more or less an investment, and eloquently proves to us that he was not only an eminently wise man, but a good man.

Nelson's view of the total Revenue of the kingdom.

In the description of the Naik financial system, which, we may believe, was shaped after the model of the Vijayanagar system, we have naturally to devote our attention to three questions closely connected with each other,—namely the total revenue that was collected by the State, the various sources of taxation, and the comparative heaviness or lightness of the financial burden, when compared with the burden of later days. As regards the total revenue of the Karta, one way of finding it out is by ascertaining what he paid as annual tribute to his Vijayanagar suzerain. We find nowhere a definite statement of the tribute in the chronicles. But a Jesuit father who lived in the first decade of the 17th century, i.e., half a century after Viśvanātha and a decade or so before Tirumal Naik, says that “The great Nayakers of Madura, like those of Tanjore and Gingee, are themselves tributaries of Vijayanagar, to whom they pay, or ought to pay, each one an annual tribute of from six to ten million of franks.” In English money this would range from £240,000 to 400,000. And as the tribute was a third of the total revenue, it is plain that the income of the Naik State should have been from £720,000 to

57 The Chronicle Hist. Curna. Dynas. clearly shows this.
58 See Mys. Gaz., L, 578-88, for the most complete and detailed discussion of the Vijayanagar system. Rice points out how in the time of Kriśna-dēva Rāya and Aćyuta, the revenues “were first reduced to a regular form, checked by ordinances, and a system of accounts and management introduced, calculated to improve the revenue of the empire.” These regulations or rāgyerēkhas fixed the revenues, duties and customs, etc. and were transmitted to all the local officers in villages, towns, and Nāḍus.
59 Nuniz, however, writing in the time Aćyuta Rāya, says that out of the total revenue of 120 lakhs of pardaos, presumably, throughout the provinces, 60 lakhs had to be given to the Emperor (Forg. Empe. 573). But when he describes individual cases (Ibid. 384-9), he almost always gives the proportion of one-third. Rice gives 81 crores of Aćayōṭi chakrans or pagodas as the total revenue on the authority of some MSS. It is evidently an exaggeration. See Mys. Gaz., L, p. 578.
£1,200,000. Mr. Nelson assumed the latter amount as the normal income, on the ground that Madura was the richest of the imperial divisions. The Karnataka Rājas-Savisētarā-charitra says that each of the three provinces of Tanjore, Jangi and Madura had an equal revenue of one crore, but a crore of what it does not specify, and is therefore useless for our purpose. One of the Mīrtanjiya MSS. gives the valuable information that Tirumal Naik gave a grant of 1,000 pons out of every lakh of his revenues to the Madura temple, and that in this way he endowed lands to the annual value of 44,000 pons.60 This clearly proves that his whole revenue amounted to 44 lakhs of gold pons, i.e. 22 lakhs of pagodas, as a pon was half-a-pagoda. In terms of English money this would amount, according to the then value of the pagoda61 (7s. 6d.) to £825,000. Mr. Nelson equated it to £880,000. At the same time he held that this amount did not include the whole revenue, but only the income from the crown lands, that is, from the provinces which were under the direct rule of the Karta or his representative. "The lands granted," he says, "must have been crown lands, under the king's own management and altogether at his disposal, or they could not have been granted, and therefore the revenue yielded by them amounted, as stated, to one per cent., on the total revenues derived from the king's lands, the inference is that the lands intended were the crown lands, and that they yielded no less than 44 lakhs of pons or £880,000 per annum."62 The attribution of the whole of the 44 lakhs of pons to the department of the land revenue from the crown lands, necessarily made Mr. Nelson inquire into the other great sources of revenue; and he concluded that these other sources can be brought under two heads, the tribute paid by the Polygars, and the taxes other than the tax on land. What was the total amount of the tribute that came to the Karta's treasury? And what was the total income from the other taxes? Mr. Nelson acknowledges that there are no materials from which we can directly arrive at an approximation of the former. But he points out that in the year 1742, the pālayams of the Diṅgalūl district, twenty in number, brought a total tribute of Rs. 350,000. Each pālayam, in other words,

60 The exact value of the pon is uncertain. Elliot points out that it is the name of the earliest gold coins of India, derived from Karanju and weighing about 52 grains. It is identical with the Canarese hon and the Muhummadan hun. In the mediaeval period, it became general under the name of varaha or pagoda, containing the normal weight of 52 grains. (See Elliot's Coins of S. India, p. 34). But the majority of numismatic scholars agree that the pon was half-pagoda. As Moor says, the Hindustani name for pagoda, hun, is only derived from the Canarese honnu (Tamil pon) "the designation of the half-pagoda." See Hindu Pantheon, 1864, p. 310-11; Thurston's coins of E. Ind. Co., p. 7; J. A. S. B., 1883, p. 35. "That the Muhummadans should have adopted this corruption of the Canarese term for the coin is explained by the fact that, when they invaded the Carnatic, they first saw the pagoda or half-pagoda in the hands of a Canarese-speaking people. According to Sir Walter Elliot, the term Varaha is never used in ancient Tamil records in connection with money, but the word pon which was a piece equal to the modern half-pagoda the pagoda itself being the double pon, which ultimately became the Varaha." (The italics are mine). See Thurston's Coins of E. I. Co., p. 12. Rice says: "A half-pagoda, was called pon or hon, and at a later period, under Vijayanagar, also Pratāpa." Mysore, I, 801.

61 That the pagoda was exchanged in Masulipatam and in the Coromandel coast for 7s. 6d. is amply proved by the E. I. Co. Factory Records, 1618-21, p. 158, 152, etc. The pagoda was indeed of various types containing different degrees of pure gold; but the differences were not very great, and we may take its weight roughly at 52 grains. The Mysore pagodas, for example, had the weights of 52-7625 grs., 52-5, 52-622 grs., Portonovo pagoda, 52-2 grs.; star pagoda of Madras 52-65 to 52-6625 grs.; Caramutty pagoda (Masulipatam, Cocanada, etc.) 52-55 grs. The Mysore pagoda must have been thus approximately of the same weight. See Bidie's Coin Collections of Madras Museum, pp. 41-9 for the different types of pagodas current in the mediæval period. It is unnecessary to quote other authorities for the stering value of a pagoda. Nevertheless we may note that Wilks says that 5000 pagodas were equal to £1,840 (see Mysore, I, 23), which makes the pagoda equal to 7s. 4d.

brought an average of Rs. 17,500. And as the Naïk kingdom had 72 pālayams, he calculated that the total tribute they paid to the central government amounted to Rs. \(72 \times 17,500\) or Rs. 1,260,000. But in 1742 affairs were unsettled, and the revenues in consequence low. Mr. Nelson allowed an addition of 50 per cent. for the more secure government of the Naïk age, and so arrived at the figure of Rs. 18,90,000, i.e. £189,000 in English money.\(^6\)

His conclusion in other words is that, while the crown lands brought in a revenue of £880,000, the tributes of Polygars contributed only £189,000. With regard to the taxes of non-agricultural nature, Mr. Nelson surmised that the income from them must have been about one-eighth of the total income of the State, and fixed it at £131,000. So his calculations of the Naïk’s revenue came to the grand total of £1,200,000. And this he, points out, tallied with his supposition that the Naïk of Madura should have contributed £400,000 to the imperial treasury at Penukonda or Chandragiri, every year.

**His views criticised.**

The conclusions of Mr. Nelson, however, seem to me to be open to criticism. He has, in the first place, no sound reason to suppose that the Madura province was the richest of the imperial provinces and contributed more than every other province to the imperial treasury. It is true that it was the most extensive province; but it does not follow from this that it was the richest province. The chronicles clearly tell us that there were more forests, waste lands, and uncultivated lands there, than perhaps in any other province. It would be therefore more correct to fix the amount of the tribute of Madura at about £250,000 than at £400,000. A most interesting and corroborative proof of the correctness of this more moderate estimation is afforded by the statement of the Portuguese traveller Barrados\(^6\) in 1616, that the Madura Naïk’s tribute was 600,000 pagodas, i.e. £225,000. Even supposing, for argument’s sake, that Barrados’s statement is too moderate, we can have no justification whatever for pushing the amount higher than by £50,000, that is to say, for fixing it at about £275,000. And if this is accepted, it will naturally have also to be accepted that the total revenue of Madura should be thrice £275,000 or £825,000. And that was exactly what the Mirtanjiya MSS. say, as I have already pointed out. If, however, Mr. Nelson’s equation of values is taken it will be £880,000. Now the point to be remembered is this sum of £825,000 (or £880,000, according to Nelson) is the whole revenue of Madura and not the land revenue from crown lands alone. The MS. chronicle does not say that it was a section of land revenue alone. On the contrary it distinctly says that it was the total revenue of the State. Mr. Nelson is not justified in swelling the revenues by attributing the whole to a part. The sum of £880,000 in short—I shall just for argument’s sake take the sum as given by Mr. Nelson—included the rent from the crown lands, the tribute from Polygars and feudatories, and non-agricultural taxes.

**The real total revenue and its three divisions.**

The total revenue of Madura, then, was £880,000, to take the most exaggerated view, and not £1,200,000 as Nelson thought. This sum of £880,000 should have been derived from the three sources, from the land directly under the crown, from the tributes of vassal chiefs, and from various taxes. Now, what proportion did the land revenue bring? Here I agree with Nelson in thinking that the crown lands brought far more to the treasury than the pālayams.\(^6\) I agree with him in his statements that, though less extensive, the crown lands were more fertile, better situated, and better cultivated, and that the revenues from them were more than four times the tributes collected from the Polygars.

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\(^{64}\) *Ibid.*

\(^{65}\) *See Forgotten Empire, p. 230.*

\(^{66}\) As Nelson says that the income from crown lands was £880,000 and that from tributes £189,000, he evidently thought that the former was 4½ times the latter. His theory seems to be a sound one.
Mr. Nelson's estimate of £131,000 for other sources of revenue seems to be equally plausible. It can be inferred then that out of the sum of £880,000, the minor taxes brought £130,000 roughly; and of the remaining £750,000, about two-ninths of it, i.e., £166,000, came from tribute, and the balance, £584,000 ought to be allotted to the income from crown lands. Expressing this, for purposes of comparison, in terms of silver money, we have to remember that the relative value of gold and silver was not the same throughout the period ranging from 1560, when the Naik dynasty was established, to 1740 when it practically ended, and that the silver value could not be the same throughout this period. Before 1600 the relation between gold and silver was 1 to 10; after that date the value of gold increased. In 1605 it was 1 to 12; 1 to 13 in 1610; 1 to 13 in 1619; 1 to 14:5 in 1663; 1 to 15 in 1700; 1 to 15:27 in 1710; 1 to 15:15 in 1720; and 1 to 15:07 in 1740, after which there was a gradual diminution. The sum of £600,000 which we may roughly take as the Naik revenue from crown lands was therefore equivalent to 60 lakhs of Rupees in 1560, 72 lakhs in 1605, 78 lakhs in 1610, 79:8 lakhs in 1619, 87 lakhs in 1663 and 90 lakhs in 1700 and after.

The Land Revenue assessment in the Empire and in Madura.

Passing on to details, the land revenue was, of course, as in every other kingdom of ancient or mediaeval India, the mainstay of public exchequer. We cannot enter here into the vexed question whether the land was the property of the king or the people, whether the income from it to the State was in the nature of a rent or tax. It is sufficient for our purpose if we note that all land was either under the crown or under the Poligar or vassal king, and the people had to pay to their respective rulers—to the crown in case they were in crown land, to the Poligar in case they were in a Pâlayam, to the Râja in case they were in a tributary kingdom—a certain percentage of the produce as revenue. And what percentage had they to pay? The theory from immemorial times was that the State was entitled to collect one-sixth of the produce from land. The Ryot was to give one-sixth of the crops or their money equivalent to the State, one-twentieth to Brahmans, and one-thirtieth to temple. One-fourth he retained as his share. The remaining half went to meet the expenses of agriculture, in which was included the maintenance of his family. To express the whole in concrete language after Wilks, we may suppose that the total production from land was 30. Of these 15 went for the expenses of agriculture. Out of the remaining 5 went to the State, 13 to the Brahmans, 1 to the Gods, 7 to the proprietor. "The share payable to the Brahmans and the Gods was received by the sovereign, and by him distributed; so that the sum actually received by the sovereign and by the proprietor were equal." This was the system prescribed by the law, as expounded by the great statesman and saint Vidyârânya in his Parâsaramâdhaviyam, and evidently in force throughout the Vijayanagar Empire in the beginning of the 14th century. The Emperor Harihara introduced certain changes in this system. He first abolished the option of paying the government share in money or in kind, and enacted that in future it should be paid in money alone (at the rate of 33/4 seers for the rupee). He was

87 See Palgrave's Dict. Pol. Ecy. III. The ratio between gold and silver was almost the same in India. "The Pathan kings of Delhi coined both gold and silver in equal weights, both being as pure as they could make them; but relative values had clearly to be rejected as altered circumstances demanded. At first the scale appears to have been 1 to 8. In Akbar's time it was 1 to 9¼, in Aurângzâb's reign, 1 to 14. And at this rate of 1 to 14 our own E.I. Co., in 1766, coined gold as 149-72 fine to the Rupee containing 175-92 of pure silver." Ante. 1882, p. 318.
88 Wilks' Mysore, I, p. 95; S., Canara Manual, 94-6; Buchanan, II, p. 287.
89 Ibid., p. 126. Wilks points out that as rice was sold at the rate of 35 seers per rupee in his day, there was not much difference in prices between the 14th and early 19th centuries. The conversion of the grain payment to monetary payment was "...pounded on the quantity of land, the requisite seed, the average increase, and the value of grain." (p. 94).
further put to the necessity of increasing his finances by various means; for the numerous foreign wars of the day, the expensive character of court life and other circumstances necessitated a larger income to the State. Too orthodox and tactful, however, to incur the odium of popular displeasure by an open breach with the old customary proportion of one sixth, Harihara resorted to indirect and ingenious means for gaining the end he had in view. He had, in the language of Wilks, "recourse to the law of the Sasters,\textsuperscript{70} which authorised him, by no very forced construction, to attack the husbandman by a variety of vexatious taxes, which should compel him to seek relief by desiring to compound for their abolition by a voluntary increase of the landed assessment."\textsuperscript{71} He thus introduced, says Wilks, a house-tax, a tax on straw, on the defective coins paid to the State, on transport of grain, on ploughs and ploughshares, on bullocks and sheep, on the alienation of grain, on plank\textsuperscript{72} doors (\textit{c.f.} the Western window tax), etc. The result of all these was that, as Wilks says,\textsuperscript{73} there was an increase of 20 per cent in the land tax. \textit{"From 1336 until 1618, when the hereditary governors of the province (Mysore) began to aim at independence, this rate continued unaltered, but soon after this latter period an additional assessment of fifty per cent was levied on the whole revenue."} It is difficult, owing to the paucity of materials, to say how far the Nāik rulers of Madura\textsuperscript{74} followed the imperial system, and how much they collected from the people; but one of the Jesuit missionaries, Father Vico, writing in 1611, says that they levied \"contributions which comprised at least the half of the produce of the lands.\" At least this was the case in the \textit{pāṭayams}, and the same thing must have taken place in the territory ruled directly by the Governors. A number of Tamil inscriptions at Devikapuram\textsuperscript{75} and elsewhere in North Arcot, discovered in 1913, give a long list of the obligations and taxes which a lessee or landlord of those days was subject to; and these, we can hardly doubt, prevailed in Madura. In return for the right (\textit{uḷavu-kāśi} or \textit{kāśi-yākshī}) of growing any crops, wet or dry, including plantain, sugar-cane, turmeric, ginger, areca and coconut, he was bound, we are informed, to pay \"the taxes in gold and in grain, such as \textit{vāsākaḍamai}, \textit{pēr-kaḍamai}, tarikkaḍamai, \textit{śekkoṭṭu}, \textit{eruttu-īmmādam}, \textit{mālārikkam}, talayārikkam, \textit{ānuvakaḍamai}, \textit{paṭṭadainālāyam}, \textit{idatturai}, \textit{vetṭivari}, \textit{palavari}, and \textit{puduvari} (that may be enforced by the palace), \textit{nollerudu} (good bull), \textit{nāṟṟai} (good cow), \textit{nallurumai} (good buffalo), \textit{narkiṭṭ} (good ewe), \textit{Kīṅgigai}, \textit{virimuṭṭu}, \textit{edakkaṭṭiyam}, \textit{viruttumāḍu}, \textit{udugari}, and \textit{mugampāṇai}. To this list the other cognate inscriptions add \textit{palataṭi}, \textit{kāṅkkaṭi}, \textit{sāndai}, \textit{ćirimīnivai}, \textit{malai-amaṉji}, \textit{madil amaṉji}, \textit{eṣuttaṭavu}, \textit{viruttunāḍu}, \textit{idattukaḍamai}, and \textit{virurai}.\" It should be acknowledged that the exact meaning of many of these is not known. Some of them are plainly non-agricultural in character, and have yet been included among the burdens of cultivation.

\textit{(To be continued.)}

\textsuperscript{70} Wilks I, p. 95 and 127.
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid, p. 127.
\textsuperscript{72} It is curious that Wilks mentions about a dozen taxes of non-agricultural character in this list and yet maintains that agriculturists were compelled to compound them for a higher tax. The fact is Wilks here is very confused and inconsistent. See Ibid, pp. 127-8.
\textsuperscript{73} The result was \textit{"he received one gheṭṭi pagoda for two kauties and a half of land, the same sum only having formerly been paid for three kauties."} p. 95. Bellary Gazr., p. 150.
\textsuperscript{74} \textit{"Under the Nāyakans the same proportion was apparently held in theory to be the revenue due to the State."} (Trichi. Gazr. p. 210). \textit{i.e., 50 \% of the gross produce. See also Madu. Manual, 149-50; Caldwell's Tinnevelly; etc. \"The established practice throughout this part of the peninsula," says Caldwell, \textit{"has for ages been to allow the farmer one-half of the produce of his crop for the maintenance of his family and the re-cultivation of the land, while the other is appropriated to the cirear."} See Madras Ep. Rep. 1913, p. 122. For the tax on sheep, cows, and buffaloes in the time of the Hoysalas, Ibid, p. 129.
OUTLINES OF INDO-CHINESE HISTORY.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

Introductory Remarks.

The following pages are reprinted here from a contribution by the present writer to Hutchinson's History of the Nations (1914-1916), pp. 1810-1830, with the kind permission of the publisher and editor, because it is believed that no general view of the history of Indo-China exists elsewhere, and that such a view will be useful to the readers of this Journal. The influence of Indian thought, religious and philosophical, has been so great on the nations further to the eastwards, and has existed for so long a time, that a general knowledge of them must always be of interest to the student of things Indian. It is to be regretted that it is not possible to include in this article a similar account of the Malays to the south of Indo-China, where Indian influence has been equally pervading for as long a period. Such an account has been prepared, but one hesitates to publish it, as though accurate knowledge on the subject is being steadily accumulated, it is not in such a condition yet as to make a general survey based on what has hitherto been acquired other than perchance misleading.

I.—THE INDO-CHINESE RACES.

There are at the present day three separate nations occupying the land commonly called Indo-China, or Further India (L'extrême Orient), either of which terms is fully applicable to the country. These nations are the Burmese, under British domination, on the west, the Siamese, who are independent, in the centre, and the Annamese, under French protection, on the east. The territories they occupy lie east of India and south of China. But closely connected with the Burmese are the Tibetans in the Himalayan regions across the whole northern border of India. For the present purpose, therefore, they are classed with the Indo-Chinese to the east of India, making a fourth nation in that category. In addition, right across the centre of Indo-China, west to east, are to be found yet another race—the Mons—now being submerged by the others; but until quite recently they controlled great independent historical kingdoms, under the differing national names of Talaings in Pegu (Burma), Khmers in Cambodia (Siam), and Chams in Champa (Southern Annam and Cochinchina).

The whole of these peoples have three salient characteristics in common. They are Chinese by descent and habit, but Indian (Hindu and Buddhist) by culture, and have all a striking civilization of great antiquity. Though, owing to geographical situation in a remote corner of South-eastern Asia, they were practically unknown to Europe until modern times, they have long occupied a place midway between Indian and Chinese civilizations; and as a meeting-point of ancient antagonistic religious and aesthetic ideals and of those mentalities which produce definite styles of art, architecture and literature, all in Indo-China old and extensive, they form the subject of instructive ethnological and historical studies of great interest. The Tibetans have for some centuries established a wide religious ascendency over all the Mid-Asiatic populations, from Mongolia to Japan.

Looking back into the ages, one finds the true aborigines of the lands east of India to be Negritos, small black pigmies with woolly hair, of whom traces still abound in the population. To these succeeded tribes still primitive in nature but of a fairer (Caucasic) complexion, from the west or perhaps the south, who, in their turn, have been overwhelmed and assimilated by immigrants of a yellow Mongolian race from the highlands of
Western China, always moving southwards till they spread over the whole land. The effects of all these waves of population are to this day visible in the people in places everywhere. But for practical purposes the great variety of local tribes that have emerged from the medley of ages of immigration and internecine struggle may be separated into four main groups: the Tibeto-Burman race of Tibet and Burma; the Siames-Shan race (Thais, Laos, Karens); the Mon race of Southern Burma (Talaings), Cambodia (Khmers), and Cochin-China (Chams); and the Annamese of Annam and Tong-king (Giāos, Giao-chi).

Until the masterful intervention of the English in Burmese affairs (1824), and of the French in those of Annam (1787), these peoples have struggled for supremacy over the Mons and each other through all time without reference politically to any part of the world other than China; and the main facts to bear in mind about them are that they are of Mongolian stock, and that their mental attitude is Far-Eastern and Chinese, and not Indian nor Mid-Asiatic. At the same time, their civilization has been strongly tinged for a very long period with Hinduism and Buddhism from India. Their future will be closely bound up with Western civilization, and in this view the present situation of Siam is of particular interest. Hedged in between two powerful Empires, the English to the west and the French to the east, independent only by virtue of their joint guarantees, and led by an energetic and enlightened ruling family, she bids fair to be the Belgium of Eastern Asia as to agriculture, industrial enterprise, commerce and wealth.

II.—THE TIBETANS.

It is not usual to class the Tibetans with the nations of Indo-China, but their relationship to them is so close, and their general historical and ethnical situation so similar, that it will be convenient to do so here. None the less so, because, as in the case of the Indo-Chinese peoples proper, so much of their civilization as has not been borrowed from India has come from China. The name Tibet is a corruption of the native term Tö-bhö (Stod-bod), or High Bod, for the uplands of the loftiest country in the world, through which travellers found their way into it.

Into this land of Bod, predestined by its configuration to isolation from the rest of the world—unless, indeed, improved communications will some day induce a large alien population to develop its almost universal distribution of gold—there wandered eastwards from their home in Western China the earliest of the same description of Mongolian emigrants as those who, in successive swarms, found their way into the lands east of India, i.e., into Indo-China proper. Eventually, with an inevitable admixture from surrounding lands, they formed the strong, hardy, light-brown, but popularly red, race of the Bhō-pā (Bod-pa), or Tibetan people. The language which they have gradually developed belongs to the Tibeto-Burman group, and was reduced to writing by Thonmi Sambhotā in the seventh century A.D., who, with the aid of Buddhist monks, introduced a variety of the Indian script of the period.

To Europeans Tibet, as a mysterious land, unapproachable except by the most intrepid or religiously inclined, has for centuries been the natural goal of explorers and missionaries, including many famous names, onwards from the days of the Frenchman, Guillaume Boucher, in search of gold in 1253.

The Tibetans are known historically in the Chinese annals from the eleventh century B.C., as Kiang, or "Shepherds," with whom, nevertheless, the Chinese had but a superficial acquaintance, while their own legendary history commences in the late-sixth century B.C., with a king, Gnya-Khri-Btsanpo, who is directly connected with India
as the fifth son of Prasénajit of Kósala, or Oudh (b.c. c. 530-500). The first personage, however, to come out of legendary obscurity is Fanni Tubat, of the Southern Liang dynasty of Chúna (a.d. 397-115), who fled before the Northern Liangs in 433, and founded an extensive kingdom among the Kiang tribes. In the days of his successor, Gnyan-tsan, the Tibetans first came into contact with the Northern Buddhism of Nepal, and under a great descendant, Srong-tsan Gampo (Srongo-tsampo, 600-663), conqueror of Nepal and all the Indian Himálayas, who was able to make matrimonial alliances with royal and imperial houses in India and China, Tibet became an important Oriental state. He founded Lhásá (Lha-ldan) in 639, and with his active encouragement Buddhism and its writings and literature were introduced into the country. At this period Tibetan rule must have spread widely, northwards into Asia and southwards far into Bengal, as is shown by the Chinese annals and other evidence, though Indian records are silent on the subject. Srongo-tsan Gampo was followed by some vigorous successors, dangerous to China, of whom Khri-srong Lde-tsan (743-789) has become famous in the Tibetan Buddhist chronicles as the most strenuous of all the royal supporters of the faith. His son, Mani-tsampo, tried, with great persistence, but, nevertheless, with complete want of success, an interesting general socialistic experiment in an endeavour to equalize the relative position, socially and economically, of all classes of his subjects. In the days of another descendant, Ralpachen (808-845), who was an ardent Buddhist and warrior, still existing bilingual tablets were set up at Lhásá in 821 to celebrate a peace with China. He was assassinated and succeeded by Langharma, the black sheep of the monkish chronicles, a violent opponent and persecutor of Buddhism, who, in his turn, was soon put out of the way in 850, when the country was divided into the Western and Eastern Kingdoms by his two sons. This gave rise to much interneecine struggle and intricate history, the Eastern Kingdom getting the worst of it. The Western dynasty, however, split up into several petty local chiefships, out of which emerge the lines of Khorré of Shantung and Thich’ung of Ü (Central Tibet). A member of the former dynasty invited Atisa, the great Indian Buddhist teacher, to rule the important monastery of Thoding in Nári (Western Tibet), and the latter largely patronized his successors in office. Atisa was the first of the chief priests, who were subsequently to establish that paramount sacerdotal authority throughout the country, for which it has since become world-famous. In 1246-48 Sákya Pandita, a celebrated successor of Atisa, paid a visit by request to the Court of Kuyuk, the successor of the Mongol conqueror, Oglai Khán.

In 1243 Kublai Khán conquered Eastern Tibet, and in his capacity of Mongol Emperor of China, invited Sákya Pandita’s nephew and successor, Phagspa Lodoi Gyaltshan, to the Court, became a convert to Tibetan Buddhism, and later on invested him, as suzerain, with the sovereignty over the whole Tibetan territory—in return for his services. From that time onwards, for seventy years, the Sákya Lamas ruled in Tibet (1270-1340) through appointed agents, from the Sákya monastery, until rival priests undermined their influence and enabled Phågmödu (Chyang Chub Gyaltshan) to set up, with the approval of the Court of Peking, a prosperous lay kingdom, which ended, however, in civil strife, and gave an opportunity to the Mongols to again intervene in Tibetan affairs.

In 1447 the Buddhist Abbot Gedundub (1447-1475) founded the important Tashilhunpo monastery, and his third successor, Sodnam Rgyamtsao, was elected to the still more was important position of head of the Guldan monastery near Lhásá. With the help of the Mongol
Khâns and the acquiescence of the Ming dynasty of China, he was proclaimed Vajra Dalai Lama in 1576, and was thus the first to use a title afterwards to become of great renown. At the same time the Mongols interfered actively in the civil government. Later on, they were paid to withdraw, and the first Manchu Emperor (1644-1661) was applied to for help. This caused the Mongols to return, subjugate the whole country, and in 1645 to make the fifth Dalai Lama monarch of all Tibet, in which position he was confirmed by the Chinese Government in 1653. In 1706 and 1717 there was further interference by the Mongol Khâns in the affairs of Tibet, but the Chinese finally conquered the country in 1720 and established the present temporal power of the Dalai Lâmas under the supervision of Chinese ambans (residents), with its sacerdotally-inspired isolation from the outer world, which possibly has been encouraged by the Chinese with the idea of creating a buffer State between themselves and European aggression from India and Central Asia.

After 1872 there was some rivalry between the British and Russian governments as to relations, chiefly commercial, with Tibet, in which the Dalai Lâma played a part unsatisfactory to the former, leading eventually in 1904 to the occupation of Lhâsa by a British force, the flight of the Dalai Lâma, and a commercial treaty. This was followed by an Anglo-Russian Convention in 1907, recognizing the Chinese suzerainty and maintaining the isolation of the country. The Dalai Lâma was restored in 1908, but was soon in trouble with the Chinese, and was deposed in 1910; but he returned in 1912, when the British Government secured the territorial and administrative integrity of the native rulers.

Tibet is necessarily, in the political conditions above indicated, the most priest-ridden country in the world, and not only that, the influence of its priesthood is spread far beyond its northern and eastern borders. No account, therefore, of the country can pass over its religious organization. Fundamentally, for all his Buddhism and the wide ascendancy of his sacerdotal hierarchy over a large part of Asia, the Tibetan has never departed from the primitive Animism, which his remote ancestors brought with them from the Western Chinese highlands. It has saturated even the highly debased and animistic form of Buddhism he received in the seventh century from Northern India, until nowadays his religion may be said to have largely reverted back to that original dread of spirits which is the basis of all Animism.

Curiously enough, Srongtsan Gampo began the introduction of North Indian Buddhism in 622, the year of the traditional rise of Islam, with the help of his minister, Thonmi Sambhotâ, and of his queens, now all regarded as divine incarnations, a doctrine borrowed from the Vaishnava Hindus by Northern Buddhism before it was adopted by the Tibetans. Later on his descendant, Khri-srong Ldetsan (743-789), actively encouraged it, and had the enormous collection of the Kanjur scriptures compiled. The arrival of Atisa in 1205 greatly raised the position of the monastic priesthood, and then for two hundred years civil strife weakened the power of the king and his barons, while the power of the abbots steadily increased. So that when Kublai Khân (1216-1294), on his conversion, sat up in 1270 the Sâkya Lâma abbot as civil and ecclesiastical monarch of the whole country, the times were ripe for the temporal sovereignty of the Lâmas of Tibet—for that Lâmaïsm which is of such interest to Europeans, owing to the instructive parallel its history presents to that of the Church of Rome and the temporal power of the Popes. In 1390 arose the reformer, Tsongkapa (1357-1419), with a strong attempt at a return to original simplicity and purity of religion. His preaching had a considerable effect, still to be seen in the ceremonials and yellow robes of his
followers, who are now in the ascendant over the red-robed adherents of the previous priesthood. In 1576 the Chinese Emperor recognized the two great contemporary abbots of the yellow-robe, the Dalai Lama of Gedundubpa near Lhasa, and the Tashi Lama (Pantschen) of Tashilhunpo, as sovereigns of Tibet, the Dalai Lama being from the first the real political chief. These great abbots are, of course, incarnations of deities, and on the death of either, the successor, who must be a newly-born infant, is chosen under certain rules by the Chatuktus, heads of monasteries, occupying much the position of Roman cardinals. It will be perceived that this practice means that the government of Tibet is in the hands of a perpetual ecclesiastical camarilla, with all its attendant evils. The Dalai Lama’s political authority extends only to Tibet, but he is the acknowledged head of the Buddhist Church throughout Mongolia and China, but not in Japan.

III.—THE BURMESE.

The people of Indo-China most nearly related to the Tibetans are the Burmese, Burma and Burmese being English corruptions of Bami (spelt Mramma), the native term for tribes, which the Chinese called Min. For ages they disputed the mastery of the country they now occupy, the basins and deltas of the Irrawaddy, Sittang and Salween rivers, with the Shans, of whom the Siamese form part, the Maghs or Arakanese, who are Burmese with an admixture of Bengali blood, and the Talaings of Pegu, related to the Khmers and Mons of Cambodia and Annam, further eastwards. They at last took complete possession of it in 1757, shortly before the advent of the British. As in the case of the Tibetans, their civilization is Indian, with strong influences from China.

All the peoples of Burma have old traditional histories and chronicles, which profess to go very far back. But, so far as actual chronology can be trusted, there was a Shan (Ailao, afterwards Nanchao and Pong) kingdom with Chinese tendencies in Yunnan, Upper Burma, and the modern Shan States in A.D. 90-230, with an overflow westwards into Assam. The chronicles of Burma themselves all point to the formation of an Indian Hindu settlement at Tagaung on the Irrawaddy in Upper Burma, which spread itself southwards as far as Prome and Arakan, and of another at Thaton in Lower Burma. The kingdoms the settlers set up can be taken as starting at some period B.C. with an animistic religion, known in Burma as nat (spirit) worship, and nowadays often also referred to as naga (serpent) worship. This became overshadowed in the fifth century A.D. by Buddhism of both the northern and southern branches, which fought for supremacy for centuries until the southern (Hinayana) completely ousted the other (Mahayana) in the fifteenth century.

Genuine history commences with the foundation of the Burmese era dating from 638 A.D., at Pagán, in Upper Burma, by Thengá (Singha) Rája, a usurper and perhaps a Cambodian prince of the time of the great Kambuja King Isanavarman I. (610-650). According to the Chinese annals, Pagán, though overshadowed by Pegu, became a fine civilized city as early as the ninth century A.D. In 1010 a Burmese hero king and religious reformer, Anawrata (Anuruddha, 1010-1052), ascended the throne of Pagán, broke the power of the Shans, invaded Arakan, and destroyed the Talaing capital Thaton, thus bringing the whole country under his sway. The Talaings, however, had their revenge in controlling the Buddhism (Hinayana) of the Burmans (1057), and in teaching them all the sacred architecture (pagodas) they know. Anawrata’s successors were great builders, as the immense ruins of Pagán show to the present day, and some of them were purists in religion. Narabadisithá (1167-1204) sending an expedition in 1170-1181
to Ceylon and establishing Southern Buddhism for a while. They continued to embellish their capital until Kublai Khan (1260-1294) fell on them in 1286, bringing about in 1298 the collapse of the empire that Anawrata had founded.

The Talangs naturally now became independent under Warênu of Martaban, a Shan chief (1287-1303), and set up a kingdom at Pegu that lasted until 1540. Other Shans began to rule Burmese States on the Irrawaddy at Pinya (1298-1364) and Sagaing (1315-1364), until a more celebrated capital was founded by yet another Shan at Ava (1364-1554). So that from the thirteenth century to the days of Elizabeth of England Burma was under Shan rulers.

All through this period there was perpetual fighting, both internal and external. Shans, Burmans, Siamese, Arakanese and Bengalis all joining in it. Out of the medley arose a local Burman-Shan kingdom at Taungu (1470-1530), which gave birth to another great hero of the past, Tabin Shwèdi (1530-1548). With the aid of his general, a still greater historical name, Bayin Naung, known to the Portuguese, established in Martaban under Antonio Correa in 1519, as Branginoco (for Burangnongehau = Bayin Naungzaw), Tabin Shwèdi started to capture Pegu and Martaban. After several attempts he succeeded in doing so in 1540. His operations are remarkable for the defence of Pegu by Indian Muhammadans and a Portuguese naval commander, Ferdinando de Mortales, the first of many Europeans to take part in Burmese local wars. Tabin Shwèdi now became King of Pegu and in 1542 took Prome, Portuguese gunners under Diego Soares assisting his army. In 1548 he was assassinated and Bayin Naung (1548-1581) succeeded him after a struggle. In 1555 Bayin Naung captured Ava and became ruler of all Burma for the Talangs in 1558. He then attacked Siam, and in 1564 entered Ayuthia, carrying away as captives the King and his family. But in 1569, when the famous Venetian traveller, Caesar Frederick, was in Pegu, he had to retake Ayuthia, and finally he died in 1581 during an expedition to Aracan. And then, after all this effort, the great kingdom he had erected suddenly collapsed in 1599 through the incapacity of his son, Nandâ Bayin (1581-1599). Bayin Naung was a remarkable personality, a mighty builder, and extraordinarily energetic in all he undertook: war, religion, civil administration, architecture, trade. Amongst other things he created a navy, and secured a "holy tooth" of Buddha from Colombo in 1576. He made Pegu into a splendid city of great wealth, and even after his death Ralph Fitch, the first English traveller in Burma, testified to its magnificence in 1586. One outcome of this period of lasting effect on the country was the deliberate re-introduction, in its purest form, in 1476, of Southern (Hinayâna) Buddhism from Colombo in Ceylon by a Talang monk turned king, Dhammâchëti (Râmâdhípati) of Pegu (1458-1489).

On the collapse of Bayin Naung's empire there followed the usual Oriental chaos, which gave a Portuguese adventurer, Philip the Brito, the opportunity of rising in three years (1600-1602) from cabin-boy and palace menial to the governorship of Syriam, near Rangoon, for the Arakanese, and finally to the throne of Pegu itself, with the daughter of the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa for wife. But he was an aggressive, headstrong man, with no idea of ingratiating himself with his people and neighbours, and by 1613 he was ousted by Mahâdhammarâja (1605-1628), a grandson of Bayin Naung, established in Ava; and was impaled alive, while his unfortunate queen was sent as a slave to Ava. Help from Goa arrived just too late.

Mahâdhammarâja now created an extensive Burmese kingdom, and was active in suppressing the Portuguese pirates along the coasts, as by this time they had become a.
general scourge in the Bay of Bengal. Of these, a great ruffian named Sebastian Gonzales was a successful specimen as the temporary ruler of Chittagong (1612-1619) in Bengal. Mahádhammarája's dynasty hung on till 1740, when it was in its turn ousted by Binyá Dalá of Pegu (1746-1757), a Shan, who burned Ava in 1752 and placed Burma once more under the rule of Pegu for the Talaiings.

Then arose a great Burmese warrior of the official class at Shwebo, with the title of Alaungphaya, turned by Europeans into Alompra (1712-1760), who founded the dynasty (1753-1885) which the English found ruling on their appearance on the scene as conquerors. In 1753 he took Ava from the Talaiings; in 1755 he seized Prome and founded the now great port of Rangoon by the shrine of the Shwédagón Pagoda, a famous place of pilgrimage throughout the Far East. In 1757 he was in Pegu, when the Talaing government was definitely overthrown.

All these proceedings brought Alompra into contact with the French at Syria and the more important British settlements in Burma, which had been established in Negrais Island in 1709, and also at Bassein and Syriam. Finally, Alompra died in 1760 during an expedition to Siam, which took him to the gates of Ayuthia, at the age of forty-eight, and only eight years after his first appearance on the public stage. He founded a notable dynasty, and caused the Talaiings, in a fashion not uncommon in the Far East, largely to disappear as a separate race. His successors reigned variously at Sagaing, Ava, Amarapura (Amáyapúya) and Mandalay, with that frequent change of capital characteristic of the Far East, and so discordant to the stranger. Wherever they went they built lavishly, and in some respects with a truly beautiful architectural sense in their own style.

Of this dynasty, Sinbyáshin (1763-1776) again attacked Ayuthia, and had much trouble with the Chinese (1765-1769). Later on, Bódawphaya (1781-1819), a powerful king, overran Arakan and was a thorn in the side of the British Indian government in the difficult days of the early nineteenth century. Later on still, under Bágyidaw (1819-1837), there was a violent collision with the British, brought about by the conceit and arrogance habitual to Burmese rulers through all time, resulting in the First Burmese War (1824-1826) and the loss of the Arakan and Tenasserim provinces. Bágyidaw felt the disgrace keenly, and subsequently became insane.

Not long afterwards a successor, Pagán Min (1846-1852), was in trouble with English traders at Rangoon, and there occurred the Second Burmese War (1852), which added the Pegu province to the British Empire. He was succeeded by a really capable ruler, Mindón Min (1853-1878), who governed his country well and in peace with his neighbours for twenty-five years, when he was succeeded by a thoroughly incompetent hen-pecked son, Thibaw (1878-1885), whose willful but unwise Queen, Súphayálát, brought about the Third Burmese War, and the final annexation of all Burma to the British Empire in 1886. Since then the history of the country has been one of steady material improvement under British rule.

IV—THE SIAMESE.

Historically, Siam is the habitation of the Shans in the basins and deltas of the Menam and Mekong rivers, and includes Cambodia and Cochin-China. It is the central country of Indo-China, with Burma on the west and Annam on the east. The Shans, the Siamese and the Laos to the eastwards all call themselves Thai, though the modern Siamese are partly fused with the ancient Khmers of Cambodia, whose own tradition is that they are Mons from Pegu. Siam is an English form of an old name, Sayám, for the
country adopted by the Malays, through whom it came to the Europeans. This, in its turn, is identical with Shan. French Indo-China now includes Cambodia, Cochin-China and the country of the Laos east of the Mekong, all taken from the Siamese in quite recent times.

Definite history in this land begins with Cambodia (Kambuja; French, Camboodge), the deltaic country dominated by the great lake of Tonlé Sap, in exactly the same way as in Tibet and Burma. From the twelfth century B.C. Cambodia was known to the Chinese chroniclers as Funan, and much later on, in the seventh century A.D., as Chinla, and was long tributary to China. But several centuries B.C. Indian emigrants found their way into it, just as they did into Burma, Arakan and Pegu. They Hinduized the people, getting a firm hold of them as early as the fourth century B.C. In the fifth century A.D. Kaundinya (Kondanno), a Hindu, founded among the Khmers of Cambodia a famous dynasty, bearing the distinctive title of Varman. As the Kambuja King Srutavarman (435-495), he brought the Khmer State into prominence; but by 705 internal troubles split the country into two mutually independent portions. In the ninth century Jayavarman III. (802-869) united the kingdom and started the splendid Brahmanical monuments that still remain, Yasowarman (889-910) completing the magnificent capital at Angkor Thom in 900. This was the commencement of the greatest era of architecture (Brahmanical) known in the Far East, which culminated in the splendid structure of Angkor Wat by the Brahman architect, Divakara (c. 1090-1140). In the same century Jayavarman VIII (1162-1201), the last of the great Kambuja kings, conquered the rival Indian dynasty of Champa in Annam and Cochin-China. But this war and others, with his neighbours, east and west, the Annamese the and Siamese Shans, now growing strong, exhausted the country. The Siamese became aggressive in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and Angkor was destroyed in 1385, Cambodia ceasing to be of general importance, and in time becoming a vassal State, though it still boasts a "royal" dynasty.

Northern Buddhism came into Siam as early as 250 B.C. and Southern Buddhism was introduced in the fifth century A.D., traditionally in 422 by Buddhaghosha (c. 390-450). By the tenth century it had become a powerful rival to Hinduism, to which it succeeded as the general national religion, much as in Burma, on the extinction of the Cambodian power, the Khmers, like the Talaings, of Burma, largely becoming absorbed by their conquerors.

In 1280, Kublai Khan, the great ruler of China (1260-1294), drove the Shans out of Southern China, and thereby weakened the Lao-Shan States. This gave an opportunity in 1284 to a Siamese Shan chief, Rama Ramheng, to turn his people into the ruling race of the country. In 1350 another Siamese Shan chieftain, Chao Uthong, set up a kingdom with Ayuthia (Sia Yuthia) on the Menam as his capital, and became by his conquests Phra Ramathibadi, the first Siamese king of all Siam (1350-1369). His grandson, Phra Ramasaen II. (1382-1385), was attacked by the Cambodians in 1384. But in revenge he took Angkor Thom from them in 1385, and this was the cause of the ultimate removal of the Cambodian capital to Pnompenh on the Mekong, where it now is. Then followed centuries of war with varying success with Pegu, Burma and Cambodia, during which arose a great national hero and conqueror, Phra Narêt (Nareswa, 1558-1593), who for a while made his country a formidable power in Central Indo-China and the Malay Peninsula.

The seventeenth century was remarkable for Western intercourse with Siam, though the great Portuguese Viceroy, D'Albuquerque, by establishing himself in Malacca in
1511, was the first important European to come in contact with the Siamese. The first English ship on the Menam appeared in 1612, the first Portuguese mission was settled in 1620, and the French arrived with an embassy in 1685, the record of whose voyage gives the first approximately correct geographical description of these regions. In 1657 there reached Siam Constantine Phaulkon, a Cephalonian Greek adventurer, who rose to high position under Phra Narayu (1656-1688), with the title of Chaoophaya Vijayendra. His policy was to foster commerce with Europe, and he thus received the Ambassadors of Louis XIV, in 1685, with a view to a French trade; and erected a fort at Bangkok with the same object, but he was murdered in 1687 by the Siamese nobles from jealousy on the death of his patron. At the same time (1688) the English lost their trade with Siam through sheer mismanagement.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the Burmans once more sacked Ayuthia and destroyed the Siamese kingdom that Chao Uthong had founded in 1350. Ayuthia, under these kings, was a wealthy city, adorned with many buildings of great size and merit in the Indo-Chinese style of architecture. On the fall of Ayuthia a capable general of mixed Chinese-Siamese parentage, Chaoophaya Taksin (Tak, 1767-1782), took the army in hand, set himself up at Bangkok, and drove out the Burmans in 1771. But he became insane and was put to death in 1782, when another successful general, a Chinese noble named Chaoophaya Phaya Chakri (1782-1809), established the present reigning dynasty, which has made Bangkok into a fine architectural capital. He has come down to posterity as Phra Budhoyat Fa (Yod Fa), and has had a remarkable series of successors, of whom the best known is Phra Paramendra Mahamongkut (1851-1868), an enlightened man of science, who initiated many reforms. He was succeeded by Phra Chulalongkorn (1868-1910), an administrator of the highest capacity, and there were hopes then that Siam, the middle territory of the Far East, and destined by geographical position to be the natural home of war, had at last under such a ruler a chance of peaceful internal development. Trouble, however, did not cease until the boundaries between the British Empire on the west and the French Empire on the east were settled finally in 1908, and Siam, though restricted in territory, came at a long last to be in a fair way of permanent peace under the guarantee of strong powers on either side, and to be able to develop a great commerce as an independent kingdom, under yet another capable ruler, Phra Mongkut Klao, whose brilliant coronation in 1911 collected together the largest number of European princes ever seen in the East.

V.—THE ANNAMSE.

All along the coast there runs a long stretch of territory, now in the hands of the French, and divided by them into Tonking on the north, Annam and Cochinchina on the south, with their respective capitals at Hanoi, Hanoi and Saigon. Cochinchina (Chinese, Cheng Chin and Ko Cheng Chin) is a name which has frequently changed its significance. It has meant the whole coast, and has been restricted to modern Cochinchina and Annam, and, lastly, to the area in the south now so called. This land of the farthest eastern seaboard is inhabited by many tribes, which may be generically divided into two categories: the Chams of Mon relationship in the south, and the Annamese or Giaos, known historically to the Chinese as Giaochi, and popularly as Juaks or Yuans, and to the Annamese as Nguyens or Ngwins. Its history up to 1470 is one long confused fight between Giaos and Chams, and is difficult, being dependent on Chinese annals, Cham inscriptions and Annamese chronicles, which are not to be readily reconciled.
The most interesting fact is that for many centuries (B.C. c. 150—A.D. 470) the Chams were ruled by Hindu dynasties under the name of Kings of Champa. Buddhism came in chiefly from China, and is now of the degraded Tibetan type; but there are signs that the purer Southern Buddhism was once in the ascendant. Islam was introduced generally about A.D. 1300, and a large number of the Chams are Muhammadans. As in Burma and elsewhere in Indo-China, primitive Animism has never died out. The Annamese Giao have always been true to their Chinese origin.

History may be said to commence in the last days of the Tsin dynasty of China (B.C. 249-206), when the first universal conqueror, Shi Hwangti, became suzerain of the Giaochi country (Tongking and Annam), which then and for long afterwards had to struggle with its powerful Shan neighbours on the west. In the troubled days of the "Three Kingdoms" of China and their followers (A.D. 222-590), Tongking for a time was part of the Wu kingdom, and was ruled from Nanking, Chinese suzerainty in various forms lasting on till 1801 (after 1428 nominally). By the fifth century it must have been weak owing to continued troubles in China itself, and this gave an opportunity for the now growing Hindu power of Champa in the south to upset the Giao governors, and we hear of attacks, with counter-attacks, in 399 and 431, from the people of Lamap, as the Chinese then called Champa.

In the second century B.C. a Hindu prince, Paramesvara, appears as the founder of the kingdom of Champa, and in the third century A.D., Muraraja (Urója) has a capital at Pánduranga (Panrang in Binh Thuan), and in the fifth century inscriptions tell us that Bhavavarma Dharmamaharaja is embellishing the temple at Po Nagar on the Nha Trang in Khanh Hwa (Hoâ). So that at the time of their attacks on the Giao, the Chams were established as a civilized Hindu State. In 602-605 the Chinese of the Suy dynasty (580-617) inflicted heavy defeats on the Chams at their capital of Sri Banvi (Banoeuy), at Dong Hwi (Hoouy) in Kweng Binh, and from this time the struggle of centuries between north and south may be said to have commenced in Annam, a name which as An-Nam (Ngan-Nan) is first heard of in 756. By 808 the Chinese chroniclers had learnt to write the native name Champa as Chamba.

Wars between the Chinese viceroys over the Giao and the Cham kings went on till the Annamese rebelled in 931, and in 968 Dinh Bo Sangh (968-975) founded the first Annamese dynasty under the suzerainty of China. Champa fell on evil times at this period, as the Cambodians raided the country in 918, in the days of Indravarman II, and all through the tenth and eleventh centuries the Annamese kings got much the best of it in the fighting; but its fortunes looked up again in the early days of the Srijaya dynasty (1139-1470), until in 1190 it fell to the Cambodians, who held it as suzerains for thirty-four years.

In 1286 the great conqueror, Kublai Khan, appeared on the scene, but both the Annamese and the Chams put up a good fight, and were only four years (1286-1290) under subjection. Shortly before this attack Marco Polo (1280) was in "Cyamba," and again after it in 1292. In 1306, however, Champa became the vassal of Annam, and, as such, was defended in 1313 against Cambodia. But in 1353 there arose a national hero in the person of a Cham prince, now known only by his Annamese name, Che Bong Nga, who by sheer capacity and boldness constantly defeated the Annamese till his death in 1392, on which there ensued a period of anarchy in Champa.

Soon after this, in 1412, there arose another national hero, this time Annamese, in Le Loi (1412-1434), who conducted a war of liberation (1412-1428) against Yung Lo
### Empires and Dynasties

**ANCIENT HISTORY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Chief Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.C.</td>
<td>Chinese in Cambodia (1109); in contact with Tibet (c. 1060);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1109-1050</td>
<td>Buddhists in Burma (880); in Arakan (c. 825); in Pegu (Talaing, c. 543); in Prome (c. 483).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>850-483</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>Tibetan connection with India commences (c. 500);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>362-214</td>
<td>Buddhism in Burma (362); in Arakan (A.D. 140).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.C. 235</td>
<td>Chinese in Annam and Tonking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150-1507</td>
<td>Hindus in Champa (c. 150); in Siamese Shan States (95); in Cambodia (A.D. 60).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>760-373</td>
<td>Chinese Sthan kingdom in Burma and Yunnan (Aliho, afterwards Nachio, Pong).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>422-944</td>
<td>Buddhism: Southern in Siam and Pegu (422); in Cambodia (944); Northern in Tibet (622); in Champa (829).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>829</td>
<td>Hindu State of Kambuja (Cambodia) founded. Tibetan dated history commences.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MEDIEVAL HISTORY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Chief Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>620</td>
<td>Tibetan Empire (620-850).몸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>650-720</td>
<td>Burmese and Siamese era commences (638); Foundation of Lhasa (639).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>802-1090</td>
<td>Colossal buildings in Cambodia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>968</td>
<td>First native Annamese Dynasty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1010-1200</td>
<td>Burmese Empire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1026</td>
<td>First ruling Buddhist priest in Tibet (Atisa).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1243-1286</td>
<td>Kublai Khan’s raids: 1243. Tibet (1280).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1248-1350</td>
<td>Cambodia and Siam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1266</td>
<td>Burmese-Chinese rule in Siam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1265</td>
<td>Kublai Khan’s conversion to Buddhism by Sakya Pandita, made first priestly sovereign of Tibet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1287-1444</td>
<td>Talang Dynasty of Pegu (1287-1444).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1385-1470</td>
<td>Destruction of Cambodion (Khmer) power (1385): of Champa (Chamsa).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MODERN HISTORY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Chief Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1412-1428</td>
<td>Annamese war of liberation from China.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1546-1665</td>
<td>Talang Dynasty in Burma (Pegu).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1643</td>
<td>Dalai Lama, ruler of Tibet: head of Northern Buddhism (Lamaism) in Asia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>English and French settlements in Burma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1733-1885</td>
<td>Alompra Dynasty in Burma. 1755. Foundation of Rangoon. 1757. Destruction of the Talangs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>French in Annam: treaty with Nguyen Gia Long (1773-1820), first King of all Annam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-1899</td>
<td>French suzerainty in Annam. Wars: Tongking (1873-1885); Black Flag (1885-1891).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-1904</td>
<td>Settlement of present Siamese boundaries.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**DATES OF TBETANE HISTORY**

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<th>Chief Events</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TIBETAN TRADITION: PERIOD OF THE KING (SHEEP-HORD TRIBES)</td>
<td>B.C. 1500-1090; A.D. 435;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATED HISTORY: KING OF THE KING (433-920);</td>
<td>A.D. 433;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIBETAN EMPIRE: (620-850);</td>
<td>620;</td>
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<tr>
<td>WEST AND EAST KINGDOMS: (850-1243);</td>
<td>850;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHINESE SUCERARITY: (1243); DIRECT CHINESE RULE: (1243-1270);</td>
<td>1243; 1246-1248; 1253; 1255;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RULE OF THE SAKYAPA LAMAS: (1270-1240);</td>
<td>1270; 1328; 1280;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LINE OF PHAGMODGE: (1540-1576);</td>
<td>1340; 1390; 1447; 1576; 1576-1645; 1625;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RULE OF THE DALAI LAMAS: (1645)</td>
<td>1645; 1706-1717; 1715-1733; 1730-1747; 1774; 1863; 1872; 1872; 1904; 1910;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chinese**

- **PRHAS** (traveller) of the Southern Liang Dynasty of China (307-419), finds kingdom among the Kings of Tibet. **GYA-KHRI BRSATSO**, connected by legend with Prasenajit of Kosala (Oudh, c. 530-500), the first of a long line of legendary Shepher King's.

**Western Kingdom**

- Western Kingdom dominant, but breaks up into petty chiefships, of which **KHORRE SHHANG TUNG** of U becomes prominent.

**Kharkor chief invites ATSA from India to rule the monastery of Tholing in Xari. He becomes first ruling priest in Tibet. Thich 'ung chief supports his successors in office. Rise of Lamsik.

**KHALAI KHAN** (1216-1294) conquers Tibet.


**Guillaume Bouchier** (French): first European visitor to Tibet.

**PHBen LHOOG GYALTSHAN**, nephew of Sakya Pandita, converts Khalkhan to Tibetan Buddhism after his accession to the Chinese Empire (1259) and is rewarded by the sovereignty of Tibet.

**Monk Mongol interference in the government. Civil troubles.**

- **Antonio d'Andrade** and the Jesuits in Tibet.

- The Mongols make the FIFTH DALAI LAMA ruler of all Tibet.

- First Manchu Emperor of China (Shun Chih, 1644-1661) confirms him.

- The Mongols again interfere in the affairs of Tibet.

- Capuchin and Jesuit missions at Lhasa.

- The Chinese finally conquer Tibet (Kang HI, Emperor, 1661-1721).


- Abdul Huc's journey.

- British secret surveys commence under Pandits Nain Singh and Krishna.

- British and Russian commercial rivalry.

- Foreign European expeditions commence.


- His deposition by the Chinese. 1912. His second restoration.
### DATES OF BURMESE HISTORY

<table>
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<th>Eras and Dynasties</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Chief Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Burmes Tradition</strong></td>
<td>B.C. 856</td>
<td>Successive occupation by tribes from China: Mons (Talangs), Shan and Burmans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>825</td>
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<td>543</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATED HISTORY PAGAN DYNASTY (BURMESE), A.D.</th>
<th>638-1010</th>
<th>Chief Events</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>638</td>
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<td>849-882</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burmese Empire: 1010-1298</th>
<th>1010-1052</th>
<th>Chief Events</th>
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<td>1010-1052</td>
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<td>1057-1065</td>
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<td>1085-1160</td>
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<td>1279-1298</td>
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<tr>
<th>Minor Dynasties: Taling of Pegu</th>
<th>1287</th>
<th>Chief Events</th>
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<tr>
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<td>1287</td>
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<td>1306-1350</td>
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<td>1366-1367</td>
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<td>1519</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burmese Rule: 1500-1570</th>
<th>1500-1548</th>
<th>Chief Events</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1581-1599</td>
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<td>1593</td>
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<tr>
<th>Burmese Rule: 1570-1575</th>
<th>1570</th>
<th>Chief Events</th>
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<td>1574-1576</td>
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<tr>
<th>Alompra Dynasty (Burmes): 1575-1850</th>
<th>1573-1575</th>
<th>Chief Events</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1846-1852</td>
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### British Rule from 1886 | 1886-1890 | Chief Events |
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<td>1886-1890</td>
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</table>
### Plate III.

#### Empires and Dynasties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Chief Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>705</td>
<td>Insurrections and division of kingdom into halves, each under its own ruler.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Dates of Siamese History—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Chief Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>802-850</td>
<td>JAYAVARMAN II. (802-850) revives the Kingdom; commences building on a colossal scale, followed by nearly all his successors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>850-910</td>
<td>YASOVARMAN. Completion of Angkor Thom (Yaosdhapura).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>910-950</td>
<td>RAJENDRARAKMAR. Buddhism develops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>950-1050</td>
<td>SIAM EMPIRE II. The temple of Angkor Wat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1050-1150</td>
<td>DHARANASEKARVARMAN. War with the Hindu Kings of Champa (Annamb) commences; building ceases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1150-1200</td>
<td>JAYAVARMAN VIII. the last “Great Khmer.” 1177. His capital sacked. 1190-1224. Champa conquered and annexed, but kingdom exhausted and its power weakened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200-1250</td>
<td>KHEH KHAM. (1260-1294) drives the Shan out of South China, and weakens the Lao-Shan States, profoundly affecting Siam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1250-1284</td>
<td>RAMA KHAM. Siamese Siam becomes the ruling race in Siam.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Chief Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1385-1400</td>
<td>PERA PARAMARAJA (1399-1413). D’Albuquerque in Malacca.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400-1450</td>
<td>PERA NARAYU (1399-1450), the conqueror. Extension of Siamese rule. Disputes with Annam as to Cambodia, with rival kings there till 1446.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Period of Usurpers: 1687–1722.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Chief Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1687-1689</td>
<td>Sinyushein of Burma destroys Ayuthia.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Siamese Dynasty of Bangkok from 1782.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Chief Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1782-1800</td>
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#### Empires and Dynasties.

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#### Chief Events.

- Occupation in the north by Giao (Giaochi): south by Chans. Hindu emigration to the south. |
- SHI WANG (246-210) of the Chuan Dynasty (249-220) successor of Giao (Giaochi) (Tongking and Annam). |
- SINO-CHINESE (1876-1891), Treaty with Louis XVI. 1801. King (Vua) of Tongking, Annam, and Cochinchina. |
- LE MANG (1820-1841). CHINESE (1876-1891), Treaty with Louis XVI. 1801. King (Vua) of Tongking, Annam, and Cochinchina. |
- LE MANG (1820-1841). CHINESE (1876-1891), Treaty with Louis XVI. 1801. King (Vua) of Tongking, Annam, and Cochinchina. |
(1403-1425), the Ming Emperor of China, whose suzerainty (1407-1412) had become too pronounced, and Champa was left in peace for a while.

But in 1446 Le Thanh Tong (1435-1473) took the capital of the last Sri Jaya king, which had reverted to Paurang (Panduranga). On this there was anarchy in Champa until it was finally annexed by Annam in 1470, and the Chams became absorbed into the Annamese, their last chief emigrating into Cambodia in 1820. Thus ended the interesting Hindu kingdom of Champa, the kings of which were important builders long before An Khor was heard of, and despite their many troubles, kept up a stately rule at their home to the last.

The Le dynasty of Annam, founded by Le Loi in 1428, which had overthrown Champa, continued to reign at least nominally till 1801. But in 1540 the Nguyen family began to rule in their name at Hue, while the Trinh family were doing the same thing in Tongking at Hanoi. In 1551 there commenced a struggle for supremacy between them, which was still going on in 1787, when the Nguyen ruler, Gialong, concluded a treaty with Louis XVI, and by the help of a French force established himself as king of all the country from Tongking to Cochin-China in 1801.

This victory, however, meant in the end the passing of control over the whole of the Annamese kingdom and much more into the hands of the French. Gialong's successors did not follow his policy, and massacres of Christians from 1825 to 1858 led to the annexation of Saigon and Cochin-China in 1867. The tedious Tongking War (1873-1885) followed, and by 1885 Annam and Tongking became French protectorates. Then came troubled days of guerilla warfare with the Black Flag pirates and outlaws, whose many devastations lasted from 1885 to 1891, when De Lussanet, as Governor-General (1891-1894), restored peace in 1893 by the expedient of ruling through the native king. In the same year there were border troubles with Siam, which resulted in the addition (1893) of Luang Prabang to French Indo-China, and in the Mekong being made its western boundary in 1904.

The story of the French occupation of Annam is remarkable for the facts that the efforts of Jules Ferry (1883-1886) in bringing about the conquest of Indo-China caused the downfall of his Ministry; that it was only by four votes in the French Parliament that the conquest was upheld, and that local jealousies stirred up by De Lussanet in rendering European government possible in the country led to a sudden recall, reminiscent of the fate of Clive and Warren Hastings in India.

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GAZETTEER GLEANINGS IN CENTRAL INDIA.

BY MAJOR C. ECKFORD LUARD, M.A., I.A.

The Revolt of Khwaja Naik. A Ballad.

The Marathi song given below was obtained in the Barwani State. This revolt took place during the Mutiny. Khwaja or Khaji Naik was a resident of Sangir, a village on the Agra-Bombay road in the Sirpur Taluka of Khundesh, about 17 miles from Shirpur. He was in receipt of an allowance of a hundred rupees a month from the British Government at the time he revolted, and was incited thereto by stories of the Mutiny, and especially by the exploits of Tantri Topi. He induced two Bhils, Bhima and Mawasiah, to join him. A letter to Rana Jaswant Siigh of Barwani, from Colonel H. M. Durand, then Resident at Indore, dated 26 August 1857, mentions that these men had
looted Datwâdâ village and soon afterwards they looted British treasure passing along the high road. On 19th November 1838 Tântiâ Topî reached Khargâôî in the Indore State, hard pressed by the British. Khâwâja Nâik and the other Nâiks joined him, the whole party being some 4,000 strong. They were attacked by Major Sutherland near Râjpûr and defeated, the leaders escaping. A second fight took place at Dhabâ Bâodî, a village eight miles from Barwâni. Bhîmâ was caught soon afterwards and transported, but Khâwâja Nâik continued to plunder along the high road. Finally some Makrânî detectives were employed, who captured and decapitated him, taking his son, Polâ Siîh, a boy eight years old.

As to the persons and places mentioned in the Ballad "Kâmâni Sâhib" is either a "Commanding Officer", or, more probably, Captain W. G. Cumming, Bhil Agent at Barwâni, and "Barși," or (as he is still spoken of by some of the old men who took part in these events) "Bârethî Sâhib," is possibly Lt. Birch, who disarmed the Burhânpur Mutineers in July 1857. Pâlásner, is a village on the Agra-Bombay road in Khândesh. Shîrîpûr is the head-quarters of a tâluku in Khândesh. The Râhi tank is probably the Rehétîâ tank near Râjpûr in Barwâni. The Moga or Môgri river is the boundary between Indore and Barwâni territory in the Pansewâl pargâna of Barwâni. Khâdîâ, is a village near Râjpûr, in Barwâni. Malegâon, Dhâlîâ and Dharangdâoî are all in Khândesh. The Jâmniâ-nâlâ falls near the Agra-Bombay road, by Sendhvâ.

This song is one of the numerous compositions which serve to keep local events alive in the memories by the people.

**SONG.**

Ingra-jâshî Khâjîa Nâîk hota milâna.

Khâjîa Nâîkâvar dagâ kelâ, pahâ, shipâyâna.

Bhîmâ Nâîk badalâlâ, kaûbâr bândhile
tyâna,

Konya divâshîn Khâjîa Nâîk jâîl badlûna.

Khâjîa Nâîkâvar jasi mansûba kelâ Sâhibîâni,

Prathâm tâpyâche ghôde ana sojûni;

Jeohân tâpyâche ghôde soûle Khâjîa Nâyâkâne,

Saâjekârâchâ târ tojîla pahâ, tyâ mardâna.

Palâsner lûtûn, Sâtpûdyâ gelâ cha-jhûna,

Senduyâchîyâ Ghâta madhyعلومa baslâ jáûna,

Kamânî Sâheb gelâ Narmadâ utrûna.

Ăntûn Khâjîa Nâîk yeîl koûtâya wâtâna. ?

Tyâlâ jîtâchî marin kiû Kâleû Pâni davîna.

Khâjîa Nâîk was always on good terms with the English.

But, note how the sepoys acted treacherously towards him.

As Bhîmâ Nâîk has revolted, and girded his loins for the pray;

So probably Khâjîa Nâîk will soon follow him. (As a precaution against) Khâjîa Nâîk’s action the Sâhib proposed, 

That all the ponies on the stages be called in; 

But Khâjîa Nâîk loosed the stage ponies,

And cut the telegraph wires on the high-road, so brave was he.

He plundered Palâsner and fled to the Sâtpûdas,

And made his home in the Sendhwa Pass. Cumming Sahib crossed the Narbadâ after him.

"By what road can Khâjîa Nâîk escape (thought the Sahib)?

I will either kill him or have him transported."
Asá mansúba kélá Kamání sáhibâné.
Jasá gái madhyen vyághra shirto, tase ále Khâje Râv.
Ingrajáni tal sočile pâhilá Shirpûr gàona.

**Tek :—**

Dhuman Nâyaka potín janamle sawáí Khâje Râv
Ingrajâshi gheûn laджhái chau deshîn kele náv

Rahichyá Talyâvâr phaujá pâджlyá jáûna.
Mogar na吉 utrûn gelâ ghyâ tuhîn aïkâna,
Bhavânyâchhí Talyâvârî hotî, âoge jàna.
Khâ'âkî varâti mukâm dere dile khâjiâna.
Sâdakechi be; ânîli hoti shipayâna :
Ingrajâchhî yeto khajîna ubhyâ saджkâna,
Ingrejâcha yeto khajîna ubhyâ saджkâna.
Karûn kuchyâvâr kâch saджkâvar gelâ châlûna.
Ubhyâ nâlîyâchhî râsta dharîla Baršî Sâhibâna,
gâmniya nâlîyâva sa'dak basala rokhûna.
Gosâvî Nâïk, Chain Siîh, âle milûna,
Ingrajâchhî yeto Khajîna ubhyâ sa'dkhâna,
Sâhibâchhî khajîna Khâjiâna nêla lutûna :
Ingrej karîtât mansûba básûna

**Chorus :—**

Thus did Khâjiâ Râv, son of Dhuman Nâïk
Gain a name throughout the world by fighting the English

The troops were encamped on the Rahi Tank.
Then they crossed the Mogar river,
And assembled on the bank of the Bhavâni Tank.
Khâjiâ came and pitched his camp at Khâjïkî Village.
There a sepoy reported to him that a force was on the way:
And that English money was coming by the high-road.
(There he heard) that English money was coming by the high-road.
Making forced marches, he reached the road.
Birch Sâhib, meanwhile, came down the water-coarse,
And took up a position on the Jamnîa Stream.
The Gosâvî Nâïk, Chain Siîh, now joined (Khâjiâ).
As soon as the English treasure reached the road,
Khâjiâ fell upon it and plundered it,
While the English were still making plans,

**Tek :—**

Dhuman Nâyaka potín janamle sawáí Khâje Râv
Ingrajâshî gheûn laджhái chau deshîn kele náv

Teohâ'n Kamání Sâhib Baršî Sâhib âle milûna ;
Shirpûr Shaharâvârtî pâджv ghatâla tyâni.
Khâjiâ Nâyakâsî dharûn mansûba kélâ Sâhibâna.
Nâlyâchhî râsta dharîla Baršî Sâhibâna,
Khâjiâchhî baiakâchhî mel gelâ gavasûna,

**Chorus :—**

Thus did Khâjiâ Râv, son of Dhuman Nâïk
Gain a name throughout the world by fighting the English

Then Cumming Sâhib and Birch Sâhib met,
And pitched camp at Shirpûr town.
And here the Sâhibs determined to catch Khâjiâ Nâïk.
Then Birch Sâhib descended by the stream,
And seizing Khâjiâ's wives, whom he found,
Shirpur gaoanwari tyana ale ghevana, 
Ingrej karitat mansuba basuna, 
Shirpuravar Khajiya Nayakayet chiula: 
Apaya baiik neyil kaahuna yana reu
Malygaon theina.
Asa pakka mansuba kela Ingrejana: 
Nayakala khabar kalali jauna, 
Tumchya shirachi nemli paina.
Jasa gai madhyen vyaghra shirto, tase ale 
Khaje Rav.
Ingrejashii gheun laadhii chaudeshi kele nava.

Tek:—

Dhuman Nayaka potin janamle sawai Khaje 
Rav
Ingrejashii gheun laadhii chau deshi kele 
nav

Khajiya Nayakana laadhii kele moihya gham-
shane:
Manushyanехin shireh udvitiin chende 
pramane:
Tevhan rakshycha nadya vahat tyah pah-
adhana.
Jakhmi kele phar neti, dolint ghalana.
Kamani Sahib, Barsi Sahib hote doghe jana:
Khajiychya shirachi nemiyeli paina.
Ladhachha divas nemiyalot hotil, shirache 
shirpara.
Kityek maratii, kityek vachati: Shri Hari 
majala pava.

Tek:—

Dhuman Nayaka potin janamle sawai Khaje 
Rav
Ingrejashii gheun laadhii chau deshi kele 
nav

Baaji Sahibane patra lihile hoten Nayakasi:
Satpwdya sojun yave bheetshi.

Tevhan Nayakana utri lihile tyaa Sahibasi: 
"Anaad Rav Bapu Patil dhaha bheetshi. 
Itkyaa varati marji apli, Sarkarachi khushi."
Anand Rav Bapu Patil gele bheetshi, 
Satpwdya sojun Nayak ale Shirpurasi.

He took them away to Shirpur.
The English then held a Council. 
They thought Khajiya Naiik would attack 
Shirpur, 
And determined to place his wives at Maly-
gaoi, as he would try to get them.
Such was the final idea of the English: 
But the Naiik learnt of their plans, 
And heard that they had offered a reward 
for his head:
As a tiger dashes into a herd of cows, so 
did Khajiya Rav fall on them.
He made his name famous by his fight with 
the English.

Chorus:—

Thus did Khajiya Rav, son of Dhuman Naiik
Gain a name throughout the world by 
fighting the English

Khajiya Naiik fought desperately:
And men's heads flew about like balls in a 
game:
And blood flowed, as the streams of water 
flow in those hills.
Many were wounded, and carried away on 
stretchers.
Cuming Sahib and Birch Sahib, both were 
present,
And they offered a reward for Khajiya's head.
A day was fixed for the fight, when heads 
must fall,
How many will die, how many will escape—
O Hari help me.

Chorus:—

Thus did Khajiya Rav, son of Dhuman Naiik
Gain a name throughout the world by 
fighting the English

Then the political officer wrote a letter to 
the Naiik, 
Asking him to come down from the Satpujas 
and meet him.
To this the Naiik wrote an answer, saying, 
"Let Anaad Rav Patil come and see me."
All depends on your kindness and the 
Governments pleasure.
So Anaad Rav Patil came and saw him.
Then the Naiik came down to Shirpur from 
the Satpujas.
Dàn dharma punya kele apunya vaśīlasi.
Dar kuchhāsan chānl gele Shahr Dhulisīn.
Shambhū Nāyak, Barkū Pātīl gele Male-
gāōūāsīn:
Nāyakachayā bāikā gheūna āle Dhulisīn.
Bājya Sāhibāne hukum kele Khājīj Nāya-
kaśānīn:
Mule mānase gheūn tumchī rāha Sāṅgvīśān:
Ghārīn basūn pagār khāva kanū nāḥīn trijā-
śīn;
Sātpūdyachayā pahāḍa madhyēn jūnā mohasi.
Saḷakechayā rasta vāhe din rāt.
Sāhebāne nāv kelen chāv mulkhāvara.
Saḷak bāndhīl Kashchayā sāmora.
Pahāḍa madhyēn Khājīj Nāyak jasa ek vāṅghra.
Tyāne yasha jinkile Dhabā Bāōīvāra.

Tek :—

Dhuman Nāyaka potin janamle sawā Khāje Rāv
Ingrājāshi gheūn laḍhāi chau deshīn kele nāv

Ek jātichayā shipāīe chākar thevila hauseger.
Chākārīs chūklā jive mārīlā bandūkīnā.
Gheūn mule mānase pahāḍa madhyēn basa jaına.
Ingrējāshi khabar kalāli Sāhib ale thāuna.
Vilāyatīchahuge bandhū pāhāti drishtīna :
"Amcha huṇa marīla ámbhi gheūn Khājīchayā prāṇa."
Sāhebān īnām patra dile lihūna.
Chaughe bandhū milūna chalalē, pahā, jaldina.
Khājīvar chaughe yama gele chalūna.
Khājīj Nāyak pahāḍa madhyēn basala monjena.
Khājījāla mujrā kelā : "Ámbhi, jūne chākar pahūya pasūna,"
Khājīchayā mānevar thevli māna.

In his father's name he gave gifts to charities.
By rapid marches he came to Dhuliī.
Shambhā Nāik and Barkū Pātīl thus went to Malegāōon,
And brought the Nāiks' wives to Dhuliă.
Then the political officer gave Khājīj Nāik an order,
To go to Sāṅgvi with all his family;
That he would receive a regular allowance at
his residence and should want for nothing,
As he was an old chieftain of the Sātpūḍa hills.
Then the high road was free to traffic day
and night.
The English have made themselves famous
everywhere,
They extended the metalled road to Benares.
But Khājīj Nāik (was famous) as a tiger of
the hills.
At Dhabā Bāōī he won a victory.

Chorus :—

Thus did Khājīj Rāv, son of Dhuman Nāik
Gain a name throughout the world by
fighting the English

Now (on settling down) he entertained
sepoys as his servant.
The sepoys failed to do his duty and the
Nāik shot him.
Then he fled to the heart of the hills, and
lived there with his household.
On hearing of this occurrence the English
hastened (to Sāṅgvi).
Four Pathans (brothers of the murdered
man) had seen the deed:
"As he killed our brother (they swore) we
will kill Khājīj."
The Sahib issued a written promise of re-
ward (for his capture).
Now see how the four brothers went off at
once.
These four messengers of death went to
Khājīj.
Khājīj was living quietly in his mountain
home.
They came and made obeisance to him
(saying): "we are your ancient servan's."
And placed their necks on his.
Khājījālā bharvasa āla pahīlyā paśāna.

Yevade bolne aikle Bhīmā Nāyakānā:
"Sutāle chākhar punhi thevane dusmana pramāna."

Bhīmā Nāyakāche kāhe dile modūna!
Khājījāne vairi thevile apulya hātāna.

Ek divas chālālā aṅgholī kārāna,
Te chaunghe shīpāi saṅgaṭi ghevāna.
Bardia khāli nālyāvar gele utarūna.

Aṅghol māndī Khājījā Nāyakānā.
Shirichyā rūmāl thevīla kā hūna.
Dandā che te tāt thevile soṇūna.
Gaivar vyāghra tāpule te chaughe jaṣa.

Aṅghol karūn kari Bhagvantā che dhyāna.
Mauli golī dīla thār kārūna.
Thadivar Khājījā padāla yeṇāna.
Tyachi bahin dhāvat ali raḍge gala dharānā:
"Ya Khājījā, vacchūn vyarthi ammche jīna."

Kathina jābāb dīla tenbiya tyā Vīlāyatayāna:
"Dūr dūr, Bāi, shir gheđe kapūna.
Shira sāthi ālo amhi he chaughe jaṣa."
Magūn ghav marīla, Jamādārānā.

Yeka ghavā madhyen tahan bhau kele thar.

Khājījā Nāyakāche shir kāpile chau deshi nāv.

Khājījā Nāyakāche katāhi ghetli Jamādārānā:
Suvarṇāchā kačē ghetē tyachyā bandhūnā.

Rumāl toča dabala, pāhā tya tisaryāne.

Khājījā Nāyakāche shir kāpile, pāhā, tya chauntāne.
Kumālāt te shir ghalūn chālīle ghevūna.

Kājījā Naik accepted their statement unhesitatingly.
But Bhīmā Naik said on hearing it:
"To re-engage dismissed servants is the same as harbouring an enemy."
But the Naik did not heed Bhīmā.
So Khājījā kept his enemies of his own free will.
One day he went to bathe,
Taking the four sepoys with him.
He descended the hill and went to the stream.

Khājījā got ready to bathe.
He took the turban off his head,
And the amulet on his arm he laid aside.
The four tigers were waiting quietly for the cow.
After bathing he began his prayers.
At this moment they shot him down,
And Khājījā fell from upon the bank.
His sister came running up and put her arm round his neck weeping sorely.
(Crying) "Without Khājījā life to us is valueless."

The Pathans harshly replied:
"Stand aside, girl, let us cut off his head."
"We four have come for his head."
Then the Jamadar struck a blow from behind.
With the same stroke brother and sister died.
By thus cutting off this Naik's head, they gained great fame.

Chorus:
Thus did Khājījā Rāv, son of Dhumān Naik
Gain a name throughout the world by fighting the English.

The Jamadar then took away Khājījā Naik's necklace.
While, another brother took away his golden bangle.
Note, the third took away, his anklet and scarf.
And see, how the fourth struck off Khājījā Naik's head.
Wrapping up the head in the scarf, they bore it away.
Yet hota Pola Siuh sajakhevar milvile tyana.

Tujhyo bapache shir anile kapuna.

"Palayacha upaya karshil jashil jivana."

Adnyan bal mani gela bhivona.

Ghojyavar basla hota khali ala utruna.

Pola Siuh rajato shirala bhujuna.

Pola Siuh anala Shirpurasi daruna.

Shir dvile kacherit neuna.

Tyia shira sathe rajate aoghe jaqa.

Thar aakan jhala Shirpurara karana.

Sakari vatiya tyachya dusmanana.

Shirala jhala Dharangavi hukuma.

Te shir dvile banglyat neuna.

Sahibane shir pahile drishtina.

Char hajar rupayo dile mojuna.

Tyia shirat satbi jariche kafan.

Tyia shirala jhala sajakchaa hukuma.

Te shir gajile sajakhevar neuna.

Pola Siuhasi jhala pahajachaa hukuma.

"Tiyhia bapache jaga byis rokhuna."

Adnyan bale arj dilaa lihuna.

Majhyoa bapache shir anile kapuna.

Saagvichi jagaant mi basuna"

Ingre bahadur gelaa mani bharkuna;

Pola Siuhasi juula Mumbaicha hukuma.

Pola Siuh ghatala Mumbais neuna.

Pahajaa madhyen bhash Ingrejyache thanaa;

Saagvi jaga takli mojuna.

Tek:

Dhuman Nayaka potin jananle sawai Khaje Ravn
Ingraajashi gheun lajdhi chau deshin kele nadv

Now Pola Siuh was passing along the road,
and met them,

(They said) "See, we have brought your
father's severed head.

Do not attempt to fly, or you will share his
fate."

He was but an ignorant youth and became
frightened.

He dismounted and went up to them.

Pola Siuh took the head and wept.

So they brought Pola Siuh into Shipur.

They went to the office and shewed the
head.

All wept for the slain man on seeing the
head.

There was violent wailing in Shipur.

But his enemies (delighted) distributed
sugar,

They were ordered to go to Dharangaoi with
the head.

They went there and produced the head at
the (Sahib's) house.

The Sahib saw the head, and examined it.

He counted out four thousand rupees to
them (as a reward).

A cloth of gold brocade was provided as a
cover for the head.

And it was ordered that the head should be
buried on the high road.

So the head was buried on the high road.

Pola Siuh was told to go back to the hills.

(The Sahib said to him) "Take up your
father's position."

Boy as he was he petitioned:

"As my father's head has been cut off and
brought here,

So let me settle in Saagvi, Sir."

But the English were suspicious of his
intentions,

And Pola Siuh was ordered to go to Bombay.

And to Bombay he was therefore taken.

While the English established posts through-
out the hills,

And utterly demolished Saagvi.

Chorus:

Thus did Khajiya Ravn, son of Dhuman Naik
Gjin a name throughout the world by
fighting the English
THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 36.)

The Jesuit theory of oppression not quite trustworthy.

The theoretical rate of 50 per cent. of the gross produce would have been, if strictly adhered to, hard enough for the cultivators; but we are informed that the Polygars and the crown officials were always rapacious, and squeezed more from the ryots. Their rapacity, says the Jesuit authority, "was usually limited only by the inability of the Ryot to pay, or by his success in deceiving or bribing the collecting staff." It is difficult to believe this severe and wholesale condemnation. The large number of wars in which the Naik kings were engaged, the size and extent of the grants they made to Brāhmanas and temples, the enormous amount they spent in the construction of public works and in the performance of charities, the industrious liberality with which they constructed vast irrigation works, could hardly have been possible, if the revenue system were based on injustice and tyranny. An unceasing extortion by revenue officials would have hopelessly impoverished the country, and made it unable to bear the burden of those incessant wars and those works of unproductive expenditure, for which the Kartas were famous. The country's splendour and luxury, moreover, could not have been the result of a reckless maladministration. Indeed the dynasty itself could not have been in power for such a long time, if it had been erected on the foundations of tyranny and cruelty. The importance attached to a just rule in contemporary literature, and the lamentation of the kings in inscriptions could not have happened in an atmosphere of unalloyed misery. The praises of chronicles, the exploits of kings like Raṅga Krishṇa Muttu Virappa, the works of Tirumal Naik and Maṅgammal are even now existing proofs of a prosperous kingdom and a resourceful people. It is therefore safe to conclude that, as a rule, the administration was paternal and sympathetic, while there were not wanting, as the Jesuit writers inform us, grave intervals of oppression and misrule. As A. J. Stuart says, a government whose wealth and whose tastes are manifested by hundreds of temples and statues throughout the peninsula, and whose readiness to employ all its resources for the benefit of its people, as proved by the number and nature of the irrigation works which it completed, implies a contended and prosperous people; while a high state of the arts and of knowledge is abundantly testified by the exquisite design and workmanship discoverable in many of the temples and statues, as well as by the grasp and mastery of the principles of irrigation, a complicated and difficult branch of the engineering art displayed in their irrigation system."

Comparison of the Naik assessment with the later Musalman system.

Passing on to the question how far the Naik assessment was heavy or light when compared with later assessments, we have first to see that it was, in the words of A. J. Stuart, undoubtedly light when "compared to that of the Mahomedan Government of the Nawabs of the Carnatic which follows." In highly eloquent and pathetic terms Dr. Caldwell describes the oppression of the Carnatic Renter and the absolute helplessness of the Ryot in the days of the Carnatic Raj. Interested in squeezing as much as possible, the Renters practically reduced the farmer's share to 16 per cent. of the produce. It was out of this meagre dole that he was to maintain his family, to furnish the stock and implements of husbandry, to purchase cattle and meet other expenses. Besides, he was compelled to "labour week after week at the repair of water-courses, tanks and embankments of rivers." He could

76 Tinnevelly Manual p. 69. Tinnevelly alone contained 36 pagodas of note and nearly 400 receiving endowments (exclusive of village pagodas), in the beginning of the 19th century. "This gives some idea of the wealth and civilization of the province at a very early period." In Madura there should have been a much larger number of such shrines.

77 His Tinnevelly: Stuart's Tinnevelly Manual, p. 53.
not reap his harvest without the sanction of the Renter, who could chastise disobedience with bodily torture and wholesale confiscation. He was prevented from the sale of corn without the payment of transit duties at almost every tenth mile on his way to the market,—a hardship which he shared with manufacturers and merchants. The prices of his goods, again, were not always regulated by the natural laws of demand and supply, as the exchange of specie could be raised or sunk at the Renter's discretion. The possibility of famines was, in consequence, a common object of fear. With the military force at his disposal, with all the judicial and civil authorities also united in his hands, the Renter, after all a mercenary in his ideals, had all those tremendous powers which "ought to constitute the dignity and lustre of supreme executive authority," and which he prostituted, at the expense of the people, to his insatiable greed and boundless avarice. It is not surprising that, in the time of the Carnatic Nawabs, the agriculturist was a miserably poor and robbed person. It is true that the provincial Governor of the Nāik Kingdom, who was of course immediately subordinate to the Karta, had all the powers, privileges and dignities of the later Renter. But there seems to have been a greater control of the Governor under the Kartas. He was moreover not a short time farmer of the revenues, who could oppress the people or the Zamindars and vassal Rājās with impunity. He seems to have been invested with powers for an unlimited time, the duration of his power depending on his capacity to rule and his sympathy with the people. The central government also seems to have been comparatively vigilant in following his actions and checking his vagaries. The small incidence which took place at Tinnevelly in the time of the Governor Tiruvēiga,Janāthaiya and his suzerain, Raiga Krishṇa Muttu Virappa Nāik, illustrates the financial check of the Karta over the provincial ruler.

**Comparison with the British system.**

If the Nāik administration of the land revenue was milder and more equitable than the later Muhammadan administration it was, in the view of some at least, not so mild or so equitable as the British administration of the present day. Mr. Nelson who first made such a comparison arrived at a very extravagant conclusion,78 On the ground that Father Martin, a Jesuit writer, writes that in 1713 eight marakāls of rice were sold for one faşam, i.e., 96 lbs. of rice for 2½d., and that in 1866, when the Madura Manual was written, it was sold at 20 lbs. per rupee, Nelson concluded that the Nāik revenue of Rs.1,200,000 was really equal to 50 million pounds sterling of the "present day,"—the purchasing power of money then being 40 times the purchasing power in 1866! Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar, the late Inspector General79 of Registration (Madras) and the author of the celebrated Memorandum on the 40 years' Progress of the Madras Presidency (1893), made a more moderate estimate. He points out that, according to Father Martin, a quantity of eight marakāls of rice was needed for a man's maintenance for 15 days, and that these 8 marakāls were worth 2½d. Practical experience shows, however, that 8 marakāls are not wanted for a man for 15 days. The utmost that he is likely to need is 3 lbs. per day, and therefore 45 lbs. for 15 days. Now the Dewan Bahadur's contention is that even if these 45 lbs. are considered to have been worth 2½d., the price in 1713 would be 1/12 of the price in 1893 (when the author wrote his memorandum). The purchasing power of the money in 1713, in other words, was twelve times the purchasing power in 1893. Mr. Hayavadana Rao carried this argument further. Assuming in a purely arbitrary manner—that the purchasing power of money in the 17th century was double that in the 18th, he concludes that the Nāik revenue of Rs.1,200,000 or 180 lakhs of rupees was in reality equal to six times 180 lakhs, and that it was therefore 9 times the present land revenue in the same districts, which amounts to 120 lakhs of rupees.80

79 See Ind. Antq. November 1911, p. 281-2 where a summary is given of both Nelson and Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar.
80 Ibid. It will be seen that this writer simply multiplies the total sterling amount by 15 to find out the silver equivalent!
The calculations of these writers have been vitiated by certain mistakes. I have already shown how Nelson was not justified in holding the sum of £800,000 as land revenue, and how it would be more proper to hold that, out of a total revenue of £800,000 a sum of £550,000 or roughly £600,000 alone formed the land revenue. A second mistake of Nelson is that he gives too low a value for a fașam. It is true that there were various fașams, gold and silver, current in the middle ages, and it is difficult to say to what fașam Father Martin has referred. But a little investigation into the numismatic history of the peninsula and a more careful study of the chronicles tell us that the fașam usually in currency was in gold and was in value one tenth of a pagoda and one fifth of a pon. The fașam weighed, as a rule, about 5½ grains, and thus formed a tenth of the pagoda in value. The Tanjore fașams, for example, which had a Swami on the concave side and, on the convex, double lines crossing each other at right angles," weighed 5½ grains. The Madura fașams resembled the Tanjore fașams, but the lines on the convex side intersected less regularly and were accompanied by two minute circles. They also weighed 5½ grains. The Negapatam fașams weighed 5½ grains and the Tinnevelly or "Koili" fașams which, as Marsden says, "were current from the Koleroom river to the southern extremity of the peninsula, are thin and flat, with impressions that have too little apparent meaning to admit of description," weighed 5¼ grains. The point to be noted is that it is these gold fașams which must have been referred to by Father Martin and not the small silver fașams which exchanged for a few kāsams and which were used only in very small transactions. Nelson is therefore wrong in equating a fașam to 2½d. The correct value is one tenth of 7s. 6d. that is 3s. Now it will be seen that, according to Martin, 8 marakās of husked rice, which we may take as the equivalent of 16 marakās of paddy, were worth 9d. It follows from this that a kalam (12 marakās) of paddy sold for 6½d. in 1713, and we may presume in the earlier period of the Naik History also. The equivalent of 6½d. in 1713 was 6½ annas, as the ratio between gold and silver was then 1 to 15, and to 4½ annas in 1560-1600, as the ratio was then 1 to 10. Now in the year 1902 the price of paddy was Rs. 1½, and so the purchasing power of money in the 16th century was a little less than 6½ times. The crown land revenue of 60 lakhs was therefore equivalent to 375 lakhs of rupees; and as the land revenue in the same districts in 1902 was 120 lakhs, it is plain that the Naik land revenue was 3½ times the British one. Nominally, of course, it was half; but in reality, on account of the greater purchasing power of money, thrice the burden on the ryot of 1902. Similar proportions can be found out for the other periods; but what has been thus far said is enough to shew that the Naik land tax was not so burdensome as scholars have hitherto imagined it to be.

(To be continued.)

81 See Marsden (Numismata Orientalis, 1825, II) p. 739. Biedie's Coin Collections gives a number of fașams the general weight of which may be said to be 5½ grains. Of these we may note Calicut fașams (5.76 grains), Cochin fașams (Pattan, 5.85), Cully fașams (Tinnevelly 4:512. grains to 5:55 grains), Ikkeri fașams (5.725), Ghiḏa fașam (5.79), Gūlīga fașam (5:846), Gōpāla fașam (Sālem, 5:9935), Kāntuḍh fașams (5:9875), Moolakaviri or Pattan fașam (5-1375-5:35 grains), Nāgar fașams (5-1375-5:35 grains), etc. See Biedie's Coin Collections, 41-9. Marsden points out that the average fașam weighed between 5½ and 6 grains. According to Buchanan, gold fașam was 1/12 pagoda, but "in all those I have compared says Marsden, "the proportion of weight is as 1 to 9." (Numism. Orient. II, 736). The silver fașams were much less valuable. According to some 8 kāsams went to make one fașam, and 42 fașams one pagoda. Later on, 12 fașams were equal to one Arcot Rupee, i.e., 23½d. English (Biedie, p. 27). According to another, 9 kāsams went to make one fașam, and 15 fașams one pagoda. Still another says, 9 kāsams went to make one fașam and 16 fașams one pagoda. (See Factory Records, 1619, p. 263). The Madura coin, says that 16 Kali fașams made a pagoda (Star pagoda). The value of a fașam varies, however, in different localities. In Madura it is 3 annas and 4 pies and in the Dindigul division 4 annas." (p. 153) According to Buchanan 10,000 Gōpāla fașams were equal to 2199-12½. i.e., 2199-12½ roughly. (Vol. II. p. 9.)

82 Marsden, p. 746.
SOME ANGLO-INDIAN WORTHIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
BY LAVINIA MARY ANSTEW.

No. V.

JAMES HARDING.

James Harding, the fifth of our "Worthies," is notable chiefly for his unorthodox opinions and his disagreeable temper. During the twenty years in which his name occurs among the Records of the East India Company, there is not one kindly mention of him, nor any reason to suppose that he ever made a friend. In fact, except for the period when he was under the special protection of Job Charnock at Kasimbazar, he appears to have been always at variance with his superiors and his fellow workers. At a time when the small communities of the various factories in Bengal were drawn together, either by the need of social intercourse, or for mutual assistance in their private trading ventures, the omission of James Harding's name in the many chatty letters written to that popular correspondent (and subsequent head of Balasor Factory), Richard Edwards, is significant. Neither is there a single letter extant by Harding himself, beyond his statements to the Councils of Bengal and Madras. His career in India has been, perforce, pieced out from scattered references to his employment and standing, and from accounts of his misbeliefs and misdoings in the MSS. preserved at the India Office. These give a tolerable estimate of his character, and present him as a man always in opposition, both in religious and civil life, to accepted conditions. His adherence to the doctrines of the sectarian, Ludowicke Muggleton, may have been the cause of his unpopularity on his arrival in India, and attacks made on his religious beliefs probably rendered him more morose and less inclined to fraternize with those about him. The accusations levelled against him by Agent Hedges might be disregarded, since Hedges was in violent opposition to Job Charnock and aspersed all those whom Charnock supported. For the same reason, the allegations against Harding's moral character might be discounted, since they were made by those who were supporting and currying favour with Hedges. But that Charnock himself should weary of Harding's continued "troublesome miscarriages" is the best evidence of his "turbulent" and "litigious" nature. No matter where he was, or who was in office, he was evidently a man who would always be "again' the government." No serious complaints were made as to his inefficiency, nor was he ever accused of trading privately to the Company's detriment. He simply seems to have had no capacity for living in friendship or for showing himself as friendly to any one.

James Harding's career in India extends from 1672 until 1688, and possibly later. He was elected a writer at £10 per annum on the Ist November 1671, on the recommendation of John Jolliffe and Benjamin Albyn, two members of the Court of Committees of the East India Company. His securities in the sum of £500 were Hercules Bridson of London, silk dyer, and Nicholas Harding of London. The latter was probably either the father or some near relative of the young writer, but no confirmation of the fact is available. A search for the will of Nicholas Harding at Somerset House has proved unavailing, nor have any other particulars regarding James Harding's family been discovered.

Four factors and ten writers were "entertained" by the Court of Committees in November 1671 to serve their factories in Madras and Bengal. James Harding's name is

*Court Minutes, Vol. XXVII, pp. 184, 187.*
eighth on the list of writers, and he was "to be disposed of" as the Council at Fort St. George should "think fitt." News had reached the Court of irregularities among their youthful servants, and they therefore wrote to the authorities at Fort St. George as follows:

"We are informed that some of your youthes with you, upon pretence that they have not allowance of suppers and other Conveniences provided for them in the Fort, take liberty to goe to Punch Howses and other places, and spend their time therein deboicing themselves, which wee cannot allow off. Therefore wee require that a competent provision and accommodation be made for them within our Fort, and that you restrayne all persons from this practive, and take care good howers and orders [are kept]."

The Court also made a fresh regulation with regard to the munificent salaries paid to their writers. And that all our writers under your Agency, whose sallaries are 10 li. per annum may be the better enabled to furnish themselves with Clothes and other Necessaries, Wee doe now order that their full sallaries be quarterly paid unto them, both of those already with you, with the Arrears of their said sallaries, and likewise to such as come in these ships."

The fleet sailing to India in 1671-1672 consisted of the Berkeley Castle, Johanna, Loyall Subject, Rebecca and Anne, and on these five ships the factors and writers were disposed. The Anne reached Fort St. George on the 13th June 1672, the other four vessels arriving ten days later, when the Company's new servants took up their duties. There is no mention of Harding for two years. Then, in March 1674, the Court wrote, "Wee doe order that Mr. James Harding, now at the Fort St. George, who was bred a silkeman, be sent to Cassambazzer [Kasimbazar] to be employed about sorting our silk." It is probable that Hercules Bridson, silk dyer, mentioned as one of Harding's securities, was responsible for his training in the silk trade. Accordingly, immediately on receipt of the Company's orders, the Council at Fort St. George proceeded to carry them out. On the 28th September 1674 they wrote to Walter Clavell and Council at Balasor, announcing that James Harding should "in few daies" proceed to "Cassumbzazr to be Imployed in the Honble. Companies affaires." On his arrival at Balasor, Harding was therefore sent on to Kasimbazar in the "Ganges" and it was suggested to Matthias Vincent, then chief of that factory, that he should be employed "as an assistance to the warehousekeeper.""

For nearly three years from this date the Records are silent regarding Harding. He should have been out of his writership at the end of 1676, but in the settlement made by the Court of their servants in Bengal, on the 12th December 1677, his name appears as "17th in the Bay" and first of the three writers at Kasimbazar. Harding, who had arrived in India imbued with the teaching of the then notorious sectarian Muggleton, found ample time to absorb the doctrines of his spiritual leader, and to avow them openly in the little English community at Kasimbazar. But, however scandalized his superiors were, or affected to be, by his unorthodox opinions, they hesitated to bring a charge against him, unless assured of support from their employers. In 1677 this support was given.

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5 O. C. (Original Correspondence), No. 3721.
7 Factory Records, Hugli, Vol. IV.
in a letter from the Court of the 16th December 1675, the 27th paragraph of which bestowed the following powers upon the Agent and Council at Fort St. George:

“Though Wee have not thought fitt to Authorize Our Agent and Counsell to putt any person out of Counsell that Wee have appointed of the Counsell, Yet in case any of our Counsell should prove unfaithfull to Us, either in discovering of Our Affaires to Our Enemies, or otherwise conspire against Us to defraud or betray Us, or become guilty of any fact accounted criminal, as Murder, Theft, Rape, Blasphemy, or the Like, In such cases the matter plainly appearing to Our Agent and Counsell, or the more part of them, they may and ought to suspend such person from the Counsell, or put him in Prison according to the Nature of the Offence.”

In 1677, the Council at Kasimibazar took advantage of this paragraph to call a consultation, on the 17th August, when Matthias Vincent, Edward Littleton and Richard Edwards, “Well considering the 27th Paragraffe of the Honble. Companies Letter, it was resolved that a complaint should be made and charge drawne up and sent to the Cheife and Counsell of the Bay against James Hardinge, a young man in this Factory of very dangerous and horribly blasphemous principles, as denying the persons of the Father and the Spiritt in the Godhead, as alsoe the [im]mortalitie of the Soule, and sundry other wicked tenets, which he had often vented here and endeavoured to draw others to, often declaring an implicate faith in and blind adherence to whatever hath been declared and owned by one Ludowycke Muggleton, a notorious and abominable hereticke spraunge up in our dayes, as the record of our times and his owne booke sufficiently declare, and to desire and presse the removall hence and sendinge home the said James Hardinge, according to the orders of the Honble. Company in the aforesaid paragraffe of their letter, he beinge alsoe a person of very little use and Service in our Honble. Masters affaires, of whome we cannot give any of those commendable and required caracters of “Dilligent, Faithfull and Able,” but the Contrary. All which wee reffered to the Cheife to draw up and to insert such other particulars as might be necessary to make knowne unto the Cheife and Counsell.”

Vincent’s categorical complaint against Hardinge does not exist. Before it reached Balasor, and even before the holding of the Consultation noted above, Walter Clavell had fallen a victim to the epidemic which carried off nearly all the Company’s servants there. Vincent was hurriedly summoned to take Clavell’s place, and Littleton, who succeeded him at Kasimbazar, left Hardinge alone, until an act of direct disobedience caused a second complaint of his conduct to be sent to Balasor. The details are given in the Kasimibazar Diary of the 1st November 1677:

“There wanting a Copy of an Apendix to our Generall Books to bee transmitted to our Honble. Masters this yeare, James Harding was by Edward Littleton sent for, and beinge Come, the said apendix was tendered to him and

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11 Factory Records, Kasimibazar, Vol. I.
12 Ludowycke Muggleton (1603-1698), an English sectarian, was the son of a farrier, but was bred up as a tailor. He began to have revelations in 1651, and proclaimed himself and his cousin as the two witnesses of revelation XI. 3. An exposition of their doctrines was published in 1656 under the title of The Divine Looking-Glass. In 1653 Muggleton was imprisoned for blasphemy. In 1657 he was tried and convicted for the same offence, and was fined £500. He escaped further imprisonment and lived to be nearly ninety. His collected works were published in 1756. The Muggletonians survived as a sect until about 1840. (See the art. in the Encycl. Brit. 11th ed.).
he ordered to Copy the same, which after some shuffling, he peremptorily refused to doe. Whereupon Mr George Knipe being sent for and Come, the said James Harding was againe enordered to copy the same, but he continued obstinate, contumaciously refusinge to write any more for the Company. Thereupon, being withdrawn, it was considered of and agreed that, seeing he had denied his Service to the Honble. Company, he should not be paid any more dyett money, but being an Englishman, should have accomodation of roome, dyett, &ca. in the Factory till further order from the Cheife and Counsell for the Bay, it beinge concluded at same time to advise them of the stubborne Carrage of the said James Harding as above."

A letter was therefore written, on the same date, to Matthias Vincent at Hugli:—

"Wee have to advise you that having some writeinge worke of our Honoble. Masters affaires to be don and transmitted to them this yeare, wee did enorder James Harden to preforme the same, but after some shuffling and boggling, he obstinately and peremptorily refused it more then once in our presence this day. Wee are of opinion that, considering his capacity, he could scarce have Committed an Act which could more have manifested his unfaithfulness and disobedience and refusall of a Continuance in, and rendered him more lyable to be discharged of, our Honoble. Masters Employment, it being not an act of Rashness or passion, but of serious deliberation (as much as he is Capable of), and which he yet Justifies and continues in. Being resolved to write noe more for the Honoble. Company, wee doe at present look upon him as a private Person, and therefore have enordered the disburser of our Factory charges not to pay him any more Diet mony, but shall permitt him, as an Englishman, Accomodation of roome &ca. in the factory till your further orders, and hope for your Aprovall."

In reply to this letter, Matthias Vincent wrote, on the 8th November 1677:—"Wee much admire at the Folle of James Harding, which Since, as you advise, persist[ed] in, and so is both useless to our Masters and also gives bad Examples to his fellow Servants there. Wee order you to send him hither by the next conveyance . . . You have done very well in not allowing Harding his dyett money, since, by denying of what he is Capable of doing in our Masters busines, wee think hee hath mended [sic] rendered him selfe worthy of it."

Harding was acquainted with the orders concerning him on the 13th November, and on the 21st, the Kasimbazar Diary contains an entry that he "proceeded this eveninge towards Hugly by virtue of an order from the Cheife and Counsell of the Bay for his Stubborne behavior in Contumaciously refusing to write for the Honble. Company." At the same time, Littleton and Knipe wrote to Vincent concerning Harding's disobedient carriage," and stated that they enclosed an "Account of his Demeanor," which account, however, has not been preserved. The letter reached Hugly on the 26th November 1677. Matthias Vincent was then at Balasor, and Edward Reade was in charge of the factory. He and his colleagues decided to refer Harding's case to their superior. The entry in the Hugly Diary of the 26th November runs as follows:—"This day we haveing received an atestation from Cassumbazar Concerning James Hardings peremptory refusinge to Copie out the Honoble. Companies Bookes or doeing what was ordered him by the Cheife there in the said Service &ca., as per said appears, and their

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11 Factory Records, Hugli, Vol. VII.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
15 Factory Records, Hugli, Vol. IV.
complaint of him some daies since received, he being sent for thence and arrived hither, to discourage others his fellow servants frome the like, forbade him the Honoble Companies table and ordered him to be ready to proceed on one of the Honoble Companies sloopes to Ballasore where he should be examined on these and other matters laid to his charge."

Accordingly, Harding was sent to Balasor, where, at a Consultation held on the 14th December 1677, he was first examined regarding the accusations of blasphemy brought against him in the preceding August. The Council consisted of Matthias Vincent, four factors, and three captains of Company's ships.

"James Harding haveing been accused of severall Blasphemous Tennets, of which attestations have been sent up to the Fort [Fort St. George, Madras], he was called before the Counsell and examined before them concerning his present adherancy to the said Tennets, Viz.

1. Being asked whither he beleived that when the body died the soule still lived in everlasting bliss or Missery, or whither he beleived it dyed with the body.

He answered that he was in doubts about it, but being further pressed to give his positive answer, he replied that he would give noe answer.

2. Being asked whither he beleived there were three persons of the holy Trenity. To which he refused to give an answer.

3. Being asked whither he had affirmed, as he is accused, that when our blessed Saviour was upon earth that there was noe God in heaven and that Moses and Elias were there.

To this also he refused to give an answer.

4. Being further asked whither he denied the truth of the Holy Scripture, and that they were much corrupted by passing through the hands of Papists, &c., and that he affirmed that they were compiled by a few of unlearned and Ignorant Fishemen.

The which he denies.

This shewes that he can deny what he does not hold, and that the three first opinions, since he will give noe answer to them, are in effect held by him.

However, he, the said James Harding, haveing desired to give in his answer in a paper concerning the three aforesaid abominable Tennets, the Counsell and Commanders thought it fitt to give him 3 hours time to bring in said paper: which, if satisfactorie, wee should consider what Issue to put to this case, but if otherwise, we are all of opinion that he ought to be sent to Fort St. George there to answer it to the Worshipfull Agent and Counsell."

At a second sitting of the Council at Balasor, on the afternoon of the same day, "James Harding brought in a paper to the Counsell, which he pretended to be an answer to the accusations upon which he was examinied in the morning, but upon perusall, both the Counsell and Commanders were soe farr from thinkeing it an answer that they judge [it] to be rather a continuation of the obstinacy he expressed in the morning, wherefore they unanimously concluded that this paper and his accusation be sent with him to Fort St. George."

It is unfortunate that "this paper" is missing, and consequently no opinion can be formed of Harding's justification of his conduct. He was probably sent forthwith to Madras, for, in an abstract of a letter to the Company, from the Council at Fort

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20 Factory Records, Hugit, Vol. I.
21 Muggleton's Divine Looking-Glass taught that the distinction of the Three Persons of the Trinity is merely nominal.
St. George, dated 27th January 1678, is the remark.22 "James Hardin sent from the Bay for crimes, &c., and Valentine Nurse that came from thence are both at the Fort, concerning which they await the Company's orders."

Harding appears to have remained in an anomalous position throughout 1678, for in January 1679, although his name occurs as a writer in a list of the Company's Servants at Fort St. George,23 he is placed last and no "degree" is assigned to him. On the 27th February 1679 he applied to be reinstated in Bengal or allowed to remain in India as a freeman. His request was taken into consideration on the 3rd March, Streynsham Master, Agent and Governor, presiding.24:—"Upon reading a Paper given in by James Harding the 27th February (which time did not permit to doe on that day) it was Resolved to give him for Answer that the Councell did not thinke fitt to settle him in Bengale, and therefore, according to his desire, they doe quit him of the Honble. Company's service to remaime a freeman. As for the Arrears of his Sallary, and Rupees 61: 13jan, he pretends to be stopt out of his dyett mony, when they are satisfied therein from the Chief and Counciel in Bengale, they shall take further order about it."

Meanwhile, the Court had written,25 "In yours of the 27th of January [1678], The first thing Wee meet with unanswered is your expectance of our directions concerning two disorderly persons, Nurse and Harding, which is That you send them home by this shipping, and for the future, never let any suspended Person remaime upon our charge after his suspension." The only comment on these orders is contained in the abstract of a letter from Fort St. George to the Company of the 27th January 1680, in which the Council remark, "Mr Nurse and Harding [are] in a poor condition, but not now at the Company's charge."26 It is to be presumed that Harding remained at Fort St. George throughout 1680 and part of 1681, but there is no allusion to him, unless he is included in the remark in the Court's letter of the 5th January 1681.27 "Wee shall allow nothing to Mr Nurse or any such disorderly persons, and wee expect your care to prevent their being in our Houses, or at our Tables, to be an ill example to others, or any charge to us."

Finding no prospect of employment in Madras, James Harding decided to return to Bengal. He apparently left Fort St. George without permission, and made his way to Hugli, and thence to Kasimbazar, whence he had been summarily ejected in 1677. His arrival is noted on the 25th November 1681.28 Job Charnock, who had succeeded to the chiefship of Kasimbazar, took Harding under his protection and gave him employment, but the ex-writer's contentious disposition soon again brought him into trouble. At a Consultation held on the 31st May 1682,29 during a visit of inspection by Matthias Vincent, "James Harding, who absented himself on some occasions, being called and severely checked for his coming up without licence, as also fighting in the factory, and admonished to be [have] more quietly, Mr Charnock owning him as his particular servant, was thought fitt to be lett remaime some time longer, on his good behaviour in this Factory."

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22 Factory Records, Miscellaneous, Vol. 3a.
29 Factory Records, Kasimbazar, Vol. II.
Before this report of Harding’s misdoings reached the Court, they had written to Bengal, ordering that, if found deserving of their favour, he should be given another chance to serve the Company. If you find Mr James Harding (who hath for so many years pass’d been in our service) diligent, able and faithful in our concerns, we would have you give him encouragement as he shall be found to deserve.” This change in the Court’s attitude towards Harding may be due to an appeal on his behalf from their valued and trusted servant, Job Charnock. But as all the time-servers then in Bengal were directly antagonistic to Charnock, anyone under his protection was sure to be singled out for attack, whether innocent or guilty. Agent William Hedges, who was appointed supervisor of affairs in Bengal in 1682, was especially inimical to Charnock. He was at Kasimbazar in October 1682 and again in April 1683, when his Diary for the 17th of that month contains the following entry:— Harding accused. Upon information given me by most of the factory that James Harding, now entertained by Mr Charnock as his servant, had formerly bin’d to mistreat the Honble. Company’s Service for Blasphemy and Athisticall tenettes, and that he was a person notoriously scandalous both in life and conversation (George Pitman, a Throwster, offering to depose that he saw said Harding lye with Mr Elliott’s woman slave), I ordered him not to eat at the Company’s table, and reproved Mr Charnock for entertaining so vicious a person; to which he gave me the hearing with little or no reply, resolving, I suppose, to satisfy me for the present, and admit him again as soon as I leave the factory.”

Three days later a petition against Harding was presented to the Agent. This was signed by all those who were in opposition to Charnock.

“This day [20th April 1683] was presented a Petition of Allen Catchpoole, John Thredder, Samuell Langley, George Pitman and George Stone, complaining of one James Harding, a most turbulent, violent-spirited fellow, in the following words, viz.

“Sheweth That in the factory of Cassumbugor there is one James Harding, a person who was formerly dismist the Honble. Company’s service for Blasphemy and Athisticall tenettes, and since he hath been here, hath evidenced himself to be a person of a most unquiet turbulent Spirit, having all along bin a great disturber of the peace and quiet of this factory, and hath often bred differences amongst us; and for the future we can hope no better from a Person of his irreligious and scandalous principles, he having lately bin taken in fornication with a slave wench of John Elliotts, as is attested and ready to be depos’d on oath by George Pitman, one of your petitioners, and divers other misdemeanors the said James Harding hath committed. We do therefore humbly request your Worship &c. to take the premises into consideration, and ease us of this inconvenience: and that this our Petition may be entred into your Dyary. And your Petitioners shall pray &c.”

21st April 1683. “Mr Catchpoole’s &c. Petition was taken into consideration, and after full examination, and hearing all parties, James Harding was found guilty of all that was alluded in the Petition, and ordered forthwith to be dismist the Honble. Company’s Factory, but intercession being made by Mr Charnock for his continuance with him some time, to help him draw out and transcribe his Account, liberty was given him the said Harding to remain in the Factory till the 28th instant.”

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33 Ibid, pp. 56-57.
34 Ibid. p. 57.
Accordingly, Harding left Kasimbaaz on or about the time prescribed, and in July 1683 was at Hugli, when Hedges did not scruple to use him as a tool whereby to gain information to be used to Charnock’s disadvantage. “I had some discourse,” he writes on the 28th July, with Mr James Harding, who being in hopes of [re]admission into the Company’s Service, confess to me very freely that all the Accusations laid against Mr Thredder, concerning the great gains and advantage he makes by over weight of Silke was certainly true, and often complain’d of by the Merchants to Mr Charnock, who always past it by, and took no notice of it.

“Mr Harding farther informed me that the relation given me at Cassumbuzzar of the 5 bales of Silke, proffered to be sold to the Company (which was produc’d, of over weight of silke gain’d from the Merchants) was certainly true, and complain’d of to Mr Charnock, who at first seem’d concern’d, but soon past it over. That he was not so confident and well assured of Mr Barker’s infidelity as he was of Mr Thredder’s, but this much he knew, that all the business of the Warehouse was done and performed by Mr Barker, and that he had heard there was a certain agreement between Thredder and Barker, the latter being to receive a certain summe in lieu of all profits, and was confident Barker was no such fool as to hold his tongue without considerable advantage.

“Continuing my discourse with the said Mr Harding, I desired to know the reason why Mr Charnock was so cross to me, and thwarting every thing I propos’d or did for the Company’s service, who replied Mr Charnock had no other reason for his so doing but that he looked upon himselfe as disoblig’d by you at your first arrivall, for not turning out Mr Catchpooole at his request, and was thereupon resolv’d to blast and to frustrate all your actions and proceedings as much as he could, and never to Counsell or assist you more in any thing as long as he lived.35

That Harding could stoop to turn on his former protector and so basely repay his kindness, shows him to have been unworthy of any support and to have richly deserved the ultimate fate that befell him. However, he reaped no benefit from his attempt to make friends with his patron’s opponents. On the 8th October 1683, at a Consultation held at Hugli, William Hedges presiding, his request for reinstatement was negatived.36

“Mr James Harding having severall times petition’d that he might againe be entertained in the Honble. Companys service, according to their order in the Generall Letter of the 27th of October 1682,37 wherein they say, if he be found diligent, able and faithfull, he may have such preferment as we thinke he may deserve, ’twas this day taken into consideration, and I having declared that the said Mr Harding had tolled me . . . that Mr Thredder had much wrong’d the Company in his charge of Warehousekeeper at Cassumbuzzar, and afterwards refused to testifie the same when demanded of him at Cassumbuzzar and the business of Mr Thredder upon examination, the question being putt whether the said Mr Harding should be received into the Companys Service, ’twas carried in the negative.”

Having failed in his object, Harding had the effrontery to return to his quondam supporter, greatly to the wrath of Hedges, who writes, under date the 27th October 1683, “The last night Mr James Whatson desired a Dustick [dastak, pass] of me for a Budgera [bajra, barge] with some Persian fruit to Cassumbuzzar. When the boat was putting off, Mr Watson orderd the chiefe Boatman or mangee [mânjhí] to take in Mr Harding and

37 See ante, p. 63.
carry him to Cassumbuzar. The maugee refusing to do it without my order, Mr Watson struck him twice, and forced him to take him in. Thus, by the Countenance and sinister practices of Mr Beard is the Company's Honour and my Authority slighted and contemned; otherwise they would as soon eat fire as attempt to do it, would he stand by me and not argue and dispute my Authority, and as much as in him lies render it contemptible. This scandalous unfaithful Person Harding is now sent up to serve Mr Charnock, in dispight of me, though God be praised, I live in honour and esteem, whilst Charnock, Harvy and Beard are the most despicable Persons to the Government and Native merchants that ever Lived in the Country.

There is no means of ascertaining the reasons which led Charnock to take back Harding and eventually to get him reinstated in the Company's service. It is probable that the pleasure of thwarting Hedges and the want of skilled help at Kasimbazar were both factors in the case. At any rate, on the 19th September 1684, Harding was re-entertained, this time with the standing of senior merchant, and apparently by the authority, and with the consent, of the then Agent John Beard, who had succeeded the now disgraced Hedges. In November, Harding was acting as "provisonall second," i.e., as Accountant, at Kasimbazar. At that time, the Council at Hugli wrote to Charnock, "Wee greatly want your books ending April 1684. Wee have heard they were some months behind at Mr Barkers death, occasioned by Mr Cudworths long sickness and desease, but hope there hath been such diligence applied to them by Mr Harding that by this time he hath brought them up, it being near a month since he hath had them in hand."

The year 1685 passed quietly as far as Harding was concerned, or, if not, no reference to his quarrels found their way into the Consultation Book of the factory. He had not, however, become any more obliging or anxious to please his employers, for in May of that year, on being urged to make up the accounts expeditiously, he declined to exert himself unduly:—"Mr James Harding being pressed to a speedy Conclusion of making up the Accounts of this Factory, and to resolve when he might be able to doe them, gave this Answer, Viz: that he thought he might be able to doe them in 4 or 5 months time, but could not be positive, by reason of the dayly impediments he meett[s] withall, as for want of a Peon to sit upon the door to call the Writers, as allsoe from the Rainy weather and mighty tempests which dayly happen, whereby he saith he is often forced to leave of writing, all which have, he saith, and will, mightly hinder him, especially the latter of this season, the rayny time being now coming in."

The only other mention of Harding in 1685 is in connection with his examination of the accounts of John Threader, who was proved to have "wronged" the Company while he was warehousekeeper at Kasimbazar. Threader's dismissal and the death of his successor left the accounts in "great confusion." These were set right by Harding, who appears to have been a good and capable worker when he chose. He continued to hold his post at Kasimbazar after Charnock's departure in 1686, and he even had charge of the factory for a few months. At the end of the year his downfall came. The Court of Committees had now had time to receive and peruse the various charges against him, and on the 14th January 1686, they wrote as follows to Fort St. George:—"We find by

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42 Ibid, pp. 148, 149.
43 Factory Records, Fort St. George, Vol. IV, pp. 43, 70, 121.
severall Consultation bookees remaining with us that Mr James Harding, who is now employed in our factory at Cassambuzar, hath for ten years past been under a very ill Character. We desire therefore that you cause examination to be had concerning him, and if you shall find it true, we would have him dismissed Our Service.”

Whether Charnock, who had succeeded as Agent in Bengal, took action in consequence of these directions, or on account of the “Complaint” of the “whole factory” at Kasimbazar on the 12th August, is uncertain, but in December he wrote to Madras, announcing Harding’s dismissal from the Company’s service and his expulsion from Bengal.

On his arrival at Fort St. George, whither he was sent to be examined, Harding at once applied for arrears of salary, and the matter was debated in Consultation, on the 27th January 1687, by President William Gifford and Council. Mr James Harding having desired us to take into consideration his Sallary Since the time the President and Council in the Bay reentertain’d him in the Right Honble. Companies Service, which was the 19th of September 1684, to the 27th August last, when the Agent and Council had dismiss him, as per their Letter of the 15th of last month, referring him to us, and paid him Two Hundred Rupees for his late Service at Cassambazar, and wee finding him to bee of Senior Merchants degree all that time, It is order’d that he be paid after the rate of Forty pounds per annum, deducting what he has already received, and likewise to peruse their Diary, when it comes, to know the cause of his dismissal, they having said nothing about it in their said Letter, and then to consider what to doe with him; but at present to remaine as he is.”

In their letter to the Company of the 7th February, the Fort St. George Council reported the dismissal of Harding and their intention to “examine his complaints.” On the 14th March, they wrote to Job Charnock—“Mr. Harding, we have paid him his sallary at £40 per annum... deducting the 200 Rs. you paid him for his service at Cassambazar, but he says there is still something due to him on that account of the usual account [sic] of servants wages. If it be soe, pray advise us, and what it is, and he shall receive it here.”

The papers containing the charge against Harding are not extant, but their contents can be gathered from the Consultation which took place at Fort St. George after their receipt, on the 12th September 1687, from Bengal.

“Mr James Harding arriving here the 17th of January past from Bengall, under the Agent and Council’s suspension, ’twas sometime after taken into Consideration by the late President and Council and then concluded, as per their Consultation of the 27th of January last, that the suspension should continue, till such time as they could bee rightly informed of the charge against him, which arriving but lately, wee have perused, and find that during his whole continuance in the Bay, he has deported himself very disrespectfully to his superiors, and litigiously to his equals, and imperiously to his inferiors, as by their complaint at Cassambazar of the whole Factory of 27th August 1686. Notwithstanding which, in consideration of his poverty and long standing in India, wee have offered to readmit him into the Right Honble. Companies Service and give him such employment as should be suitable [to] his station and capacity, all which he rejected, and would bring us to his capitulation and tearses, as also that we must engage and secure him from the Right Honble. Companies future displeasure for his former troublesome miscarriages, or to permit him to go home for England, the first of which

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45 Letter of 15th December 1685, Madras Press List.
47 Factory Records, Miscellanea, Vol. 3.
being out of our power, we could not deny him the latter, and the Secretary is order'd to give Captain Robert Strangrome, Commander of the *Loyall Adventure*, an order to receive him as a Passenger for England, on the Right Honble. Companies account with his necessaries."

Harding, however, did not avail himself of the permission to proceed to England, but remained in Madras to give more trouble, and he was therefore still in India when further instructions regarding him from the Court of Committees reached Madras. The "complaint" against him at Kasimbazar in the previous August seems to have been caused by a "paper" which he issued, attacking Job Charnock and others in authority in Bengal. On receipt of the various Diaries and Proceedings for the year 1686, the Court wrote to Fort St. George:—

> Mr Hardings vile Paper delivered you, containing such base Reflections on our most worthy Generall, was so unfit for you to receive, that it was a sufficient matter of it self for you to ground an accusation of him as guilty of a high misdemeanor, for which he ought to have been roundly fined to the Company, and detained in prison until he had paid it; and till you can come to this method of proceedings against insolent men. We never expect any good government among you. Our hopes are Sir John Biggs will bring your Law Courts, and especially our Court of Admiralty, into such a good order that there shall be more decorum and duty paid to Superiors by Inferiors, or immediate punishment inflicted by fine or otherwise, upon the Place, as there is at Batavia, and that you will trouble us no more with such kind of Delinquents, otherwise then with the Relation of the punishment you have inflicted and the cause that moved you thereto."

Before the ship bearing this letter was out of home waters, Harding had reiterated his accusations against Charnock and had been called to account at a Consultation, on the 6th October 1687.52

> Mr James Harding having given in a paper to the President and Councill, being called to examination thereupon, he was commanded what he had to offer in the Right Honble. Companies behalf, and who those persons were he reflects upon in his said paper that had disserved the Right Honble. Company, which he desired he might have time to declare in writing, which was granted him, and promised to be brought in next Consultation day. He was also desired to acquaint the Councill if he had anything to offer to the disadvantage of the Right Honble. Companies affairs, or could discover any wrong done them, and we would enquire into it and doe them right therein, tho' Mr Harding seems unworthy to question it, and causelessly to reflect upon us; but detraction and turbulency are his Province, agreeing with no man, nor ever contented in any station or condition, and we doubt never will, having had the offer of several good employments from us, with much friendly good advices, which was chiefly from the consideration of his long service and poverty. But nothing will take impression upon him but his wilful humor."

**Copy of Mr Hardings paper.**

To the Honble. Elihu Yale, President and Governour of the Coast of Choromandell, Bay of Bengall and Sumatra, &c. Councill.

The 29th Ultimo, in a Petition, I desired to be secured from the detriment and Forgeries hatched against me by certain malitious persons in Bengall, who are notoriously guilty of high misdemeanors, especially the Right Worshipfull Job Charnock, Agent. If I cannot be heard in the Right Honble. Companies behalf, nor in my own, it is for no

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purpose to stay longer here, thereby to suffer any ways the loss of my right, as heretofore in Mr Vincents and Mr. Littletons time, by their ill tricks. Should it not be your Honor &ca pleasure firmly to settle me, according to my request in the forementioned paper, I am compelled, through discouragements and matters of very great import to the Honble. Company to go home upon the Loyall Adventure, desiring copy of the Consultation and what else here on Register that relates to mee. The oppressions and Tyrannies over me in India have been so many that I cannot [pay] for so long a Voyage as I am inclined. I entreat your Honor &ca upon this weighty occasion, which so much concerns the Right Honble. Companies interest, therefore to pay me my Salary and Chamber rent. I never doubted the first, because it was absolutely promised me, with other encouragements, till further orders from England about mee, and that your Honor &ca also please to put in such provisions aboard as in such cases some others has had, that I may not be subject to the abuses of any belonging to the ship I embarque on, nor want necessary refreshment at Sea. If the Right Honble. Company disapproved of these disbursements (as I know they will not) on my account, I will oblige myself to have it deducted out of my arrears, which is considerable, all which I leave to your speedy consideration and determination, remaining, Honble Sir &ca &ca, Your most humble Servant, JAMES HARDING. Madras, 6th October 1687.

The explanation, promised by Harding to be produced "next Consultation day" does not appear, nor did he sail for England that year. He is next heard of in August 1688, when he petitioned the Fort St. George Council to be allowed to go home in the Bengall Merchant, and "twas granted him, provided he pay 26 Pagodas according to the Right Honble. Companyes positive orders."53 After this date Harding's name disappears from the Company's Records until December 1691, when at a Consultation held at Fort St. George, there is a note of the readmission of a "James Harding" into the Company's service.54 As the only other Harding, who has been traced among the Company's servants in the period 1670 to 1690, is a sea Captain, the remark presumably applies to the dismissed "senior merchant," but as there are no copies of Consultations for the year 1691 at the India Office, details regarding the entry are unobtainable. Neither does Harding's name occur in any later Consultations noted in the Madras Press List. If he returned to England in the Bengall Merchant in 1688, it seems strange that there is no mention either of any enquiry into his conduct, or remark as to his reinstatement, or petition on his part for redress of grievances. It seems more probable that he remained in India and died immediately after his readmission to the Company's service. Neither his will nor any allusion to his concerns has been discovered, and his end therefore, is as unsatisfactory to his biographer as his personality must have been to these compelled to share his company.

To chronicle a career like Harding's may seem an unnecessary waste of time. But there is ample justification for perpetuating his memory and that of other unimportant subordinate servants of the East India Company in the seventeenth century. The vicissitudes of such subordinates form intensely human documents, and give an accurate picture of English society in India in those days. The details unearthed in the course of tracing the life of any one individual, though often uninteresting and irritatingly prolix, yet throw considerable light on the Company's system of government and on their methods of dealing with their officials. And, as regards the "Worthy" whose inglorious actions have just been reviewed, so little has hitherto been printed regarding the "Bay" factories of 1670 to 1700 that any additional matter extracted from original sources should be of value to the student of the history of the English in Bengal.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.
By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 56.)

The Mistakes of Nelson and Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar.—Contd.

Mr. Nelson says that, besides the land tax or rent proper, the Ryots had to pay a plough tax (érvinei), a ferry duty on the occasion of crossing rivers, a police tax for the maintenance of security and free service to the king on the occasions of building temples or constructing and repairing public utilitarian works, and so on. It is difficult to say whether these impositions were, as Nelson says, on agriculturists alone. It is not improbable that most of them were non-agricultural, and that such of them as were agricultural were included in the 50 per cent assessment.

Professional taxes.

Regarding the other taxes it only needs to be mentioned that they can be divided into classes,—namely taxes on various professions and incomes, octroi duties and customs, and pearl fisheries. The professional tax was singularly elaborate and inquisitorial. It evidently reached every class of the population and every art of life. The weaver had to pay a small tax on each loom,83 the merchant had to pay a certain proportion of his profits and the keeper of a mill of his earnings; goldsmiths84 and masons, barbers and labourers of all sorts had their share. The all-pervading nature of the taxation can be realised from the fact that the washerman85 had to pay something for the use of the stones on which he washed his clothes in tanks and rivers. To use the eloquent language of Nelson,86 “every weaver’s loom paid so much per annum; and every iron-smelter’s furnace; every oil-mill; every retail shop; every house occupied by an artificer; and every indigo vat. Every collector of wild honey was taxed; every maker and seller of clarified butter; every owner of carriage bullocks. Even stones in the beds of rivers used by washermen to beat clothes on, paid a small tax.” The contributions88 made by the merchants (iēṭis), the weavers (kuikkōlāres), the shopkeepers (vāṇigāres), the oil-Vāṇigars and other classes who formed “the eighteen communities” were called pāṭalai-dāram, pāṭalai-nādiyam mādaviraṭi, āmmādām, sēkkū, āṭṭai-śammadam, pāṭāya-chchemādām, kaiyēpū, dāṇṇāyak-kur-magamai, etc. The total amount of these imposts is not exactly known; but from an inscription89 of early 15th century which fixes their contributions to a temple in place of the state, we have reasons to believe that they amounted to two pāṇams per year on each individual and two pāṇams on each loom. Mr. Krishna Sastri surmises that this amount “apparently covered all the taxes payable90 by them.” Another inscription of the same year and place, however, tells us that the sthānattār (managers) of the temple remitted, after a consultation with the revenue authorities, the sum of 6 pāṇams, which they used to take in excess from the kuikkōlāres as vāṭal-pāṇam, “but91 collected, as before,

83 S. Ind. Inscons., I, pt. I, p. 82.
84 Sometimes these were specially exempted. In the time of Sadāśiva Rāya the barbers throughout the Empire were relieved from the necessity to pay tax.
89 Ibid. p. 83.
90 Ibid. 294 of 1910. Ibid. p. 83. An inscription of Prince Pottappiyrarāyar about the middle of the 13th century A. D. (No. 300 of 1909) mentions the following assessments. Six pāṇams for one year on each shop-keeper, on each loom of the kuikkōlar, on each loom of the sāliyar, and on each oil-monger. See Ep. Rep., 1910, p. 93.
3 paṇams from each family of 1 Kachchavāḷa-Valiyar, 3 paṇams from each family of 2 Sivan-padjavar (Sembadjavar), 40 paṇams on cloths and 4 towards kāṭhigai-kāṇikkai.” The idaṅgai and valaṅgai varis were paid by the people of the idaṅgai and valaṅgai castes;32 the nāṭutalavirikkai33 or police rate by all communities; the sētiyar-magamai by the voluntary gift of the Sētiś; the allāyamāṇyam and adi-kānu on each shop opened in markets. The purchase and sale of cattle,34 the manufacture of salt, the catching and sale of fish in tanks and rivers, the cutting of fuel in forests,—all these were subject to taxation. Even marriage was a source of income. Every labourer,35 again, was bound to serve the king freely for a period in the year. That the king attached a good deal of importance to free service (vetti-vari) is clear from an inscription of the 15th century at Tirukkēṭtuppalai, which says that the king gave away to the temple of that place “about 40 to 45 different taxes which appear to have been generally collected by the palace at that period,” except the vettiwari. Nor is this surprising in an age when the construction of public works was a criterion of royal greatness and popular prosperity, and when there was a mania for such works among kings and governors, among Polygars and even petty chiefs.

The Octroi duties and customs.

The octroi duties and customs were evidently levied at fixed places and at fixed rates on all merchandise and provisions. The rates must have varied with variations of weight, of commodities and of the distance traversed. From stray and incidental notices in the chronicles we find, as Nelson did, that the usual octroi duty on paddy was one faṇam on every eight podis or bags. In modern phraseology, he says, it is equal to a duty of 2½ pence on every 400 lbs. Here Nelson is quite correct in taking the faṇam to be the small silver coin of that name; but it is difficult to see how he arrived at the value 2½d. As 16 faṇams36 were equal to a pagoda, the faṇam must have been equal to between 3½ and 4 pence. Mr. Nelson evidently depended on some local variation. According to Wilks the customs duties in Mysore37 were of three kinds,—the sthalādiya or those levied on goods imported to be sold at one place; the mārgādiya or duties on goods in transit; and māmālādiya or duties exported to foreign countries. “All kinds of goods, even firewood and straw, paid these duties, excepting glass rings, brass pots and soap-balls.” The same system should have prevailed in Madura. It is not improbable that the māmālādiya of Madura38 included sea-customs also; but we can well believe with Nelson that the customs were chiefly land customs. The sea was entirely under the control of the Portuguese and though they were bound to pay certain duties at39 Tuticorin and elsewhere, the income that the State could have derived from them was perhaps small and precarious.

The Pearl Fisheries.

The pearl fisheries, which were an object of greedy competition especially among foreign exploiters, at first the Portuguese and then the100 Dutch, and were extensively car-

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32 See Madr. Ep. Rep., 1913, p. 130; Ibid., p. 88; Insen. 215 of 1910 says that the Pajjas and the Vanyiyars who evidently claimed to collect the taxes from them belonged to the Idāṅgaīs.
33 Ep. Rep., 1911, p. 84.
34 Wilks’ Mysore. The description of the Vijayanagar taxation in Mysore can be taken to completely apply to Madura also.
36 Mysore Gaz. I.
37 For an exceedingly interesting regulation regarding marine mercantile enterprise by King Goppapat Dēva of Warangal in the 15th century see Ep. Rep., 1910, p. 107. It is not improbable that similar policy guided other powers in later times; but no definite and dogmatic statement is possible.
38 See Manual of S. Canara, p. 68-9. The Portuguese made themselves masters of the whole trade of the west coast and exacted tribute from all the coast ports. Râma Râya found their assistance so valuable that in 1547 he executed a treaty with them under which the whole of the export and import trade of the country was placed in the hands of the Portuguese factors.
39 For an excellent historical summary of the Portuguese and Dutch trade, see Mr. J. Hornell’s Sacred Chant of India, 4-5.
ried from Cape Comerin to the Pamban, were naturally a lucrative source of revenue. The conch shells also which were abundant in the coast were held as the royal monopoly; and as they were highly valued in Bengal and elsewhere for ornamental purposes, they were largely exported, the Karta gaining high profits out of the transaction. It is difficult to estimate the real amount which these taxes brought to the treasury, but Nelson roughly estimates it at a little more than one-eighth of the land revenue and one-ninth of the total income of the State,—at about £131,000. It is a plausible conclusion, when we remember that the taxes, other than agricultural, which the people had to pay, were more numerous than lucrative, and thus erred against a fundamental canon of taxation.

The smallness of Nāïk expenditure when compared with the income.—Its causes.

Passing on to the department of expenditure, we have first to note, with Nelson,¹ that it was very small when compared with the income. The reasons for this were manifold. First the Nāïk military expenditure was highly economical. There was indeed a standing army at his disposal, and there was also, throughout the kingdom, a chain of castles and fortresses, a number of military stations which had to be garrisoned with men, horses and elephants; but the standing army was small as there was no necessity, on account of the military obligations of the provincial rulers, Polygars and vassal chiefs, for the maintenance of a large army in the capital; and inexpensive, because the army consisted not of professional soldiers, but of agriculturists who had to give up the plough in favour of the sword in time of war; and who were paid not in money but in lands, which were probably exempt from taxation,—an arrangement always economical to the State. When emergencies arose the Daļavāi used to issue orders to the rulers of provinces and Polygars to gather an army. These communicated the mandate to the headmen of villages and towns,² and almost every able-bodied man was enlisted for service. In this way an adequate but inexpensive army was mobilized at a short notice. Another cause of the inexpensive nature of the military department was the absence of a navy in the Nāïk kingdom. It is true that the Vijayanagar emperors and their governors had the title of Lords of the Three Oceans, and it is true that the necessity to defend an extensive coast and frequent engagements with Ceylon, seem to favour the idea of the maintenance of a navy; but no definite statement to that effect is found anywhere. The want of a navy seems to have been a real weakness, and mainly responsible for the growing ascendancy of the European nations which were taking, at this time, a new interest in India and Indian affairs.

There were other circumstances which contributed to the great disproportion between revenue and expenditure. The administrative system was, as has been already said, in one sense very primitive and too ill-organized to be expensive. There was, as Nelson says, no paid civil service, no educational policy, no police organization, no judicial machinery of an elaborate nature. The royal treasury, in other words, had no necessity to spend much in the way of salaries to officials. There was in fact no salaried hierarchy of officials as in the present day. Each departmental head, each provincial chief, each person in authority appointed his own men and was thus individually responsible for the conduct of affairs; and the men so appointed were in a large number of cases paid in lands and not money. Educational policy was similarly conspicuous by its absence.

¹ The Madura Country.
² See Buchanan, II. p. 37 for a description of the relation between the Polygars and the ordinary soldiers.
The primitive and inexpensive nature of the administration.

A state policy of education is an entirely new idea in India, a product of the western system of administration and ideals of government. In the middle ages it was a purely private concern. It was moreover a luxury, more an accomplishment than a necessity. We can well believe that pītal schools gave elementary education in every village to children of all castes, but this was due to the intellectual enterprise of individual men and not to state support. Even the little education that was thus prevalent was a Brahmān tradition, a Brahman monopoly. With characteristic acuteness he made the best of what he could get and availed himself of the magnificent endowments made by the Karta to temples and Māṭs, to agrahāram and charity-houses. Here he obtained free board and lodging, and free from the cares of livelihood, devoted himself to intellectual pursuits. Every temple or Māṭt became a stronghold of learning, and the sonorous chant of the Vēḍās incessantly filled the atmosphere. The Jesuit authorities describe an institution subsidised liberally by the State in Madura, where thousands, boys as well as adults, received education, besides free board and lodging, and distinguished themselves as students of the many-sided culture of India. The history of the Nāïk dynasty, in fact, is the history of Brahman ascendancy. The royal assembly witnessed frequent controversies on religious and literary questions, and arguments and counter-arguments mixed in incongruous jumble with the flattery of courtiers and the bustle of the Darbār. The only educated class in the kingdom, the Brahmans naturally became the advisers of the crown, the officers of State and leaders of the people. They were ministers, accountants, rāyusams and even military leaders. They were supreme in secular and religious affairs. They were the spiritual guides of the king, the managers of temples, the directors of the king's charities, the organizers of temple festivities, and the moral guardians of the people. And on the whole they justified, to a marvellous degree, the responsible trust placed in them, the confidence of the Karta and the respect of the people. They faithfully represented the public opinion of the country, and served as excellent mediators between the crown and the populace. And all this was due to the absence of a State policy of education and of the singular facility of the Brahman for obtaining it. The police organization was equally limited and inexpensive. The villages and towns had their own police officers. The Karta's kāval or police function was confined to the maintenance of public roads in safety and the keeping of peace between different villages. He generally entrusted these to the Polygars, and they received the kāval rights for their police duties, a plan which was both economical and wise. There were indeed times when the Polygars were inefficient in the discharge of their kāval duties and when, therefore, travelling was unsafe, trade precarious, and security of life and property uncertain; but the arrangement made by Viśvanātha was the best under the circumstances; and if under later rulers the Polygars were at times remiss, it was due to the incompetence of the former and not to the want of wisdom on the part of the founder of the dynasty. As regards justice it has been already pointed out that every community had its own caste heads, who meted out justice to those in dispute in regard to social and religious matters. In the pālayams the Polygars presided over the administration of the justice, both civil and criminal, and heard appeals from the decisions, village Panchâyats, and in the Karta's lands the local officers did so. As there were no special law courts and as the institution of suits was often of no use to the litigants, most cases were decided by the system of arbitration, intervention by friends, the appeal to divine

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intervention by the swearing of a party to the truth of his case before some Karuppa or other deity, and lastly the appeal, to the ordeals of fire, of oil and of water. The Karta, it is true sat as a judge himself to hear complaints, and decided them with the aid of Brahman assessors and caste customs; but the difficulty of the poor people to approach him and to give the preliminary presents usual on occasions of royal audience made the king's judicial Darbār more an ornament than a useful institution, so far as the common people were concerned.

The chief items of public expenditure.

It will be asked what the items of the Karta's expenditure were, if the revenue was not expended to a large extent in matters of administration. The most important item was, of course, the maintenance of the Karta's standing army, which was more or less a safeguard against Polygar disaffection or sudden political convulsion. In Vijayanagar, says Nuñis, nearly half of the net imperial revenues was spent in this way; but we have no authority to tell us what the proportion was in Madura. A considerable proportion of the revenue was spent in the personal pleasures of the sovereign. The "Karnāṭaka Karta" was as much an epicurean as any other mediaeval Hindu king, as much the slave of pleasure as the master of his kingdom. Thousands of varāhas were spent every month on his dresses and food, thousands on his amusements, and thousands on his women. The harem was a gigantic institution, containing hundreds of women and absorbing a large part of the revenue. In the king's palace, wine flowed freely, flatterers flourished, and goldsmiths were ever busy making jewels for the ladies. We do not know anything about Viśvanātha's personal tastes in these matters; but an equally famous ruler as he, the renowned Tirumal Naik, was a special sinner in this respect. The scandal of the day, as we shall see later on, accused him of every form of indulgence. His life-long love of pleasure stimulated extravagance, and we may well believe that every other Karta distinguished himself in a similar, though less conspicuous, manner. It was a defect of the age, not of individual men. An even more important item of expenditure was the department of public works. Buildings, secular and religious, and utilitarian works like tanks and reservoirs, canals and choultries, were favourite channels of the Karta's generosity; and the works they have turned out in this respect, will always entitle them to the eternal remembrance of posterity. Everywhere throughout the peninsula, south of the Kāvéri, there is, at every step, some monument or other, to tell us of the piety or the generosity of a Karta,—a tank or a dam, a sluice or a canal, a charity-house or a temple, a pleasure-bower or an avenue. Pleasure and piety were, in short, the two things that, more than any thing else, characterised them; and both these resulted in the mania for buildings and utilitarian works, which, though in some cases unproductive and scarcely beneficial, were as a rule highly conducive to the welfare of the people, while they did a priceless service to the art and culture of the country. Architecture and sculpture, painting and music, jewellery and ornaments, metallurgy and other arts underwent prosperous developments. Literature throve, and scholars found welcome in courts, local and central. It was, in short, an age of culture. Herein lay the justification of the dynasty, and the justification of the administrative system perfected by Viśvanātha and his able minister.

4 See Forg. Empe., p. 375, but of the 60 lakhs of revenue the emperor "does not enjoy a larger sum than 25 lakhs, for the rest is spent on his horses and elephants, and foot soldiers and cavalry, whose cost he defrays."
SECTION VIII.

Conclusion.

It only remains to close our review of the remarkable career of this remarkable man with a consideration of the way in which he actually ruled and utilized the institutions of which he was the author for actual administration. And such a consideration shows that he was as great in doing as he was in planning. He had not only a head to think, but a hand to execute. He was not only an organizer, but a practical administrator.

Visvanātha as a practical administrator.

His measures were so conceived as to conciliate all classes of people. The Brahmans were edified by his liberal gifts to them, their temples and their gods. Lands were freely bestowed on them, cows as well as coins; and everywhere in the south, on the banks of rivers or in the vicinity of temples, there grew prosperous agrahārams, wherein the chant of Vēdas and the noise of studies mingled with praises to the royal benefactor. Viśvanātha in fact was an idol of the Brāhmans, and his successors never forgot this. Orthodox in practice or not, they never ceased to show respect for orthodoxy. The agricultural people were equally gratified by Viśvanātha’s solicitous attention to their needs and comforts. He bestowed happiness on thousands of homeless men by giving them lands to settle in and cultivate. The public distress which had been caused by the exposure of the people to the incessant rage of war and the insecurity of property, was alleviated by this paternal act. Knowing that the prosperity of an agricultural country depended on a good system of irrigation, he constructed two dams, the Periamai and Chinnamai, in order to divert the waters of Vaigai, through a number of canals and water courses, to the parched-up fields around Madura. A glance at the course of the Vaigai will give an idea of the wisdom of Viśvanātha’s choice of the sites for these dams. The Vaigai, it is well known, rises in the Varushanād valley, and after a few miles northward course receives the copious waters of the Surulī, the river which drains the flanks of the Kambam valley. The junction of the Surulī makes the Vaigai a deep and rapid stream, flowing in a narrow channel. In its subsequent north-eastern course under the northern slopes of the Āḍīpatti hills and the Nāgalalais, it is further swelled by the perennial streams of the Varahānadi and Mañjalār which rush down from the Palnis. Immediately after this, the river turns and begins that south-easterly course in which it continues until it reaches the sea. It is at this important turning point that Viśvanātha constructed his dams. It was a wise choice as by this time the river becomes full and, after this, it has simply to give and not take. From the dams a number of canals carried the waters to the banks and reservoirs excavated in almost every village. The whole country thus came to have a network of canals broken at intervals by big reservoirs which stored water and averted droughts. The immediate result of the creation of irrigational facilities was an enormous increase in the area of cultivation, in the formation of new villages, in population and in material prosperity. Droughts became less common and famines less formidable.

His works in Tinnevelly.

The province of Tinnevelly also had the full advantage of these measures of construction and consolidation. The great Nālī conqueror seems to have employed the months which immediately followed the subjugation of the Five Pāñgyas in the pacification and

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5 For an account of these and other aścutas see Madura Gazr. p. 124-8.
settlement of the afflicted province. Besides building the city of Tinnevelly and its suburb Palamkōţa and furnishing it with temples, he replaced the miserable and wretched cottages which lined the Tāmbraparāśi banks and which had been owned by the indigenous cultivators, by regular and well-built villages of Brahman colonists from the north. It was a measure most pregnant in after consequences, and the descendants of these colonists remain to the present day the owners of much of the best lands, and the most intelligent, influential and cultivated section of Hindu Society in Tinnevelly. His liberality also endowed, in other parts of the province, lands for Brahman agrahārams, and his enlightened agrarian policy carried out as many irrigation works from the Tāmbraparāśi as from the Vaigai. The security of the people was also safeguarded by the establishment of a vigorous and efficient police.

The death and character of Visvanātha.

All this work meant ceaseless activity, restless energy, which even the iron frame of Visvanātha could not endure. Worn out by war and work, the cares of defence and statecraft, he gave up his life in the midst of his labours7 at evidently a comparatively early age of about 55 or 60. Enough has been said to show that he had so regulated his behaviour as to win the affection of his people and made his death keenly felt by them. He was an uncommon statesman with all the elements of greatness in his character. With the right apprehension of the needs and necessities of the times and a clear grasp of the means whereby they could be satisfied, he had set to work with a firm will and broadminded sympathy, evolved order out of chaos and a powerful kingdom out of a confused collection of refractory and turbulent vassal-states, into which Madura was then, owing to the degeneration of the Pandyan kings into mere phantoms of royalty, practically divided. His work of construction and consolidation was so thorough that, in spite of the frequent revolutions to which the country was then habituated and in spite of the incompetence of many of his successors, the kingdom which he established lasted for two centuries. Bold, active, generous, kind and tactful, Visvanātha Nāik was a man of versatile talents, endowed with a personal magnetism which enshrined him in the hearts of his subjects, and enabled him to leave a deep impression on the history of south India. The best trophy which posterity has erected to his memory is his statue in the Vasanţa Mantapa of Sunda-reśivara’s temple in Madura, worshipped even to-day by numberless people, who know only vaguely that Maha Rájá Mānya Sri Visvanātha Nāikan Aiyan Avergal was the great Kartā of Madura in days of old, but who do not know how great and good he actually was.

(To be continued.)

6 Tinnevelly Manual, p. 70.

7 It has been already pointed out that he was born in the beginning of the 16th century or a decade before. He could not have been more than 60 at the time of his death in 1563. There is no basis whatever to believe that Visvanātha died, as Wheeler says, in the field of battle. (Wheeler’s Hist., Vol. V., pt. II, p. 574.) The Hist. Carna. Dynas. assigns Visvanātha’s death to 1458 a. d., which is of course absurd. The “Supple. M. S.” agrees with it. The Pāṇeţ. Chron. says that he ruled from Raudri Mārgaţi to Dundumi, i.e. for the space of 2 years and 4 months, and from Rudhirākārī down to Āṅgirasa, his son Kumāra Krishnapa was in power. (Rudhirākārī=1563-4). Mirtanţya M. S., (‘Royal line of the Carnataca princes’) gives a more accurate date. It says that on Tai II, Rudhirākārī, Visvanātha caused his son to be anointed. It seems from this that the Karta was alive when his son was anointed. Most probably he was on his death-bed and wanted to see his son on the throne before his death. It must have been soon after his death that Kumāra Krishnapa gave the 8 villages mentioned in the Krishnapuram temple inscription. (Insc. 17 of 1912). See Ep. Rep., 1913, p. 17. According to Sewell Visvanātha’s death was in December 1563. (Antiquities, II, p. 201).
SOME LITERARY REFERENCES TO THE ISIPATANA MIGADAYA (SARNATH.)

The Isipatana Migadáya1 derives its importance from the fact that it was here that the Buddha preached his first sermon, the Dhammachakkappavattana Sutta, advocating abstention from the extremes of luxury and asceticism, setting forth the doctrine of the Four Noble Truths (Ariga-Sache). Exhorting the inmates the Pa&sh;&vaggiya to pursue the A&sh;&ha&ngika Magga, 

The locus classicus is in the Vinaya-Pitaka (Ed. Oldenberg) Mahávagga I. 6-10 Seq. = Samyutta-Nikáya (P. T. S.) 5 pp. 420-22.2

The place is also the scene of the conversion of Yaúśa, son of a merchant of Benares. The interesting story concerning him and his family is given, in detail, in the Mahávagga (Vinaya Text 3), p. 15. The Legend of the Burmese Buddha gives the same story with slight alterations in names, e.g., there we find Rathia in place of Yaúśa, Báránathi for Báránal, Migaduana for Migadáya. [Note the usual phrase—tatra sutam bhagavá Báránasíyam nibarati Isipatana Migadáya.]

It was in Isipatana that the Buddha recounted the Udápanádásaka-Játaka (II. 354)

Buddhaghošha in his commentary on the Mahápadána-Sutta says : Dhammachakkappavattana Isipatana Migadáya avijjhita eva hoti. (It was in the Deer Park of Isipatana that Dhammacakkappavattana was named). In another part of the same commentary, we read : Khema Migadáya’ ti—Isipatana tesa samayena khema náma upáyana hoti. Migána pana abhayeyo sattháyá dhinnattá Migadáya ti vucchati. Tam Suñiddáya suttam Khéma Migadáya’ ti. Yathá cha Vipasses Bhagavá eva añátipi Buddhá pathamam Dhammadesana tháyá pachchhantá akáñena gantvá tattahe ātoranatí.3 (In explaining the expression Khema Migadáya the commentator says : ‘Isipatana was, at that time, known to the Khema or the auspicious garden. It was called Migadáya, because it was granted in order that the deer might dwell there in all safety. It was in reference to this very fact that the expression Khema Migadáya was used. Gautama Buddha and the other Buddhas first of all sought there while going through the air to preach the Sacred Faith.)

The scene of the 9th Vatthu of the XVTh Vagga of the Dhammapada (Nandiya-vatthu) is laid here. Having heard the teaching of the Buddha, he thought that it would be meritorious to give some dwelling-place to the Order, so he caused to be constructed a Chàtussála adorned with four rooms and furnished with chairs and benches, and then handed it over to the Order with the Buddha at its head. This was situated in the Isipatana Mahávihára.

The Mahávastu tells us that the Súddhodana Deva warned the Pratyeka-Buddhas4 to vanish; for in twelve years the Bodhisattva would descend upon the earth. Half a yojana from Benares were living five hundred Pratyeka-Buddhas; rising in the air, they entered into Nirváñca, and their bodies consumed by the elements of fire, which they had in them, fell back upon the earth : puśyathos tra patíti ríshipatanaṃ.5 A story resembling the Nigrodha-miga-játaka then follows. Here the king is the ruler of Benares—Brahmadattāya by name. From the grant of the boon (dáya) made to the deer, the spot was called Mi&gadáya. This is the view held by Senart in his notes to which I propose to offer the following emendation. To me it appears that very early the site of Isipatana was called Mi&gadáya (dáya meaning ‘forest’) from the fact that it was full of the deer. After wards, however, when all places associated with the Buddha’s life used to be the favourite scenes of thousands of Buddhistic fables, Isipatana had likewise the story recorded in the Mahávastu. It then came to be known as Mi&gadáya instead of Mi&gadáya. Since then, very probably the word dáya in the original sense of ‘forest’ has become obsolete and the Prákritised word dáya, both meaning ‘boon’ and ‘forest’ has come into current use in all Páli works.

BRINDAVAN C, BHATTACHARYA.

1 The modern Sárnáth.
3 It adds that the Buddha, for a special reason went on foot to that place.
4 Cf. Buddha by Dr. H. Oldenberg, p. 120 foot note. The great antiquity of the Pratyeka Buddhas is discussed in brief in “Apadána” folki of the Phaye MSS.
PATANARAYANA STONE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARA PRATAPASINHA.
[VIKRAMA] SAMVAT 1344 (1287 A.D.)

BY SAHITYACHARYA PANDIT BISHESHWARNATH SASTRI, JODHPUR.

I edit this inscription from an excellent impression kindly given to me by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gorishankar H. Ojha, Superintendent, Rājugbātā Museum, Ajmer. The original inscription was found in the Pātjanārāyaṇa temple near Girwar about 4 miles west of Madhusūdāna in Sirohi State.

This inscription consists of 39 lines covering a space of 2 ft. 6 inches broad by 1 ft. 11 inches high. The inscription is well preserved. The Characters are Nāgari. The Language is Sanskrit, lines 1-35 are written in verses numbering 46. Lines from 35 to the end are in prose. With regard to Orthography it must be noted that a consonant following r is sometimes doubled, and sometimes not. As regards Lexicography, the following words deserve to be noticed:

(1) Dēvāda employed in l. 36, denotes a line of Chāhamānas: the present rulers of Sirohi also belong to this line. (2) Dōkaārī, l. 36, the appropriate meaning of which can not be explained: it may denote a Mārvārī word ḍoli; if it is a Sanskrit word, it is composed of two words ḍrōpa and khārī, the respective meanings of which are 32 and 96 seers. (3) Dhīmaḍa, l. 36 means dhīmaḍā, (a well), well-known in Mārvār. (4) Arahatā, l. 37, means a Persian wheel. (5) Dhīkaḍa, dhīkaḍa are also used for dhīmaḍā. (6) Gōhil-utra stands for the Sanskrit word Guhila-putra.

The inscription is of great importance in connection with Paramāra history. It contains the genealogy of the Paramārās as follows:

Vāshīṣṭha created Dhūmarāja Paramāra, by means of mantras from the agni-kṣuyā at Ābū. Dhārāvaraha was born in his family. In the 15th āloka it is mentioned that this Dhārāvaraha pierced three buffaloes with one arrow. This is supported by the fact that on the Mandākini tank outside the temple of Achalāvara on Ābū there is a statue of Dhārāvaraha, about 5 ft. in height with a bow in his hand and three buffaloes standing before him with a hole running through their bellies. Dhārāvaraha had a son Sōmasiūha by name who had a son named Pratāpasiūha. The son of the latter was Pratāpasiūha, who defeated Jaitrakarṣa and regained Chandrāvati. Perhaps this Jaitrakarṣa may be Jaitrasiūha of Mewār, who was the grand son of Rāula Mathanasiūha and son of Padmasiūha. Pratāpasiūha's Brāhmaṇa minister Dēlaṇa re-built the temple of Pātjanārāyaṇa in [Vikrama] Saṃvat 1344 (=1287 A.D.)

Text.

1 || क्ष || क्ष नमः पुर्वोच्चनाय || भीयेन्य विविषय भवनमय स्वीकरणं सीवात्ता किंवा भ्राकुलस्य शूरी पुराणवर्णस्य चृत्यायहृदपार्न स्वायत्तं राज्यम् विश्राणां स्वायत्तं सम्बंधम्।

2 || क्ष || क्ष नमः पुर्वोच्चनाय || भीयेन्य विविषय भवनमय स्वीकरणं सीवात्ता किंवा भ्राकुलस्य शूरी पुराणवर्णस्य चृत्यायहृदपार्न स्वायत्तं राज्यम् विश्राणां स्वायत्तं सम्बंधम्।

3 || क्ष || क्ष नमः पुर्वोच्चनाय || भीयेन्य विविषय भवनमय स्वीकरणं सीवात्ता किंवा भ्राकुलस्य शूरी पुराणवर्णस्य चृत्यायहृदपार्न स्वायत्तं राज्यम् विश्राणां स्वायत्तं सम्बंधम्।

4 || क्ष || क्ष नमः पुर्वोच्चनाय || भीयेन्य विविषय भवनमय स्वीकरणं सीवात्ता किंवा भ्राकुलस्य शूरी पुराणवर्णस्य चृत्यायहृदपार्न स्वायत्तं राज्यम् विश्राणां स्वायत्तं सम्बंधम्।

5 || क्ष || क्ष नमः पुर्वोच्चनाय || भीयेन्य विविषय भवनमय स्वीकरणं सीवात्ता किंवा भ्राकुलस्य शूरी पुराणवर्णस्य चृत्यायहृदपार्न स्वायत्तं राज्यम् विश्राणां स्वायत्तं सम्बंधम्।
The inscription opens with obeisance to Purushottama.

Verse 2 invokes the blessings of Sri Paṭṭanārāyaṇa, who, we are told, was established on Mt. Abū by Rāma on his way back to his capital with Sitā after defeating Rāvaṇa. Vijayāditiya the author of this praisa (v. 2) promises to give a short account of Rāmachandra, Vasishṭha, Mount Abū, the Paramāras and of repairs to Paṭṭanārāyaṇa temple by Delhaṇa, minister of the Paramāras.

Verse 3 relates that Vasishṭha created a warrior from his agnikūrṇā on Mount Abū. The sage conferred the title of Paramāra and named him Dhūmarāja for defeating his enemies, who had stolen away the sage’s cow (v. 4). From that day the Paramāras became of Vasishṭha gotra (v. 5).

The sixth verse shows that Rāmachandra, after examining Sitā’s piety by means of agni, established Sudhāśvaradēva near Abū.

Verses 7 to 9 show that Rāmachandra, being installed by Vasishṭha, and having established Paṭṭanārāyaṇa and Lakṣmaṇaṁśa on the bank of Paṭṭanada, the source of which lies

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The letters साधिरेष्य are in excess of the metre.
near the āramas of Vaśishṭha and Gautama, left for his capital, accompanied by Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa.

(Verse 10)—From that day the said Paṭhananda has become a famous holy place known as Guhyatīrtha.

Verses 11 and 12 contain words in praise of Mount Ābū.

Verses from 13 to 18 give the genealogy of the Paramāras as has been mentioned above.

Verses from 19 to 23 describe the repairs of the temple by Brāhmaṇa Dēlhaṇa, the minister of Paramāras.

Verses 24 to 26 give a genealogy of Dēlhaṇa as follows:—In the line of Upamanyumuni was born a Brāhmaṇa Viśākha, whose daughter Charūpi was married to Sādāka, by whom five sons were born namely Lakṣmaṇa, Kēlaṇa, Vālaṇa, Dēlhaṇa and Bhāskara.

Verses 27 to 31 show that the fourth son Dēlhaṇa, by repairing the temple, made known his Garga Gōtra, Mādhyaninī Sākha, three Pravaras, Yajurveda, his village Griviḍa, and seven ancestors namely Āvāsa...lā, Vānā, Dēlāk, Kēlāva, Mahāmūṇa, Malha, Sāsā, including himself and his five brothers Lakṣmaṇa, etc., in this world.

Verses 32 to 35—Dēlhaṇa is praised for his conduct during the time the temple was being re-built.

Verses 36 to 40—show that the work of repairing the temple was commenced on the 10th of the bright half of the Āśina Vikrama Saṃvat 1343 and finished on the 5th of the bright half of the Jyēṣṭha Vikrama Saṃvat 1344.

Verse 41 speaks of the beauty of the temple.

Verse 42 shows that the repairs were carried on during the reign of king Vīṣala, son of the king Bhāḍadēva, victor of the Turushkas and the king of Malwa.

Verse 43 tells us that the author of this Praṇasti was Vijayāditya, whose parents were Dharaṇidharā and Chāṭṭāpālā.

Verse 44 shows that this inscription was engraved by Gāṅgadēva, son of Mūmadēva, resident of Rōhēḍā.

Verse 45 speaks of the ability of the author.

Verse 46 refers to the author’s father as a friend of Mōhana, the son of Alhaḍana, perhaps one of the seven forefathers of Dēlhaṇa.

For the maintenance of this temple the following grants and offerings were made by neighbouring persons.


L. 37 The villagers of Āuli: 8 seers of corn from each arahāṭṭa and 2 seers from each dhimaṇḍa. In village Kālaṇaṭṭavāḍa: one seer of grain at each plough. Nuṣṭāma son of Gukila: 10 drāmas from each of his villages.

L. 38 Rājaṇputra Gāṅgā and Karmaṇīḍa: for twelve ēkādasīs the revenue of the Chōlapikā, in the village of Maṇḍāuli and export duty of Chandravati.

L. 39 on Friday the 5th of the bright half of Jyēṣṭha [Vikrama] Saṃvat 1344, Pratishṭā ceremony was performed.
THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A. L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 75.)

The effects of his measures.

The result of all these salutary measures was that, for the first time in a long series of years, the people felt a radical improvement in their conditions. The season of anarchy and misrule was over, and the ravages of invaders and the extortions of tyranny became things of the past. A sense of relief and security, of happiness and contentment, spread all over the kingdom and in an incredibly short time its effect was visible everywhere. Hundreds of ruined men who had deserted their plough, their looms, or their shops, and resorted to the obscure but tranquil felicity of a rustic life, returned to their occupations. Forests gave place to fields, Brahman colonies and industrial centres sprung up in large numbers, and all the activities of a healthy national life came into existence. Where there had been ruined huts and neglected waste, there were now smiling fields or imposing buildings. The cries of oppression and the tumult of discontent were replaced by the peaceful hum of industrial life and the busy noise of commercial transactions. Never has the magic of personal goodness and political capacity done so much, and never has there been a worthier example in history of efforts so well directed, and of results so promptly and successfully achieved.

CHAPTER IV.

The Naik Kingdom in the latter half of the 16th century.

Introduction.

In the last chapter I described the various circumstances that led to the foundation of the Naik kingdom of Madura. In the present I shall consider the progress it made in the first half a century of its existence. The first thing that is noticeable in the history of this period is that the crown changed hands thrice. Between 1562 and 1572 it was worn by the valiant Kumara Krishnappa I; the next two decades, by his two sons Virappa and Visvanatha II, and the last seven years by the sons of the former, Visvanatha III and Kumara Krishnappa II. A remarkable feature in the position of these rulers was the joint holding of the royal dignity by brothers. The practice of joint royalty was not a Naik innovation. It was in existence, as we have already seen in the first chapter, in the Pandalan kingdom in the extreme corner of the peninsula. It became, unfortunately, the custom of the Naik dynasty. It was indeed not universally adopted even here. There were times when, as we shall see in the course of this history, an elder brother ruled without being yoked with his younger brother in the royal office. Nevertheless, even in the latter case, the younger brother was, if not entrusted with the equal authority of a colleague, almost always made chinna dorai the second-in-power to the ruling chief, and in that capacity held an important place in the administration of the country. An institution based on such a principle naturally suffered from lack of vigour or efficiency, and it might be thought that the comparatively frequent change of rulers and the system of joint rule, made the progress of the infant kingdom a matter of difficulty and trouble. But fortunately in the 16th century these evils were minimised by the strong hand of Aryanatha, the great daladai of Visvanatha. We have seen what a prominent part he played in the foundation of the kingdom. But for his assistance the task would have been a stupendous, if not an impossible one, for his master, Visvanatha I.

But Aryanatha’s labours were not destined to end as Visvanatha’s lieutenant and minister. He was destined to hold that power for the next 40 years, during the three generations of rulers, who succeeded his master. Nothing could have been more beneficial to the kingdom or the people. Like a tender plant the great statesman nourished it to
youth and vigour, and left it at his death in 1600 the strongest power in South India. His skill, tact and genius introduced unity of policy in the State. While rulers changed, he managed to continue in office, and as he worked in a most disinterested manner with the prestige of the kingdom and the welfare of the people in his heart, he was able to tide over obstacles and consolidate the kingdom in such a thorough manner that it was able to hold the first place in South Indian politics for the next one-and-a-half centuries. Aryanātha was able to maintain himself in power for such a long period, because his experience in statecraft made his services indispensable to the Nāik ruler. His character endeared him to the people, while his capacity kept turbulence in check. Herein is the cause of the singular absence of the disturbance of his administration by conspiracy or rebellion. Feared by the Polygars and beloved by the masses, he was never reduced, except on two or three occasions, to the necessity of punishing or pardoning treason.

The cause of Aryanātha’s domination ought to be attributed not merely to his character and to his services to the State. It was due to other circumstances also. We have seen how the principle of joint authority in the royal office had the tendency to promote reliance on ministerial wisdom. The vicissitudes of the Vijayanagar Empire in this age had the same effect. The disaster at Talikottah was followed by the practical dismemberment of the Empire. Aryanātha, on whom devolved the management of the imperial affairs, placed the relationship between Madura and the decaying Empire on such a basis that, while continuing in name the vassalage to the Empire, he was able to ensure practical independence to Madura. It was an arrangement which satisfied all parties. The Emperor was content to receive tribute and nominal allegiance without trouble, while the Madura chief was gratified by practical independence. He came thus to be looked on as a friend by all. To the Emperor he seemed the preserver of imperial integrity, and to his immediate master, the best and truest benefactor. Both therefore upheld his policy and depended on his wisdom.

The result of all this was seen in the growing strength and prosperity of the kingdom. Its frontiers extended from Maisur to the Cape and from sea to sea. It had an excellent system of military defence. Its legions were victorious in all quarters, and held Tanjore on one side, Maisur on the other, in effective check. It had a number of loyal magnates, who kept a vigilant police and maintained the security of person and property. It had a contented population, who grew in wealth and in happiness. It had a sound system of finance. It, above all, was able to engage in an enterprising foreign policy and conquer Ceylon. It attracted the cupidity of European merchants, just then coming to the peninsula. It was able to dazzle the world by its temple architecture, its arts of peace. Lastly, it was attractive enough for the missionary, especially the Jesuit, who saw in it the stronghold of Hindu civilization and therefore the most worthy subject of spiritual conquest.

SECTION I.

Kumāra Krishṇappa (1562—1572).

On the death of Viṣvanātha I, the viceregal throne devolved on his son, Kumāra Krishṇappa,8 a prince of high talents and acknowledged abilities. In an age when the security of power was dependent on personal valour and military glory alone, the true

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8 Also known as Peria Krishṇama. According to the Hist. of Carna, Dhorai and “Supple. MS.” he ruled from 1458 A.D. (Bahudhānasa) to 1489 (Kilaka). But the Pand. Chron. and Mirt. MSS. say that he ruled from 1562 (Rudhirākāri) to 1573 (Āgilā). Very amusing, but false, events are given by Wheeler in regard to this ruler. He attributes to him the date 1562-1572. “The new Nāik was only three years old when his father died, but he was carried in procession through the streets of Madura, and installed upon the throne with the usual ceremonies. His grand father Nagama Nāik and Aryanātha Mudali, the minister and commander-in-chief, acted as regents for the infant prince. As he grew up he acted according to their advice, and followed the example set by his father; he maintained the rights of the Brahmans and those of the temples; he married and had a son before he arrived at years of
badge of greatness, a gifted individual like Kumāra Kṛishṇappa could not but make his influence felt. Endowed with a hardy nature, which unfolded, during the heat of war, a marvellous energy and an active enthusiasm, Kṛishṇappa had also the noble moderation and the gallant chivalry of his father. With rare personal heroism he combined a generous heart, which opened readily to the fallen and sympathised with the weak. Able by nature, he had also the advantage of the discipline of his youth, the training he had undergone both in war and in the art of government, under his illustrious father. To crown all, he had the further advantage, throughout his reign, of the judicious precepts and thoughtful counsels of the great statesman Aryanātha. No better example have we in Nāik History of a natural capacity so incessantly helped by the wisdom of experience; and the result was a great and successful reign. Much of the credit of Kṛishṇappa's rule was due to his predecessor and to his minister, the one bequeathed to him a strong government and a sound policy, and the other gave him the weight of his counsels. Nevertheless, not a little of the success must be attributed to his own powerful personality and vigorous intelligence.

The Battle of Talikōṭṭa and Kṛishṇappa's part in it.

The first and foremost event which distinguished the period of Kṛishṇappa's rule, and created a new epoch in the history of the whole of South India, was the Muhammadan invasion and sack of Vijayanagar in 1565. It is unnecessary to describe the events that led to it and the events that followed it. It is enough for our purpose if we consider how they affected the relations between the Empire and Madura. Kumāra Kṛishṇa was too good a man to forget his father's indebtedness to Sadāśiva Rāya to desert his standard at a time of disaster and danger. His loyalty is clear from an inscription of A. D. 1561 recording a gift of his in the Tinnevelly temple, where he mentions the great minister Rāmarāya. He therefore took a prominent part in the operations of the Talikōṭṭa campaign. It is true he did not personally attend the emperor with his levies, but he did the next best thing in sending Aryanātha to the seat of war.

discretion (i.e., before he was 10 years old). He made a journey with his guardians into the Tinnevelly country and was much pleased with the immense plains covered with rich pools and fruitful orchards. He accordingly travelled farther into the Southern country. On his return he saw the place where his father died, and was so affected by the said story that he killed himself on the spot." This story, says Wheeler, is from the MSS. I have searched for it in vain. Wheeler is of opinion that the story gives false information.

The real fact is, he continues "Kumāra Kṛishṇappa Nāik must have attained his majority. He was the father of a child two years old. He was becoming impatient of his guardians. Accordingly they took him away from the City of Madura, and put him to death. They then built an agrahara as an act of atonement." (Wheeler Vol. IV, Part. II, p. 575). The absurdity of all this will be clear when the real history of the reign, as given in the text, is studied.

Epigraphical evidences regarding Kumāra Kṛishṇappa are very meagre. In his Antiquities (I, 318) Sowell mentions only one. It is an inscn. in an Ayanār Shrine in the village of Vijayapati, 20 miles S. E. of Nāṅgūrī, Tinnevelly District. It bears date 1569 (Q. E. 745). The only other inscn. I have been able to get concerning him is in Madr. Ep. Rep. 1912-13, p. 41. It is dated S. 1485, but the year given Kṛishṇana is wrong. It says that he gave the villages of Ayyakulam, Puttaneri alias Tiruvengavasalur, Sīrāmākkuḷam, Pottalkulam, Kēṭikkukulam, etc., to the temple of Tiruvēngai-Aṉāṭha Dēva of Kṛishṇapuram for the merit of his father Vīṣṇuḥnātha.

The Kōḻuḻugu says that in S. 1447, during the rule of Kṛishṇappa, he presented many jewels to Rāganātha, and his agent Narasinha Dēśika, son of Vāthula Dēśika, is said to have built steps on the southern bank of the Kāveri and made for the god a coat of jewels and a crown at a cost of 150,000 gold pieces.

The detailed history of the Penukoḻa-Chandragiri Empire based on chronicles and inscriptions and literature from 1565 to 1590 is shortly to be published by me in the Journal of the Bombay Royal Asiatic Society. The present history of the Nāik kingdom of Madura is strictly speaking, a part of that history, as Madura was throughout this period, like Mysore, Gingi and Tanjore, a province of the Empire.

Inscn, 28 of 1894.
Paucity of materials and absence of epigraphic evidences unfortunately make a detailed description of the movements of Aryanätha in the campaign impossible; but we may believe that he took a prominent part in its conduct. At the battle which followed Vijayanagar fell from its proud position for ever. The removal of the seat of government to Penukoḍa, the civil war between Vēṅkaṭa and Tirumala for supreme power, the murder of Sadāśiva Rāya, the assumption of imperial title by Tirumala, and the reduction of the extreme northern provinces by Bijapur and Golconda followed. What was the exact relation between Aryanātha and the usurper, when these momentous events were going on? The Madura chronicles are silent as to this point. They completely ignore Tirumala and Vēṅkaṭādri and their struggles. Nor do they mention anything about the change of dynasty. But they give the politics of the day from the standpoint of Madura and are, in consequence, though not completely reliable, of high value to the historian. They are not, as between themselves, quite consistent; but there are certain agreements in them, which seem to give them a certain amount of authority. Conflicting with each other and questionable in details, they depict Aryanātha Mudaliär, the Madura Daḷavāi, as the master of the situation after the Talikōṭṭah campaign. When the Muḥammadans and the Maṇḍāṭhās, says one MS, came from the north in large numbers and waged war with the Rāya, "the Mudaliär left Madura with his troops, and took part in the war. When, in the course of it, the Rāya died, he left a written will to the effect that Aryanātha was his adopted son, that it devolved on him to free the kingdom from its enemies."

Two versions of Aryanātha's movements.

Aryanātha, then, we are told, defeated and drove, with the grace of his deity Dūrga, the enemies beyond the confines of Vijayanagar, and then "consulted the elders among his own relations in regard to his assumption of the title Rāya; but they asked him not to do so." Thereupon he divided the Rāya's dominions into three parts, one of which he gave to Viśvanātha, the son of Koṭṭiyam Nāgama Nāiḳ; another, the country of Tanjore, to Māppiḷḷai Vijaya Rāghava Nāiḳ; and the third, Sriraṅgapatṭaṇam and the Mysore country to "the Kartas." After anointing these, the Mudaliär took upon himself the duties of generalissimo over all these three kingdoms. The other story is that, when the power of Vijayanagar was destroyed by the Musalmans, the Rāya appointed Krishṇappa of Madura12 as the Viceroy of his Northern dominions and Aryanātha in the place of Krishṇappa; that Aryanātha refused to accept his elevation, as his Brahman preceptor told him that the exercise of royal powers by a Sūdra was a sacrilege; and that Aryanātha was in consequence made a sort of political agent, representing the interests of the Emperor in his southern dominions. There are difficulties in acknowledging the first of these versions. In the first place, the Rāya did not die in the battlefield at all. On the other hand, he continued to rule, nominally at least, for three years more at Penukoḍa. He could not have therefore made such a bequest on the battlefield. Secondly, Viśvanātha Nāiḳ did not live at the time. He had been already dead two years before the battle of Talikōṭṭah, and the story of his getting a share in the partition of the Empire is an anachronism. But the unreliable nature of the story is due more to what it does not say than to what it says, more to its omission than to its information. It completely ignores the career of Tirumala, the change of the seat of government to Penukoḍa, and other

12 Life of Arjavanatha Mudaliar See appendix 1. (The Mirt. MSS.)
13 Narasimhalu Naik's Hist. South-Ind. I don't know on what authority this account is based.
events which epigraphy conclusively proves. What was the nature of the relation between Aryanātha and Tirumala? Was he a friend of his or an enemy? Did he take part in the civil war between him and his brother, Vēṅkaṭādri? If so, which side did he join? and whom did he support? How far is the statement of the Madura chronicles that Aryanātha was the master of the situation after the Talikōṭa disaster true? How far is it consistent with the well-known and well-proved fact that Tirumala was in reality the master of both the emperor and the Empire? It is impossible, with the materials that are thus far available, to answer these questions. The whole subject is enshrouded in a mystery which neither the chronicles nor epigraphical evidences are able to clear. It is this obscurity that seems to warrant the belief that the story, mentioned above, is an invention of an admirer of the great Mudaliār, who gave vent to his own imagination at the expense of the truth. But while it may be acknowledged that something of this story is a fiction, it must be also acknowledged that it is based on a substratum of truth. The very existence of the different versions goes to prove this. Both agree in depicting the great general as the acknowledged leader of the Empire, as the great man of the day, as the centre of the imperial hopes. Both agree that it was his singular moderation or cautious prudence that prevented him from the dignity of royalty; and both agree that he became an imperial officer, though one considers his jurisdiction identical with the whole Empire and the other confines it to the southern dominions alone.

The probable position and movements of Aryanātha after Talikōṭa.

The display of so much modesty and philosophy in an age of adventure and ambition seems hardly credible to the critical historian; but it should be remembered that such a self-denial or philosophy was not impossible in the case of a man like Aryanātha, who was a staunch worshipper of orthodoxy, and whose character, after all, seems to have suited him more to be a capable lieutenant than master. At the same time his moderation might have been the result of policy. In the civil war between Tirumala and Vēṅkaṭādri, in the triumph of the former, in the helpless position of the Rāya, and in the other features of the then imperial politics, he perhaps felt it prudent to retire, to grant himself to a lesser rank, but a sphere of greater control. His retirement to Madura, then, might have been the product of political foresight, the outcome of an instinctive fear that the emperor was in future a phantom. Or perhaps, he entered into a tacit understanding with Tirumala that they were not to interfere with each other, that the one was free to pursue his career in the north and the other, in the south. Or he might have been disgusted with the conduct of Tirumala, and retired for ever to the south, taking leave of the imperial politics, for ever. In any case he attached himself to Kṛishṇappa and continued to be his chief friend and counsellor, his minister and Daḷavāi. Fixing his residence in the rich and fertile village of Sōḷavandān, twelve miles to the northwest of Madura, he made it by his labours, one of the most thriving and prosperous places in the kingdom. He fortified

14 The Life of Aryanātha Mudaliār. It says that he came thither in 1566 (Akṣhayat). See the other Mīrjanīya MSS. in the appendix I.

15 “Sōḷavandān (a corruption of Chōḷāntaka) is historically an important place. Inscriptions show that its old name was Chōḷāntaka Chaturvedīdimaṇgalam. The Chōḷas evidently once came as far as this, but were defeated by the Pāṇḍya. The numerous inscriptions of Pāṇḍya rulers in the Perumāl temple at Sōḷavandān and in the Mālāntē shrines at Tekkāli seem to show that the village was a favourite with these monarchs.” (Madura Gazetteer, p. 297). Sōḷavandān’s importance was due to its commanding situation on the road between Madura and Dindigul, and its being a halting place for the Rāmāvaram pilgrims in those days. Later on Maṇgamāl established here a choultry which exists even now. Sōḷavandān is a very fertile and populous place on the Vaigai with a population of 13,000.
it, constructed a temple, the management of which he entrusted to his old guru of Conjeeveram, built as many as 300 houses in it, and invited thousands of his own castemen, the Vejjalas of Tondaimandalam 16 to occupy them. He also colonised the village with various classes of professional people, whose services were a necessity,—goldsmiths and blacksmiths, potters and masons, carpenters and architects, Pariah freemen and slaves. The neighbouring villages of Nageri, Pottaneri and Tirumangalam 17 were similarly occupied by the Vejjalas relatives or dependents of the great statesman. Besides these Aryanathâ built the village of Aryanapuram on the Tambraparni banks, and that in the picturesque region of Periakulam. Even now the descendants of these colonists can be seen to flourish in these places. The inquisitive antiquarian will be specially struck with the deep affection and tender gratitude with which they, especially the Vejjalas, of that part of Sōjavandân, which is called, after Aryanatha, the Mudaliār-Kōṭtai, cherish the memory of their ancestor and benefactor. 18

Aryanathâ’s works at Sojavandân and elsewhere.

The fort is gone, but the colonists are prosperous and own most of the fertile fields and pleasant cocoanut groves, for which Sōjavandân is so deservedly famous. The benevolent labours of Aryanathâ were not confined to his new colonists. Many a Siva and Vishnu temple, (e. g. at Palamkoṭṭah), many a māṭapa and gopura, throughout Madura, owed its existence to his liberality and charity. He took a singular pleasure in the construction of edifices which struck people more by their magnificence than their beauty, more by the awe-inspiring grandeur than by their artistic excellence. He was an ardent builder, in other words, of gigantic māṭapams and thousand-pillared bowers. The grand and imposing thousand-pillared māṭapams of the Madura and Tinnevelly temples, for instance, were his work. The former of these, situated in the north east corner of the shrine, just to the north of the Viravasanta māṭapa, has gained the admiration and excited the applause of artists.

His military architecture.

In military architecture also Aryanathâ left equally striking monuments. The walls and fortifications of Trichinopoly, Madura and Palamkoṭṭah were no doubt carried under his supervision; and it is an irony of fate that none of these exist in their entirety in the present

16 The Koṅgu Vejjalas also were descended from them, as numerous chronicles testify.
17 See Hist. Carna. Govs. Tirumangalam, on the Gundar is a Taluk centre, 13 M. S. W. Madura; Railway Station; See Madura Gazetteer, p. 330.
18 The most important of these is one Vira Rāghava Mudaliār, once employed in the additional sub-court of Tinnevelly. He gave me, during my visit to him, a memorandum about his ancestor and a copy of the copper-plate charter which he gave his preceptor. The charter is dated S 1559, but as the name of the year is Subhānu, it is clear that the real date is S. 1505. It says that, in that year, Aryanathâ Mudaliār and some others (Vira-Rāghava, Chidambara, Muttiyappa and Vasantarāya Mudaliār) of the Tondaimandal Vejjalas community of Janaka Nārāyanapura or Chōlakulintaka ruled, in a meeting of all the castemen, that they should pay the disciples of Vasantarāya Kurukkal, the son of Nāma Kurukkal (of the Itiṣanyatīvivaśīya priesthood of Conjeeveram), and that every family among them should pay him an annual tribute of 5 kāsīs, besides appointing and paying his man as eṣāv-dēvōu on ceremonial occasions, and making the contribution of 5 kāsīs in the name of a bridegroom and 3 kāsīs in the name of the bride, during marriages. All the Vejjalas from Palghaut to Sētu and from the Kāveri to Tiruchchendūr were subject to this charter granted by their own will. It was signed by Aryanathâ and two others above mentioned. The whole was written or engraved by Kadamβavana Āśārī of Madura and ended with the figures of a Goddess and a bāja. The inscription is interesting both socially and politically.
day. One of the MSS. attributes even the forts of Tanjore, Sriraṅgapatna and Vellore to him,—a statement which it justifies by saying that, though staying in Madura, he was a generalissimo of the whole Empire. The gratitude of Aryanātha, moreover appointed villages to remit hundis or bills of a exchange to distant Benares for the daily feeding of 1,000 Brahmins in the name of Nambi, the priest of the Ganeśa temple, to whose encouragement and education, he owed all his greatness as a general and statesman.

**Krishṇappa's subjugation of a local rebellion.**

While the relation between Kumāra Krishṇappa and the Emperor is thus one of uncertainty, there is nothing uncertain in his dealings with his own feudatories. Here he shewed himself a true son of his father, a firm and determined ruler. It has been already mentioned how the Polygar system had, with all its benefits, one great disadvantage. The loyalty of the Polygars was an elastic thing, an evanescent feeling, strong under a strong king and weak under a weak one. As long as Viśvanātha held the reins of government, the conduct of the Polygars was characterised by willing obedience; but the death of that hero and the absence of Aryanātha in the North, relieved them from the yoke of discipline, and gave them the opportunity for a rising. The man who took advantage of this state of things was the turbulent Thumbiechi Nāik. We have already seen how, in days previous to the Nāik conquest, he had enjoyed an extensive territory and power, and how the advent of Viśvanātha gave a check to his ambition and a blow to his authority. Evidently Thumbiechi had looked on the author of his disgrace more with hatred than loyalty; but prudence and fear had prevented him from rebellion. And now, when Viśvanātha was dead, and his faithful Daḷavāi away in the North, Thumbiechi felt that a suitable opportunity for the recovery of his old prominence was come. With a few brother chiefs, who evidently shared his discontent and his views, he raided the country, and seized and fortified the important village of Paramakuṭti on the Madura-Rāmnāj road, 40 miles south-east of the former and 20 miles north-west of the latter. Kumāra Krishṇa found all remonstrance and warning futile, and so acted with firmness and promptness. He despatched an army of 18,000 men, commanded by 13 officers, under his trusty general Kēsavappa Nāik, a tried soldier who, as we have already seen, had served Viśvanātha I. with a faith and courage second only to that of Aryanātha. Kēsavappa marched to the enemy's camp and promptly laid siege to it, but the gallant veteran fell in one of the sallies in the course of the siege. His son and namesake, however, immediately stepped, with Krishṇappa's sanction, into his position; and urged by the feeling of revenge and the desire for distinction, prosecuted the operations with vigour. Before long, he succeeded in taking the place by storm and compelling Thumbiechi to surrender. The pious zeal of the captors instantly separated his head from his body, and despatched it as a trophy of victory to the king. Kumāra Krishṇa was now in a position to teach a lesson of severity and example to refractory elements by the annexation of the rebel estate. But Krishṇappa, a man of valour as he was, had less valour than clemency. The true son of Viśvanātha, be believed as much in conciliation as in coercion. When therefore the two

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19 The *Mīr. MSS.*

20 See the *Hist. of the Pālayam* in the appendix for a discussion of the question.

21 It is now in the Rāmnāj Zamindari, and has a population of about 9,000. It is on the south bank of the Vaigai. Its large stone pavilion and *chhatram* is famous as a centre of charity. The inhabitants are mostly weavers and the ironsmiths are Musalmans. *Madras Manual* III, p. 653. The account of this rebellion is fully given in *Śīhnādalpa Kathā*, for which see Taylor's *Rais Catal.* III, pp. 183-6.
sons of the deceased Polygar implored at his feet for pardon and for maintenance, he generously conferred on them the village of Pambūr, and the wardenship over Paramakudi he granted a few villages for the maintenance of the widows and relations of the deceased chieftain. Krishṇappa’s sense of discipline, however, demanded a chastisement, and the remaining part of the estate, in consequence, was annexed to the kingdom.  

Krishṇappa’s conquest of Kandy.

The subjugation of this internal revolt was followed by an extensive war with a foreign power, Kandy in Ceylon. Wilson and Taylor suppose that this war never happened. The silence of the *Hist. of the Carnatic Governors*, of the *Mahāvamsa*, and of the Polygar memoirs, lends support to this view. But the authority of a Telugu work *Siṃhaladvīpa Kathā* compels, by its accurate topography and detailed description, belief in the war. Wilson and, following him, Taylor believed that “Simhala” here meant not Ceylon, but either Rāmnād or some petty paḷāyam in Tinnevelly. This is, however, against the general meaning attached to the term. At the same time the account therein given distinctly refers to a campaign in Ceylon. The author of the *Madura Manual* therefore believes that the war was a fact, and it seems that this is a conclusion worthy of acceptance. The cause of the war is uncertain, but the MS. chronicle above mentioned attributes it to the old friendship of the Kandy king with Tumbichchī Naik and the insult with which he treated Krishṇappa’s name. To the Madura monarch, the government of his kingdom did not suffice to occupy his time or his abilities. His ambition aspired to the reputation of a great conquest, and the imprudent attitude of the Kandy king presented him with an opportunity for the accomplishment of his purpose. At the head of a gigantic army formed by the musters of 52 Polygars, he reached the coast. Embarking at the holy Navasādāyam (the Nine Stones), the remnant of the old Rāma Sētā, he reached, we are told, Manarand issued an ultimatum demanding immediate obedience and homage. The king of Kandy was too proud to answer, and Krishṇappa gave orders for the advance into the island. At Patalam the van of the Madura army, under the command of Chinnā Kēsavappa, came into collision with the Singhaelese, whose gigantic array of 40,000 troops was commanded by 4 ministers and 8 viceroys (dēianāthalu). The battle which followed ended in victory for the Indians. No less than two ministers and five provincial chiefs fell into their hands. The captives, we are told, were so much won by the honourable and humane treatment of the invaders, that they offered to go, in company with two envoys appointed by Krishṇappa, to Kandy and persuade their king to conclude peace and pay tribute. They further offered, in case they failed, to come over, with their districts and people, to the allegiance of Madura. Krishṇappa consented, and sent two of them with two of his nominees. They proceeded to the Singhaelese capital, gained over the support of the Prime Minister, and represented to the king the necessity for yielding on the ground that the Singhaelese soldiers were distinctly inferior in martial training, skill and discipline, to the Vaḍugas. But the king, more brave than prudent, refused to acknowledge the foreigner. The captives and envoys then returned, and the Kandy king advanced at the head of 60,000 Singhaelese and 10,000 “kāfirs.” The MS. describes a number of skirmishes between the two armies, till at length a general engagement ensued. It was a well contested and sanguinary struggle, and ended in the defeat of the islanders, 8,000 of the kāfirs fell, and the Singhaelese army retreated in confusion. The king and his minister, too proud to turn back,

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2 Wilson’s *Catal.*; Taylor’s *O: H., MSS*; Nelson’s *Madura country.*
now preferred death to subjection. Mounted on his elephant, the king committed so much wanton destruction that Krishṇappa had to give up his idea of sparing his life, and so, when his furious antagonist was cutting the trunk of his terrified elephant, he despatched him by an arrow, thereby giving him an honourable death by the hand of his peer.

The kingdom of Kandy was now at the feet of the conqueror. But Kumāra Krishṇa was a stranger to all the vices of a conqueror. His policy derived more solid benefit from his acts as a statesman than his achievements as a soldier. He is described as one of those rare men who deserve the praise that their virtues expanded with their fortune. He gained the affections of the Singhalese people by his judicious moderation and his careful regard for their feeling. His generous mind held the health of the wounded and the deformed as the object of his special concern. His conscience, guided by the orthodox clergy, ordered that the deceased should be given the honour of state mourning. Placed on an elephant, his body was taken to the capital to receive the proper funeral ceremonies. The combination of clemency with conquest and of moderation with success, elevated the character of Krishṇappa in the eyes of mankind, and had the salutary effect of not only pacifying the injured nation, but inducing it to positively invite the conqueror to their capital. He proceeded thither, and during his three days’ stay there, made arrangements for the government of the conquered lands. “He sent the late king’s family and household, inclusive of children, to a town called Aramgam, in former times the site of royal residence, (probably Anuradhapur) where they were supplied with all necessaries.” (Tayl. III, 185). He then appointed his brother-in-law Vijayagopala Nāïju as his Viceroy, and left Ceylon for his kingdom, conscious of the superior work he had done and sure of his memory being cherished by men. On his way home, the generous monarch, it is said, showered largesses on various temples to expiate the slaughter of the war.

Its temporary nature.

Such is the account of the celebrated triumph attributed to Krishṇappa by the Śiṅhala-dvīpa Kathā. As has been already mentioned its genuineness has been questioned, but accepted by the historians. But whatever differences may exist in regard to the actual events of the war, there can be no difference in regard to the relations between the two powers thereafter. We do not hear, either in the Madura chronicles or in the chronicles of Ceylon, any mention of such intercourse. At any rate, though this MS. clearly says to the contrary, we do not see it stated anywhere else that the ruler of Kandy acknowledged the Madura ruler. Nor do we hear of any viceroys. The fact thus seems to be that Vijaya Gopāl Nāïk was a temporary officer. He must either have been replaced by a member of the Śiṅhalese royal family or must have been driven out by force. We cannot say when, if so, the Madura viceroy was replaced or driven out. Probably it was in the last period of Krishṇappa’s rule or, more probably, after his death. However it was, there is no doubt that, when once it was done, the Kandy chiefs hardly recognised the Madura supremacy. Krishṇappa’s triumph, then, was a momentary affair.

Krishṇappa as a ruler.

The rest of the reign of Krishṇappa was one of peace, and we have every reason to believe, of prosperity. The people enjoyed the fruits of a strong and paternal government. Their contribution to the State coffers was not excessive, and their material condition, thanks to the large number of irrigation works which Viśvanātha had constructed and which Krishṇappa continued, was one of prosperity. The feeling of discontent was conspicuous by its absence, and Krishṇappa signalised his peaceful rule by building a couple
of villages after his own name, one to the east of Paḷāmkoṭṭaḥ (Paḷayamkoṭṭai) and the other to the West of Tinnevelly. He adorned and beautified these with Siva and Viṣṇu temples, with well-built Brahmans agraharams and well-rivetted teppakkulams. A visitor to the former of these villages will not be surprised at Krīṣṇappa's choice of its site for his work of building and charities. A few furlongs off, across a plain landscape, lie the tiny but scattered rocks of Reḍḍilampaṭti. In the south-east and on the western side the hill of Mēlappatāṭi forms a similar outpost. To the North lie the Valanāṭ rocks forming a miniature watershed, the water from which forms a lake which feeds the small teppakkulams on the eastern end of the village. Situated in a picturesque situation and well furnished with irrigational facilities, Krīṣṇapuram was in reality a place worthy of colonisation. Having fixed it, Krīṣṇappa built a temple dedicated to Sṛṅivāsa and as many as 108 houses for Brahmans around and in front of it. The temple, once very rich and now poor, is a very fine structure. The front gopura as well as the front maṭappa is plain and ordinary, but what is known as Viṟappa maṭappa inside is the glory of the shrine. The sculptures on the pillars of this maṭappa are better worked and more splendid than those of even Tinnevelly. Spirited, lifelike and accurate, they will ever remain among noblest monuments of Indian artistic skill. In one is represented the Kaurava hero Kārṇa, with the Nāgāstra, thirsting for Arjuna's life-blood in his hands. In another pillar is seen the Indian Achilles, Arjuna, performing furious penance for the acquisition of Pāśupatāstra. Another lifelike portraiture represents a local chief with his queens. The wealth of skill displayed in the general posture, the dresses and ornaments, and in other respects is exactly similar to that in the Tinnevelly temple and furnish admirable examples of the type of Naṅk sculpture. The statue of Manmatha with his sugar cane bows and flower arrows, the figures of Bīhma and Yudhishṭīra, etc. are all elaborately executed.

SECTION II.

Periya Viṟappa and Viśvaṉātha. (1573-1595.)

Kumāra Krīṣṇappa died some time in 1573, leaving behind him a high reputation for bravery and for great virtues. On his death his two sons, Peria Viṟappa and Viśvaṉātha...
tha II, assumed, in accordance with the custom of the day, the honours, duties and responsibilities of joint royalty. As a matter of fact, however, the administration was in the hands of Aryanātha Mudaliār. He was in reality the sovereign of the country, the nominal kings being puppets by his side and, in consequence, the tools of his will. The age, the position, and the industry of the venerable statesmen invested him with the dignity of the dictator and the authority of an autocrat. His word was, for all practical purposes, the law, and his advice a command. The historian may well criticise this attitude of Aryanātha, and condemn him as a practical usurper, who contributed to the weakness and indolence of his wards, instead of increasing their strength; but, though it is impossible to prove that he was not inspired by ambition or prompted by self-interest, yet it can be well contended that, in the assertion of his power, his intentions were perhaps not to blame. If the other men did not shine by his side, it was not his fault. His services at the same time gave him a moral strength. A terror to the elements of disorder in the land, he maintained peace, and regulated the affairs of state in their smooth and regular course. With efficiency he combined sympathy, thereby making himself the idol of all classes of people. He conciliated the Brahmins by his munificent endowments, his liberal charities, his foundation of agrahāraṇams and his patronage of religious architecture. He gratified the peasants and agriculturists by his stern control over the Polygars, and his generosity in the excavation of tanks and the construction of canals for irrigation purposes. The effect of his strong presence was seen in the fact that throughout this reign there was not a single rebellion except that of the Māvalīvāsa king. The Māvalīvāsas were, as has been already shewn, chiefs with a historic past and traditional greatness, whose ancestors had come, centuries back to the Madura district. Unfortunately we have no knowledge of the parentage, the period of rule, and other details concerning the chief against whom Virappa had to march. All that we can say is that that the rebel was more bold than wise in his disaffection and rebellion. For no sooner did he take possession of Mānā-Madura and Kālayār Kūl than Virappa promptly took the field against him, and as the History of the Carnatic Governors curtly puts it, conquered him and took possession of his country. Inscription 366 of 1901, which says that a certain Vānadāraya was the agent of Virappa Nāyakkar Aiyan, evidently refers to his defeat and later loyalty.

No other event sullied the calm of Virappa’s rule, and he was able to devote himself, in consequence, like the rest of his line, to the foundation of agrahāraṇams for Brahmins and the construction of religious as well as military architecture. To him is attributed the erection of the wall which encompass the famous shrine of Chidambaram. He was also the builder of “the Kambattī Maṇḍapam,” beautiful and stone-pillared edifice in the Sunderēsvara temple of Madura. It was finished, as an inscription in one of its pillars says, in S. 1505 (Subhānu), i.e., 1583 A.D. The pillars are highly sculptured with Paurāṇic scenes and figures, and display, like the other buildings of the age, that extraordinary patience and that masterly skill, which characterised the artists of the 16th and 17th centuries. In military architecture, Virappa achieved an equal distinction. He constructed the southern walls of the Trichinopoly fort and the fortress of Aruppakkōṭai.

28 Hist. of the Carnatic, Govt.
29 Madr. Epigr. Rep., 1905-6, para. 69; Ibid. 1907-8, p. 69. The latter is in Telugu, but a Tamil copy of it is added to the inscription. See also Sewell’s Antiquities, I, 295 and II, 77.
30 Taylor ridiculously translates it into “An Arab fort.” He believed that it might be Elmisrean or Tirumērum. But Aruppak Kōṭai is really a town, 50 miles west by north of Rāmnād, and 28 miles south of Madura, with a population of about 12,000. (Madras Manual III, p. 346).
Virappa's relations with the Emperor.

A word may be said about the relations between the Emperor and Virappa. At the time when Virappa came to the throne Tirumala was on the imperial throne, and adorned it for the next five years. In 1578 he gave place to his son and successor Sri Raṅga I., and he, in turn, eight years later, to Vēṅkaṭapatī I. (1586-1615). Virappa was thus the contemporary of three imperial suzerains. And it is certain that he paid, in theory at least, the allegiance due to them. Throughout the time when the emperors were waging desperate and futile wars with the Muhammadan powers of Golconda and Bijapur—wars which resulted in the loss of the northern provinces and in the transfer of the capital from Pequkoṇḍa to Chandragiri—and throughout the time when Rāja Udāyār was skilfully expanding his estate into a kingdom by a judicious combination of opposition and conciliation towards the Sṛraṅgapatīam Viceroy, and when nearer at hand Achyutappa of Tanjore and Vēṅkaṭappā (1570-80) and his son Varadappa Naṅk (1580-1620) of Gingi, were doing the same, Virappa was pursuing evidently the same policy of obedience and expediency. Inscription 187 of 1895 says distinctly that Virappa was the feudatory of Sṛraṅga and inscription 13 of 1891, which records a grant by him in 1588, mentions him as a subordinate of Vēṅkaṭa. A Krishṇapuram inscription of 1578 also recognizes him as a vassal of Sṛraṅga. While a Kumbakonām grant of 1590 by Vēṅkaṭapatī endowed a number of villages in Tinnevelly to a Vaishāvaya shrine under the management of one Krishṇadās. Two years later again Vēṅkaṭa made a grant to the Tirukkaraṅgūḍī temple in the same district, and in 1601 a grant to the Bhāshyakārā shrine in the Madanagōpāla temple of Madura. (Ins. 35 of 1908).

(To be continued.)

BOOK NOTICE.

THE BHAIMIPARINAYA-NATAKAM, BY
MANDIKAL RAMA ŚASTRI.1

The story of Nala and Damayanti is what critics of a certain ill-natured school would call "a well-worn theme." It would be more just to say that it is one which has a perennial hold on the interest of India by reason of its merits, on the one hand as a tale of broad human experiences and on the other hand as a narrative singularly in harmony with the peculiar Hindu imagination and view of moral law. It will be a sad day for India—a day which we hope will never arise—when a Hindu audience will fail to hear with respectful interest tales such as those of Nala and Śāvitrī. And therefore we are glad to see a scholar whose previous literary career might have been expected to predispose him towards a theme more academic or at least more limited in its interest taking up this catholic story of love, joy, and sorrow—and, we may add at once, handling it so well. Pandit Maṇḍikal Rāma Śāstri— as he informs us in the preamble put into the mouth of the śukra-dhāra, which is not mentioned here—for reserve—is the son of Veṅkaṭa-subbasya Śāstri, a Śrīvīra Brahman of the Rāhūtara family. After studying the Vēda, logic, grammar, and stylistic, he became a specialist in the Advaita philosophy, and has written several works, among them being the Ārya-dharma-prakāṣa, a treatise on Indian religion. Some time ago he was appointed to the office of Sanskrit Pandit in the Maharaja's College at Mysore, and still holds that post. Having now attained to mature years, he has sought for a theme fit "to purify the tongue"; and he has happily chosen the "holy tale" of Nala, which he has presented in the form of a Sanskrit drama in ten acts, embracing the whole story from the beginning of Nala's passion for Damayanti down to their reunion after their separation in the forest, and the recovery of his kingdom by Nala. He has handled the material, not in the ponderous and artificial style so sadly common among modern pandits, but with an agreeable lightness and simplicity of touch that make reading a pleasure, and breathe a spirit of fresh life into the ancient forms of classical style. Mr. K. R. Shrīnāvāsa Rāo contributes an English introduction to the book, which is published under the auspices of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

L. D. BARNETT.


22 Ibid, I. 2.

33 Ibid, p. 315.

31 Sewell's Antiquities, II, 76.
NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND
TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.
By Dr. L. P. TESSITORI, BIKAISER.
(Continued from p. 7.)
APPENDIX.
SELECTED SPECIMENS FROM OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI TEXTS.

1. The Different Vocations of the Four Sons of the Merchant Dhanavaha,
[From the Vidyāvīlāsacarita by Hīrāndandasūri (Saṃvats 1485=A.D. 1429), MS. No. 732 in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence.]

2. The Same Story according to Another Recension.
[From the Vidyāvīlāsacarita by Nyāyasundara (Saṃvats 1516=A.D. 1460), contained in a MS. kindly procured to me by the Jainācārya Čri Vijaya Dharma Sūri].

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46 साहित्य. 47 पत्रिका 48 तत्त्व. 49 बिजय. 50 अज्ञात. 51 साहित्य. 52 अद्वित. 53 चालिक. 54 सीवकपत्र. 55 गाँव. 56 तत्त्व. 57 तत्त्व. 58 अज्ञात. 59 अद्वित. 60 चालिक. 61 चालिक. 62 चालिक. 63 चालिक. 64 दिनकल. 65 बाँध. 66 खग. 67 वालव. 68 निस्थान. 69 अद्वित. 70 किसा.
3. The Monkey and the Wedge.

[From the Pañcākhyāna, a métrical rifacement of the Hitopadeśa, contained (1st tantra only) in the MS. No. 106 in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence.]

37 वपयः. 72 सहवः. 73 हुष्ण. 74 कीहः. 75 किष्तु. 76 कि. 77 कुलबत्तवः. 78 सापः.
79 This verse is so corrupted that I do not see how to restore it. Possibly the fault lies in the second विम, which word was erroneously substituted by the amanuensis for some different word (or words) in the original.
80 सर्वः. 81 कीहः. 82 बनंत्रसः. 83 हद्रतः. 84 कहः. 85 कहः. 86 वहः. 87 निम्नः.
4. The Weaver as Vignu.

[From the same].

The text appears to be a transcription of a historical or religious text in an Indian language, possibly in Sanskrit or another classical Indian script. The document contains a series of verses or passages, each beginning with a character that is often used to denote the start of a sentence in classical Indian literature. The text is dense and contains numerous repetitions and variations, typical of the style found in ancient or religious writings.

Due to the nature of the text and the complexity of the script, a detailed translation or interpretation is beyond the scope of this platform. However, the document appears to be a collection of verses or prayers, possibly related to the role of a weaver or a deity associated with weaving or textiles.

The line 'The line is faulty' suggests that there may be errors or misinterpretations in the transcription of the text.
5. King Datta cannot escape the Fate Predicted to him by Kalikačarya.

[From Somasundararātra’s commentary on Dharmadāsa’s Uvasamāṭā (gāthā 105), contained in a MS. kindly supplied to me by the Jainācārya Črī Vijaya Dharma Sūri, Saṃvat 1567—A.D. 1511].

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6. King Črenika and his Cruel Son Kûnika.

[From the same, gāthā 140.]

राजसर सर अभिप्रेत राजा। विश्वास पर दर्शाय। ते न एक एक गरी गच ृढ़ पुनः। पाषाणा नि
ना बहारुप सब नसिहत नाक मणि विशाल धर्म नाआ चाचा न कोनत मुनाफ। अनेककुमार मुखोपादेशाती हेरी अभिश्वसनीय वेदान्त दोहराइ पुरित। जाताकर अरोड करकर लेखाविन्दू औरः निश्चय न अभिप्रेत। कुटुंबिया पाठ वालवाल। अभिप्रेत महाराज पाठ वि प्राप्तिविद। अभिप्रेत। नाम श्रेष्ठ निश्चक महाराज पाठ वालवाल। श्रेष्ठ न नुसार पहँ। कुछु पाठ वालवाल। सामन्त ।

7. Jain Asetics live like the Bees.

[From a commentary on the Dasaveyâliyasutta, contained in the MS. No. 557, in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence.]

भूमि मुक्तमुक्तात् ४० भजम समेत प्राण अनुवादिक इति। किरोचर विवरण शब्दकोष १९ शब्द। तत्त १२ ये २ एवं निम्ने प्रकार मृत्यु सपाट्य। ४२ भूमि न भजम अपसर्द। दलमृत। जेस जीव रहूँ दलमृत

नंदिन सलाह। ४३ इति। ४४ विषार्द।
8. The Meaning of “Arihanta”.

[From a commentary on the Pañcanamokkhā, contained in the MS. No. 580 in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence].


[From a bāldavabdha to the Ādivāthadesayoddhāra, contained in the MS. S. 1651, in the India Office Library.]
None of the preceding neuter forms is nasalized in the MS.
THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.
BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 92.)

It may be mentioned here that the Pândyan dynasty of Teväkäśi continued in the full plenitude of its power and glory. I have already pointed out how there is an inconsistency in the dates assigned to Ati Víra Ráma as, according to one version, he died in 1610 and, according to the Pudukkótai plates, issued by Sri Valabha and Varatúṅga, his reign was over by 1583, and how Mr. Krišña Sastrî solved the problem for his part by believing Sri Valabha to be identical with, and not the brother, of Ati Víra Ráma Pândya. In any case the point to be understood is that Varatúṅga Ráma, known also by the names of Abhiráma, Sundarásvara, and Abhiphákka Víra Pándya, and equally celebrated as a poet and scholar, was king—evidently as Ati Víra Ráma's vassal. And as his coronation is said in a Teväkäśi Gópuram inscription to have taken place in 1588, it is plain that the Pudukkótai plates should have been issued earlier, when he was a mere prince. Varatúṅga clearly acknowledges his allegiance to Virappa Náik and it was at the instance of one Tirumal Náik, a minister of the latter, that he made the grand endowment of 1583 to Brahmanas. An orthodox believer in the Védic creed, he performed a sacrifice in 1589 thereby getting the name Dikshita, and as a Tamil scholar he composed the Brahmaśatarakāyōnam, the highly sensuous Kokaṅkam, etc. The latest date of Varatúṅga thus far available is 1595. (See Antiquities, I, p. 306).

SECTION III.

Visvanátha III. and Liṅgappa or Kumára Krishiṇappa II. 1595-1602.

Virappa died in 1595. His brother and colleague had preceded him to the grave, and the crown therefore devolved on his eldest son, Visvanátha III. The latter immediately chose his younger brother, Liṅgappa or Kumára Krishiṇappa II. as his second. As usual, the date of Viśvanátha's accession is given differently in different authorities. According to the Hist. of the Cauca. Govs. and the Supple. MS. (which does not mention Liṅgappa at all), Viśvanátha ruled from Dháthu to Mannaṅtha (i.e. from S. 1438 to 1458). The Pand. Chron., on the other hand, which does not mention Viśvanátha III, and says that Kumára Krishiṇappa succeeded Virappa, gives the period from Mannaṅtha Márāgi to Pīlava Chitrai (1595-1602); but with a curious inconsistency it says that he died (not in Chitrai of Pīlava but) in Śubhakrītī Vyakāśi, 10. Epigraphical evidence proves the correctness of the Pand. Chron. An inscription of S. 1518 in the Varada-Rája-Perumál temple at Perungaraṇi refers to Krishiṇa Bhúpa, son of Víra Bhúpa (No. 404 of 1907). A Madura copper plate grant says that Krishiṇappa sat on the throne of Vallabha Narendra after 33 years, i.e. 33 years.
after the death of Viśvanātha I., i.e., in 1595 A.D. (Sewell’s Antiquities II, p. 31, No. 211 of the C. P. list). Another grant of S. 1520 (Viṣambī, 1598 A.D.) records that he gave the village of Padmanārī (Nanguneri Taluk, Tinnevelly) to certain people in the time of Vēkaṇāpati (Ibid, p. 17, C. P. list 111). A much longer plate of S. 1519 (1597 A.D., Hēvilambī) records that in that year, both Kumārā Kṛishṇappa and Viśvanātha III. ruled at Madura (Ibid, II, p. 19, C. P. list 136), and gave two villages to several Vaishnavā Brahmans. All these inscriptions clearly say that Viśvanātha’s accession took place about 1595.

Viśvanātha III is one of the most obscure figures in history. The historian is absolutely in the dark in regard to his character or conduct, his desires or ambitions. He wielded the sceptre for seven years, and nothing noteworthy seems to have happened then. The tranquillity of his rule must have been due to the same circumstance as that of the previous reign, the presence of Aryanātha. The great statesman was more than eighty at the accession of Viśvanātha. More than thirty years had elapsed since his advent into the south in the company of the first Viśvanātha. All these years he had lived a life of unceasing toil, of strenuous activity. His old friends were gone, as well as his old associations. The empire had changed its heads often; so also the kingdom whose destinies he guided. Important changes had taken place in Tanjore, in Mysore, in Jinji, and other parts of the Empire. New dynasties had come into existence, and the foundation of a new world had been laid by the advent of the Dutchman and the Englishman in the Indian seas. Indian trade was becoming an object of concern and a fertile source of diplomacy and war in the courts of Madura and Amsterdam, of Tanjore and London. The Hollander and the Englishman were beginning to overshadow the Portuguese, and the coasts of Malabar and Mannar, of Ceylon and the south, were becoming scenes of busy trade and European rivalries. All around him the world had moved, but he remained unmoved. Like a strong and gigantic tower, which reminded the days of old and defied the lapse of time, he remained a firm and determined link with the past.

The death of Aryanātha 1600.

There is ample evidence to prove that, besides guiding the kings of Madura, he took upon himself the task of maintaining the integrity of the Empire and saving the descendants of Kṛishṇadēva Rāya from the shadow of neglect and danger of extinction. An interesting and valuable copper-plate grant of Līṇāyya and Viśvanātha recognizes, in unmistakeable terms, the supremacy of the then emperor Vēkaṇāpati in 1597, though Kṛishṇappa wielded in it the extraordinary title of Pāṇḍya-Pārthīva or Pāṇḍyan king. A similar grant of 1598 concerning a village in the Nanguneri Taluk of Tinnevelly, affirms that Vēkaṇāpati was the original donor and that Kṛishṇappa was a secondary one; that

33 The Sīhṭyaratadākara says that the Dutch tried to land at Negapatam, but were defeated by Achuyappa Nāilk. See Tanj. Nāik Hist.
36 See Sewell’s Antiquities, II, p. 19 C. P. List 135. The grant is in nine plates in Nandinagari character and records a grant of two villages in the Madura district (Marudāigaḷi and Karupuram) to several Vaishnavā Brahmans.
37 Year Viṣambī. The village granted was Padmanārī in Tiruvādī Rāja. The plate gives an account of Viśvanātha I, Vrappa (the contemporary of Varutunga and Śrīvallabha Pāṇḍya who built a māyapura in Mālāki’s shrine and presented to the deity an armour of gold set with gems) and his son Kṛishṇappa who presented ornaments to the Śrīraṅgam temple. See Madr. Ep. Rep. 1906; Sewell’s Antiquities II, p. 17. It may be mentioned here that further south the Teṅkālī dynasty was ruling. But the real personalities of the various sovereigns are a little obscure, as I have already pointed out.
38 Ibid, p. 17, C. P. list 111.
the imperial power was, in other words, acknowledged in the extreme south of the Peninsula. All this was not a little due to the loyalty of Aryanâtha. His example, the chronicles say, guided the rulers of Mysore, Jinji and Tanjore. He in short was a great unifying force, who kept the union of the tottering empire by his loyalty and, we are led to believe, by his efficient soldiery as a generalissimo.

His greatness.

It is not surprising that when in 1600 he felt the effects of age and toil and succumbed to death, he was widely and sincerely lamented. The emperor at Chandragiri must have felt his loss a serious one for the empire. As for Madura, it was not only a loss, but disaster. His death left a void which could hardly be filled. For more than thirty-eight years he had been the life of the young state, and given it glory and success. He had strengthened its resources, provided for its defence, beautified it with temples, secured its finances, and made it, in short, the chief power in south India. Thanks to his valour, the Nâik of Madura was master of an extensive territory, which extended from sea to sea and from the woods of Udayârpaâyayam to Cape Comerin. Thanks to his martial foresight, it was defended by a chain of forts and a federation of chieftains. The fierce Marava in the east and the proud king of Travancore acknowledged the allegiance of Madura, and the rival chiefs of Mysore and Tanjore could hardly penetrate the wall of forts with which its frontiers were defended. Aryanâtha, in short, gave the Nâik kingdom its strength and its security, its organization and its resources. His death was therefore sincerely mourned by the dynasty which owed so much of his strength to his support, by the people who benefited so largely by his measures, by the Brahmanical clergy whose liberal patron he was, and, above all, by the large number of the Polygars, of whose political existence and happiness he was the author. His memory has been cherished with gratitude by posterity. For the Zamindars, especially the descendants of the Polygars, his name possesses a charm which age has not withered, and he is actually worshipped as their patron saint and guardian angel. The stray traveller whose interest in art and architecture carries him to the renowned temple of Madura, will notice, at the entrance to the grand thousand-pillared mantapam, a fine equestrian statue of an individual, receiving homage from all classes of people who happen to visit the famous sanctuary. The humble peasant clad in rags and the proud Zamindar, driving his coach and pair, vie with each other in doing honour to that figure, and offering a garland or other gift as a mark of their reverence. Even to lay and unhistorical minds, the questions at once suggest themselves, whom that statue represents, what he was, when he lived, and what his actions were, which entitled him to the respect of the world. To the rude rustic he is an object of worship as the builder of that mantapam, but to the antiquarian the statue is singularly valuable as the lifelike portrait of the illustrious statesman who, as we have already seen, was the greatest figure in the history of South India during a period of two eventful and epoch-making generations.

The deaths of Visvanâtha III. and Liâgappa.

Visvanâtha's reign lasted for only one year after the death of his great minister. In 1601 he died leaving the sceptre to his brother, Liâgappa or Kumâra Krishçappa II. Liâgappa, in accordance with the custom of the day, chose his brother Kastâri Raâga, a man of capacity and ambition, as Chinna Durai. The two brothers held a joint rule.

The exact date is Chitrai of Sârvari, S. 1522.
only for a few months. For in 1602 Liṅgappa followed his brother to the grave. The dates of this series of events are of course themes of controversy, but a right and definite conclusion is easy enough. According to the History of Carnatic Dynasties, and Supplementary MS., Viṅvanātha died in S. 1458, Maymatha, and Liṅgappa ruled for the next 17 years, from S. 1458 to S. 1475. All this is of course absurd. The Pandyan Chronicle, the Mīranjiya MSS., and epigraphy, on the other hand, clearly attribute the events to A. D. 1601 and 1602. The former are indeed inaccurate in mentioning Liṅgappa alone, and one of them particularly inconsistent in attributing the end of his reign to Pillava Chitrai and his death to Subhakrīt Vyakāśi; but this can be easily reconciled by the fact that Viṅvanātha III. died in Pillava Chitrai and Liṅgappa in Subhakrīt Vyakāśi.

Usurpation of Kastūrī-Raṅga and Muttu Kṛishṇappa’s accession.

In any case the decease of Liṅgappa was followed by a disputed succession between his son, Muttukṛishṇappa, and his brother Kastūrī Raṅga. The latter had had, as has been already mentioned, a share in the administration of the kingdom as his brother’s second; and having tasted power, his ambition grasped at the crown itself at the expense of the real heir. Muttu Kṛishṇa was a bare youth, and he could not make an efficient defence against the designs of his uncle. The consequence was, the latter succeeded in assuming the reins of government. The usurper, however, could not enjoy his exalted dignity for long. The illegal seizure of the crown raised a strong and influential party against him; and these vowed to resort to any means for the restoration of the crown to the regular line. They found a suitable opportunity when the king was defenceless and absorbed in his devotions in the secluded Sandhyā vandana maṇḍapa at Kṛishṇapurā, a small town north of the Vaigai, and had him murdered, in the midst of his meditations, by hirelings. The murdered chief had sat on the throne for the short space of eight days.

It should be acknowledged however that the indigenous chronicles are not unanimous in this version. The History of Carnatic Dynasties ascribes to Kastūrī Raṅga a reign of 17 years (S. 1458-1475, from Dūmnuki to Pariṭāpi), as second in power to Liṅgayya; and adds that, after the death of the latter in 1553, his son Muttu Kṛishṇappa succeeded; but as he was a child, Kastūrī Raṅga ruled as sole monarch for 3 years i.e., from Pramādhīka to Siddhārti (1560); and that on his death in that year Muttu Kṛishṇa came to the throne. It would thus appear from this chronicle that Kastūrī Raṅga was not a usurper; that he ruled in the capacity of guardian; and that he did not undergo a tragic death. The Pandyan Chronicle however, is explicit on the point, and its version of a short, tragic reign of 8 days, is taken by Nelson to be the more correct one. It is curious, however, that it makes no mention of Muttu Kṛishṇappa at all. It passes direct from Liṅgappa to the short rule of Kastūrī Raṅga and then to Muttu Virappa Nāik. Nor does it mention the relation between Muttu Virappa and Liṅgappa. In other words it seems to imply that Muttu Virappa ruled from 1601 to 1623; but the fact is that Muttu Kṛishṇa ruled till 1609, and Muttu Virappa ruled after him for 14 years. (Wheeler who claims to have based his account on MSS. leaves out Muttu Kṛishṇa altogether and says that Muttu Virappa Nāik ruled from 1604 to 1636).
CHAPTER V.

The Naïk Kingdom in the first quarter of the 17th Century.

Introduction.

In the history of South India the space of twenty three years which elapsed from the death of Aryanâtha to the accession of the great builder Tirumal Naïk is an epochal one. For it was in that period that the first real attempt of the provincial chiefs to make themselves rulers of independent dynasties reached fruition. It was then that the career of Mysore, Madura and Tanjore as independent States began. The important dynasty of the Sêtupatis again came to power in this period, and a tremendous religious revival followed by a widespread conversion and serious popular ferment, was inaugurated by the establishment of the Jesuit Mission in Madura and the organization of it into an elaborate proselytising agency. More important than these was the advent of the European nations in the Coromandel seas, and the rivalry of the English, the Dutch, the Portuguese and the Danes in industrial and commercial exploitation of the country and in the establishment of trade treaties with the ruling powers. Thus in politics, religion, and in commerce, this quarter of a century witnessed very important changes.

SECTION I.

Muttu Krishnappa (1602-9.)

Muttu Krishnappa seems to have acquitted himself as a prudent and capable politician. The period of seven years during which he ruled has no history, so peaceful and eventless was it. The country enjoyed to the full the blessings of peace, and grew in prosperity and riches. A happy and contented realm brought ample revenues; and Muttu Krishnâ, like a true son of his line, distinguished his reign by the benevolent profusion with which he distributed the fruits of his kingdom in the performance of charities, the construction of public works and endowments to temples. He took a singular delight and a commendable interest in the digging of tanks, which combined in themselves utility with sanctity. Many a pagoda and agrahāra owed its existence and prosperity to his generosity, of which the most significant is the Muttu Kumārēśvara Temple at Kayattâr. He was also the builder of the town of Krishnapuram between Madura and the Skanda hills, the ruins of which bear melancholy testimony to his liberality. His relation with his suzerain Vēṅkaṭapati seems to have been at the same time one of loyal obedience. An evidence of this is afforded by his coins. These have, on their obverse, the standing figure of Vishṇu with a fish on his right, and on their reverse the name Vēṅkaṭapad in Canarese. Hultzsch believes that in consequence of the large abundance of these coins in the Madura bazaar and of their having the emblem of the Pāḍiya country, they belonged to "One of the Madura Nāyakkar, who issued it in the name of his nominal sovereign Vēṅkaṭa, the pageant king of Vijayanagara." And that they were the coins of Muttu Krishnappa is practically certain. For coins with the name Tiruvēṅgala in the obverse and Muttu Krishnâ in the reverse of the same type have been discovered, and shew that he acknowledged the suzerain dynasty of Vijayanagar, whose tutelary deity was Tiruvēṅgala.

The restoration of the Setupatis.

The seven years' rule of Muttu Krishnappa, however, was noted for one important event which transpired therein. This was the establishment or rather restoration of the Setupatis of Ramnad. The great Visvanatha I. or one of his successors had appointed two commissioners to secure the peace of the province, to evolve order out of the chaos into which it had drifted, to clear the overgrown forests, and to maintain a police for the protection of travellers. So long as Aryanatha lived, this arrangement seems to have fulfilled the object of its introduction; but on his death in 1600 the province once again fell into anarchy. The commissioners were powerless, the vassals turbulent, and the people oppressed and discontented. Travellers had, owing to the abundance of thieves and forests, a hard time. The sadhus, bhairagis, and pilgrims thereupon proceeded to Madura, waited on Muttu Krishnappa, and prayed to him to restore Sajayakka Udayan, a scion of the ancient line of the Setupatis, to the throne of his ancestors. A story, told of almost every Indian who rose from poverty and obscurity to opulence and renown, and therefore of doubtful veracity, is told of Sajayakka Udayan. He was barely twelve when he had the fortune of reviving the greatness of his ancestors and this, we are told, was foreshadowed by a marvellous experience of his. The boy was found asleep beneath a tamarind tree, with his face protected by a cobra from the rays of the sun; and the Lada Chakravartin, who happened to be an eye-witness of the marvel, at once interested himself in him, and secured for him, by means of his intercession with Muttu Krishnappa, the ancestral throne of Ramnad. A less romantic but more rational version ascribes the honour of restoring the Setupatis, not to the chief of the saints, but to the chief guru of King Muttu Krishnappa. The teacher, it says, once went on a pilgrimage to Ramasvaram, and received throughout the journey the solicitous attention and secure guidance of Sajayakka Udayan, the Chief of Pogalur. The gratitude of the worthy Brahman sought a means of repayment, and obtained for him not only an interview with his royal pupil, the monarch of Madura, but also the grant of certain villages with robes and presents of honour. On his departure from the Court, Sajayakka strengthened himself by fortifying Pogalur, and then, subduing and taking possession of all the anarchical disorderly country, reducing the inhabitants under his own dominion. He also collected a considerable sum of money in this country in the way of taxes, and brought it to Muttu Krishnappa Naik. Gratified by this conduct, the king gave him an unrestricted grant of additional lands, ordered him to clear the forests for cultivation, and communicated to the people his choice of Sajayakka, as the chief to whom their allegiance in future was due. According to this ordinance, continues the chronicle, Sajayakka assembled a large force, and, with its aid, overthrew a greater tract of country, the revenue from which he used partly for his own expenses and partly as a tribute to the king. This loyal and honourable conduct gratified the heart of Muttu Krishnappa, who

41 According to Nelson, he was the grandson of the last Setupati "who had been murdered by one of the last Pashyias who preceded Visvanatha Niyackan." In his Antiquities Sewell gives an inscription of 1593 belonging to one Dalavai Setupati Kattir (Vol. II, 5), who made a grant of eight villages to the temple of Ramana Tha Swami; but the cyclic year Purabhoona and 1599 do not agree. Copper plates 11 and 12 of 1910-11, which record gifts of as many as 13 villages to the Ramana Tha Swami temple at Ramasvaram, mention this Dalavai Setupati Katta Tevar in 1607 and 1608. Dalavai Setupati seems to be thus another name for SaJayakka. See Ep. Rep. 1911, p. 16.

42 Ibid. p. 29.
therefore summoned him to his presence and bestowed upon him the title of Udayán Sêtupati, together with the robes and ornaments, and the banners and ensigns, of royalty. We are further informed that in the warm affection which the king felt to his new favourite, he permitted him to leave his capital only after personally consecrating him to his viceroyalty with the holy water of the Ganges.

Thus it was that the obscure chief of Pogajür found himself (like his ancestors) all at once the governor of the whole Marava country. From this time onward, the Sêtupati had a very close relation with Madura. The most powerful of her feudatories, he naturally became the leader of the seventy-two Polygars. From the position of a village magnate he became a king with the retinues and the paraphernalia of royalty. The title Sêtupati, hitherto an emblem of past glory rather than of present power, became a real indicator of the actual fact. All this credit is due to the ability of Ša[yayaka, a man who by his character and conduct more than fulfilled the expectations of his master. A man of energy and fire, of great activity and martial valour, he undertook a crusade against turbulent vassals and reduced them to subjection. The important villages of Vadakkuv, Vatalai, Kālayār Kêvil and Paṭamaṅgalam, once the homes of disloyalty, now became harmless and contented abodes of men. Besides ensuring order in the land, Ša[yayaka reclaimed a large quantity of waste lands and utilised them for purposes of cultivation and occupation. He erected mud fortifications at Pogajür and at Râmnâd, and maintained an efficient police for the safety of the pilgrims. He also repaired and enlarged the temple of Râmēśvaram, and made numerous endowments to it, earning thereby the gratitude of the thousands who devoutly visited it every year. He ruled for the space of 16 years and was succeeded by his son, the celebrated Kattan, in 1621.

Some scholars dispute this. One Mr. J. L. W., who contributes two able articles on the Maravas to the Calcutta Review (1878-1892), says, like Mr. Boyle, that the absence of evidences and inscriptions previous to Ša[yayaka and "the awkward way" in which he is introduced into history, shew that there had been no Sêtupati before him; that he was in fact the founder of the line; and that the accounts of imperial wars and alliances as given in the chronicles are all fabrications. (See Calcutta Review, 1878, p. 448). Mr. Boyle is of the same opinion. He asks "If the youth (Ša[yayaka) had sprung from a royal line, if he only continued the long descent of an immemorial house, what need was there for this legend? But if the chronicle had to explain the rise of modern family, and the origin of an obscure race of princes, what more natural than to conceal those humble beginnings under a veil of fable; and to prove that the modern family was only the restoration, under divine favour, of an illustrious house?" (Calcutta Review 1874, p. 38). Mr. Boyle further points out that there are no inscriptions or buildings in the Râmēśvaram temple attributed to anybody before Ša[yayaka; and that this total absence of monumental records is against the theory of an old and independent dynasty. While there is much in these contentions, it seems, however, that these writers have gone astray. Tradition cannot be so entirely discarded. The "awkward story" of the Udayân, on which they base much of their criticism is after all given only in some family chronicle and not in the record of the Carnatic Governors. We may therefore not give much credence to it. As regards sudden elevation from obscurity, we need not wonder at it, as it was quite natural in an age of vicissitudes and frequent revolutions.

Ša[yayaka was evidently confirmed in the privilege of issuing coins of his own in imitation of the Madura Nâik coins. See chapter XI.

SECTION II.

The foundation of the Jesuit Mission in Madura.

The reign of Mutlu Krishnappa is also noteworthy for the fact that it saw the first serious attempt, on the part of the Christians, after the great Xavier, to convert, on a large scale, the people of South India. Three generations back Francis Xavier had laid the foundations of an Indian Christianity among the Paravas. His work was extended by his successors, who established a mission in Madura itself in order to convert the Vañgamas and other higher castes. But this mission had not been a success, as its head, Father Gonsalve Fernandez, was a steady and mild preacher, who had a great regard for the feelings of others and who, for that very reason, failed to bring new proselytes for his faith. His character and conduct gained, it is true, from the Nãiks, the permission to build a church and presbytery in the city for the benefit of his flock and of the Paravans who visited Madura; but he could do nothing more. A new and more active set of missionaries now came into the scene in the Jesuits. These had hitherto been endeavouring, with some success, to convert the Syrian Christians of Malabar to the Catholic faith and with this view, had, besides developing industrial settlements in various places, established a sacred college and training school near Cochin. These institutions they now resolved to make the base of extensive Jesuit activities and undertakings from Bengal to the Cape. Seeing that Madura was the most important political and religious centre in the South, that it was the seat at once of the most powerful kingdom and the most celebrated temple, the Jesuits resolved to carry their activities there. It was a thing which could not be done by ordinary men. An extraordinary capacity, combined with tact and policy, was the great need, and a man who could play the politician and act the priest, with equal confidence. A singular courage and daring, a profound knowledge of the Brahmanical cult and customs, extensive scholarship, and a large amount of tact were the requisite qualifications of a successful preacher; otherwise there was little hope of braving the lion in his den.

Robert de Nobillis.

And the man came. In the year 1606, when Mutlu Krishnappa had been three years on the throne, there came to Madura an Italian nobleman, Robert de Nobillis by name, who, born in the province of Tuscany of high aristocratic parents, and afforded with opportunities of renown and greatness in his own country, sacrificed his ambitions at the altar of his creed, and joined the Jesuit Society, with a view to make his name felt, as a preacher, in distant parts of the world. Robert de Nobillis was just thirty years of age when he came to Madura. No Missionary, either before or after him, has ever come to India with greater talents or more requisite qualifications. Handsome and imposing in appearance, singularly gifted with the capacity to learn and to see and to adjust himself

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45 This section is based on Nelson’s Madura Manual, Chandler’s Jesuit Mission in Madura, Hough’s Christianity in India, Taylor’s O. H. MSS., etc. The following quotation from Thvenot shows that the Jesuits had been active even in Chandragiri. “Two Portuguese Jesuits from St. Thome went to Chandragiri in the year 1599 and were received with attentions by the Gentoo king whose sovereignty they describe as extending over the countries of Tanjore and Madura, and other Jesuits who travelled at the same time into these countries affirm the assertion.” (S. Arcot Manual, p. 4 footnote).
to circumstances, wise, cautious, tactful and daring, the nephew of Cardinal Bellarmine and the relation of Pope Julius III, was a personality, born to attract and lead men. The most remarkable things about him were the extraordinary receptivity of his mind and the spirit of compromise of his acts. Undaunted by obstacles and indifferent to difficulties, he could study as many languages and could master as many literatures, as were necessary to meet his adversaries in their own fields. A close and acute student of the social customs and habits of the people, he could see which of these were consistent with Christianity and which were not, and unlike his predecessors, he could adopt a policy of compromise. Proceeding even further, he, in order to prove that the customs and habits of the Hindus could not be, in many cases, antagonistic to the profession of the Christian religion, adopted them in his own life. Robert de Nobilis introduced thus two great innovations in the method of Christian propaganda in India, the study of Indian languages and literatures, and a reasonable concession to the Indian social customs and prejudices. Knowledge and compromise were, in his scheme, the twofold bases of Christianity in India. To study the Vedas and the āgamas, to master the Upanishads and the popular cults, and to use this knowledge in the refutation of popular beliefs and in the interpretation of Christianity, was his first idea. To distinguish society from religion, caste from creed, and custom from belief, and to yield in respect of the former for the sake of ensuring the latter, was his second idea. He had the acuteness to see that his predecessors had failed in their proselytising movement, because of their defects in these two respects. They had not cared to arm themselves with the intellectual weapons of their adversaries. They had not been reasonable enough to gauge the feelings and understand the prejudices of those whom they wished to convert. They were, in other words, both ignorant and unpractical, both incapable and extreme. They had been wanting in argument as well as policy. No doubt they were men of exemplary character, of strong conviction, and of real sincerity; but it was these very necessary, but unattractive, virtues that made their attempts a failure and their endeavours barren. Character, conviction, and sincerity were indeed very necessary virtues in preachers, but they were not the only ones needed. A certain amount of tact and moderation, of the capacity to follow the principle of give and take, and of sound knowledge of the capacities and achievements of the other party, were necessary; and in these the predecessors of De Nobilis had failed. They had, on account of their ignorance and their honest but tactless sincerity, gone to extremes in their condemnation of everything Hindu and popular. Customs good and bad, beliefs sound and harmful, creeds of gross idol-worship or the most advanced philosophy, were equally condemned by their crusade. De Nobilis introduced a new epoch in the history of Christianity by endeavouring to make it recognised as superior to advanced Hinduism in respect of intellectual culture, and equally ready, like Hinduism, to sanction social gradations and customs.

(To be continued.)

67 Nelson wrongly attributes the event to 1623. For an adverse view of Jesuit Missions, in general, of De Nobilis and his labours in particular, see Hough’s Christianity in India II, 216-35. Mr. Taylor is much briefer, though not milder, in language. His dates are much more inaccurate than Nelson’s. He attributes De Nobilis, for instance, to the times of Chokkanātha and Raigā Kṛṣṇa Muttu Virappa. See O. H. MSS., II, 220.
APPENDIX TO THE ACCOUNT OF THE WRECK OF THE DODDINGTON IN 1755.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

Prefatory Note.

Some years ago (see ante., Vol. XXIX, pp. 294, 330; Vol. XXX, pp. 451, 491; Vol. XXXI, pp. 114, 180, 222) I printed in this Journal a Debonnaire MS. containing an account by Evan Jones, Chief Mate of the Doddington, of the wreck of that vessel and of the subsequent adventures of the survivors. The diary kept by Jones ends on the 2d May 1756, when he and 14 others were taken on board the Caernarvon, bound for Madras. The Fort St. George Consultation Book contains a note of the arrival of the Caernarvon and a copy of an abridged account of the disaster, compiled for transmission to the Court of Directors. This narrative, called by Jones an “Abstract” from his “Journal,” contains some variations in the names of the survivors and a few additional details. By the courtesy of the authorities at the India Office, I reproduce it here.

Consultation at Fort St. George, 8th August 1756.¹

Arrived the Honble. Company’s Ship Caernarvon, Norton Hutchinson from England, with a packet for this Presidency.

The Caernarvon having touched at Madagascar found part of the crew² of the Doddington, which ship was wrecked on the Island of Chaos [Bird Island], lying upwards of 7 Degrees to the Eastward of Cape Lagulhas, and about two leagues from the African Shore.³ Ordered that the Secretary apply to Mr. Jones, who was the Chief Mate of the Doddington and is one of the Persons saved, for a particular Account of the Loss of that Ship to be transmitted to the Honble. Court of Directors.

Consultation at Fort St. George, 19th August 1756.

Letter from Mr. Evan Jones, late Chief Mate of the Doddington, read, as entered hereafter, giving an Account of the manner in which that Ship was lost with the Occurrences and transactions of those who were saved till the time of their being taken on Board the Caernarvon at Morandavia,⁴ and desiring that the Board will receive and give him a Discharge for a Chest of Treasure, a Box of Plate and a Lady’s Watch which were saved from the Wreck.

Agreed that the Said Treasure, Plate and Watch be received into the Company’s Treasury.

The said Mr. Evan Jones and Mr. William Webb, late 3rd Mate of the Doddington, being destitute of means to support themselves at present, and the Court of Directors having approved of the assistance which was given to the officers of the Lincoln in the year 1749 under the like Circumstances, Agreed that Eight Pagodas per month be allowed to each of them until they can procure their passage to Europe or otherwise provide for themselves.

² Fifteen, according to the Debonnaire MS., see ante., Vol. XXXI, p. 191.
³ See the remarks on the locality of the wreck, ante., Vol. XXIX, p. 293.
⁴ Morondava on the west coast of Madagascar in 20° S. Lat.
To the Honble. George Pigot Esqr., President and Governour of

Honble. Sir and Sirs. As I had the misfortune to be cast away in the Dodington, I think it my duty to acquaint your Honours with the loss of the said ship, and all other remarkable occurrences from our last departure, which was Cape Le Gullas [Aghulas] to my happy deliverance on board the Caernarvon at Morandava, on the Island of Madagascar, and I also humbly request that you’ll please to receive and give me a Discharge for a Chest of Treasure having the Honble. Company’s mark on it, No. 5 I A, also a box of wrought Plate with Arms on them, and a Lady’s Watch, which together with the King’s and Honble. Company’s Pacquets, is all of any consequence that came on shore. I am Honble. Sir and Sirs, Your most Obedient humble Servant.

Caernarvon in Madras Road
August 8th 1756.

Evan Jones.

The following is an Abstract from my Journal from the time I took my departure from Cape Le Gullas ‘till the time I got on board the Caernarvon.

July 6th 1756, took a fresh departure from Cape Le Gullas, and sailed to the Eastward, 36° 00’ S. Latitude to 35° 00’ a ‘till I made 12° 45’ difference of Longitude, and on the 16th instant was in the Latitude of 35° 00’ S by a good Observation, at which time the Captain ordered the course to be altered from E. to ENE, and a quarter before 1 o’Clock A. M. the 17th the Ship struck, and in less than 20 minutes was entirely wrecked, 23 men only escaping with life to the Shore who are the following Persons Vizt.

Evan Jones Chief Mate.
John Collet 2d Mate.
William Webb 3rd Mate.
Samuel Powell 5th Mate.
John Yeats Midshipman.
Richard Topping Carpenter.
Neil Bothwell Quartermaster.
Nathl. Chisholm Quartermaster.
John King Foremastman.
Robert Beazly Foremastman.
John Lester Munros.
Ralph Smith Munros.

John Glass Foremastman.
Jonas Taylor Foremastman.
Gilbert Chain Foremastman.
Jeremiah Mole Foremastman.
Peter Rosenberg Foremastman.
Hendrick Seance Foremastman.
Daniel Ladox Capt: Steward.
John McDowell Stewards Servant.
Thomas Arnold’s Stewards Servant.
Black Sharp Doctor’s Servant.
Dyson Munros.

As soon as day light appeared discovered ourselves to be on a barren Rock 2 Leagues from the Main, and as I found afterwards lies in the Latitude of 34° 00’ S by a good Observation with Hadley Quadrant, and to the Eastward of the Bay De Algoa 8 or 9 Leagues. 18

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1 Should be 1755. The Debonnaire MS, has 8th July.
2 35° 30’ in Debonnaire MS.
3 No date is given in the Debonnaire MS.
4 Yates in Debonnaire MS.
5 Leister, Dyson, Smith.—Matrosses (no Christian names) in Debonnaire MS.
6 Mang in Debonnaire MS.
7 Henry in Debonnaire MS.
8 Ladox in Debonnaire MS.
9 Thomas Arnold, Seaman, in Debonnaire MS.
10 Henry Sharp, Surgeons Servant, in Debonnaire MS.
11 See ante, Vol XXIX, p. 295, for the exact position.
The first day after our deliverance on this Rock, I thought of nothing else but of making a Raft to Carry us to the Main, as soon as those that were cut by the Rocks would be able to travel, which I judged would be a Month at least; Therefore went in search of Provisions to subsist on for that time.

In looking about the Wreck found a chest of Treasure with the Honourable Company's Mark on it No. 5 1: A: which came on Shore on part of the ship's Transome; The same day found the King's and honourable Company's Paccquets which gott up, and opened the Papers to dry immediately, tho' at that time must own had no Reason for doing so. However, upon consulting Mr. Collett what must be done with them, it occurred to me that it would not be impossible to build a Boat out of the Wreck, if Providence should direct us to find some Tools.

The next day found an Adez, also a Chizel and 3 Sword Blades, which the carpenter made saws of. With those we began our Boat, tho' not without Hopes of making others, one of the People promising great things in the Smith's Way; and he performed so well that he made every Tool the Carpenter wanted.

On the 4th day found a box of wrought Plate, which was no sooner got into safety than the People wanted to share it, together with the Treasure. All seemed to be resolved on it, excepting Mr. Collett, Webb, Yeats and McDowell, which all refused, and from that time were used excessive ill, and at one time their resentment carried them so far that they proposed murdering us, and would certainly have done it, had John King gave his Consent; but his refusing put a Stop to their Villainous designs in that respects, tho' not in others, for about the same Time the Chest of Treasure was broke open and 600 Pounds taken out by Richard Topping, Samuel Powell, Nathaniel Chisholm, John King, Robert Beazly, and John Leaster.

I intreated them to return it again, but to no Purpose, and I saw nothing of it 'till 3 days before the Boat was launched, when it was produced and shared with the Plate.

February 18th 1756 took leave of our Rock and sailed to the Northward with an Intention to touch at River St Lucia, but meeting with a very strong Current setting to the Southward, was much longer getting there than I expected we should, and before we got that length we put into a Barr Harbour to the Southward of River St Lucia, where we were used excessively civil by the natives who supplied us with everything we wanted for Brass Buttons. As we were afterwards in River St Lucia, in coming out, 9 of the people left us, not willing to venture over the Barr, which I must own looked very terrible; notwithstanding we that remained on Board were obliged to go over the Barr or suffer the Boat to be lost; for those who went on shore lot go the Grapnell close to the Breakers at high Water, so that by the time it would have fallen a foot, she would have grounded; therefore as soon as the small Boat returned from putting them on shore we weighed the Grapnell again and put for the Barr. We were in the Breakers half an hour; at length got safe over, and in two days got to Dellago [Delagoa], where we found riding the Rose Gally from Bombay, Commanded by Edward Chandler. I thought this a good opportunity to get the Treasure and Plate again, therefore applied to Captain Chandler to assist me, who complied with my request by sending his Boat and Mate with me on Board the Sloop. We soon got what we went for and returned on Board the Rose Galley, where I continued 'till I arrived at Moradava. Two days after our arrival there, Captain Hutchinson in the Caernarvon joined us, who has favoured me with a Passage to this Place.

Evan Jones.

19 There is no mention in the Diary of Evan Jones of the finding of these papers.
20 In the Diary, the discovery of an adze, &c. is given as on the same day as the finding of the chest of Treasure.
21 The actual discovery of the box of plate is not recorded in the Diary.
22 Probably the Umposi which runs into St. Lucia Bay (south of Delagoa Bay), in 28° 30' S. Lat
THE MANUSMRITI IN THE LIGHT OF SOME RECENTLY PUBLISHED TEXTS.
BY HIRALAL AMRITLAL SHAH, BOMBAY.

Among the problems relating to the Manusmriti, the relationship between the Manavadharmābstra and the Vedic school of the Mānavā-Maitrāyanīgas has occupied one of the foremost places in later years. (See Gründriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde II, 8. Recht und Sitte, von Julius Jolly, p. 17.) The time for a definite solution of this question does not seem to have arrived as yet. Hence we leave it aside, and propose to treat of the following three points concerning the Manusmriti:

First,—the authorship of the book;
Second,—its original form,
Third,—its probable date.

With data furnished by texts that have come to light since the days of Bühler and other scholars we hope to get nearer the truth than has hitherto possible. To begin with the first question, viz., the authorship of the Manusmriti.

The Manusmriti, as we see it now-a-days, is not the original composition of the sage Manu. We have internal evidence enough to justify such a supposition.

It is said in the Manusmriti (Nirayayāsāgara Press, 4th ed. 1909, Bombay.) I 50-60, XII 116-117, and in XII 126, that the sage Manu instructed the sage Bhrigu and Bhrigu pronounced all the laws contained in it. From this same evidence, we know for certain, that there is no other person concerned with the authorship of the Manusmriti between Manu and Bhrigu, or between us and Bhrigu.

At the end of every chapter, we read इति मात्रे यथेष्ठश्च मुनयोत्तराः संहिताः. This reminds us of the word कव्रेचवेचित्ता where the word वेचित्ता refers to the collecting and grouping of the hitherto only scattered hymns.

It is true, three commentators on the Manusmriti have an additional verse in the beginning of the book. While commenting on that verse, Govindarāja says, त्रि मूर्तिदाथः

कव्रेचवेचित्ता विद्वद्विषिद्वपरम्पराव्रजस्मिनमयेक्षणिमाहः

(cf. Manu's Bühler, S. B. E. Vol. XXV, 1886, p. xiii). This assertion, however, does not materially affect our conclusion. At the most, it would assign the authorship to the pupil of Bhrigu and not to Bhrigu himself. This would mean merely a change of the name and none whatsoever of the real author. But we should not forget that great commentators like Medhātithi and Kullāka make no such statement and the writer of the Mitākṣharā says (on the first verse of the Yājñavealikaśasmiti)

वालवेचवेचित्ता कव्रेचवेचित्ता विद्वद्विषिद्वपरम्पराव्रजस्मिनमयेक्षणिमाहः

Therefore, we may dismiss the statement of the commentator Govindarāja in favour of what the writer of the Mitākṣharā says.

Hence, the conclusions we draw are that the arrangement of matter and metre is done by Bhrigu alone, and that there is no third person or redactor of the Manusmriti, its first and principal author being Manu himself.

These conclusions are very important, as we shall see later on, when we shall have to consider some conflicting arguments in connection with the form of the Manusmriti. Moreover, the present Manusmriti is not the original one, but a redaction of it by Bhrigu, the pupil of Manu, and it must differ considerably in matter, spirit and arrangement, as a copy differs from an original picture.

We cannot determine how far new things have been added by Bhrigu, or to what extent outside matter has crept into his version later on. With the discovery of the original work many of our doubts will be solved;
We now come to the second question, viz. the original form of the Manuṣmṛti. That the original work must be in Sūtra style, was a conjecture made many years ago by Prof. Max Müller (cf. S. B. E. Vol. XXV, Introd. p. xviii.) and by Dr. Bühler (cf. ibid., p. xx ff.). However, with the help of the publication in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, (No. 28, 1st ed. 1913) of the वैशालस धर्मवर्त, we can get beyond a mere conjecture.

Various sūtras in that book (वैशालस) run parallel to the verses of the metrical Manuṣmṛti. Even some of the sentences in the कौरवस्कं अर्धशास्त्रम (Mysore Bibl. Sanscr. No. 37, 1st ed. 1909) convey the same impression. This will be clear from several quotations taken from the two books, and put side by side. (The whole of the वैशालस is in sūtra style.)

वैशालस III 6. 10. "सूर्युरिस विन्यासको जयस्ति धर्मवर्त भव न्योऽन्।"

Cf. Manu VI 68.

वैशालस I 2.2.3. "स्तिस्ये गृही स्थियानि उत्सिग्ये युक्तायाम् अन्नमयुर्वक्षोऽर्थाः।"

Cf. Manu II 196, 198; 203.

वैशालस III 4.6. "बाड़ीयाण्यनै काण्डहास: प्रसारितम् प्रणय: न सर्वस्य शुद्धम्।"

Cf. Manu V 129-130.

वैशालस III 11.14. and III 212. "उष्णेष्यान्तः यह तापमये द्वारणम: परस्म न दश्यस्व न विक्रमीज।"

Cf. Manu IV 37 and IV 59.

वैशालस II 8.3. "भिन्नायान्यन français: द्वारं दुःखमण्य वा शुद्धाति।"

Cf. Manu VI 54.

वैशालस III 2.1. "संसारकारसुश्कृतं रोगरोगार्थस्थवर्त्तिनां अन्नै सेवः।"


वैशालस III 1.11. "सर्वस्यान्तः अधिनिग्रहे अपीतस्य आत्मसे।"

Cf. Manu IV 2.

वैशालस I 2.7. "आमही वारुक्षीर्वाच साकुण्डलिनी सर्वं भवेत।"

Cf. Manu IV 138.

वैशालस II 11.3. "सर्वथा मान्यां अर्धसे गृहुष्यं अर्धात।"

Cf. Manu II 145-47.

1. The Manuṣmṛti mentions "वैशालस" once in VI 21. In V. N. Mandlik's edition of (Bombay 1889) with seven commentaries, "वैशालस" is mentioned in an additional verse given in the beginning of Chapter VI.

The account about the वैशालस given by J. Jolly, Recht und Sitte p. 9, and following him by A. A. Macdonell, History of Sanskrit Literature, 1909, p. 262 does not agree with the contents of the वैशालस of the T. S. series.

The book is very important. Its style is extraordinarily clear, precise, and eloquent. The customs mentioned in II 9. 5 and in III. 15. 2 are to be found only in Southern India, in and about the Malabar district. If these two customs be proved to have been prevalent over the whole of India, the book must be referred to a period of Indian civilization, when such customs were possible in society; but in that case, it must be of an earlier date than Bhrigú's version. (Cf. also Dr. Bühler on this work, S. B. E. Vol. XXV, Introd.) It must be earlier than Kálidásá who mentions "वैशालस" in Śakunālā I 22 (27).

It should be noted that, side by side with many parallels between वैशालस and the Manuṣmṛti, higher notes of ethics and philosophy, which we believed to be peculiar to the Manuṣmṛti only, find an echo in वैशालस. The most obvious are II 11. 3 and I 2. 7 which are parallel to Manuṣmṛti II 145-7 and IV 138.

2. Who was the first to lay down this rule? Manu or Vikhanás? Is it legitimate, indeed, to conclude that VI 54 is Manu's own injunction?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manu III 1.15</th>
<th>Manu IV 39</th>
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<tr>
<td>Manu &quot; 2.12</td>
<td>59</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manu &quot; 2.15</td>
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<td>Manu &quot; 3.10-11</td>
<td>V 113-116</td>
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<td>Manu &quot; 4.4</td>
<td>128</td>
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<td>Manu &quot; 7.9</td>
<td>VI 46</td>
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<td>Manu &quot; 6.6</td>
<td>VI 42-44; 47-8</td>
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<td>Manu I 2.6</td>
<td>II 177-180; 191</td>
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These are some of the instances (which could easily be multiplied), to prove that the present Manuṃrīti is based on a work that must be in sūtra style.

Moreover, from the parallels between वेधान्त 2-1, and Manu II, 138-9, we get a clear idea of the process of turning sūtras into verses. In the sūtra just referred to, evidently, persons of greater importance are mentioned first. But that order cannot be preserved in rendering the sūtra into ślokas. Exigencies of metre necessitate a change. Hence a verse must be added to cover the defect of meaning; and that additional verse should say what the words in the sūtra, by their very position, implied. Thus we get Manu II 138 and 139. Somewhat similar is the case of Manu VI 68 and of IV 2. There, instead of a verse, explanatory words are added.

Now we come to some quotations from the कौँ अयः composed (as we shall prove later on) by the famous minister of Chandragupta,

कौँ अयः Ch. 69 p. 191-2, “साहसमन्वयवस्तु प्रकटिकम्।” “निर्भये वेदयस्यवयन्यो ब।” “रत्नां रक्ष्यकृ।” नामन्त् सहस्रं दुम्सामेऽर्द्ध: इति मानवः।” Cf. Manu VIII 332-333.

कौँ अयः Ch. 1 p. 6, “आमिनाति च वर्तम् ब्राह्मणिनिपत्ति विलये। ब्राह्मणं ब्राह्मणिनिपत्ति मानवः; जम्बुविशेषं क्षयां ज्ञानविशेषं क्षये।” Cf. Manu VII 43.

The legitimate conclusion, from these quotations, is that Manu must have written in sūtras, some of which must be identical with those of the वेधान्त and the कौँ अयः. The metrical rendering of the sūtras appears to have been very cleverly done.

It may be said to be now only a question of time, when the Mānavadāvmasūtra (henceforth we use the abbreviation मानवा) to designate this sūtra: will be published. There appears a statement made by Sāstri Yajñésvara Chimanāji (in his introduction to the Gujarāti translation of the Vyākhyā portion of the Yājñā and Mitāksharā, published in 1872.), “मानवधामस् वस्तु मानवधामसु तथा लोकार्थ मनुस्मितः प्रकरणम्।” “as regards the Mānavadāvmasūtra, both the Mānavadāvmasūtra and the versified Manuṃrīti” are well known.

Here we must stop for a moment and consider certain data, apparently adverse to our position. However strong our arguments may be, we should not shut our eyes to the accounts which go against our conclusions. In the Nāradaṃrīti (cf. S. B. E. vol. xxxii.), it is said that Manu first wrote in verse. Hence, according to this account,

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3 These two sentences are not marked as quotations from Manu. Hence, we naturally conclude that the definition, whether made by Manu or only accepted by him, must have belonged to the common stock of legal tradition. We do not know who was the first to define the Sāhasa. It is, in this connection, interesting to note that the eight forms of marriage given in the कौँ अयः (cf. ch. 59 p. 151,) are not marked as quotation from the laws of Manu either.
there is no possibility of there being a नानव! Further on, the same smṛiti tells us that the total number of verses in the original composition amounted to one lakh. That total was reduced to 12,000 by Nārada, and his pupil Mārkaṇḍeya cut the number down to 8,000: Sumati, the son of Bṛghu, followed the example, and left the Manusmṛiti in 4,000 verses. Accordingly, Bṛghu has nothing to do with the Manusmṛiti! Moreover there are certain accounts in the Purāṇas which, though they differ from the Nārada in other ways, yet agree that the original code of Manu consisted of one lakh of verses.

To reply: These statements find no support from the Manusmṛiti. We have no longer 4,000 verses in it, but only 2,684 (5.) We have shown in the beginning with the help of Manusmṛiti I 58-60, XII 117, and the colophon that Bṛghu learnt directly from Manu, and he himself reproduced all that he had learnt from Manu. Therefore our position remains unshaken in spite of other assertions.

We trust to have now settled the questions as regards the authorship and the original form of the Manusmṛiti. Now we come to the question of its date.

Tradition assigns the book to the distant ages of the past. Manus I 58 declares that it was taught by Prajāpati himself to Manu. We have the statements of the Nāradasmṛiti and the Purāṇas to the effect that the laws of Manu were much greater in volume than they are to-day; but there is no convincing evidence on these points.

Dr. Bühler has assigned the Manusmṛiti to the time from 200 B. C. to A. D. 200. This is what the learned doctor says: "... it certainly existed in the second century A. D. and seems to have been composed between that date and the second century B. C. (S. B. E. Vol. XXV, 1886 Introd. p. cxvii). It should not be forgotten that this is supposed to be the date of Bṛghu’s redaction. The date of the original नानव can in no way be determined.

For getting nearer the truth a verse in the first canto of the Buddhacharitam by Asvaghosha is the first stepping stone.

The authority of Asvaghosha cannot be impeached. He wrote about 1,800 years ago (the most recent and authoritative treatises on his accurate time are, we fear, unfortunately inaccessible just now; but we trust to be on the safe side in fixing this date somewhere between 27-200 A. D. We may well assume that he, being a Buddhist monk, was free from the prejudices of Brāhmanism. He had no need to fabricate evidence or to change the accounts current in his day.

His statement (we give it just below), therefore, that Sukra was the son of Bṛghu (or an illustrious member of Bṛghu’s) must be accepted as true. It is corroborated by another one which we give below in note No. 6 (h). His further assertion as regards family Bṛhaspati is borne out by the Mahābhāratā, Droṇa” (V 18, Bombay University ed. and V 151 Calc. ed.) which is given in the same note (i. e. 6 b.).

Hence, we must place Bṛghu always earlier than Sukra, wherever the name of this sage or his Nittisāstra is quoted.

The above referred to verse of Buddha” (ed. by the late Śāstri Rāṣṭivadekar and Prof. Soani, first ed.) I 47 runs as follows:—

"ब्रह्म राज्यालं भूररक्षण वा न च जनमविषयकाराधिपि ती |
तथां त्यस्मि ते च तस्मात्तत्स्तकालिन शुक्रव बुद्धिविस्विम ||"

(To be continued.)
THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 108.)

His method of work.

The immediate and logical result of this view was the adoption of a different method of conversion. The predecessors of De Nobilis had appealed to the Paravas and the lower classes, and laboured for their elevation first. By doing this, they had had the satisfaction of bringing thousands of people into their fold; but this satisfaction had been, soon after, followed by a serious disappointment and despair. For all conversion ceased with the Paravas, who had everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by embracing Christianity. The higher castes refused to be moved by the sermons of the missionaries, whom they called Parangis (Frangi, Frank, European, not Indian) and held in horror. They feared the infamy of association with those who ate beef, drank wine, and lived in the company of outcaste Pariahs. The conversion of the Paravans thus proved an obstacle to the conversion of the higher castes. De Nobilis, therefore, separated himself entirely from his brother workers. He started the system of bringing round the higher classes first, and for this purpose, he had necessarily to keep himself aloof from the contact of the lower classes and of the missionaries who worked among them. In other words, while his predecessors had worked from below, he began the system of working from above. The one had begun with the elevation of the depressed, the other began with the persuasion of the enlightened. The one influenced the lower classes and the other the Brahmans. They worked from the opposite poles, as it were, towards a common centre.

Its inherent difficulty.

Such a circumstance could not but raise discontent in the minds of the different parties. De Nobilis' stay in the midst of the Brahmans, his avoidance of the lower classes and of the company of his brother missionaries, the sanction he gave to the continued observance of Hindu castes and customs, made him an object of suspicion and hatred in the eyes of his brother workers. They believed him to be an insane man who, in order to gain nominally a larger number of Christians, demeaned himself and the Christian religion itself by his conduct and precept. By his separation from the depressed classes, he violated, they held, the fundamental principle of equality which Christianity boasted; and by his concessions to Indian taste and manners, he demoralised, they said, Christianity itself, and sacrificed its simplicity and its truth. While De Nobilis thus incurred the odium of his co-religionists, he was not, in the long run, more successful in obtaining triumph over paganism or in his relations with the higher classes of the Hindus. In fact, circumstanced as he was, he could hardly succeed. From the first he placed himself in a wrong position. He began with deceit, with the adoption of a life which he in secret abhorred, with lies or at least equivocations on his lips as to his parentage, his aims, his views, and his ambitions. Calling himself a Brahman, he could hardly continue to deceive the Brahman. Capable of proving that he was not a Parangi in the moral sense, he could hardly hide long the fact that he was a 'Parangi' in birth. The result was that when the real facts became

48 Cf. Hough, who says that his teachings were "not consistent with Christian truth" and had "little relation to the doctrines and labours of the apostles." They "present so little of Christian character" that they are "scarcely entitled to be recorded in a history of Christianity in India." Taylor also condemns him. See O. H. MSS., II, p. 228.
known, his fall was sudden, and the bold and cunning experiment of which he was the author remained little more than an experiment. Religion is inconsistent with ambiguity of ethics, and De Nobilis was a failure on account of his failure to understand this fundamental fact.

Its failure and its lessons.

The great experiment of De Nobilis thus ended in failure; but, none the less, his career deserves a fairly detailed narration, for the methods which he adopted were not only bold, original, and admirably ingenious, but they taught, both by their merits and demerits, valuable lessons to future workers in the field of Christianity in India. His career remains a shining example, an eternal reminder of what ought to be done, of the necessary measures to be taken to attract and captivate the Hindu mind, and of the pitfalls to be carefully avoided. Both by his successes and failures, he thus stands as the teacher of the missionaries. To the over-zealous and over-ingenious, he stands as a wholesome check, a necessary reminder of the helplessness of genius, if it is unaccompanied by plainness. To the timid and weak, at the same time, he is an object of imitation, an encouraging teacher. He taught that genius was independent of circumstance, that it was possible to out-Brahman even the most orthodox Brahman, if only there was energy, industry, and perseverance, in the realm of knowledge and of philosophy. Protestants and Catholics, Anglicans and Jesuits, Wesleyans and Lutherans,—in fact every school of missionaries that have come to India, have learnt from him, and while carefully trying to avoid his mistakes, have closely adhered to his praiseworthy methods.

De Nobilis at Madura.

It was in the year 1606 that De Nobilis came to Madura. From the first moment of his arrival, he adopted the method which he had chalked out for himself,—the method of becoming Indian for the sake of making the Indian a Christian. With the approval of his superior and the archbishop of Cranganur, he introduced himself to the Brahmans as a Roman* Brahman "of a higher order than any in the east," who had renounced the world and taken to the hard life of a Sanyasin. His fair complexion, his fine figure and his deportment necessarily made people think that he was a European, a 'Parangi'; but he denied that he was a 'Parangi.' Consistent with his pretence, he adopted the dress and habits of the Sanyasin. A long linen salmon-coloured robe, with a surplice of the same colour, covered his imposing and majestic frame. A white or red sash went over his shoulders, and a turban round his head, while his feet rested on wooden sandals. Sacred threads, in the form of the Brahmanical yajnopavita, crossed his body; only in the place of the three cords, he had five, three of gold to represent the Trinity and two of silver, to represent, as he said, the body and soul of man. As a Sanyasin he had also medals, images and beads, eschewed the society of Fernandez and his converts, employed Brahman servants alone, and lived on a pure vegetarian diet, rice and herbs.

His Brahmanical life.

The adoption of a Brahmanical life made the Brahmans think that De Nobilis was a Brahman. They therefore welcomed him, Saint as he was, and gave him a residence and a plot of ground in their own street, wherein he was able to establish a church and presbytery. The ingenious tenacity of De Nobilis, his complete separation from the lower classes and the Parangi missionaries, and above all his remarkable scholarship in the sacred lore of the Brahmans blinded the latter as to his real nationality, his desires and his ambi-

* Hough, II, 221.
tions. For De Nobilis, not contented with the deceptive adherence to the outward formalities of Brahmanical life, took to the study of their literature, and soon became a master of it. He had the penetration to see that the superior social status of the Brahman, his influence, his power, could be traced to the superiority of his mental culture, and that by knowledge and intellect alone he could conquer him. An intellectual giant himself, it was not long before he became as well versed as the most orthodox Brahman in the Védás, the Sástras, and the philosophy of the Brahman. To proficiency in Sanskrit literature he combined proficiency in Telugu and Tamil literatures. Thus equipped, he was able to engage the most scholarly of his adversaries in debates and discussions without the fear of defeat, and thus equipped he could so present the doctrines of the Christian religion as not to clash with their cherished views and habits of thought. De Nobilis never believed in a frontal attack on the Hindu religion. Such an attack only roused the dormant spirit of even the heterodox, and tended to make their attachment to their ancestral creed stronger. His method, therefore, was to so interpret the Védás, etc., that the people unconsciously imbied the Christian doctrines. He depended for his success more on the skilful interpretation, or rather misinterpretation, of the Brahmanical lore, than on the excellence of his sermon. He wished, in other words, to first create a public opinion unconsciously favourable to Christianity and therefore willing to embrace Christianity itself in the long run; but in doing this, he forgot, to use the language of Rev. Mr. Hough, that he was fatally "compromising the truth of the Gospel and the liberty of the poor believer."

To the reputation of a scholar De Nobilis added the name of a sage and recluse. Well aware that solitude was a source of attraction, he rarely gave a ready audience to visitors. Men received the monotonous answer that the teacher was engaged in prayer, in studies and in contemplation. When persistence procured an interview, the charming and persuasive eloquence, the deep wisdom, and the erudite scholarship of the Sanyásin, dazzled and puzzled the stranger, and he would return, as a result of his discussions, with a vague unrest, a sort of scepticism, an undefined but new line of thought, which he could not explain himself, but which he knew was a subtle departure from acknowledged interpretation of his sacred lore. De Nobilis, it is true, never used the name Christ; for if he had done so, he would have been the next day expelled from the Brahman street and would have been murdered as a disguised enemy of the gods. Nor did he stand in the way of the caste, the festivals and the minor observances of the people. "Pongul," for instance, i.e., "the cooking of new rice and milk, and eating it solemnly," he allowed; only, he wanted it to be practised at the foot of the cross after he blessed the new rice.

His religious compromise.

They were likewise allowed to rub sandal-paste, provided it was blessed by the priest. Again he subscribed freely to the popular belief that magic was capable of exercising devils out of people, of giving children to the childless. Gold leaves, rosaries, ashes and all other mysterious weapons used by the Hindu Yogis and magicians were therefore used by De Nobilis, on as large a scale as they, and the number of conversions which he effected by these means was perhaps larger than by his sermons or teachings. His innovations are seen even in regard to names. He gave his converts Hindu baptismal names, i.e., names other than those of the Roman martyrology. He did not insist on Latin and traditional terms in regard to holy things. He allowed his "converts" to celebrate their marriages in the old fashions and made no opposition to either early marriage or the tying of the tali. He did not

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56 He himself assumed, as Hough says, the name of Tattuvabodha Swámi.
object to the superstition that the tāli, the emblem of marriage, should be suspended by turmeric-coated threads, or that it should have 108 threads. He did not again object to the use of the margaṇa twig, the breaking of coconuts, the use of crowns to ward off devils, and scores of other superstitions. He did not insist on worship in the church or even the confessional. He did not stand in the way of his converts serving in Hindu temples, for instance, as musicians,—his idea being that profession had nothing to do with religion. He even positively subscribed to the Hindu idea of physical cleanliness and bath. He did not prohibit his disciples from wearing the holy ashes or studying Hindu fables and legends, religious and otherwise. In short, he recognized the social hierarchy of Hinduism, and conceded by a practical life that the Pariah could not claim equality with the Brahman, that caste was not inconsistent with true religion, that the minor rituals and the harmless ceremonies and superstitions did not clash with Christian beliefs and doctrines. It was these concessions that made the people think that he was a Sanyāsin. He might be an eccentric, an erratic Sanyāsin; all the same, he *was* a Sanyāsin. It was these concessions again that enabled him to speak boldly in certain respects with impunity and without being discovered to be a Christian. He said that of the four Vēdas, which the Hindus had known, three only were being studied, the fourth having been lost centuries back. He said that he had just rescued that Vēda from obscurity and that a study of it was more necessary than the study of the three other Vēdas for the salvation of the soul. And he boldly maintained that, according to that Vēda, the idols ought not to be worshipped; that the existence of the Hindu triad, Bṛhma, Viṣṇu and Siva was a myth; that Chokkanātha, the object of their daily worship, was nothing but a piece of stone, a handiwork of man, deserving of worship as much as any piece of wood or stone. He was also against the rubbing of ashes, and against the worship of the liṅgām. In the place of the Hindu triad he substituted the Christian triad and Christ, and the Saints; but these were given such Hindu names that they could hardly be considered to be Christian.

**His success.**

The labours of De Nobilis did not go unrewarded. Many of the highest castes became his disciples. An Indian guru was baptized, after twenty days, controversy with him, under the name of Albert. By the year 1609 a family of 20 Nāiks, a near relation of the king, a brother of the grand warden of the palace, “a prince”—probably a Polygar, and many others of high social status and official dignity,—Brahmans and priests, Rajas and courtiers, Nāiks and Veḷḷāpas, flocked to the presbytery and became “Christians,” if we can use the expression to such doubtful Christians. The profound scholarship and the pious life of De Nobilis, together with that good sense or duplicity which restrained him from offending the prejudices of his converts, enabled him to maintain a firm if not an enduring empire over the minds of his disciples. The latter were, for their part, much attached to him. They loved him as tender pupils, and as their fresh gratitude could not be restrained within the limits of prudence, the name of De Nobilis as a saint and scholar, as a sage and seer, spread widely, and reached the ears of Muttu Krishṇapa himself. The Karta at once expressed a desire to see such a great sage; but to De Nobilis a premature revelation of his mission would be a fatal blow at its eventual success. He therefore pleaded the excuse that, if he was flattered by the condescension of the Karta, he was unfortunately unable to take advantage of it, as his principle of life was against publicity and against the very sight of women, whom, he said, he was very sure to meet in case he stepped out of his humble home.

*(To be continued.)*

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54 Nelson says that even Tumbuchehti Nāik, whom he absurdly styles the chief of all the Tōṭiyanas from Vaipār to Vijayanagar, longed to become a Christian, but the fear of his suzerain prevented him from doing so. See Muḍ. Manual, p. 116.
XXI.—The Taxila scroll inscription of the year 136.

This inscription was discovered by Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology, near the Chir Stūpa in his excavations at Taxila. The first line of this record, which contains the date, has very much exercised the scholars interested in Indian epigraphy. It runs thus: sa 136 ayasa Aṣhaṭṭasa masasa dīvaś 15. Here the most knotty word is ayasa. Sir John takes it as the genitive singular of Aya, the name appearing in the Kharoṣṭhī legends on the reverse of the coins of two Indo-Seythian kings called Azes in the Greek legends on the obverse. He translates the line by "in the year 136 of Azes, on the 15th day of the month of Âṣhâdhâ,“ and refers the year 136 to an era founded by Aya-Azes 1. Dr. Fleet at first doubted the reading ayasa and tentatively proposed viḍyasa as a corruption of and in the sense of dvitīyasya. He is now, however, convinced in regard to the correctness of the reading, and does not hesitate to say on the strength of the forms asāmi and ayāśī-asmin supplied by Pischel’s Grammatik der Prâkrit-Sprachen § 429, that ayasa must by an equivalent of asya, ‘of this’. Accordingly he gives the following translations:

"In the year 136: of the day 15 of this present month Âṣhâdhâ."

"In the year 136: on the day 15 of the month Âṣhâdhâ of this year."

Now, an epigraphist need not be told that it is exceedingly improbable that ayasa of this inscription is the genitive singular of Aya-Azes. No Hindu king has so far been mentioned in any Sanskrit or Prâkrit inscription without any regal titles or at any rate honorific prefixes or suffixes to his name specially as many years could not have elapsed since his death as appears to be the case from this interpretation. In fact, such a thing is opposed to the traditional Hindu sentiment of reverence for kings. Secondly, even if aya in ayasa really stood for Azes, the date 136 cannot be interpreted as a year of the era originated by Azes, but merely as a year, when Azes was reigning, but of an era started by a previously reigning king, is the only construction an epigraphist would put upon it on the analogy of similar wordings of the dates. There is therefore no recourse but to interpret ayasa in a different and simpler way. Dr. Fleet no doubt takes it to stand for the Sanskrit asya. But this procedure, I am afraid, is open to objection. In the first place, on the analogy of asāmi and ayāśī-asmin which Dr. Fleet has cited on the authority of Pischel, we would expect ayāśa and not ayasa as the equivalent form of asya. Secondly, if this interpretation is accepted, the first line of the scroll inscription cannot be made to yield a natural sense. Because when the year 136 is actually specified, where is the propriety of speaking of the month Âṣhâdhâ as this (i.e. the present) month or speaking of it as the month Âṣhâdhâ of this (i.e. the present year)? Of course, if the year had not been mentioned along with it, there would have been perfect sense in referring to Âṣhâdhâ as this (or the present) month or as Âṣhâdhâ of this (or the present year). Such is not, however, the case. I cannot, therefore, help supposing that ayasa must be understood

1 This view was first propounded by him in the Jour. R. A. Soc., 1914, pp. 976-7 and subsequently defended in Ibid. 1915, p. 193 and ff. He still clings to the view (Arch. Surv. Ind.) Annual Rep. 1912-13, p. 19.
differently. And I give here my interpretation of the word for the consideration of the scholars, in order that they may take it for what it is worth. I take ayasa as an equivalent of the Sanskrit ādyasa 'of the first'. The corruption of dya into yya is as natural as into jja. Thus in Aśoka's Rock Edict VI we meet with uyunēsu, uyunāsī or uyunāspyī, all standing for uyunē or uyunēshu. Ādyasa must, therefore, have become ayasasū; 2 and as it is unusual in inscriptions to mark the double or assimilated consonants and as long a is never shown in Kharoshthī records, ayasa would be written as ayasa. Thus there can be no philological difficulty in taking ayasa of a Kharoshthī record in a north-west frontier dialect as the equivalent of ādyasa. The line may, therefore, be rendered into English thus:

"On the day 15 of the month of the first Āśā ḫa (in) the year 136."

Dr. Fleet, who is the best authority on Indian astronomical literature, says: "Now, at the time of this record,—in A. D. 79-80 according to Dr. Marshall's opinion and my own; and some three centuries before the introduction of the Greek astronomy,—the Indian calendar was regulated by mean or uniform instead of true time. The intercalation of months was governed by a hard and fast rule. According to the Jyotish-Vēdāṅga the fixed intercalated months (one half-way through the five-years cycle, and the other at the end of it) came next after Āśā ḫa and Paūsha." This fits here excellently; for, according to the astronomical system then prevalent there would be two Āśā ḫhas. It was, therefore, necessary to specify in the Taxila scroll inscription which Āśā ḫha was meant. And this explains the propriety of ayasa (=ādyasa = 'of the first') qualifying Āśā ḫhasa.

The date 136 of this record has been taken to refer to the Vikrama era and consequently as equivalent to A. D. 79. Now, who could have been the Mahārājā Rājātirāja Devaputra Khushuṇa referred to in the inscription as reigning in this year? The monogram on the scroll is characteristic of the coins of only Kujula-Kadphises and Vima-Kadphises. Kanishka and his successors are, therefore, entirely out of question. But these titles are found conjoined only to the name of Kujula-Kadphises, as has been shown by Cunningham. Again, while the image of Buddha has been found on some coins of the latter, it is conspicuous by its absence on those of Vima-Kadphises. This shows that Kajula-Kadphises could alone be the Kushana prince intended in this inscription. He must, therefore, be supposed to be living in A. D. 79, and it seems tempting to suppose that he was the originator of the Saka era. Some scholars have recently looked upon Nahapāna as the founder of this era, but this is impossible because during all the dates ranging from 41 to 46 that have been found for him he was a Kṣatrapa and not Mahākṣatrapa, clearly showing that he was a feudatory and could not therefore have started the era according to which his inscriptions are dated. The only paramount sovereign of this period was Kujula. Kadphises. This is indicated by his titles Mahāraja Rājātirāja Devaputra. The probabilities are that he originated what is now known as the Saka era. The era does not seem to have flourished in the north where it was originally started but seems to have been

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2 It is also probable in the present case that dya was first changed into jja, and then into yya according to the north-west frontier dialect where j is very often replaced by y.
introduced by the Kshatrapas in south India where it lasted for more than three centuries and was consequently called Saka era after these Kshatrapas who were Sakas just as the Gupta era continued by the Valabhi princes came to be known also as Valabhi saññat.

XXII.—Partabgarh Inscriptions.

A new inscription has been found in Rājputānā, which is not without some importance. It was for years lying stuck up into a Chabutri or platform near Chainram Agarvala’s travari or step-well at Partabgarh, capital of a Native State of the same name in south Rājputānā. Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha, Superintendent of the Rajputana Museum, obtained tidings of it, hurried to the place, and secured the inscribed stone for the Museum through the good offices of the Maharajkumar of Partabgarh. The inscription is certainly worth editing, and I am glad to hear that the Superintendent has already forwarded a paper for publication to the Director-General of Archaeology in India. A summary of its contents will here not be unwelcome especially as the paper will take long to publish.

The inscription begins with the invocation for protection of the god Sun and of the goddess Durgā alias Kātāyānī. The first is no doubt represented by Indrádiya and the second by Vaṭayakshīpi of the text. The epigraph then divides itself into four parts. The first registers a grant made by Mahendrapāla II of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty reigning at Mahodaya (Kanauj). The language used in the genealogical portion, characterised as it is by the specification of the names of the queens and the faiths of the kings, is identical with that occurring in the copperplate grants of his family except in the fact that the portion pertaining to Bhoja II has been omitted from our inscription. The importance of the first part and consequently of the whole record is two-fold. First, it gives us the name of a new prince of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty, viz. Mahendrapāla II, who was a son of Vinayakapāla from his queen Prasādhanādevi of the Devatha (?)-rdhi family. The date of Mahendrapāla II. supplied by this inscription is V. S. 1003 (A.D. 946). For his father Vinayakapāla or Kshitipāla we have dates ranging from A. D. 914 to 931. It is worthy of note that this king had also another successor, viz. Devapāla, for whom the date V. S. 1005 (=A.D. 948) is furnished by a Siyaçoqi inscription. It thus appears that Mahendrapāla II reigned between Vinayakapāla and Devapāla. Devapāla, again, appears to be a (younger) brother to Mahendrapāla II, for he must have been either a brother or son of Mahendrapāla and if he had been a son, he should certainly have been described as pādānudhyāta or successor of the latter, instead of Kshitipāla. He must, therefore, be a brother to Mahendrapāla II, supposing that Devapāla and Mahendrapāla were not names of one and the same king as is not impossible. In the second place, the importance of this epigraph consists in the fact that it finally sets at rest the controversy that had raged in regard to this Imperial Pratihāra dynasty. Three copperplate charters were issued from Mahodaya (Kanauj) by the kings Bhoja, Mahendrapāla (I.) and Vinayakapāla (Kshitipāla) whose dates were read by Dr. Fleet and Prof. Kielhorn as 100, 155 and 188 and referred to the Harsha era. They maintained that these princes could not be identified with the homonymous kings named in the Gwalior, Pehevā and Siyaçoqi stone-inscriptions, first because the former bore the subordinate title mahārāja and the latter, the paramount titles paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhikārājya-para-
meivara, and secondly because the dates of the latter clearly ranged between V. S. 900 and 1005 and consequently they were posterior to the former by full one century. Fourteen years ago I wrote a paper combating this view. I contended that the title mahārāja did not necessarily denote a subordinate feudatory rank and could be appropriately applied even to an independent ruler, that the dates of the copper-plate inscriptions were wrongly read and ought to be read 900, 955 and 988 and referred to the Vikrama era so that they were in perfect conformity with the Vikrama dates supplied by the stone inscriptions, and that the very fact that there was a perfect agreement not only in the names but also in the order of succession of four princes mentioned in the copper-plates on the one hand and the stone inscriptions on the other, could not be attributed to a mere coincidence but was a conclusive proof in favour of their identity. Three years later a stone inscription was discovered near Sāgartāl in the close vicinity of Gwalior in which the agreement in names and order of succession extended to six generations, and, curiously enough, it suddenly brought round Prof. Kielhorn to my views. It is noteworthy that this new inscription contained no date and that no titles, subordinate or paramount, were conjoined with the names of any kings, and what I cannot understand is why the agreement in point of names and genealogical order was thought by Prof. Kielhorn to be sufficient when it was carried to six generations by this Gwalior record and not sufficient though it was carried to four generations before its discovery. The present inscription, however, clearly decides in favour of my view. All the names except Bhoja II. mentioned in the copper-plate grants are found in this stone record. Secondly, the title mahārāja which was so far found coupled with the royal names in the copper-plates only is repeated in this stone epigraph. In fact, as stated above, the actual language employed in the copper-plates to describe the genealogy is reiterated in this stone inscription, and to me it appears almost certain that this last is but a lithic copy of the grant originally issued in copper-plate by Mahendrapāla II. Whether we suppose that the grant was originally issued in copper-plate or in stone, the date of the present inscription can be read beyond all doubt; and this is the most crucial point. It is expressed both in symbols and in words. This is a most fortunate circumstance, for the words can never be doubtful whereas the reading of symbols is still so. Leaving aside therefore for the present the numerical symbols, the words indicate that the date is clearly 1003. Here then we have got an inscription which contains a word for word repetition of the genealogical preamble of the copper plates including even the title mahārāja and gives the date 1003 for a son of Vināyakapāla (Kshitipāla) for whom the date 974 has been furnished, in words and consequently without any doubt, by a stone inscription. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that the kings of the copper-plates are identical with the homonymous kings of the stone inscriptions and that the correct readings of the dates of the copper-plates which are denoted in symbols are not 100, 155 and 188 as done by Dr. Fleet and Prof. Kielhorn, but 900, 955 and 988 as shown by me and Dr. Hoernle. Now for the numerical symbols in which also the date of our inscription is expressed. The numerical symbols are teso, sah and lri. Of the first symbol the letter t is to be taken along with the preceding letters sah and va so as to form the word sahtsa. This is on the analogy of the dates expressed in the copper-plates of this dynasty. The remainder, viz. teso, must be taken to be identical with sro and to stand for 100 as ably shown by
Dr. Hoernle. *Sāni* must therefore be understood to be a multiplicator of the preceding symbol, *viz.* 100, and consequently to denote the figure for 10. Obviously the remaining symbol *lā* has to be taken to stand for 3. It is only by this interpretation that the symbols can be made to yield the date 1003. Our knowledge of the numerical symbols is yet neither exhaustive nor definitive, and the present inscription certainly adds to this knowledge by supplying two new symbols, one for 10 and the other for 3.

Now in regard to the details of the first part of the inscription. It records the grant, by Mahendrapāladeva (II), of the village Kharparpadraka near Ghoṣṭavarshikā and situated in the western division (*pathaka*) of Daśapura to the goddess Vaṭayakshini connected with the monastery of Harirshēvara, a Daśapura (Dosorā) Chaturvedi Brāhmaṇ. Daśapura has been universally identified with the present Mandsor in the Gwalior State, and is the cradle of a Brahman caste called Daśorā who are found in numbers both in the Udaipur and Partabgarh States. Ghoṣṭavarshikā is Ghoṣṭāsī, 7 miles east of Partabgarh, and Kharparpadraka is Kharot 7 miles south-east of Partabgarh. The dātaka was Jaggaṇāga and the grant was drawn up by *purohita* Trivikrama. It bears the full date *Sāṅvat 1003 Margga vadi 5*, and ends with the sign-manual of one Vidagdha, who probably was governor of the Daśapura division. It appears that Mahendrapāla originally issued a copper-plate charter whose contents were engraved on the stone along with the other grants.

The second part of the inscription commences with an account of a local Chāhamāna dynasty which made itself conspicuous first in the reign of the Pratihāra sovereign Bhaja I. The first prince mentioned of this family is Govindarāja. His son was Durbharāj, and the latter's son was Indrarāja who erected a temple to the Sun called Indrāditya after him. Then we are told that at the request of this Indrarāja, Mādhava, son of Dēmodara, granted from Ujjain on the Mina-saṅkrānti day, after bathing in the temple of Mahākāla and worshipping the god, a village called Dhārāpadraka for repairs to and for the performance of *boli* and *charu* sacrificial rites on the site, in Ghoṣṭavarshaka, attached to the god Nityapramudita. Mādhava, we are informed, was *Tantrapāla*, *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahādandaṇjanāyaka*, and was at Ujjain. At that time, we are further informed, Somma, appointed by the Commander-in-chief Kokkata, was *chef d'affaires* at Maṇḍapikā, which seems to be no other than Maṇḍū in the Dhar State. If this identification is correct, Dhārāpadraka can be no other than Dhār in this inscription. This grant is signed by Mādhava and countersigned by Vidagdha of the first grant.

The third part of the inscription commences with the date *Sāṅvat 999 Śrāvaka sudi 1*, and says that on this day *Mahārājadhirāja* Bhartṛīpta, son of Khommaṇa, granted to the god Indrarāditya of Ghoṣṭāvarshaka, a field called Vaṃwāvālika in the village of Paḷāsakūpiṇā. Paḷāsakūpiṇā is probably Paḷāsia in the Partabgarh State. Bhartṛīpta, is no doubt the same as Bhartṛīpta II of the Guhilot dynasty (*vide ante*, Vol. xxxix, p. 191 ff.). The fourth part registers three minor grants. The first is by Devarīja son of Chāmuṇḍarāja to the god Indrāditya. The second is by Indrarāja to the god Trailokyamohana in the grounds of Indrādityadeva. The third is by the local banias in favour of Vaṭayakshini. In the last line we are told that the *praśasti* was engraved by Siddhapa, son of Satya; and the inscription ends with the date *Sāṅvat 1003*. 
THE MANUSMRITI IN THE LIGHT OF SOME RECENTLY PUBLISHED TEXTS.

BY HIRALAL AMRITLAL SHAH, BOMBAY.

(Continued from p. 115.)

The मंगार कपि are none but those spoken of in Manusmruti I 35. Another sage, Bhṛigu, is the father of Parasurāma, but evidently he is not referred to here. Hence, if there remains no doubt as regards the redaction by Bhṛigu, there should be no doubt about his being earlier than the Buddhist poet either. The latter is supposed to have lived between 27-200 A. D. Bhṛigu, then, must have preceded him (considering those times) at least by a century. Therefore, his recension must verge (at least) on the beginning of the Christian era or lie even further back.

Second: let us turn to the कौ अयोः. It quotes Manu about six times. We have already given three quotations ending with “शरि मानवयः” Two more of this type occur on p. 177 (ch. 63) and p. 63 (ch. 25) of that book. The अयोः is supposed to have been written in the time of Chandragupta, the date of whose accession is 320-315 B. C. Hence, the original Law-book of Manu (the मानव) must be placed earlier than 320 B. C. Whether those references to Manu’s opinion are taken from the मानव alone, or from it and the Manusmruti as well, we are unable to say definitely, although, circumstantial evidence favours the existence of the Manusmruti even at that date.

(A) The phrase “शरि मानवयः” occurs many a time in the कौ अयोः and also in the काल्याणकीय: निमित्ताः: (T. S. Series No. 14. 1st ed., 1912.)5. The commentator on the latter interprets the phrase as follows:—“मानवयः नाम: गीतिः” (cf. कौ नीं II 3-3.) We may suppose, then, that “शरि मानवयः” in the कौ अयोः refers not to the मानव, but to the law-books edited by the followers of the school of Mānavas. The most prominent of them must be Bhṛigu, because Nārada and Bhāṣapati, who follow Manu in many cases do not treat of politics. Hence “शरि मानवयः” should refer (to the recension of the Manusmruti by Bhṛigu or, in other words, to our present Manusamhita).

4 The date of Aśvaghosha is not yet definitely settled. It is true that he has much in common with Kālidāsa. Mr. Nandargikar tries to prove (cf. Introd. to Buddha 5 by Prof. Soñi p. 10) that he, in his poem (Buddha 5) III 23, referred to Kumārasambhava. However, there are arguments which militate against his hypothesis that (Buddha 5) “शुद्धि मानवयः मन्त्र जास्यमानवयः” “वन” is a slap at Kālidāsa’s “या सर्वमायावशेष लगेव” (VII 65, Kumār Nī Press. 5th ed., 1908).

In Buddha 5 V 23, we find “अतिन्द्र यतः पुरे न कामत्” and in I 85 “न शुद्धि अति न ग्रिहानाकारायमेव:” Again we have a peculiar construction of “न” in VI 67 (Prof. Cowell’s ed.). We have similes expressed negatively in VI 31 ff. From all these texts we should infer that the habit of using “न” to modify his ideas is peculiar to Aśvaghosha. We need not suppose that he refers to some particular person or a special book, whenever he qualifies his statement. Hence, the priority of Kālidāsa to him is not settled by referring to Buddha 5 III 23.

5 Jolly, Recht und Sitte, p. 12, seems to conclude from the two quotations in कौ नीं that the Mānavas were at the time, when this book was written, not generally recognized as a Vedic School (of Law). But the same way of quoting Manu obtained in comparatively quite recent texts. Moreover, we have pointed out in note No. 3, that Chāṇakya accepts definitions (of Manu and of others) which are not his own, without even giving their source. If the Mānavas were not recognized at that time as a Vedic School of Law, it would not have been possible for Chāṇakya to quote them in his Arthādāstra, as inculcating one particular view on the matter.
(B) Manu is not the only authority referred to by Châtya. He quotes also Upanas (i.e. Sukra), Brihaspati and Parâśara, the works of two of whom are found to be in metrical form. No scholar has maintained that they were ever written in śātras. The Śukranitī is all in verses. The quotations from Brihaspati seem to be made from his Arthaśāstra (which is not extant), and not from his Dharmāstāra. Analogy, therefore, favours the existence of the metrical Code of Manu in the time of Chandragupta.

(C) Turning back to the verse of the Buddha (I 47) which asserts the priority of Bhrigu to Sukra, we may safely say that Bhrigu's recension must have been in existence when Châtya was quoting from the Sukra.

(D) We come across quotations in the Kàrṇa Arthā (6), which resemble closely enough the verses of the Manusmṛiti.

Cf. Kàrṇa Arthā, p. 274, ch. 108-10 “अविष्कृतं शंभुवानं शंभवानां चंद्रवर्धनं।” with Manusmṛiti VIII 128 a “अविष्कृतं शंभुवानं शंभवानां चंद्रवर्धनम्।”

Kàrṇa Arthā, p. 217, ch. 82 “संस्कपरेऽपति पतितेर्व नामाम | समाधिर | जानताप्रामणप्रावीरीनेत्सनामिन्द्रिकि।” with Manusmṛiti XI 180 “संस्कपरेऽपति पतितेर्व तहस्तयय | जानताप्रामणप्रावीरिनै न च जानतानागहिनः॥”

Cf. Kàrṇa Arthā, p. 151-2 ch. 59 “कम् कमानं कमालंकृतं सङ्कायो विबाहं | संहर्षंवर्षं श्रामापस्य: | गोपसन्तवादवादः: | ब्राह्मविष्चर्चितं श्रानां खेर: | नियोगविवाहवाद गार्थ्यं: | श्राब्दशास्यावसायः: | प्रसादावसायामः: | सुभाषण्यावेदः: | पहलनमालधवः: | संहर्षंवर्षं: | भारस्विन्यवादः: | संहर्षंवर्षाय: | भारस्विन्यवादः: | भारस्विन्यवादः: | भारस्विन्यवादः: | etc.” with Manusmṛiti III 24; 27-34. Here, we see at once the difference between a Dharmāstāra and an Arthaśāstra. It is further illustrated by the way in which Châtya mutilates the verse of Manu (Manusmṛiti IV 138) “सरस्य द्वात्रयमिदः सरस्य, etc.” which becomes (Kàrṇa Arthā, p. 249, ch. 92) “शुद्ध: वियहितं श्राब्दो श्राब्दाधिकं मिष्यम् | अथतय व वित्त द्वात्रयवस्तः अन्तर्यामिनिः।”

It is readily admitted that there are differences besides resemblances between the two texts. This is also true of the Kàrṇa Nī (6) (which follows the Kàrṇa Arthā); cf. XXI 53 “अविष्कृतं शंभवानं शंभवानां चं शंभवानुः।”

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6 That there is an Arthaśāstra of Brihaspati can be seen from the following references:—
(a) Buddha (I 47). (Cf. p. 115.)
(b) Mahā Drogo (V. 151 (V. 18)).

“संस्कपरेऽपति स्वामनंस्य शुक्कचार्यस्वव्याकरणामः।”

(c) Dr. Hertel's edition of Paśchatantra by Pārśabhadra, Vol. III. Specimens from the MSS. in Sāradā characters:

“शुस्पति प्रत्यापि कृत्रिया।”

(d) Kàrṇa Nī, II. 34; V. 8, 88; VIII. 12; 5 etc. and Kàrṇa Arthā, pp. 6; 29 etc.
(e) Bhāṣa, Pratimā (T. S. S. No. 42.)

“बारस्विन्यवादवादः।” P. 79. Act. V.

(f) Commentary of Kullāka on Manusmṛiti IV. 19

“विष्णुप्रवेशवाचपि बारस्विन्यवादवादि।”

(g) Introductory verses of Yājñā and Sukra.

(h) Paśchatantra. (Bombay, S. Series, 2.)

“शुद्धविनिवृत्तादि निविनिवृत्तादि विनिवृत्तादि घं। बारस्विन्यवादवादि निविनिवृत्तादि स्थितम्।”

also in Kàrṇa Nī, V. 88-9.

“शुस्पति प्रत्यापि कृत्रिया।”
What we want to show by means of paragraphs A, B, C and D is the probability of the existence of Bṛhgu's Sāṁhitā in the time of Chandragupta. We are inclined to say that Chāṇakya had before him, Bṛhgu's recension, when he wrote his Sāstra, even though he differed from it. There can be no doubt, however, that the source of his ideas in these parallels were either the मनः alone, or they together with the Manusmrīti. In case he is referring to the sūtras of Mann alone, we may suppose that he has quoted them word for word or has given a summary of them. If he is referring to the metrical Smṛiti, we may assume that he is abbreviating his quotations.

It might appear that we have taken Chāṇakya to be the author of the book called the कौर्णि without proving him to be so. The learned editor of that book has already established the authorship of Chāṇakya, but we can add to his arguments, proceeding on different lines.

The phrase "नित्य कौर्णिकः" occurs often in that book, and it might perhaps lead some to suspect that either parts or the whole of the book is not written by Chāṇakya himself. Internal as well as external evidence help to remove this suspicion.

In the chapters where Chāṇakya (surnamed Kauṭilya) quotes other authorities and answers them, or adjusts their opinions, the conclusion we come to is that the answers must be from the author himself. P. 13-14 of the Sāstra may serve as an illustration. In the case of choosing a minister, various opinions are given. Finally, the author winds up the discussion with his own view and a supplementary verse.

Chāṇakya's discussions contain copious matter and are written in a vigorous style; they are quite in keeping with the 'thoroughness' ('चुकृतम्' cf. note 6. h) ascribed to him. The drama Mudrārakshasāma exhibits the same characteristics of this remarkable man. (It would be advisable to study this drama in the light of the principles of Kauṭilya.)

The author of the कौर्णि professes to follow his revered guru Vishṇugupta (i.e. Chāṇakya) and says that he has simply abbreviated his system (cf. कौर्णि I 6-7, "सत्य विषयनात्...सहितिनात्मर्थवर्तनि!") In the same chapter we find a verse (I 60.) which is given in the कौर्णि at the end of p. 12, ch. 3. The system, then, containing 'the nectar of Arthaśāstra (I 60.)' can be no other than that propounded in the कौर्णि.

The commentator of कौर्णि, Sańkarārya says in his commentary (on the first seven verses) as follows:—

"नन्द: शास्त्रय नहसे बिश्ववेदान्तमाने।
नमस्तम स्पन्देः त कौर्णिकायाय महदेवे।"

(он. в. 1.)

"तत्र प्रणविधानोऽविषये साधि स्त्रयः समस्तावन्यविषयः कल्याणश्यापवन्यविषयः नन्दते: ब्रह्म-नेत्रस्वामि..."

(он. в. 2.)

"विष्णुप्रवृत्तिः संतोऽखशाय संगता: नाथस्य कौर्णि
इति त्वं जस्मुनिद्यश्वासितवनां। वेधस्य इति। वेधसे तथ्य शास्त्रान्यविषयवे।..."

(он. в. 6.)

"वर-मर्त्यशालाविषयत् राजविषयार्थो नन्दमुपविषयः: नाथशालाविषयः। सहितिनात्मर्थवर्तानां
ततः नारायणस्वामिनां पर: ब्रह्मसायानि। इति नु परिवेद्य देहं गंग-वर्हस्यम।..."

(он. в. 7.)

The last part of the commentator's remarks is very important. The book contains about 1215 verses; there are 36 chapters. In the कौर्णि there are 180 chapters, the number of verses, however, we could not control. But the same data are given in the कौर्णि p. 6. Anyhow, the commentator on Nitiśāra has identified Kauṭilya with Chāṇakya and has said that the writer of the Arthaśāstra is Kauṭilya. It seems, indeed, we might feel sure about the authorship of the कौर्णि.
Mallinātha, in his commentary on Raghuvanaṇḍa (cf. Nandargirkar’s ed. Poona, 1897.) XV 29, quotes (from the कौटिल्य) p. 45, ch. 19 under the name of Kauṭilya, ‘स्वदेशात्मकः स्वबन्धनः वा विसेषेष्ठि हिति’ and on the same verse, another commentator on Raghuvanaṇḍa, Chāritravardhana, quotes under the name of Chāṇakya, ‘अतिभवित्तमें शासनार्थं हिति चात्मकः’ Both of them, evidently, refer to one person and one book, and can the latter be any other than the कौटिल्य?  

Thus we have made good our assumption (p. 11.) that the present Manusmṛti existed in the time of Chāṇakya, i.e. before 320 B.C. That Manusmṛti existed at that time needs no proof.

Bhāsa, in his Pratimāṅk (Act V., T. S. S., p. 79,) puts the following sentence in the mouth of Rāvaṇa:—

“साक्षात्कारं वेदविदाः मानवीय भाषां मानव्यर्थ योगालां बारायस्यमयवर्यालां मेधालिङ्गश्चिल्लिणमूद्र यो भाषाय च”

Accordingly, we put the Manusmṛti earlier than Bhāsa; but, at present, we cannot do the same with the Manusmṛti.

7 Mr. Nandargirkar, in his Raghuvanaṇḍa (Poona, 1897) appendix B, has, under ‘कौटिल्य’, चाणक्य and कामन्तत्त्व, an excellent list of quotations from the Arthaśāstra and Nītisāstra, to be found in the commentary of Mallinātha. The work of Kauṭilya was not published, when he prepared his edition of Raghuvanaṇḍa. It will be interesting for a scholar to investigate the influence exercised by Kauṭilya, Kāmandaka and Manus on Kālidāsa.

8 See this question (of the authorship of the कौटिल्य) fully treated by Hermann Jacobi, Bonn. in Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preussischen Akademie S. 5., der Wissenschaften, 1912, XXXVIII.

I am indebted to my Professor Rev. Fr. Zimmermann, who pointed out to me this as well as other passages, bearing on this essay, written in the German language. I am not in a position to study them first-hand at present; but I am assured that in no essential point am I repeating the arguments of other scholars.

9 It appears that some of the works of Bhāsa have not been recovered yet. A quotation given in the Pratimāṅka (T. S. S. No. 42. Introd. P. XII) refers to the Kāvyā of Bhāsa. It runs as follows:—

‘मात्रात्म्य वाच्यं खट्टिकमुच्छलम्’ (!) ‘सार्धसंपर्य नात्मतु: काव्यं विभुक्तमर्यु मुखां शब्दाभ्यां नायकसन्तानः काव्यावपैव्ययः स्पष्टेरुः कुवैवः सम्पूर्णपरिच्छेतित्रियः परिकालापतात्वां परिप्रेयमित्वापि नयेणाये: काव्यहर्षं भिष्म !’ [This matter was noticed in this journal long before Mr. T. Gaṇapati Śāstri edited the Pratimāṅka (Ante, Vol. XXVII, pp. 52-3).—R. B.]

If Kāvyā here does not mean drama only, then we may hope to find still some Kāvyā of Bhāsa like Raghuvanaṇḍa. We have not heard that Vyāsa has written dramas; hence, competition may be in poems, like Kālidāsa’s.

In the commentary of Rāghavabhāṣṭa, on the first verse of Śakuntalā (Nīr. Press, Bombay, 5th ed., 1909, p. 2, t. 27t), we find the following sentences:

‘अभावालयं साक्षात्कारं नानः अत एव ‘अधीनीपरििर्क्षा: ‘हििती तर्कवदन्तशिष्यांनिवविष्या ‘इत्यग्नाििसिन्यां’

Bhāsa, therefore, like Bharata Muni, must have written a work of dramaturgy. We may recover it in course of time. If he wrote such a work, we may naturally suppose that he is not the first to write a drama. It may be that Saumillaka and Kāpīputra (पादित्तयकययः नास्तार्लित्यासात्यबचायूः) मलादि of Kālidāsa Act 1) may have preceded him and the word Bhāsa may have been placed first according to the rules of compounds.
If other books mentioned along with the "नानवीयं परमालस्वं" be in verses, we may well suppose the existence of the Metrical Code of the Laws of Manu at Bhāsa’s time.

It is remarkable that the colophon of the metrical Manusmrīti has the phrase "हादि नानवीयं परमालस्वं" which is nearly the same as "नानवीयं परमालस्वं" of the Pratimā".

For our purpose, it is necessary to enter here into the question of the date of Bhāsa. Mr. T. Gaṇapati Sāstri has pointed out in his introduction to the Scapanāvāsavadātt of Bhāsa (T. S. S. No. 75, p. xxvii) that Chāṇakya in his Arthaśāstra (p. 365-6, ch. 150-152) quotes from Bhāsa. That one has borrowed from the other is certain and the learned editor decides that Chāṇakya is indebted to Bhāsa.

We agree with him, because Chāṇakya, as a rule, quotes from other sources, discusses the various opinions and then lays down his own dicta. After all being said and done, he winds up the chapter with his own verses. From this peculiar method of his, we can confidently say, that excepting the verses at the end of each chapter, (we are not sure even of that exception), every verse occurring in the midst of the discussion is some quotation used by him to justify indirectly, (or to amplify), his own rules, or to set them off well. Therefore, Mr. Sāstri is quite right, when he says that Bhāsa is quoted by Chāṇakya.

Whether they were contemporaries or not, we cannot say. The latest date we can assign to Bhāsa is 320 B. C. (the date of Chāṇakya), and the गानव must be earlier than 320 B. C. We cannot assign the upper limit of its date because we do not know how many years or centuries it would require for a book to become a universal standard in the whole of India. We must have, at least, a century for a book (of this nature) to be written, published and made popular in those days, when there was no printing and when there existed comparatively but few means of communication. Hence the गानव may be placed earlier than 400 B. C.

On account of sufficient circumstantial evidence, (cf. pp. 125-27), we take it for granted that Chāṇakya had known the Manusmrīti (in the recension by Bhṛgū) and hence, at present, we place the date of Manusmrīti between 400-320 B. C. According to the account of Buddha, we can push the date beyond Suka, his Nitiśāstra and quotations from it.

It will also be seen, from the material adduced, that our date justifies the tradition which claims a high antiquity for the Manusmrīti. And no one will deny that Bhṛgū must have existed earlier than Aśvaghoṣha, at least, at the beginning of the Christian era. That we can rely on him (Aśvaghoṣha) is beyond doubt, as we meet with statements similar to his (cf. note No. 6) in widely different branches of the Sanskrit literature. Again, according to the accounts of the Nārada and the Purāṇas, the metrical Manusmrīti (whom the author may be) must be placed before 400 B. C. (i. e. before Bhāsa). On the Purāṇic statement we would not place too much reliance, however.

We have seen, while comparing the sūtras of वेदांतस्त and the verses of Manusmrīti how cleverly Bhṛgū has preserved the laws of Manu. Taking all this into account, we recognise that the tradition rightly attributes time-honoured sacredness to the Laws of Manu, although, in course of time, they may have changed their outward appearance.

10 Cf. Kālidāsa, Raghuvamsa XIV. 67.

“नृतस्यं वरंधेन्दुः सांस्कृतिकपरं उपविषयस्य” with Manusmrīti VII 17; 35.
THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 224.)

Discovery and persecution.

The success of De Nobilis brought persecution in its train. A few men called him a sage superior to ordinary men, and therefore the enemy of ordinary idol worship. But the large majority, especially the priesthood, looked on his teachings with alarm. They found out that, Sanyāsin though he posed himself to be, he was not a friend of their creed. They therefore set up a tremendous agitation against him. In their hatred they imputed every misfortune of their country to his pernicious teachings. They said that the gods were unwilling to shower rain in a place where his vile feet trod. They said that he was a magician who had the devil for his servant, that he was a wizard who bewitched people by the ashes of children, whom he was supposed to kill and burn. The priests and pāṇḍārāms of the temple, as well as the scholars and leaders of the lay society, blew up the popular discontent into a furious mutiny, and concluded in an assembly that, unless De Nobilis was banished, rain would not come. They then approached the Karta and pointed out how De Nobilis was an atheist, who denied the Hindu Trinity, who depreciated the god Chokkanātha, who condemned everything good and wholesome in the religious life of the people, and concluded that he was in reality a Turk, who was audacious enough to call himself a Rāja, to dress in the salmon colour, to have Brahman servants, and above all, to study the Vēdās and other sacred literature. We do not know what Khishappa did in response to the popular appeal. We have no materials which illustrate his attitude in the matter. Evidently he did not engage in any persecution. But he could not prevent popular indignation, or perhaps official sympathy with it. The Brahman servants of the preacher were seized, their top-knots were cut, their sacred cords removed, and their eyes plucked out. De Nobilis himself was in danger, and the whole "Christian" world prayed in despair. But De Nobilis was not wanting in friends who could save him. A prominent chieftain of the day, whom the Jesuits call Eru maikaati, was, though not as yet a convert, a greater friend than the most bigoted convert.

Reaction in his favour.

He exerted his influence to soothe the popular ferment and persuaded the Brahmins of the harmlessness of his friend. His generosity went further, and procured for him a site, strangely enough from the temple grounds, for the building of a more spacious place of worship for himself and his disciples. The progress of the edifice was a little delayed by the indignant accusation of the priest of the Chokkanātha temple that De Nobilis was a Parangi, as he heard that he ate with Fernandez. But De Nobilis had the duplicity to reply that, if his adversary proved him to be a Parangi, he was prepared to lose his eyes,—an assurance which satisfied the priest and facilitated the building of the church. By the end of 1610 it was half finished. Built of brick with flat roof and including three

52 It was on this occasion, evidently, that De Nobilis produced "an old dirty parchment, in which he had forged, in the ancient Indian characters, a deed showing that the Brahmins of Rome were of a much older date than those of India, and that the Jesuits of Rome descended in a direct line from the God Brahman." Hough, II, p. 231.
aisles with columns of black granite, it had a very elegant interior and was much suited to excite devotion.

The new danger from Christians.

The building of the church was followed by important events. First there came in September 1610, another Missionary, Antonio Vico, to assist De Nobilis. Secondly, the Parava and other low caste converts thronged to see the new church; and the people as well as "the converts" of De Nobilis found out that the latter was "a Parangi." At once there was a huge outcry. The so-called Christians stopped away from the church. New conversions ceased, and it required the liveliest efforts of De Nobilis to restore confidence. He issued a notice denying that he was a Parangi, and stating that he "was not born on their soil; nor am I allied to their race. I was born in Rome; my family are of the rank of noble Rajas in that country. The holy spiritual law does not oblige a man to renounce his caste. He who says this law is peculiar to Paravans or Parangis lies." This communication diminished the panic and, together with the friendly endeavour of Erumaikaatii, kept the progress of Christianity out of danger from the Hindus. But new dangers soon arose. This time they came not from the Hindus, but from the Christians themselves, and this takes us to the next reign.

SECTION III.

The advent of the European Nations in the Southern Seas.

The reign of Mutta Krishappa did not only see the establishment of the Jesuit mission, but also the coming of the rival European nations in South India. The Portuguese had been the dominant people in the East and monopolised its trade; but in the 17th century they were destined to go down in the race for commercial supremacy consequent on the rise of the two Protestant nations, the Dutch and the English. It was in June 1595 that Cornelius Houtman33 rounded the Cape and laid the foundations of the Dutch commercial greatness in the East. From that time onward the Dutch sailors and merchants distinguished themselves by attacking their Iberian rivals in the Indian waters and carrying away immense spoils. A brilliant succession of victories led to the establishment in 1602 of the Dutch East India Company with the privilege of trade monopoly in the East. The achievement of the Company was both rapid and steady. During the very first year of its life its men landed in Ceylon and succeeded, in the face of Portuguese34 jealousy and hostility, in entering into an alliance with the king of Kandy. Within the next five years they erected factories, after occasional failures, over an area ranging over a thousand miles,—"at Mocha, Cambay, Malabar, Ceylon, Coromandel, Bengal, Arakan, Pegu, Sumatra, Java, Kamboje, Siam, Cochin-china, Tonquin, China and Japan." These victories made the Portuguese more

33 See Rea's Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company, based on the Madras, Malabar and other Manuals.
34 The Portuguese had first come to Ceylon in 1505. "Their first visit was only temporary, but in 1517 they appeared again with a fleet, built a fort at Colombo, and finally forced the king of Ceylon to acknowledge himself a vassal of Portugal, and to pay an annual tribute of cinnamon, rubies, sapphires and elephants. Hostilities, however, soon recommenced, and continued during the whole period of the Portuguese occupation of the island. In 1597 died Don Juan Dharmapaula, who had been baptized by the Portuguese, and had afterwards obtained the throne of Ceylon. He bequeathed his dominions to Philip II, by which act the Portuguese acquired their title to the sovereignty of the island." Madras Manual, p. 118.
reasonable, and acknowledge, by a formal treaty, the right of the Dutch to trade with the East. From this time the Dutch progress was even more rapid. In 1609 they established a settlement, with Emperor Vēṅkaṭaṇaḷaṉa'm's permission, at Pulicat, a place of the greatest commercial importance in the 16th century, and built a fort therein.

The English were comparatively not so successful. The first Englishman to arrive in Ceylon was Ralph Fitch (in 1609). Three years later, Lancaster touched on the island on his way home from the East Indies. In the subsequent voyages of the London East India Company the objective was primarily the East Indies Archipelago, and secondarily Western and Northern India. The first really serious attempt to establish a trade settlement in India was made in 1611. In that year Captain Hippon departed from the usual route of trade, and sailed up the east coast of India, and touched at several points occupied by the Dutch. The latter were jealous of the new competitors, and tried, both by direct opposition and by intrigue with Indian States, to prevent them from effecting a settlement. Captain Hippon touched at Pulicat, for instance, but the Dutch governor, Von Wersiecke, refused to allow him to trade. Leaving a small establishment at Pattapoly, Hippon sailed to Masulipatam, and there succeeded in establishing, with Golconda's permission, a factory. It was the first in South India, in fact the whole of India, and formed the foundation of the English trade in the East Indies. The Company, of course, owned no territory here, but were simply permitted by the Kutb Shah to build a factory or trade-house and transact business on the coast. "The factory was not a manufactory, for nothing was made there; it comprised merely warehouse, offices and residential accommodation for the factors and their guard. The trade consisted in the importation from Bantam, and occasionally from England direct, of specie and European manufactured goods, the sale of the latter, and the 'investment' of the former in purchase of calicoes, chintz, and muslins by advances made to local weavers. The calico or 'long-cloth' was sent to England, while other cotton goods were readily absorbed by the Java market." The Dutch possessed not only a mere factory at the Golconda port, but a fortified settlement at Pulicat, 160 miles further south, and this gave them a double strength in their endeavour to check the English trade. Pulicat and its neighbourhood produced the best cotton goods, while at the same time the fortress of Geldria enabled its possessors to save themselves from the oppressions of any local chief. The English, on the other hand, were subject to the twofold evils of official oppression and comparative lack of trade facilities.

SECTION IV.

Muttu Virappa (1609-23).

In the year 1609 Muttu Kṛṣṭaṇaḷaṉa died and was succeeded by his son Muttu Virappa, who had Tirumal Nālīṅ, to become famous later on, as his second. The history of Muttu Virappa's reign is a dark age in the Madura annals. There is no inform-

34 The Carma, Dynas., and Supple. MS. say that he ruled from 1580 (S. 1502, Vīkrama) to 1622 (S. 1544, Dvāmatī). The former of these mentions nothing about this monarch except that his second was Tirumal Nālīṅ. The Pand. Chron. on the other hand, attributes his reign to from 1609 (Ṣubhkṛśīk Vīkrama) to 1623 (Dvādati Ani). Wheeler says that he ruled from 1604 to 1626. This is of course wrong, as well as his statement that it was Muttu Virappa that created the Śṭupatī. He is also wrong in saying that "Vijaya Ragananda" of Tanjore wished to give Trichinopoly to Virappa in exchange for Vallam, but that nothing was done; for we have already seen that Trichinopoly came into the hands of Viśvaṅgaṇa I. and was the real capital of the Nāṅkas.
ing material from which the historian can give a clear and complete estimate of his character and conduct, his virtues and vices. The Jesuit missionaries say that Virappa was a tyrant, who allowed his ministers to oppress his subjects with impunity; but this is, in all probability, a statement based more on prejudice than on truth; for, as we shall see presently, the questionable means which Robert de Nobilis adopted to convert the people, naturally provoked a severe condemnation from Muttu Virappa, and the Jesuits, seeing their freedom curbed, did not hesitate to blacken his name. However it was, there is no doubt that Virappa was loyal to his imperial suzerain. A copper plate of 1609, Saumya, the very year of his accession, says that that Emperor Vēṇkaṭa gave the village of Nāganallūr or Muttu-Vīra-mahāpālasamudram to certain Brahmans at the request of Muttu Virappa.57

In 1617, again, Vēṇkaṭa records a gift for Virappa's merit at Trichinopoly.58 A copper plate charter of 1620 in mixed Tamil and Grantha characters says that Raghunātha Mahārāja, the son of Sri Vēṇkaṭa Mahārāja, was the agent of Muttu Virappa at Urayur-

The War of Imperial Succession, 1615-17.

The most important event in the reign of Muttu Virappa, however, was the part he took in the great war of succession which broke out immediately after the death of Vēṇkaṭa-pati I. in 1614. It was with the co-operation of Muttu Virappa that Jaga Rāya, the champion of the deposed and putative son of Vēṇkaṭa, extended the contest, when he was defeated59 in the vicinity of Chandragiri, to the southern parts of the Empire, as against Echchamā Nālk, and the really legitimate and successful candidate, Rāma, usually styled Rāma IV. Muttu Virappa seems to have believed that the defeated party was in the right and that the victor (Rāma) was a usurper. He therefore joined Jagadēva, while the Tanjore Nālk, Achyutappa, or his son Raghunātha (Achyutappa had about 1614 installed his son Raghunātha as the king of Tanjore) and joined the right cause. Barrados does not give the result of the struggle, for he wrote in December 1616, by which time the war had not ceased. "There are now assembled in the field," he concludes, "in the large open plains of Trichinopoly, not only 100,000 men, which each party has, but as many as a million of soldiers." But Rāma eventually won, as an inscription60 at Penukoṇḍa, dated 1620, sufficiently testifies. Indeed61 that he succeeded in making his power in the south even by then is clear from an inscription at Ammankuruchi in Pudukkōṭṭai state.

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58 Inscription 135 of 1905. The year mentioned there is Piṅgala; but it is doubtful, nay certain, that it was not Vēṇkaṭa I. who gave the grant. Because he died in 1615. But even if he was a relation of the imperial family, the inscription is an evidence in favour of Virappa's vassalage. On the other hand, inscriptions 122 and 123 of 1607 found at Alvār Kurichi, and dated respectively 1610 and 1612, do not mention a suzerain. The former of these is at the Vanjiyappar shrine and records a gift of land for Muttu Virappa's merit to the deity. An insc. of 1617 records gift of certain privileges to the villagers of Adichchanai, by one Chinna Tippa Rāhattar Aiyar, to Virappa's merit (Ep. Rep. 1911, No. 556). An inscription of 1613 in the eastern tower of Madura (Antiquities, I, 292) and two others of the same place in 1623, the last year of the Karta, also do not mention the suzerain.
59 The civil war, as described in detail by Barrados, is fully reproduced and discussed by Sewell, in his Forgotten Empire. The Pudukkōṭṭai plates of Varatuiga Rāma Pāṇḍya seems to refer to this war, but it is difficult to see how events which happened after 1614 have found mention in a record of 1583. See Trav. Arch. Series, p. 57.
60 Inscription 11 of 1896 and Sewell's Antiquities, II, p. 27-8. The name of the Tamil year given here, Kājayukti, is wrong by two years. That he was recognized by Chēm Rāja Udayar of Mysore is seen in a grant of 1633. See Mys. Ep. Rep. 1908, p. 23.
Muttu Virappa and Tanjore.

The war is illustrative of the mutual animosity of the Nâiks of Madura and Tanjore. Till 1614 the great Achutappa Nâik had ruled the latter kingdom and then installed his son Raghunâtha62 and retired into private life with a view to spend his days in pious seclusion at Srîraâgam. The imperial war of succession seems to have broken out just before Achutappa’s abdication, so that the actual share in it fell to his successor. Raghunâtha Nâik was, like his father, a great patron and votary of literature and a pious and generous63 builder; but his reign began under gloomy auspices. For the armies of Muttu Virappa and his Pânâyan vassal were victorious over the Tanjore and imperial forces, and destroyed the Kâveri dam, and occupied the southern part of the kingdom. “A lasting testimony to their occupation is found in the name of the seaport Adirampatnam, which is clearly called after the great Pânâyan king Ativira Râma (1565-1610).” The war, however, ultimately ended in favour of Râma Râya, the claimant for whom Tanjore stood; and Raghunâtha Nâik seems to have eagerly listened to the peaceul overtures of the southern power, and married a Pânâyan princess with a view to cement the new alliance. Unfortunately we are not able to say distinctly who was the Pânâyan monarch that took part in these affairs. The latest date for Ativira Râma is about 1610 and yet a seaport is named after him years after this. A colleague or subordinate of his was Varatunga Râma, and he is said in the Padukkôttai plates to have fought in the great war, but the date is inconsistent, and no inscription of his later than 1589 has been found. Above all an inscription of 1615 says that the then Pânâyan king was Varagusârâma64 Kulaâkshâra, who had also the honour of performing a yâga and so obtaining the title of Sômâyâji.

Muttu Virappa and Mysore.

It is extremely curious that Barrados is silent about the Mysore chief in this important war. From his silence, we cannot infer that Raj Uçayâr did not join in it. Such an inference would not be warranted by the condition of the times. By the year 1610 he succeeded 65 in capturing Srîraâgapatnam itself and thus putting an end to the imperial

62 The Tanjore Gaz., p. 39, based on Mr. Kuppusami Sastri’s pamphlet.
63 See Chapter XI.
65 Wilks’ Mysore, I, 27. The story of Râja Uçayâr’s refusing to appear in the Srîraâgapatnam court with the same music and paraphernalia as the Kembala chief shews his general aim even before his acquisition of the viceregal capital. Ibid., p. 24. One of the Mack MSS. gives a curious version of the events which preceded Râja Uçayâr’s seizure of Srîraâgapatnam and in which Muttu Virappa also is said to have been involved. It says that in S. 1512 Srî Raânga Râya died at Penukoça and was succeeded by his son Vêkaâpati. While he was ruling Virappa Nâik of Madura went with a large army against Tirumal Râya, the Viceoy of Srîraâgapatnam. The latter with his Daçjavâ (Vêkaâta by name) marched to meet him. A battle took place at Pañâni. Virappa was defeated and his province invaded and plundered. Unable to gain in the field Virappa resorted to diplomacy or rather the method of corruption. He bribed the Daçjavâ and induced him to betray his master, proceed to Srîraâgapatnam and usurp the viceregal dignity. Tirumal Râya, however, got soon his freedom; but when he went to Srîraâgapatnam Vêkaâta refused to hand over the power. Civil war followed, and Tirumala had to retire. But at Vêkaâta’s instigation even the village in which he resided was attacked by the Poligaars. At this crisis, we are told, Râja Uçayâr took the cause of Tirumal, beat the Poligaars who opposed him and proceeding to Srîraâgapatnam, made himself by intrigue master of the place in S. 1531, Saumya, i. e., 1609 A. D Rest. Mack. MSS., II, 72-3. This story is unique and needs confirmation from other sources.
vice-royalty. The keen soldier then devoted himself to the extension of his control over the other chiefs of Carnâţa. He had already conquered “Auka Hebbal, Kembala, Karugullee, Arrakera and Talaud, etc.”, and he now proceeded to annex the territory of Jagadēva Rāya in the north and of Nanja Rāja of Ummattur in the south. It is not improbable that he took advantage of Jagadēva’s defeat in the war of succession to annex his possessions. It is even more probable that he helped Echchama Nāik and Śrī Rāma, with a view to bring about the fall of Jagadēva. For, by Jagadēva’s misfortune he gained. By opposing him he would have more than made up for his recent policy towards the imperial viceroy. In all this he was not only an enemy of Jagadēva but of Muttu Vīrappa, his ally. At the same time his conquest of the powerful Nanja Rāja Uḍayār of Ummattur and the annexation, besides Ummattur, of the estate of Harnally which had belonged to him (together with the district of Terkanamby), put an end to the existence of a buffer state which existed between Madura and Mysore. From this time onward the frontiers of the two kingdoms met, and naturally gave rise to, a number of border wars and troubles. The region covered by the modern district of Coimbatore was henceforth the scene of constant warfare between the Uḍayārs of Maisūr and the Nāiks of Madura. We may well believe that in 1616, when Jagadēva and Muttu Vīrappa fought against the Emperor and Tanjore. Rāja Uḍayār probably joined the latter. Rāja Uḍayār died in 1620, but his grandson and successor Chāma Rāja, an equally aggressive and ambitious monarch, carried on the policy of consolidation within and aggression without, and as a result, came into frequent struggles with Madura.

The Raid of Mukilan.

The Madura chronicles narrate the invasion of a Muhammadan adventurer named Mukilan, which took place in the course of these frontier struggles. Nothing definite is known about this man, his origin or office. He might have been an employee of the Mysore king or a servant of the Sultan of Bijapur. He might have been, on the other hand, an independent chieftain, who wished to carve out a principality for himself at the expense of his neighbours. However it was, about 1620 he burst into the north-west frontier of the kingdom and spread terror for scores of miles. His ferocious troops swept the country from the frontier to Dindigul and the endeavour of the Polygars to check him proved futile. They however soon found a leader in the Polycgar of Virāpākshi, who, rallying the scattered men of his brother chiefs, met the invader near Dindigul, inflicted a crushing defeat on his arms, and drove him out of the kingdom. In recognition of this service, we are told, the king distinguished the merit of the victorious Polycgar by bestowing on him the title of guardian of the roads. A similar or the same invasion is described in the account of the Kaṇṭīvādi estate. It says that a certain Mukilan penetrated the north-west frontier of Madura, conquered the country from the mountains to Dindigul, and invested that place. The Polycgars of the region under the lead of Naḷukkuttali Chinna Kadir Nāik of Kanvīvādi, gave battle to the besiegers and inflicted on them such a serious defeat that they had to retreat to Mysore. The victorious general was then, we are told, rewarded by the gratified king with the title of Chinna Maisūrān, and with the first place among the Dindigul Polycgars. The defence of Dindigul itself in future was left under his charge. All this munificent of Vīrappa was not misplaced. It was, on the other hand, an act of prudence. For it created in the Kannīvādi chief a loyal and faithful lieutenant, whose capacity and vigilance were, from this time, of immense service to the peace and security of the kingdom. Kannīvādi was henceforth a stronghold of
loyalty and the seat of a line of Polygars, who were the traditional saviours of the Naïk Rāj from external foes. As we shall see presently that his great-grandson Rāngamā Naïk was the right hand man of Tirumal Naïk's great general Rāmappaiya, and took no small share in the military greatness of that hero.

The progress of European nations.

The European nations made steady progress on the coasts and islands of the peninsula, even in this reign. In 1620 the Danes, for instance, obtained the village of Tranquebar, 66 18 miles north of Negapatam, with a few adjoining villages, from the Naïk of Tanjore for an annual rental. The Danish East India Company was established by Christian IV. in 1616. Their first ship left Denmark in 1618 under a Dutchman named Roeland Crape, and was attacked and sunk by the Portuguese off the Coromandel coast. The Commander and thirteen men escaped to the court of Tanjore. One Gedde, a Danish nobleman, was the second man who came to Tanjore. It was he and Crape that concluded the treaty with the Naïk in November 1620, by which Tranquebar and 15 villages in the neighbourhood were handed over to them for the annual rental of Rs. 3,111.

The English did not keep idle. They had already two possessions in the Coromandel coast, and they now asked Emperor Vēṅkaṭa to give them permission to establish factories further south in his dominions. Induced by the solicitation of the merchants of his country, he seemed disposed to grant a settlement to the agents of the English East India Company; but was dissuaded by the Dutch, who had already established themselves at Pulicat.67 The Dutch in fact were slowly becoming the masters of the East Indies trade. In 1614 they made a settlement at Siam, in 1617 at Ahmedabad, and in 1619 overthrew the English at Java and built the city of Batavia, henceforth the seat of their government. In 1621 they made alliance with the English and even allowed them to establish a settlement at Pulicat, but soon jealousy led to the massacre of the Amboyna and to the decision of the English to turn in future to the mainland of India. The Dutch did not only stand in the way of the English, but also of the Portuguese, with whom they were in deadly contest. In the Indian coasts, in the coasts of Burma and Strait Settlement, in the Spice Islands, in the seas of China and Japan, the two nations fought; and the fight in Ceylon and Mannar was only a part of this world struggle. Slowly but steadily they took the Portuguese possessions. In 1610, the year of Virappa's accession, the Portuguese warred with the king of Kandy, drove him to take refuge in the mountains, captured and burnt his city, and compelled him to submit to their supremacy in the island and place his two sons in the hands of some Franciscan monks to be brought up as catholics. But in March68 1612 the Dutch

66 Tranquebar remained in Danish occupation till 1865 when the English purchased it for Rs. 21,000. The healthy nature of the place made it an important place in the religious history of the South India. In 1810 the settlement so flourished as to have 19,000 people. It is even now a principal station of the Lutheran evangelical missions. The only Hindu building there is the Siva temple partially washed away by the sea,—wherein is found an inscription of Kulaśekhara Dēva Pāṇḍya (95 of 1891). Tranquebar was called Sadangampadi and Kulaśekharanapatnam. Its God is called Maniswara or Masilamani. The Jerusalem church there was founded by Ziegenbalg, "whose quaint but valuable treatise on the South Indian Gods is still the only work of reference on the interesting subject of Tamil village deities."


68 Danvers II, p. 148-149. The Portuguese, after this assumption of nominal authority, made a systematic settlement of the revenues. For details, see Danvers, II, pp. 157-158.
outbade their adversaries, and entered into a formal alliance with the king, by which the former were to be allowed to build a fortress at Kottiyar, and each party was to help the other against their enemies. Two Dutch-men were, moreover, to be on the king’s council, for the purpose of advising him on all affairs of war, and the Dutch were to enjoy full freedom of trade throughout Ceylon, together with the monopoly of cinnamon. This treaty, however, seems not to have been enforced in some parts of the island. Here the Portuguese remained masters. As usual their behaviour was always violent, and more detrimental to their interests than the sword of their enemies. “Not only were the common soldiers permitted to roam about and rob the people of the country without let or hindrance, but the behaviour of those in higher positions was such towards them that the people fled from their homes to the mountains, rather than submit to the intolerable license and lust of these persecutors.” Cruelty gave rise to revolts. The king of Kandy never ceased to regard them with hostility and waged perpetual war. In 1617 affairs became complicated by the imposture of an adventurer named Nicipati. The Portuguese indeed emerged out of it unsathed; but the very next year the king of Jaffnapatam rose against them and refused to pay tribute. He was however defeated and sent to Goa as a prisoner. In 1620, one Changali Kumara made himself king, and when the people however refused to submit to his authority, he sought the alliance of the Tanjore Nāïk, who had, for commercial reasons, an eye on Jaffnapatam. Vijaya Rāghava gave him a ready assistance, and effected his restoration and despatched 2,000 Vaduga troops, under “Chem Nāïk, the king of Careas” to occupy that place; but these were beaten and foiled in their design by the Portuguese General Olivera. The only heir to Jaffnapatam then embraced, together with his mother and retainers, the Catholic faith, and bequeathed his kingdom to the Portuguese.

The supremacy in Ceylon and the triumph even over the Tanjore Nāïk left the Portuguese the masters of the Mannar trade and the pearl fisheries. But they were not destined to enjoy the triumph long. In 1621 the truce between Spain and Holland came to an end as a result of which the ports of Portugal were closed to the Dutch. The latter thereupon resumed their warfare, carried it into the Indian seas, and heaped untold losses on Portuguese trade. Ormus was taken and Cochin reduced to a state of defenceless ruin. The internal condition of Portuguese India was at the same time, miserable. The men that came to India were unfit for service, and individual Portuguese, regardless of patriotism, traded directly with the Dutch. Illicit trade ruined the state finances. Special measures were indeed taken to put an end to the depression. Certain kinds of head dresses, for instance, were prohibited, so that the sale of linen might increase; a one per cent. consulate was established in the ports to provide artillery for their defence; still, the finances did not improve. Owing to extensive smuggling in Goa, Ceylon, and other ports, the absence of control over the farmers of the villages in the Portuguese settlements, the wretched system of giving hereditary appointments, and the obnoxious habit of sending the orphan girls of Lisbon to India and providing them with husbands and dowries in the form of offices, naturally ruined the finances and demoralised the services of the State. The priesthood contributed even more to this ruin. The religious orders were far out of proportion to the people. Supported by the government, they wallowed in wealth at the expense of the State.

69 Ibid., p. 155. See also Mon. Rem. Dut. E. I. Co., p. 6 which says that in return for the monopoly of the cinnamon trade the Dutch were to pay a yearly tribute to the king, but it is doubtful if it was ever enforced.
70 Danvers, II, p. 169.
coffers. They were so numerous and excessive that for every Portuguese laymen there were two of them. Mere numbers would have made them obnoxious to the State, but their conduct was even more obnoxious. Their over-bearing arrogance reached such a climax, that the number of conventual institutions had to be limited and the establishment of new ones prohibited. They even dared to engage in illicit trade with the Dutch, hoping that their position saved them from suspicion, and special inspectors had to be appointed to check this evil.

Such was the condition of the European nations at the time of Tirumal Nāik’s accession. The Dutch and the Portuguese were fighting a deadly struggle. The latter were gradually being ousted not only by their loss in war, but by the rotten condition of their empire. The subjugation to Spain, the corruption in service, the bad financial system, the lack of good men for the army and navy, and above all, the presence of the Jesuits and other religious orders, crippled the resources of the State, and made it an easy prey to the Dutch. One thing is clear in this state of things—that, while the State was dwindling in strength, the Church was growing at its expense. And the remarkable success which the Jesuit mission was to obtain in Madura and elsewhere during the reign of Tirumal Nāik was due to that singular, if unscrupulous, prosperity it enjoyed.

SECTION V.

The Jesuit mission controversy.

We saw in the last chapter how a new epoch in the labours of De Nobilis had come into existence on account of the opposition that arose within the church itself against him. The opposition was aroused by the questionable means he employed in his proselytism. Many of his measures were indeed cordially approved by his co-religionists, for example, his insistance on the study of the popular languages, his condemnation of polygamy, his opposition to idol-worship, his advocacy of a better ideal of marriage, his spirit of self-sacrifice and ascetic self-abnegation which was ready to undergo any personal torture; but with these commendable features were combined certain other features which were in the eyes of many of his co-religionists not only heresy but crime. His colleagues and superiors were, as a rule, narrow and shortsighted men. Unable to conceive anything original, they became an obstacle to all originality. Common-place in their principles and practices they were the enemies of genius. They took the slightest deviation from the orthodox line for a rank heresy and the slightest concession to the prejudice of converts for an ignoble surrender to the barbarism of the heathen. They were scandalised by De Nobilis’ conciliation of Hindu prejudices and acceptance of Hindu social ideals, customs and superstitions. These were the very points which De Nobilis considered to be the fundamental condition and merit of his work. Their crusade therefore struck at the very root of his principles. They denounced his avoidance of intercourse with the Parangis on the ground that it was against the equalising spirit of Christianity. They considered his denial of Parangi birth as a lie. They condemned his adoption of Hindu titles like Guru, Aiyar, Raja, etc., and his wearing the hair, the sacred thread and the sandalwood paste in Hindu fashion. In a word, they considered De Nobilis as an enemy, rather than as a pillar of Christianity. Father Fernandez, who was perhaps actuated as much by jealousy as by sincerity, was the chief spokesman of

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71 It may be pointed out here that an English Jesuit missionary, Father Thomas Estavão, worked at this time (1590-1618) in the Canarese districts. He was a great scholar in Canarese. For a short account of his life and labours (based on Hakluyt) see ante, Vol. VII, 117-18.
this movement. He wrote to the Provincial of Malabar enumerating these charges and
concluding that De Nobilis was spoiled by paganism. Father Laerzio, the Provincial, was a
personal friend and admirer of De Nobilis. He therefore took no steps against him, and even
persuaded the Archbishop of Cranganore to support his view. The indefatigable Fernandez,
however, did not keep idle. When a new Provincial came in the person of Father Perez,
he resumed his charges in "a voluminous memoir." The result was De Nobilis was sum-
mmoned to Cochin to appear before a synod of the Fathers and answer the charges.
De Nobilis made a masterful defence, but was unable to satisfy a tenacious Father, Pimento
by name. The case was therefore carried to the archbishop of Goa. He too was con-
vinced of De Nobilis' reasonings, and expressed his admiration of the great missionary.
But the perseverance of Father Fernandez and Pimento kept the question a burning one
and brought it to the notice of the Pope himself. The result of this formidable crusade
was, De Nobilis was ordered to suspend his work till a regular inquiry into the charges
was made and a settlement arrived at. No greater blow, says Nelson, ever befell Christi-
anity in India. The encouragement of De Nobilis might have resulted, he says, in the
conversion of the great majority of the people of Madura to Christianity. There is too
much of optimism in this view of Mr. Nelson; but the truth of it cannot be denied.
The suspension of De Nobilis was indeed a blow from which Christianity never recovered.
True, he was in the long run acquitted and his principles were vindicated; but the mo-
mentous interval of ten years during which the controversy was prolonged, was enough to
shake the prestige of the new creed, to undo much of the past achievements and to retard
much of the new. Brahmans ceased to come to the new creed, and De Nobilis himself,
in spite of his eventual victory, had to leave Madura and seek fresh scenes of labour.

It does not lie within the province of the general historian to go into the details of the
various decisions and counter decisions, the arguments and answers, of the controversia-
lists during this period of ten years. It is enough for our purpose to note that, after a
good deal of anxiety and suspense on the part of De Nobilis, a decision in his favour was
given by Pope Gregory XV in Jan. 1623. The papal bull recorded that, as the Brahmans
were "kept from confession of Christ by difficulties about the cord and the kudumi," he
accorded to them "and other gentiles the cord and the kudumi, sandalpaste and puri-
fication of the body," providing only that they should not be received in Hindu temples, but
from priests after blessing. It was a result entirely due to the brilliant defence De Nobilis
made of himself in a memorial he addressed to the Pope. The defence was that of a deep
and wellread scholar of Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit. He maintained in it, first, that the
titles of Guru, Sanyasi, Aiyar and Raja were applicable to himself, as they simply meant
respectively a teacher, an ascetic, a householder and a nobleman. Secondly, he defended
his disavowal of his being a Parangi on the ground that it was generally used only in
connection with a vile drunkard and shameless race of half-castes, that the Portuguese
were wrong in calling Christianity Parangi mārgam, and that he was a Parangi neither by
birth nor by character. De Nobilis, however, did not see or would not see that as the
Indians used the term indiscriminately towards all Europeans, he was simply saying a
half-truth when he denied that he was a Parangi. But the clever sophistry of the nephew
of Cardinal Bellarmine was convincing enough to Gregory's mind. With regard to Hindu

72 Nelson gives 1623-1638 as the period of De Nobilis' suspension; but Chandler says 1613-1623.
usages and emblems, De Nobilis argued that the *kudumi* was simply a sign of *caste* and not a religion; that the *cord* was similarly a social and not a sacerdotal term; that the sandal-paste was simply an adornment common to all sects and neither superstitious nor improper. Lastly he defended baths as having nothing in common with religion. He also appealed to the examples of the early church, of Peter and Paul, against excess of severity and fanaticism of feeling in the conversion of heathens. Arguments like these could not but persuade, and the result was the Bull of Jan. 1623.

*(To be continued.)*

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**MISCELLANEA.**

**AN EMBASSY FROM VIJAYANAGAR TO CHINA.**

When reading Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches* (Vol. II, p. 211; Kegan Paul, ed., 1910), I came across the following passage briefly describing an embassy from the Rāya of Vijayanagar to the Emperor of China; which does not seem to be in the recollection of Indian historians.

' *A-NAN-GUNG-DE*, a kingdom in *SI-TIEN*. In 1374 Bu-ha-lu, the ruler of this country, sent his "chief explainer" (*kiang-chu*), by name *Bi-ji-si*, with tribute to the Chinese court. He brought among other things, a stone which had the property of neutralizing poison. After this no embassy from that country was seen in China. That is all the Ming shi records with respect to this Indian kingdom.1

Bretschneider points out that *Si-tien* (Western Heaven) is a Chinese name applied to India in some Chinese translations of Buddhist works. He also correctly identifies A-nan-gung-de with 'Annagoeundy', the Kanarese name sometimes used as an equivalent of Vijayanagar.

A short article in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (1908) makes the identification more precise.

' *ANEGUNDI*—old town and fortress in Rāchitr District, Hyderabad State, situated in 15° 21' 33" and 76° 30' 3" E., on the left bank of the Tungabhadra. Population (1901), 2,266. It is the seat of the Rājās of Anegundi, who are lineal descendants of the kings of Vijayanagar. Anegundi and Vijayanagar on the opposite bank are popularly identified with the Kishkinda of the Rāmāyana... Anegundi means "elephant-pit", being the place where the elephants of the Vijayanagar Rājās were kept.2

Thus there cannot be any doubt concerning the kingdom referred to by the Chinese author.

Although Bretschneider was not in a position to identify the prince who sent the embassy, there is no difficulty in doing so. He was Bukka I, who enjoyed a long reign as Rāya from an uncertain date to A. D. 13761 and attained to great power. His history, so far as known, is related at length by Mr. Sewell (*A Forgotten Empire*, (1900), who did not apparently happen to notice the record of the mission to China. Although Bukka suffered severe defeats at the hands of the Sultans of Bijāpur, and never ventured to assume the full imperial titles, he is said by Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler, to have 'conquered many lands' and to have been at the time of his death 'not less feared than esteemed, and obeyed by all in his kingdom.'2 The reason for his sending an embassy to China is not apparent, and I do not understand the meaning of the designation of his envoy as 'chief explainer' (*kiang-chu*). Nor can I give the equivalent of his name *Bi-ji-si*. It may be some name beginning with *Vinaya*.3

VINCENT A. SMITH.

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2 *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 300.

3 See Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, IV, 89. Sewell (op. cit.) also discusses the ambassador's narrative.
MULLUR.

BY LEWIS RICE, C. I. E

MULLUR, the equivalent of which in English would be Thornton, is the name of a village in the north of Coorg, of some interest historically. It was a chief place of the Kongāḷva kingdom, which was founded by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja, described as the friend of the virgin daughter of Kavēra, that is, the river Kāvēri, whose source is in Coorg. The date of this event was 1004 A. D., and it arose out of the conquest by the Chōḷas of the Changāḷvas, who were rulers of the east and north of Coorg and of the neighbouring Hunsūr country in Mysore. These were defeated at the battle of Panasoge by a Chōḷa army commanded by Panchavan-mārāya, which is a Pāṇḍya designation. But the victory was mainly due to the persistence of an officer named Mānija, who gained his reward in being installed in possession of the Yeḷusāvira or Seven Thousand country in the north of Coorg, and the adjoining Arkalū and Hole-Narsipur taluqs of Mysore, with the title of Kshatriya-sikhāmaṇi Kongāḷva, and Mālavvi was given him as a personal estate. This is a beautiful mountain, now called Malambī, whose needle peak, rising to about 4500 feet, is a conspicuous landmark to all the country around. The compact kingdom thus carved out for Kongāḷva, bounded north and east by the Hemāvati river and on part of the south by the Kāvēri, most likely corresponded more or less to the Kongal-nāḍ Eight Thousand province of which the Ganga prince Eṣaḷya was governor in the latter part of the 9th century.

The Kongāḷvas were Jains by religion, and Mullur derives its interest at the present day from a group of ruined basadis or Jain temples intimately connected with them. The inscriptions there inform us that a distinguished Jain named Guṇasena was the gurū to the royal family. He was of the Draviḷa or Tivula-gaṇa, Nandi-sangha, and Arungal-anvaya, the disciple of Puspaṇa, whose footprints are engraved on a slab in front of the Sāntīśvara basadi.

Rājāḷhīrajl-Kongāḷva's mother, Pechabbarasi, who was a lay disciple of Guṇasena, had caused the Pāravānātha basadi to be erected, and his son, Rājendra-Kongāḷva, endowed it in 1038, in the name of Guṇasena. The father had also provided the latter with a dwelling place there, while Guṇasena, on his part, had the Nāga well excavated as a work of merit for the town. "The figure of a cobra is."

Guṇasena gained the abode of Mōksha-Lakshmi (or died) in 1064. "Proficient in the supreme ārhaṇtya and other the three jewels, all the great science of grammar, the āgama and others, and the six established systems of logic;—such as the vratipati Guṇasena-āryya, praised of the āryyas". But his fame was not confined to Coorg, for he is included in the line of notable Jains named in the elaborate and interesting inscription No. 54 at Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa, of the date 1128. He is there described as a gem from the Viṣṇu-sāra-vasudhā—the vaidyārya (lapis lazuli or ultramarine) country of Mullūr. Perhaps an indication of mineral wealth in the place.

The next mention of it is in 1176, when Vira-Chōḷa-Kongāḷva, in the presence of members of the Hoysala royal family,—Tāyī (mother, the queen mother) Padumala-Dēvi, Sōnala-Dēvi (her daughter, noted for her beauty and virtue), and others,—made a grant of the customs-dues in the Mullūr-nāḍ Seventy.

We then come to 1296, in the reign of the Changāḷva king Harihara-Dēva, when a number of Coorg chiefs united in a siege of the Mullūr fort.
The last mention is in 1390, in which year a Jain priest named Bāhubali-dēva gained possession of the Pārvanāthā basadi, which had been erected in the time of Rājadhirāja-Kongālva for the merit of his mother Pāchabbarasi,—and restored it. He also produced before the Vijayanagar king Harihara II the record of the endowments granted to the temple, and succeeded in getting them renewed. To ensure their continuance, that monarch made a grant of Muljū-nāj to an officer named Gonka-Raṇḍi-nāyaka, as a recognition of his bravery, which had been brought to notice by his commander Gungaṭa-dānaṇāyaka. And among the peoples said, in Belur No. 3 of 1397, to have been subdued by the latter are named the Kūṭakas, which evidently means the Koṭāgara or Coorgs in the Tamil form.

N.B.—In my paper on Kolliyāka (ante, Vol. xliv. p. 213) a correction is needed in the statement regarding the British Museum plates. The grant recorded in them was made to the image of Amperumāl or Rāmatuṇja (the Vaishnav reformer of the 11th century) set up at Śripurumbādūr, which was his birthplace.

THE AUTHOR OF THE SUTRAS ATTRIBUTED TO VALMIKI

BY RAO BAHADUR K. P. TRIVEDI, B. A.; SURAT.

In his article on Trivikrama and His Followers published ante, Vol. XL., August 1911, Mr. Bhaṭṭanāthā Svāmin of Vizagapatam has tried to come to the conclusion that the Sūtras of Prākrita grammar attributed by Lakshmīdāhara in his Shadbhāshāchandrikā to Vālmiki, the author of the Rāmāyaṇa, are composed by Trivikrama. I am editing the Shadbhāshāchandrikā for the Bombay Sanskrit Series and have found on a careful examination of the question that Mr. Bhaṭṭanāthā Svāmin's conclusion is not correct. It is based upon the following grounds. I shall take up each of them and show how fallacious it is:

In Trivikrama's Vṛtti on the Sūtras, which is designated Trivikramadevaśavirachitapraṅkrīta-Vyākaraṇa-Vṛtti, the following three verses occur, which are taken by Bhaṭṭanāthā Svāmin as a decisive proof that the Sūtras are composed by Trivikrama himself:

(1) प्रकृते संपूर्णतात् सार्धपरमात् सिद्धांशा युक्तं वर | प्रकृतव्यवस्था तत्साधनमेव न तत्साधनमे ॥
(2) महानितिशास्त्रकर्तव्रत स्वरुपन्नां न निग्निज्ञिततम | वृत्तविज्ञिनसिद्धभृत्ति विविधनेत्रविकारक्रमम | क्रियते ॥

The third verse after the end of the work in the words संपूर्णतात् प्रकृतव्यवस्थान | is as under:

(3) समस्थ्यप्रकृतिः किर्तिकपिङ्कां विद्विभविकारक्रमम | वृत्तविकारक्रमं प्रकृतव्यवस्था भृत्तविविधनेत्रविकारक्रमं ॥

I shall translate each of these verses into English and show what is in my opinion meant thereby. The first means:

(1) We shall explain the characteristics consistent with what is defined or explained in the Sūtras (consistent with what is given in the Sūtras) of those Prākrita words which are derived from their original Sanskrit words whether in a formed (ready) or formative stage.

Mr. Bhaṭṭanāthā Svāmin remarks on this verse—"Trivikrama says that he is composing the Sūtras himself in the verse 'प्रकृतव्यवस्थान' च &c. Here प्रकृतव्यवस्था shows that Trivikrama is the author."
Now the word प्रकृतम् does not occur in the verse 'हेदमार्य च' &c. which is as under:

हेदमार्य च वसन्तान्यस्तवत्वायस्तवाय भूयासाम ।
लक्षणं विद्याभितरं संपर्यायोपकृति ||

Nor does the above verse (1) प्रकृत्मितं in which the word प्रकृतम् occurs show that Trivikrama is the author of the Sūtras. He says he gives characteristics of Prākṛta words in consonance with the Sūtras relating to them. This evidently means that he is the author of the Vṛtti as stated in the verse (2) प्रकृतिप्रकृतम् which follows it and also in the verse

सङ्ग्रहसम्बंधयामात्रकम्याणि पदवनां विन्दुयाम् ।
परांसंवरमनो दुर्लिन्तिकृतम्भ आयतः ||

which comes after verse (2) in the Prākṛitavyākaraṇa Vṛtti of Trivikrama.

(2) The second verse प्रकृतिप्रकृतम् means:

For the correct (proper) success of those who wish to follow the road of their own Sūtras (Jain works on moral, social, and religious duties composed by Gautama Gaṇadhara and others), a commentary is composed by Trivikrama in the order of traditional Sūtras, in order that they may acquire a company consisting of the sense of Prākṛta words.

A few words in this verse need further explanation. In the Jain literature certain works are called Sūtras. They deal with religious and worldly subjects and are in the Prākṛta language. विज्ञाप्त thus means the Jain Sūtras. To the Jains like Trivikrama they are their own Sūtras. आयत्तिकम् means परंपरायण सूत्रकम्, order of the Sūtras which are handed down by tradition. Trivikrama takes up the Sūtras in their serial order while explaining them. He does not know who the author of the Sūtras is, but he considers them to be very old, handed down by tradition. In following a way a man requires company (संसाधि) and the sense of Prākṛta words is represented as the company, and in order that you may comprehend the proper sense of Prākṛta terms, Trivikrama composes this commentary. An introductory verse which precedes verses (1) and (2) has also the word सूत्र used in the same sense, viz., Jain works on religious and other subjects written in Prākṛta. It is as under:

अनुपायाय: सुलोचाय: सह: साहित्यादिनाय: ||
वच: प्राकृतत्वचित्ति मनः साधृतज्ञानाम ||

This clearly means that the opinion of those who are the followers of the Sūtras (Jain works), is that the very life of literature is a word full of much sense and capable of being pronounced with ease and Prākṛta is the form of speech. In short, according to the followers of the Sūtras, the Sūtra form is the best form of literature and Prākṛta is the best language for them. Thus the argument that the use of the word विज्ञाप्त in verse (2) is a conclusive proof of the Sūtras having been composed by Trivikrama falls to the ground. Nor is it necessary to take the word विज्ञाप्त in the Tamil sense of 'proper', 'real', or 'true', as Prof. E. Hultzsch suggests in his Preface to the Prākṛitavācavatāra.1

(3) The third verse संस्थाय: glorifies the Šabdānusāsana composed by Trivikrama. Šabdānusāsana simply means grammar—सक्रा अतुराभिन्न अवेति. Trivikrama calls his commentary on the Sūtras by this name, just as the Bhāṣyakāra Patañjali begins his exhaustive commentary by the words अय शब्दांशास्त्रम्. The words संस्थाय: are no doubt complimentary to himself and अतिशय: is complimentary in so far as he has selected

1 Vide p. 5 of Simharāja's Prākṛitavācavatāra, edited by Prof. E. Hultzsch.
for his commentary a work in which the Sūtras are small. It cannot prove that the Sūtras are Trivikrama’s own composition. The concluding verse

वनकारसंस्कृति समविवाहप्रकाशे
स्पर्शविवाहप्रकाशे कार्यास्तिकाहितम्। ||

contrasts Trivikrama with other authors. The sense is that all speakers can easily express their own ideas, but Trivikrama alone is clever in expressing others’ ideas faithfully. Here the second half of the couplet would be without any purport if Trivikrama be the author of the Sūtras.

Moreover, if the Sūtras were Trivikrama’s own composition, at the end of the pādas or the adhyāyas we would have found words like स्मृतपत्ताद्वारे कार्यस्तिकाहितम् or विविधविवाहप्रकाशेन प्राकृतवाक्यकरणात् स्मृतपत्ताद्वारे as in Srutasāgara’s Audāryachintāmaṇi (‘आद्यचिन्तामणि’ सोहनसागरसृजितम् ज्ञानप्रद्यूतिया प्राकृतवाक्यकरणे). But the words at the end are:

‘शीत शीतन्द्रठाविषयवाचषुपिष्यमिति वनपत्तादवारितम् प्राकृतवाक्यकरणात् यथाविंशतिविवाहप्रकाशेन’ प्राकृतवाक्यकरणात् प्रयत्नम् यथा नानात्।’ Similarly, we have either प्राकृतवाक्यकरणात् or विविधविवाहप्रकाशेन or विविधविवाहप्रकाशेन यथाविंशतिविवाहप्रकाशेन at the end of other pādas of the first and the other adhyāyas.

Bhaṭṭāraka Swamin states in the course of his paper that Lakshmidhara was the first to originate the tradition that the Sūtras belonged to Vālmiki. He was misled by प्राचीनसमानमनादायम् a wrong reading for प्राचीनसमानमनादायः.

This is not correct. It is surely too much to conceive that Lakshmidhara had the reading प्राचीनसमानमनादायम् before him for the correct reading प्राचीनसमानमनादायः according to Bhaṭṭāraka Swamin. (The reading in the copy of a MS. at Mysore with me is प्राचीनसमानमनादायः). What authority has he to think so? The conception seems to me to be quite unwarranted. Lakshmidhara does not entertain the least suspicion in his mind as to the authorship of the Sūtras, but positively mentions Vālmiki as their author. This can be accounted for in either of the two ways only. He must have come across manuscripts of the Sūtras in which the name of Vālmiki as author is clearly expressed or he must have learnt that the Sūtras were traditionally ascribed to Vālmiki in which case, however, it is reasonable to suppose that he might have said ‘प्राचीनम्: नूतनकः स्मृतसंस्कृतिः’ instead of ‘प्राचीनसमानमनादायः’. A manuscript of the Sūtras is noticed in a Descriptive Catalogue by Rāo Bahādur M. Rāagāchārya. It is incomplete, containing two adhyāyas only. It begins on folio 17 of the MS. of Yohiprāptilakṣaṇam. The Sūtras are the same as those commented upon by Trivikrama, Lakshmidhara, and Śiṅhārāja; since they are as under:—

संहृताः
चित्तिलोकायः
अनुस्मारकाधिकारानवः
साहित्यसमानमनादायः
पूर्वस्वाससरस्वतः

The end
कलेखार्थः (the correct reading being कालेर्थः)।

यु (च) हनन्तरमेनेराथमत्वमनादायः।


The following are the opening verses of the MS:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ब्रह्म भौरावसरितिसम्बन्धम् सूर्यनः</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>नीरामासर्वत्र गौरीं तरस्य वाल्मीकिं केवलः नमः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रह्म निश्चितम् न गा तं पदललहरातिरं गुणम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विषयं समकल्पश्रये सम्बन्धेषु वाल्मीकिः नमः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्वयमात्म वार्त्येषु ग्रीवं च गुणां</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुवर्णिष्ठानं किंतु स्पर्शता</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>परसारीष्ठै: प्रभुः कर्तव्याः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वाल्मीकिः पुनिन्दमन्तो अश्विः</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The colophon of the MS. is as under:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>इति भौरावसरितिसम्बन्धम् नीरामासर्वत्र गौरीं तरस्य वाल्मीकिः</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>अभ्यारण्य वामस:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्राकृतविकारणसाहित्यम् समाप्तम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that in this Ms. the authorship of the Sūtras is attributed to Vālmīki, the author of the Rāmāyaṇa. But since the opening verses embody a salutation to Vālmīki, the verses cannot be taken to have been composed by Vālmīki himself. They are evidently handed down by tradition. But from the beginning and the concluding portion it is clear that Lakshmīdhara was not the first to originate the tradition that the Sūtras belonged to Vālmīki, as is supposed by Bhāsaṇātha Swāmin.

There is an additional ground for presuming that the Sūtras are not composed by Trivikrama, but are the work of a sage named Vālmīki. In a mythological work called Sambhurahasya,4 267th chapter is devoted to the praise of Prākṛta. The following are some of these verses:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>वच्च: निर्मा निर्मि: प्राकृतं संस्कृतानि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>प्राकृतमन्त्रां कठीवि: निर्मि: कठीवि:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(१) केवल मित्रविष्ठां भायां नारसिंहमानविष्ठां</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वर्ष: प्रभुत्वस: पुष्पो व्याख्यातो नगरावपुरः:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्रभुविष्ठां विष्ठां व्याख्यातां व्याख्यातां बृहस्पतिः:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रह्मस्वरूप: संस्कृतस्य व्याख्याताः स्वरूप: स्वरूप:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(२) ततो भौरावस्यां प्राकृतस्यां महामन्त्रां:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अभ्यारण्यस्यां व्याख्यातां व्याख्यातां तत्त्वविष्ठां:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>केवल रामायनां संस्कृत ब्रह्म निर्मितां</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चातुर्वीर्यसः प्राकृतस्य निर्मितां हि सातोऽकृति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चातुर्वीर्यसः प्राकृतस्य निर्मितां हि सातोऽकृति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चातुर्वीर्यसः प्राकृतस्य निर्मितां हि सातोऽकृति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(३) शाक्तिप्रविष्ठाम्बरान्ता वाल्मीकिः स्वरूप: न हुः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>न भौरावस्य व्याख्यात: स्वरूप: महागायकानिष्ठां नारायणाः:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(४) पावित्स्याच्छद्दो दिश्यारम्भानुसारं संयुक्तं स्वरूपं स्वरूपांस्वरूपांस्वरूपांस्वरूपां</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्रभुविष्ठां विष्ठां व्याख्यातां स्वरूपं स्वरूपांस्वरूपांस्वरूपां</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(५) न भौरावस्य व्याख्यातां स्वरूपांस्वरूपांस्वरूपांस्वरूपां स्वरूपांस्वरूपां</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(६) प्राकृतं चातुर्वीर्यम् विष्ठै: सातां सातां विष्ठां:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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4 A portion of this voluminous work comprising four chapters devoted to the praise of poet and poetry, treatment of Prākṛta words (प्राकृतवाक्यसमीकरण), and a poetical work called रामायणविष्ठानाम with a commentary is printed in Telugu characters in the year 1890. This was brought to my notice and supplied to me by my friend A. Anantacharya Sāstri of Bangalore to whom my best thanks are due.
It is stated distinctly in these verses that Vālmiki, the first poet, is an expounder of Prākrit grammar, a grammar of six dialects, Prākrita and others, just as Gārgya, Gālava, Sākalya, and Pāṇini are the expounders of Sanskrit grammar, and that he has composed a work in Prākrit on the life of Rāma like the one composed by him in Sanskrit.

Thus there is conclusive evidence to prove that Trivikrama is not the author of the Sūtras and that the author of the Sūtras is a sage Vālmiki.

On a careful examination of the Sūtras in question with those of Hemachandra it seems to me very probable, almost certain, that the author of the Sūtras in question is later in age than Hemachandra; for the Sūtras are an abridgment and improvement upon those of Hemachandra. They are more concise on account of the acceptance of the terminology of Pāṇini ('अयुक्तवधयामकालसमावयनं' || 1 1 2||) and the adoption of the special Sānyās invented. In some cases one Sūtra corresponds to two or three of Hemachandra. There is another work of Prākrit grammar, Audāryachintāmani of Srutasāgara, in which the Sūtras appear virtually the same as those of Hemachandra. In conciseness, however, they are inferior to the Sūtras attributed to Vālmiki. The following table of a few Sūtras will show clearly how the Sūtras of Vālmiki are superior in conciseness to those of Hemachandra and Srutasāgara:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hemachandra</th>
<th>Srutasāgar</th>
<th>Vālmiki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>अभ्यस्यस्यायं सन्धर्ष्यम्</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुशीर्दनं हि 1/13</td>
<td></td>
<td>हुशीर्दनं हि 1/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्रवेद्धापलानं शास्त्रवते 1/15</td>
<td></td>
<td>प्रवेद्धापलानं 1/15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भाषाविवर्णाः हि 1/12</td>
<td></td>
<td>उभयाविवर्णाः 1/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/12</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 सूत्र ॥ जरूरी और जरूरी Nom. Sing.; Du., and Plu., term.
अतिरंगि और अतिरंगि Acc. .
क मि = क और क्षरि प्रमुख Loc. .
&c. &c. &c.

ह = A short or short vowel; तिः = A long or long vowel श = A समस्य or a compound दु = दु, दु; यु = The first letter; सु = A conjunct consonant; दु = The second letter of a word; रु = Optionally; ग = ग्य or a class; similarly लिः, लिः, रिः, and रिः letters have a special meaning attached to them. पूर्व and पूर्व signify respectively the Mas., and Neu. genders.
6 Vide a portion of the work published in the Granthaprasaran by S. P. V. Raiganathaswamin of Vizagapatam No. 43 of 1914.
On a comparison of the above Sūtras it will be clear that the author of the Sūtras attributed to Vālmīki is later in age than Hemachandra. That he is not Trivikrama has, I believe, been conclusively proved before. He is not therefore Vālmīki of the Rāmāyana, but another sage of the same name; and just as Nalodaya is attributed to the well-known Kālidāsa, but is the work of another Kālidāsa; so are the Sūtras in question ascribed to the first poet Vālmīki, though they are a composition of another sage of the same name.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 140.)

The great controversy thus ended in favour of De Nobilis; but he was not able to get rid of the loss of reputation he had suffered. The magic power he had was gone, and the jealousy of the other missionaries increased his difficulties. The consequence was that, though he resumed work in 1623, he was unable to stay in Madura any longer. But what Madura lost, other places gained; and the basin of the Kaveri became, in place of the basin of the Vaigai, the scene of his activity. For the details of his achievement in this region, however, the reader must go to the next chapter.

It may be here pointed out that the controversy which began with De Nobilis and his opponents continued right down to the extinction of the Jesuit Mission in Madura. The controversy may in fact be looked on as a conflict between two grand principles of proselytism. Was the Christianity to be introduced in India to be a purely apostolic one or was it to be shaped to a certain extent at least by Indian conditions and Indian environments. Was it to be Christianity pure and simple, as it was understood in the West, or was it to be a Hinduized one? Was it, in other words, to be independent, or an ally, of Hindu society!
The Jesuits were for concession and compromise; the others were not; and Popes had again and again to listen to their quarrels and decide. Decisions, however, were made only to give rise to discontent, and the struggle actually closed only with the extinction of the Jesuits. We have already seen how Gregory XV vindicated the principles of De Nobilibus in 1623. Twenty-two years later, in September 1645, Pope Innocent X issued another Bull prohibiting some of the 'rites.' This underwent further modification under Alexander VIII in March 1656. Similar orders were passed by other Popes from time to time, but these did not satisfy the never-ending murmurs of the non-Jesuit missionaries of India and China. Their importunities impelled Pope Clement XI in 1700 to send a legate to the East to inquire into and finally dispose of the questions in dispute. This man, the celebrated Charles Maillard de Tournon, a Savoyard of good family and the Patriarch of Antioch, landed at Pondichery in 1703, and during his nine months' stay there started a searching enquiry into the differences between the two parties. The men upon whom he chiefly relied for information were the Jesuits, Jean Venant Bouchet, superior of the Carnatic Mission, and Carlo Michael Bertelde, missionary in Madura. As a result of his investigations Tournon drew up, in June 1704, a decree which claimed to effect a final settlement of the matter. It dictated the omission of saliva, salt and insufflation at baptism, prohibited the using of names other than those of Roman martyrology, and ruled that the baptism of infants ought not to be unduly postponed. In regard to marriages it laid down that no marriages by the talī should be celebrated at six or seven years of age, and that celebrations ought not to be held during puberty. It further ruled that the talī should not be worn without a cross or image of Christ, that the cord suspending the talī must not be saffron-coloured or have 108 threads, and that superstitious ceremonies like the use of the pipal branch, the breaking of coconuts and the use of crowns to ward off demons, ought to be avoided. The decree even fixed the number and nature of the dishes of food to be served on such occasions. In regard to worship the Patriarch decided that none should be excluded from the church or confessional. Socially he laid down that the Pariahs should be treated on an equality with the other castes, that no differences should be observed in the administration of extreme unction, that Christian musicians should seek no employment in Hindu temples, that baths should be confined to the necessity of physical cleanliness and be different from the Hindu usage, and that the wearing of ashes except on Ash Wednesday must be avoided. Even Hindu books of tales were prohibited unless the missionaries considered them entirely harmless. The settlement of Tournon was more a condemnation of the Jesuit system than an impartial adjudication; and it was therefore ignored by the Jesuit Mission of Madura, which carried on its activities in the same manner as of old, and in the face of the same opposition.

But the condemnation of the Hindu customs gave a death-blow to its progress. The invasions of the Mahrattas in 1740 and the suppression of the Jesuit Society itself in Europe between 1759 and 1773 resulted in a great fall of the Christian population.

Till this year all the Roman Catholic missions in S. India were subordinate to the Portuguese Provincial of Malabar. This year the French mission of the Carnatic was established independently, the Portuguese, taking the country north of the latitude of Pondichery and the French the south.

See Storia do Mogor, Vol. IV.
CHAPTER VI.

The Second Mussalman Conquest.

Tirumal Nāik the builder (1623-1659).

INTRODUCTION.

We now come to the reign of the renowned Tirumal Nāik, a sovereign about whose position and character, there has been much misunderstanding among historians. It has been deliberately said that he was “the greatest of his dynasty,” that the Nāik monarchy obtained the acme of its power in his days. The statement, first made by Nelson, has been reiterated by others, until at length it has come to be considered a truism. And yet no statement can be more wide of the truth. Nelson mistook the magnificence of Tirumal Nāik for greatness, his pomp for power, his artistic taste for political genius. The splendour of the works which the great Nāik left, the undying nature of his monuments of art, blinded Nelson as to the absolute worthlessness of Tirumal Nāik as a soldier, statesman or politician. A study of the chronicles of his reign will convince even the most indulgent critic that there is not one redeeming feature in him as a soldier or as a politician. An inordinate ambition and a headlong passion for empty titles made him engage in various wild goose chases, in hankering after unrealities, which resulted only in the loss of the substantial realities he had already possessed. A man lacking in the foresight of a statesman and the virtues of patriot, he was a traitor, who subjected not only his kingdom and his subjects, but the whole of South India, to the horrors of permanent Mussalman conquest and domination. Three hundred years had passed since the Mussalman had tried, but in vain, to plant his footsteps permanently in the land of the Chōlas and Pāṇḍyas; and it was reserved for Tirumal Nāik to invite him and give him that which he had failed to grasp three centuries back. It is indeed true that, owing to the downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire and the reduction of its emperors to the obscurity of petty chiefs, the expansion of the Mussalman kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapur into the extreme south of the Peninsula was a mere question of time, and would have come to pass even without the suicidal treason of Tirumal Nāik; yet it was he that hastened the catastrophe and heightened its seriousness. But for him and his machinations, the Mussalman irruption would have been neither so rapid nor so thorough. In his foreign policy Tirumal Nāik was thus the evil genius of his time and brought destruction on Hindu independence. His reign in consequence was one of grave disasters, and witnessed a serious loss in the power and prestige of Madura. Politically then, Tirumal Nāik was a failure, and brought his kingdom to the nadir of efficiency; but his defects and crimes have been forgotten in the noble services he rendered to the arts of architecture, sculpture and painting. The political iconoclast has been forgotten in the generous builder, and posterity, while ignoring the miserable part he played in the domain of war and politics, has given him unstinted praise as the author of South Indian Artistic Renaissance. Many were the kings of this age who gave sufficient support and patronage to artists and were able to spread artistic taste and culture. Temples and palaces, chaityas and study-halls, summer retreats and pleasure bowers, were built on an extensive scale, and afforded employment to thousands of labourers and builders. But Tirumal Nāik was the most generous of these sovereigns.
and availed himself of the tendencies of the times. The favours of mankind applaud with all the greater sincerity the liberality of a monarch who, in the midst of incessant engagements and disasters in the field of war, found time and resources to do so much for the arts of peace.

SECTION I.

The architectural works of Tirumal Naik.

The long and eventful reign of Tirumal Naik begins with a curious and interesting tradition concerning the transfer of his residence from Trichinopoly, hitherto the seat of Government, to Madura. The story goes that, when on the death of his brother, Muttu Virappa, he was on his way from Trichi to Madura to be crowned, the disease of catarrh to which he had long been a victim, and which both the Vaishnavite and Saivite gods of Srirangam, Ranganatha and Jambunatha, could not heal, reached such serious proportions that his life was in danger; and that while staying at Dindigul, Chokkanatha and Minakshi, the guardian deities of Madura, appeared before him in a vision in the guise of a Brahman couple, and promised him, after rubbing a little of the holy ashes on his body, immediate cure of the disease, in case he gave up the habit of his ancestors and made Madura his permanent residence. Tirumal in accordance with the advice of his ministers, to whom he communicated his vision, took a vow to that effect. And the next day, continues the story, when he was cleaning his teeth in the morning hours, the disease left him by the mouth, making him free from all ailments!

From this time Tirumal Naik's love for the city of his choice was a passion. He felt in fact a parental tenderness for it. The atmosphere of Madura was the only atmosphere in which he could live, the only air he could breathe. The sole object of his life seemed to be to beautify, to strengthen and to embellish the city in which he had fixed permanently the strength as well as the majesty of his throne. Every pon which could be spared from the revenue of the State, every moment which could be snatched from the toils of administration, was bestowed on it. And every corner of it became in consequence stamped with his own creation, his own buildings and his great taste. In his gratitude for the goddess who favoured him with health, wealth and influence, he vowed to spend five lakhs of pons on her ornaments and dresses, her vehicles and paraphernalia. He constructed a beautiful lion throne for the goddess, a seat of black marble for Sundaréswara, a third throne of gems and jewels, and an ivory car. He then began the construction of those temples, palaces and defences which have perpetuated the memory of his reign, and made his name a household word among the people of South India. He repaired the temple of Minakshi, built the Pudu-

75 The Mirtanjiya MSS. According to the Carina, Dyma, and Supple. MS. Tirumal came to the throne in S. 1544 (Dunmattai) and died in S. 1584 (Pilava). But the Pand. Chron. assigns to him only 34 years from 1623 (Mâsi Dundum) to 1659 (Mâsi Vilambi). Nelson accepts the latter view. The date 1626—1662 given by Wheeler is, as is almost always the case with that writer, wrong.

74 The Mirtanjiya MSS.
maṭārapam, excavated the teppakulam, and appointed officers to conduct the daily services and festivals of the temple. He gave some of his own private estates to defray the expenses of the nuptial festival of the god and goddess. He further endowed lands of the annual revenue of 44,000 pons,—one hundredth of his revenue for meeting the daily expenses. Besides these, he set apart a hundred villages which he exempted from taxation, the income from which was to be utilised for the temple staff and establishment, the distribution of charities to the poor, etc. In addition to these gifts, he gave, whenever he visited the temple, a donation of 1,000 pons for the anointing ceremony. His scrupulous piety issued strict orders for the celebration of every festival with pomp and magnificence. Tireless was his energy in the completion of his holy labours. Every day the pious monarch condescended to visit in person the scene of architectural and artistic labours, and reward, with characteristic liberality, the skill of the men engaged therein. Tradition records how, on one occasion, he went to the Pudumāṭāpadā in the course of its building, how in his admiration of the chief artist Sumantramārtī Āchārya he gave him a betel leaf on which he had himself spread the chunam, how the artist on account of his pre-occupation disrespectfully swallowed it, how he immediately punished himself by cutting two of his fingers and how the king gave him, besides costly robes, a hand made of gold.

In a consideration of the motives which inspired Tirumāl Nāik’s magnificence we cannot ignore a less noble version which has been suggested. This attributes his solicitude for art not to gratitude or to taste, but to selfishness and love of splendour. In imitation of Krishna, it is said, he performed a marriage everyday so that he had, in a year, a crowd of 360 wives besides his four chief queens. The palace was near the temple, and the goddess was troubled by the noise of the daily festivities, the shouts of heralds, the din of drums and the sounds of music. She appeared to him in a dream and ordered him to remove his court to another place. Hence his building a new palace; to which piety added a maṭārapam, a teppakulam, and a quadrangle of houses for Brahmans round it.

Tirumāl Nāik would not have been true to himself if he had not begun his labours in the field of art and architecture without proper ceremony or celebration. One of the Mīrtanjīya MSS. describes how the numerous works of Tirumāl extending from the banks of the Kāveri to the shores of the southern sea, were begun simultaneously at an auspicious moment. In accordance with the sanction of the court astrologers, the foundations were laid on the 10th of Vaiśākhā of Akṣhayā, S. 1548 (1626 A. D.), of as many as 96 temples. From that moment began a period of growing glory and busy activity to the artists and artisans of the land. Painters and sculptors, architects and masons came from distant lands to the Nāik capital, and found welcome and employment under its great king. Wars or disasters did not interfere with their labours; the difficulty of livelihood did not disturb their peace of mind. The munificent patronage of the king relieved them from anxiety, and stimulated them to activity, and the kingdom of Madura became a stronghold of beauty and art.

77 Pand. Chron.; Mīrtanjīya MSS. According to the latter the king vowed to give a hundredth part of his revenue for the maintenance of the temple, and as he gave lands worth 44,000 pons, it is evident, as Taylor says, that his income amounted to 44 lakhs of pons.

78 See Taylor’s Oriental Historical MSS. II, p. 151.

79 Wheeler, IV, p. 578.
It was but natural that Madura attracted the lion’s share of the king’s attention and the major portion of his endowments. Want of space makes a detailed survey of the various works of Tirumala impossible. We shall mention the most important and interesting ones, and describe them for the intrinsic interest they possess. First of all should be mentioned the teppakulam of Minákshi80 which, it is recorded, absorbed a lakh of pons. The story is that, when it was excavated, an image of Gaṇéśa, the destroyer of all obstacles, was discovered. No better thing could have happened, no more auspicious circumstance, in the opinion of mankind. The god was given a temple worthy of his greatness and his grace. It stands, in the western bank of the golden lily tank, in Minákshi’s shrine. The tank itself is a noble square of 1,200 yards. Its sides are faced with granite, and surmounted by a granite parapet wall, broken here and there by flights of steps, and adorned here and there with life-like portraits of gods, their vehicles, etc. Inside the parapet is a paved gallery, running round the whole reservoir and affording a cool and pleasant ground for an evening walk. Just in the centre of the reservoir is a square island, walled on all sides, and having in its midst, a beautiful grove and fine edifice with a lofty dome rising from the centre of it. The whole presents to the spectator a remarkably fine and picturesque appearance. With its granite façade, its lofty dome, its tiny pretty towers rising from the corners and angles of its walls, it possesses a singular and elegant grace which no similar structure in South India can boast. A small contribution of two pence will enable the curious traveller to cross in a small raft intended for the purpose, to the island. He will then see in the midst of the palm and mango grove, which fills and cools the atmosphere, a small manjapa with 36 plain pillars, the central part of which is in a higher level than the remaining portion, as it is there that the idol is seated during the floating festival. At the four corners of the raised platform are seen fine statues of Tirumal Náîk and his queens. It is over this platform that the dome above-mentioned rises. The traveller can ascend to its very top by the wooden and brick stair cases which lead to it through four narrowing floors. As he ascends, he will notice how in the construction of the edifice the Hindu and Saracenic arts are combined together, how the arches are in curious combination with tiny miniature gopuras and curious conventional figures and ornamentations worked as in the palace, in fine stucco. The parapet walls around the summit of the dome consist chiefly of these tiny gopuras and figures, and beyond them, can be had a most engaging and charming view of the country around. Gardens and groves intercepted here and there by stray bungalows and winding roads meet the eye. To the north is seen, only a few yards off, on the other side of a few bungalows, the dry and sandy Vaigai, with its central meagre artificial watercourse, and miles off the summits of distant hills. Towards the south, the spectator can see the terraces of houses of neighbouring hamlets, with their fields and pasture grounds, fringed in the distance by the sacred rock of Tirupparankunram. To the west he turns and has a distant view, and hears the dim noise of busy Madura. He will see the rollicking jatka taking people from and to the noble city. He will see the pious pedestrians coming to take their plunge in the reddish coloured waters beneath him. He will see the four majestic towers of the Minákshi and Sundaréśvara shrines rising, in bold and clear outline, over the cocoanut groves that separate him for over a mile from them. He will also see the domes and towers of the

80 See Ferguson’s History of Indian architecture. Ferguson’s Picturesque illustrations of Ind. Architecture; J. R. A. S., Vol. III.
palace of Tirumal Nāïk, and will then perhaps feel that from that very place where he is standing, that great chieftain himself had stood and seen, and felt proud to see his own works of noble magnificence and superior taste. The traveller will, in short, find himself transported to that period of Indian History, when the Nāïk ruled the land; but he sees, in a moment the dark and smoking chimney of a factory, and reminded of his time and life, he descends with the feeling and the conclusion that, indefatigable as the Nāïk monarchs were in the excavation of tanks and reservoirs, none can be compared in beauty and in solidity to this noble work, and that the name of its author, like its own utility, will be enduring and eternal.

Of all the edifices of Tirumal Nāïk Fergusson would attribute the greatest architectural importance to the choultry,81 "the celebrated choultry which he built for the reception of the presiding deity of the place, who consented to leave his dark cell in the temple and pay the king an annual visit of ten days' duration on condition of his building a hall worthy of his dignity, and where he could receive, in a suitable manner, the homage of the king and his subject." Even to-day, the grand festival which Tirumal Nāïk organised during the journey of the deity to this maṇṭapam (it falls generally in May when the fierce heat of the sun creates the need for the god of a shady retreat), is celebrated with that splendour and enthusiasm which the great Nāïk displayed two and a half centuries back. The season of the festival being summer the whole edifice is cooled by the soft breeze flowing over the picturesque water-course encompassing it. Fans and sandal, spices and flowers are distributed to the numerous visitors; and the sounds of music and the noise of festivities fill the air. A cooling agreeable smell pervades the atmosphere, and a universal season of enjoyment prevails for both man and god!

The hall itself is an oblong building, 333 feet long and 105 feet broad, and has a flat roof supported by four ranges of columns 144 in number. The labour expended on the carvings and sculptures on these pillars is characteristically Hindu. No two of them resemble each other in respect of design or details, and throughout the magnificent structure, a wild exuberance of fancy and a bewildering variety of designs transport the spectator into the realm of apparently superhuman labour. Among the sculptured figures are ten striking statues of Tirumal Nāïk, his predecessors and their queens.82 To the student of history the hall is of high interest, as the date of its building is definitely known. It was constructed between 1623 and 1645, and this definiteness serves as a landmark in the chronology of South Indian architecture. Mr. Fergusson, for instance, asserts with certainty that the porch of Pārvati's shrine at Chidambaram,83 with its different style of bracketing shaft, must be anterior to the hall by a couple of centuries, and that the corridors84 of the Rāmēśvaram temple are contemporary. There can be no doubt that the political har-

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81 See Fergusson's Illustrated Handbook of Architecture, I., p. 94, for a description of the objects of "the choultry" (chaḍry) type of buildings.
83 In the Madura Hall, the square pillars merge into flat piers while in the older ones the square shape is never lost sight of. Midway between the two come the 5-isled choultries of Rāmēśvaram.
84 See Fergusson, H. Ar. I. 98.
85 The Rāmēśvaram corridors are blind and single-ailed unlike the Madura ones which lead to a sanctuary and which are three-ailed. This is in Fergusson's opinion an alteration for the worse. If Tirumal Nāïk, he says, had been allowed any share in making the original designs the temple would have been a nobler building than it is.
mony which existed between the Nāik and the Sētpati conduced to co-operation in art, and the corridors of the Rāmeśvaram temple are imitations, though with certain alterations, of the Pudu Maṇṭapam. The cost of the Madura hall was about a million sterling and, according to the estimation of the present day when money is cheap, would be equal to four or five millions sterling.

Immediately in front of the choultry the Nāik monarch built a gopura, which he was not able to finish, and his successors were too poor or unwilling to continue. There is a melancholy grandeur about this stupendous monument. In its gigantic size, and its bold design, it is far more imposing than the Śrīraṅgam tower itself. If completed, says Fergusson, it would be the finest edifice of its class in South India. It is 174 feet long from north to south, about 100 feet in height, with an entrance 22 feet wide, and doorposts rising to a height of 60 feet. The dimensions of the tower are therefore larger than those of the Śrīraṅgam edifice. But it is not the size alone that makes it an object of superior admiration. The beauty of details is far more engaging and attractive. The gateposts, each of which is a single block of granite, the lifting and planting of which would have involved a tremendous labour and required high mechanical skill, are carved with the most exquisite scroll of patterns of elaborate foliage. "Being unfinished and consequently never consecrated, it has escaped whitewash, and alone of all the buildings of Madura, its beauties can still be admired in their original perfection."

The next important religious edifice of Tirumal Nāik is the great temple of Minākshi. The heart of the temple, the holy sanctuary, was built by Visvanatha, but the outer buildings and ornamentations are the work of Tirumal Nāik. It is not unlikely that the beginning of the outer edifices was made in the reign of Muttu Virappa, Tirumal’s brother and predecessor. A maṇṭapam in fact goes even now in his name and is said by tradition to be the oldest part. But the major portion of the works were carried out in the reign of Tirumal Nāik between the years 1625 and 1659. The temple has not attracted as much attention from the artistic world as the choultry; but in Fergusson’s opinion, it is a larger and more important building with all the characteristics of a first class Dravidian temple. It is nearly a regular rectangle, two of the sides measuring 720 and 729 feet, and the other two 834 and 852 feet. It possesses "four gopuras of the first class and five smaller ones; a very beautiful tank surrounded by archades, and a hall of 1,000 columns whose sculptures surpass those of any other hall of its class I am acquainted with. There is a small shrine dedicated to the goddess Minākshi, the tutelary deity of the place, which occupies the space of fifteen columns, so the real number is only 985; but it is not their number, but their marvellous elaboration, that make it the wonder of the place, and renders it, in some respects, more remarkable than the choultry about which so much has been said and written. I do not feel sure that this hall alone is not a greater work than the choultry: taken in conjunction with the other buildings of the temple, it certainly forms a far more imposing group."

*(To be continued.)*

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55 The MSS. say that it absorbed one lakh of pouns (£20,000). Nelson takes this view, as labour was very cheap in those days. But it seems to me that Mr. Fergusson’s opinion is the more correct one. See also J.R. A. S. III p. 231.

56 *Ind. and E. Arch.* Bu’ Sewell points out that some parts were much older. See his *Antiquities*, I, p. 291.

57 The Kalyāṇa Maṇṭapa and Tatta Śuddhi are later buildings. The former was built in 1707 and the latter in 1770 A. D. The Yali façades, the statues of Vīrabhadra and the Goddess, of Subrahmaṇya and Sarasvati (playing on Viṅgū), and other features of the grand hall are admirable.
SOME HOBSON-JOBSONS IN EARLY TRAVELLERS 1545-1645

Deling-Delingo-Delingeges.

1567.—There (in Macaeo [Macao in Pegu]) the merchants are carried in a Closet which they call Deling, in which a man shall be very well accommodated, with Cushions under his head, and covered for the defence of the Sunne and Raine, and there he may sleepe if he have will thereunto: and his four Falchines carry him running away, changing two at one time, and two at another. Caesar Frederick in Purchas His Pilgrimes, ed. Maclehoose, X. 130.

1579-1588.—And this Delino is a cloth of thick double cotton, varied, to beautify it, with many colours, and as long and wide as a carpet, with a piece of iron through the head of it so that it [the cloth] can be attached to each side, which makes it into a sort of pocket or purse in the middle. These irons are fastened to a very stout pole which is carried by four men, and it has a covering like our umbrellas to provide a defence from the rain and the sun. When journeys are made, a cushion is put at the head; the traveller enters the Delingo, lies down, and puts his head on the cushion. Then the four men, two at a time, take up the Delingo and carry the burden. Gasparo Balbi, Viaggio, p. 99 (translation).

1583-1591.—Macao. Coaches carried on mens shoulders. From Cirion [Siriam] we went to Macao, which is a pretio Town, where we left our Boats and in the morning taking Delingeges, which are a kind of Coaches made of cords and cloth quilted, and carried upon a stang [pole] between three or four men. Ralph Fitch in Purchas His Pilgrimes, ed. Maclehoose, X. 186.

Yule (Hobson-Jobson, s. v. Deling) says the word is not known to Burmese scholars and is perhaps Persian. This seems unlikely.

Mr. C. Otto Blagden derives deling, delingo, delingeges, from dalin "to carry upon a pole between two persons," with variant jah khalis, a hammock-litter. Mr. Blagden also notes a less apt, but rather similar word gleis (with variant, as he remembers it, maleis), "to carry a burden swung upon a pole over the shoulder."

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| Selwy.                                      | 1511.—The people of this country of Sian [Siam] have a delight to carry round bells within the skin of their privie members: which is forbidden to the King and the religious people. Antonio Galvano in Purchas His Pilgrimes, ed. Maclehoose, X. 28.  
|     |     | 1583-1591.—In Pegu the men wear bunces or little round bells in their privie members. There are some made of Lead, which they call Selwy, because they ring but little: and these be of lesser price for the poorer sort. Ralph Fitch in Purchas His Pilgrimes, ed. Maclehoose X. 196.  
|     |     | Mr. C. Otto Blagden remarks of selwy: "Probably not the name of the bells, but of the material of which they were made, viz., (silver or sildy), or thoy (thelay). Haswell (Stevens' ed.) calls it 'copper,' but I rather think it was an alloy, such as is used in bell making commonly."
|     |     | The word is probably identical with sél, a small round coin made of bell-metal, in use in Manipur as small change; 400 séls go to a rupee. See ante, XXVI, 290; XXVII 171 fl.  
|     |     | Serrion.  
|     |     | 1583-1591.—When the King [of Pegu] rideth abroad, he rideth sometimes upon a great frame like an Hors-litter, which hath a little house upon it covered over head, but open on the sides, which is all gilded with gold, and set with many Rubies and Saphires, and is carried upon sixene or eightene mens shoulders. This Coach in their Language is called Serrion. In few days after [taking his vows as a 'talliopo'], he (the Tallipo) is carried upon a thing like an Horslitter, which they call a Serrion, upon ten or twelve mens shoulders in the apperrell of a Tallipo. Ralph Fitch in Purchas His Pi grimes ed. Maclehoose, X. 189-190, 193-194.  
|     |     | 1583-1591.—And when he [the King of China] rideth abroad he is carried upon a great chaire or serrion gilded very faire, wherein there is made a little house with a latisse to looke out at. Ralph Fitch in Haklayt's Voyages, ed. 1810, II. 396.  
|     |     | Mr. C. Otto Blagden derives serrion from sareia, pronounced sardion or sarian, a swinging cradle; homonym, and perhaps the origin, of Syria, which is also written Sareia, and properly Seriang, Sariang, etc.  

1 "Deling is a small litter carried with men" (marginal note).  
2 A Marginal note adds—This manner of carriage on mens shoulders is used in Peru and in Florida.
Ximi—Shemine—Seminii.

1548-1549.—Though the King [of Pegu] escaped the hands of Xemindoo, he could not the Villany of Ximi do Zatan (Ximi is equivalent to a Duke, and he really was one of Satan’s creating) who murdered him. *Faria y Souza, translated by Stevens, Ill. 136.*

1583.—The King and his Semini, which are his Courtiers. Wee came nearer to the place where the King [of Pegu] sate with his Semini, prostrate on the earth (for no Christian, how more soever to the King, nor Moorish Captaines, except of his Semini, come in that place so neere the King) . . . The King of Pegu proclaimed warre against Ava, and called to him his . . . Semini . . . this [elephant of the King of Ava] I saw in the lodging where the King of Pegu was wont to keepe his, where continually were two Semini, that prayed to him to eate. *Gasparo Balbi in Purchas His Pilgrimes, ed. Maclehoose, X. 158, 160, 162.*

1583-1591.—Pegu . . . The King keept a very great State: when hee sitteth abroad, as he doth every day twice, all his Noblemen which they call Shemines, sit on each side, a good distance off, and a great guard without them. *Ralph Fitch in Purchas His Pilgrimes, ed. Maclehoose, X. 189.*

c. 1645.—He (the King of Brama [Burna]) presently commanded the Xemines head to be cut off. *Mendes Pinto, translated by Cogan, p. 213.*

Ximis, s. m. pl., the grandees of Pegu. *Lacerda’s Portuguese-English Dictionary,* Lisbon 1871.

Mr C. Otto Blagden derives Shemine (Shimi, Semini, Ximi) from smi, an abbreviation of smiis, now pronounced hamoin, king, governor, administrative official, etc.

Rolim—Roolim—Rowli.

c. 1545.—After that these feasts [at Pegu] had continued seven whole days together . . . news came to the City of the death of the Aixenquendo (Aixsquetch), Rolim of Monnay (Rolim de Monnai), who was as it were their Sovereign Bishop . . . Rolims (Rolins) who are the chiefest of their Priests . . . Being arrived at the place where the Rolim (Rolim) had been burnt . . . for so had Aixenquendo, the late Rolim (Rolim) commanded . . . Him which had been newly chosen to the dignity of Rolim (Rolim) . . . When he was come . . . where the new Rolim was, he prostrated himself before him . . . the King rising up, the Rolim made him sit down by him. *F. Mendes Pinto (Cogan’s translation) pp. 245 ff.*

1583-1591.—Rowlie or high priest. In Pegu they have many Tallipoes or Priests . . . When the Tallipoes or Priests take their Orders, first they goe to schoole until they be twentie yeeres of old or more, and then they come before a Tallipoe, appointed for that purpose, whom they call Rowlie: hee is of the chiefest and most learned, and hee opposeth them, and afterward examineth them many times whether they will . . . take upon them the habite of a Tallipoe. *Ralph Fitch in Purchas His Pilgrimes, ed. Maclehoose, X. 193.*


1628.—The unfortunate King [of Pegu] . . . not being able to speak for Grief, the Rolim of Mounay Talaypoor, Chief Priest of those Gentiles, and esteemed a Saint, made an harangue in his behalf. *Faria y Souza, translated by Stevens, III. 350.*

This word is still a puzzle. *See ante, XXIX. 28; XXXV. 298.* The derivation from rahain is not satisfactory.

Mr C. Otto Blagden remarks on this:—“Rowlie has not the general aspect of a Talaing word. In modern Talaing it is very rare for the first syllable to be long, either by length of vowel (or diphthong) or by position (before two consonants). If therefore Rowlie is a Talaing word, it is much distorted. It may be a compound and must be an actual word since Mendes Pinto has ‘rolin’.”

Rowlie, Rauli, Raulini, Rawlin. That the use of this word by Portuguese travellers was generally accepted, is shown by its inclusion in *Lacerda’s Portuguese-English Dictionary,* 1871, where we find—“Rolim, s. m., in Pegu, the most southern kingdom of the East Indies) the chief priest.

Chandeau—Chandeau.

1583-1591.—Here (Satgam [Satgaun]) in Bengal they have every day in one place or other a great Market which they call Chandeau. *Ralph Fitch in Purchas His Pilgrimes, ed. Maclehoose, X. 183.*

The word Chandeau has not been traced in the writings of any other 16th or 17th century traveller, but that it was an accepted term is proved by its inclusion in *Lacerda’s Portuguese English Dictionary,* 1871, where its definition seems to point to a Chinese origin—“Chandeau, s. m., a name given in China to the fairs or markets.”

Chandeau, Chandeu: in Chinese, the term chān (prounounced chān to) means “city market,” whence no doubt it was carried by the early travellers to Eastern India, and in Fitch’s mind took the form chandeau (=chando). I am indebted to Professor H. A. Giles for the hint in this note.

R. C. Temple.
SOME NOTES ON YASKA'S NIRUKTA.
BY PROF. P. D. GUNE, M.A., PH.D.; POONA.

It is a remarkable fact that the Nirukta of Yaska, together with the Nighantas, should have first found print in Gottingen, in the year 1852. It was edited with critical notes by Rudolf Roth, whose name has been immortalized in the history of Indian Philology by his Sanskrit-German Dictionary in collaboration with Böhtlingk, a work of unequalled merit and astonishing labour. The first Indian edition of this book, together with the Commentary of Durga, appeared in the Bibliotheca Indica series as late as in 1882, full thirty years after Roth's edition. It was edited by the learned Pandit Satyavrata Samastrami and possesses this advantage over Roth's edition, that for the first time, it offers the full text of Durga's Commentary. Both these editions, valuable as they are, have in my opinion one serious drawback from the point of view of the student of Nirukta. Their very fidelity is a fault; while faithfully copying certain Mss. which they appear to have used as a basis for their editions, Roth on the one hand gives very spare punctuations; e.g. P. 32. विनाश्चर विनाश्चरितं विनाशाय नामायाशायं विनाशायं समस्म मेधायायं विनाशायं। Here one expects some kind of punctuation after विनाशायं, another longer stop at नामायायं which indeed completes the idea, as well as the sentence, and a third perhaps after विनाशायं; Pandit Samastrami's original on the other hand knows no punctuations at all; e.g. same passage in his edition vol. II 37 14. This is sometimes very puzzling, as our M. A. students of Sanskrit know so well. Again the keeping up of the old arbitrary sections has something to be said against it. Whatever the original motive, they could have been either done away with or suitably changed in the printed editions. Faithfulness is indeed a merit, but it should not be overdone, at least not where reason says otherwise. Examples of this are numerous, but one might be quoted; e.g. R. p. 43. The 6th section is made to close with अध्यापितं अपवालंच, whereas the words are logically connected with the verse in the following section अवलम्ब, etc., which contains the pronoun मह in the nominative plural. See the same passage at S. II 67, 8. It would have been possible to make sections according to the most natural division, while still leaving some indication of the original arbitrary division of the Mss.

It is, however, possible to have two opinions on this question. I only wanted to suggest that a change in the original arbitrary, misleading and moreover very immaterial way of striking sections would not have been felt amiss.

A third edition of Nirukta has appeared in Bombay at the Vyankateshvar Press as recently as in the year 1912. Like Samastrami's, this also contains the full text of Durga's Commentary. It is printed in clear type and has this advantage over Samastrami's, that it has tried to indicate natural pauses intelligently and that it does not abound in misprints, as the latter does. Jivaniard's Calcutta edition, 1891, is in all respects like Samastrami's.

A good edition of Durga's Commentary is still a badly felt want. I have heard that the work is undertaken in the Bombay Sanskrit series, and also in the Anandashram Sanskrit series. It would indeed be a happy day for scholars and students alike, when these editions find the light of the day.

Roth's critical notes could not lay any claim to absolute correctness. But bearing in mind the time when, Sanskrit studies in Europe were indeed in their infancy, one cannot help thinking that the work reflects great credit on the author. Of course, it goes without
saying, that Durga’s Commentary must have done yeoman service to the editor, as most of the commentaries on Vedic works do to a modern Sanskrit scholar. But Roth differs from Durga more often than once, sometimes with good reason, but often without it. To my mind however, both Durga and Roth have misunderstood Yāska at some places; at others Roth differs from the very reasonable explanation of Durga, apparently for no valid reason. In the following notes I have attempted to explain some of these passages. For brevity’s sake I shall refer to Roth’s edition with an R, page, line and Sāmasrāmi’s with an S etc.

I R. 31, 7, and S II 8, 1. तवज्ञोऽन्तः नावपथाने अवस्: पूर्वपारम्परितं नावशाखाशासनपाते अस्त्रविसर्जनीयानुपातार्थरत्न नाम् सत्वातु नागभाषान्यभाषान्यत्वाकारिति. This follows the definitions of नाम and आश्वाल, which are ‘Nouns are where being predominates’ and ‘a Verb is where becoming predominates’ respectively. Durga explains: ‘where (as in a sentence) both (occur), (there) becoming predominates’ etc. Roth appears to follow Durga, when he translates ‘where both are joined (in a sentence), they conjointly express a becoming.’ Both Durga and Roth look upon the sentence beginning from पूर्वपारम्परितं as a fresh one, not at all connected with the previous one तवज्णोऽन्तः etc. They appear to think that the sentences beginning with पूर्वपारम्परितं etc. and मुद्दं etc., are simply further explanations of the आश्वाल and नाम respectively. I would suggest that both have missed the point. I was led to the conclusion by the examples which are given for पूर्वपारम्परितं etc. and मुद्दं etc. They are अरुर्विसर्जनीयानुपातार्थाल अस्त्रविसर्जनालकारिति respectively. If the sense was as Durga and Roth understood it, what was the propriety of giving अस्त्रविसर्जनालकारिति as examples of a सत्व and not simply गौरित्व: etc. as done later on?

Durga and Roth appear to believe that Yāska was thinking of the sentence, when he wrote तवज्णोऽन्तः etc. and that his view was that in a sentence, where both नाम and आश्वाल occur, the नाव predominated. To say the least, Yāska has never for once given any indication that he believed in the doctrine of क्षितमानसत्व; there is not the slightest hint, excepting this supposed one. I think Durga has here fathered his views on Yāska and Roth has copied him. Again if the sentence (वाक्य) was here foremost in Yāska’s mind, in which he thought of determining the relative importance of the नाम and आश्वाल, he would not have omitted such an important word as वाक्य and indicated it by the simple correlative conjunction श्रवन. Moreover to the etymologist with a vengeance, as Yāska surely is one, the word or पतिः is everything and the sentence or वाक्य is nothing. Lastly the very division of the sentence तवज्णोऽन्तः वाक्यानि अवस्त: as तवज्णोऽन्तः वाक्यानि अवस्त: as proposed by Durga and accepted by Roth, is highly unnatural and quite out of keeping with the lucid style of Yāska. His sentences are clear-cut sentences, each having its own verb or predicate. The first part of the division proposed by Durga wants a predicate. And never for once does Yāska omit the word that is most important; while the reading proposed by Durga is egregiously faulty from this point of view.

Another point that both the commentators appear to have missed, is that the two sentences पूर्वपारम्परितं etc. and मुद्दं सत्वातु etc. form the two sides of a period and suggest a contrast between the two things or in the nature of these, in answer to the point of similarity that is expressed in the previous sentence तवज्णोऽन्तः etc. It is needless to say that the word नाव, which occurs in पूर्वपारम्परितं etc. must be understood after मुद्दं सत्वातु (नाव). There would not be any propriety in saying मुद्दं सत्वातु (नाव) सत्वातु: if only a noun were to be further defined by this sentence, simply for the fact that a सत्व is not a नाव.

I think the whole passage is to be explained in the following manner:
Yāska has first defined a नाम as सत्रवयान and an अवशयत as नाववयान, both being padas (पद). But there are some padas in the former category, where नाव seems to be prominent. These are namely the abstract nouns, like त्रटया, पक्विस्. Here is then clearly a case where the definition of the अवशयत is applicable to certain kinds of नाम. The question therefore is, ‘where both i.e., नाम and अवशयत, are characterized by the predominance of नाव or becoming, how are you going to decide’? To this Yāska has a carefully considered answer. Says he ‘where (however) नाव or becoming predominates in both, there (i.e. in such a case, the absence of the correlative त्रट could be understood and is therefore immaterial) the नाव in a state of flux or change (पूर्वार्थप्रपन्न or incomplete) is denoted by the अवशयत e.g., अर्इनि, वापसित; while on the other hand a complete नाव (i.e. a नाव that is no longer in becoming or in change) which has materialized into a सत्र, is expressed by the names of सत्र, e.g. त्रटवा, पक्विस्: going, cooking’ In त्रटवा, पक्विस्: which express a नाव (e.g. नावाचनक नाम) that नाव is no longer in the process of becoming but is now complete; and therefore त्रटवा and पक्विस्: are to be classed under nouns or नामानि.

This is an explanation at once simple and adequate. It alone explains why the words त्रटवा, पक्विस्: are specially selected. Besides it is more natural than the one offered by Durga.

II. R. 32. 20, S II 51,1. सत्रवयानामायूपयक्वसन विषादं करिः स्वतपिराविधिकाविधिक विभाजनयुपयक्वा न कामोनपत्र्यस:.

Roth's translation or rather explanation of this passage is as follows:—‘The definition of the second class of particles apparently must be so understood; that nipāta, from the placing (setting) of which one can indeed see a separateness of the ideas, but not one (i.e. separateness arising from a simple placing side by side as in individual mention (or enumeration), that is called ‘arranging or adding’ even owing to the separateness’.

Here again Roth does not appear to have understood the sentence properly. Here too he appears to have followed Durga and connects the abl. युपयक्वा with कामोनपत्र्यस: . I would suggest that युपयक्वा is parallel to अवशयत and is connected with अवशयतकामिक. I would translate—‘Owing to whose advent (i.e. use) separateness of the अवशयत (senses or ideas) is indeed known, but not as in simple enumeration owing to separate position or independent mention, that is कामोनपत्र्यस: ,—i.e. adding or putting together of the senses or ideas. Durga has understood अवशयत correctly but he has spoiled the case by taking the word विभाजन to mean what it does in later grammar and connecting it with स कामोनपत्र्यस:.

The case is like this. When you simply enumerate objects like ‘cow, horse, man,’ you are aware of the separateness of these objects by the very fact, that they are bodily mentioned as being separate. But in cases like अवशयत करिः अबिनयम् the idea of the separateness of the two pieces of work and their being executed by different persons is brought out by the nipāta अह.

Durga has kept only च in mind, when he takes विभाजन in his particular way, giving as an example इवेनेनक्तहती. Here he says we understand the separateness by the supposition (अपनानामभवायातान) or understanding of a च.’ But this does not apply to the other examples of कामोनपत्र्यस:, like वा, वा, अह, द etc. In fact Durga appears to take कामोनपत्र्यस: and समुच्यास्य as synonyms; while they are not so, as will be seen from the following.

While speaking of the निपात or particles, Yāska says that they are used in various senses; and immediately adds a threefold classification viz., to express a simile, to express कामोनपत्र्यस: and as expletives. Then he says how four of the particles are used to express comparison and gives examples. As the sense of निपात was evident, he did not attempt any definition or description. Then follows the description of कामोनपत्र्यस: R. 32, 20; S II 51,1; up to
As we actually have it, however, they each have a different sense to express, viz., सत्यत्व, विचारण, विशिष्टता, विचिन्तन, परिप्रेक्ष्य and others. कथितपरंपरात् therefore must cover all these cases. Durga is not unconscious of the fact, when at S. 473, 12 ff, he says, ध्वनीन ध्वनिं ध्वनिःसंहारं अवस्था ध्वनिः कथितार्थसमाजः ध्वनिमातकसंहारं ध्वनिरुपणाद्यम्. "We have explained the कथितपरंपरात्. Together with them even हि etc., which have got different senses (i.e. not कथितपरंपरात्) have been mentioned. Now we shall speak of the expletives, in consonance with our original statement." The original statement or ध्वनिमत्सात् is namely यस्का’s statement "अङ्क उवाचार्यस्य कथितपरंपरायुक्तस्वप्नोऽविवर्धम्." S. II 44

To my mind therefore कथितपरंपरात् does not cover समुदायायः only, according to Durga, but all the other अयस्, excepting उवाच and गार्गेय. It is a wider term than समुदाय. By it is known a variety (or separateness) of senses, but not as in simple enumeration of objects, where the very fact that they are bodily mentioned separately, is a sufficient guarantee that they are distinct and separate.

III. R. 35, 20. S. II 83 13. तत्वावलेको तत्त्वात्मको समय सर्वाधिकारी ध्वनिमत्सानं अव्ययमेति स्त्रायां सांवित्तलाविन तानि यथा मृत्युः पुण्याः इत्तीलो.

Here Durga makes a division after तानि. He paraphrases 'where the accent and the grammatical form are regular and are accompanied by an explanatory भाव, there we agree (देशुकार्यविषयमित्यादि: i.e. there we also say that such nouns are derived from roots.). Not however as in ध्वनिः: अङ्क: पुरुषः हस्तिः etc.' As examples of the nouns whose derivation from roots might be agreed to even by गार्गेय, Durga adds कत्त्व, कारक, पायक etc. In short, he stops at तानि and seems to think that the examples of agreement are to be understood; while the examples actually quoted he looks upon as examples of disagreement between the नैसर्गिक and गार्गेय. It is however strange that the sentence or idea of गार्गेय, for which गार्गेय etc. are supposed to be given as examples, has to be taken as understood. This would be the first example of its kind, where यस्का leaves out a whole idea to be understood and gives only its examples. Not even the most laconic सुवस्, where brevity is the soul of wit, omit words that are essential, not to speak of whole ideas. Durga is again led by his own hobby of threefold division of nouns. प्रत्ययकिभाबुत, नक्तयकिभाबुत, अवक्तयकिभाबुत (i.e. where the रामम् or root is apparent, where it is to be thought out or supplied and where it does not exist at all), and imposes it upon यस्का, who has not yet told us of this.

Roth has perhaps seen the difficulty and divided the sentence after स्त्रायाम्. He translates 'Gargya and some other grammarians, however, do not allow this of all nouns (this अव्ययमेति), but only of such nouns as are regularly formed in respect of accent and grammatical form, and at the same time contain an explanatory root; अङ्क: अङ्क: पुरुषः हस्तिः on the contrary, are arbitrarily (conventionally) named.'

I have to say at the outset that Roth’s explanation appears to be satisfactory, although it is not clear how he has completed the first sentence. It is evidently a relative clause, from तवान्त्र स्त्रायाम्, and must have another principal one to correspond to it. The initial तव may perhaps stand for the whole idea नामात्मकावसायामि and तव तवान्त्र serve as a restraining clause. But this would be attributing too much to the harmless little thing तव. तव simply corresponds to the English then or therefore. This will be clear from the first sentence of यस्का’s reply to गार्गेय, 'मयो तव दुः कथा एवम् सन्भव' etc. R. 36, 10.

(To be continued.)
THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARIL, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 154.)

It is impossible to give a complete account of Tirumal Nāik’s religious works in other places, nor is such an account necessary to understand his place in the history of Indian art, for all of them bear the same characteristics as the buildings we have already described. It may be noted, however, that, next to Madura, the city which engaged the largest attention from him was Srivilliputtur, the great stronghold of Vaishnavism in the Naidu-Mahādalam or middle country, and the reputed birth-place of Periyāvār and the divine Gōda. There was apparently an object which Tirumal Nāik had in view in selecting this city for the second place in his affections. We have already seen how certain circumstances induced him to attach greater importance to the Saivite divinities of Madura; but too strongly tolerant to discard Vishnu altogether he seems to have made up for his over-solicitude to Siva in Madura by doing something, if not equally great, at least something substantial, to implore the favour of Vishnu. And he chose the god of Srivilliputtūr, for the reason that he had to stay there frequently for political reasons. Situated midway between Madura and Timnevelly and on the route from the coastal region to the pālāyams and chiefdoms of the Western Ghats, it was a highly strategic and important place. Tirumal Nāik therefore seems to have stayed here, if not every year, at all events, very frequently. Frequent visits necessitated the construction of a palace, the remnants of which still remain, and of the beautifying of the city by means of temples, tanks, choultries, etc. Every foot of the city bears the impress of Tirumal Nāik’s solicitude. In its small, but picturesque, suburb known as Madavilāgam, he constructed the fine and graceful tower which rises over the gateway of the Śiva temple as well as the broad, stone-pillared wooden-ceiled Maṭiśa just after the main entrance. Here on two pillars are seen two singularly beautiful and lifelike statues of the great Nāik monarch and of his alleged brother-in-law, Vijaya Rāṅga Chokkappa. The grave and solemn air of the king contrasts in a striking manner with his corpulent size and epicurean appearance, and the artistic historian cannot but see a silent majesty in the whole scene. Both the king and his alleged brother-in-law are attended by two ladies. The skill displayed by the sculptor in carving the headresses and the delicate ornaments, in depicting the general air of serious gravity and the expression of the feeling in the face, is remarkable, and make these statues among the best in South India. The fine eleven storyed tower of the Periāvār temple, closely resembling in its details, though on a much smaller scale, the grand and incomplete gopura gate of Madura, is also evidently the work of Tirumal Nāik. It is in the Āṇgāḷ temple, however, that he lavished his money and labours. In the beauty of workmanship, the amount of labour employed, the size of the maṭiśapams, the number of sculptures, the excellence of paintings, and other respects, Āṇgāḷ’s shrine bears no comparison whatever with the Madura shrine. It is moreover dingy, and except in certain places, very plain. But the yali façades and the fresco paintings of the large frontal choultry, the numerous sculp-

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88 An inscription, dated A. D. 1227, records a grant by a chief of this name of some lands in the Kattar province to Irukkol Pillai, the chief of Korkai, on account of his having settled a boundary dispute. See Antiquities, I., p. 7.
tures of the Ardhamantapa, which both in theme and in nature are just like those of Tinnevelly and Krishnapuram, and the pillar works, of the hall leading to the bed-chamber of the deities; the spacious gallery around the central shrine, which is just after the model of the celebrated Subramanya shrine of the Tanjore pagoda; and above all, the golden tower in front of it, to which the god and Gāda resort every Friday, with its golden statues of Tirumal and his queens; all these seem to show this temple to have been a favourite of Tirumal Nāik. It is not improbable that the small and neglected Krishna temple in the south-western corner of the town was prosperous in the time of Tirumal. Now-a-days it has fallen into ruin. The tower is incomplete, its tank ruined, its sculptures mutilated and the street around it practically deserted. The numerous tanks of Srivilliputtur were moreover repaired, and the beautiful Tiruma-Kulam in the north western corner of the city, a fine sheet of water which is on account of the soil yellowish in colour, with its māyapa on its north bank and its stone rivetttings on all sides, will always be a monument of the great king's generosity and benevolence. In addition to these works Tirumal Nāik constructed a number of māyapams from Srivilliputtur to Madura at intervals of a mile, so that he might, during his stay at Madura, go to his food only after receiving the information of the offerings to the Srivilliputtur gods, through the drummers stationed in these bowers.

Another example of Nāik architecture belonging to the same period, is that of the Rāmēśvaram shrine. If Fergusson were asked to select one temple "which should exhibit all the beauties of the Dravidian style in their greatest perfection and at the same time exemplify all the characteristic defects of its designs," he would single out Rāmēśvaram. on no temple perhaps, has such extraordinary labour been bestowed, but on none has it been so ineffective. The want of design strikes the casual observer and ignores the skill of its makers. Curiously enough, the temple was constructed, like the sanctuary of Tanjore, after a settled plan, but the plan of one is exactly the opposite of the other. In one there is a minimum of labour, with a maximum of beauty, while in the other the maximum of labour with the minimum of beauty. The result is that, in spite of its double size and its tenfold elaboration, the Rāmēśvaram shrine fails in comparison with its rival.

The earliest part of the shrine, ascribed by Mr. Fergusson to the 11th or 12th century, is the small, elegant and well-proportioned vimana, standing to the right of the visitor entering from the west. Long exposure to the vicissitudes of seasons has corroded its details, and makes a definite pronouncement in regard to its date difficult. But it may be conceded with Mr. Fergusson that it is posterior to the era of rock-cut temples, and prior to the era of the Nāiks, and therefore a work probably of the 11th or 12th centuries. It is, after all, a small unpretentious portion of the temple, being but 50 feet in height and 30 or 40 feet in plan; but it is singularly important in the religious history of the island, for the four walls on the platform under its dome narrate a tale of woe and the vicissitudes of religion, the former grandeur and the present fall of Saivism.

The whole temple, of which the abovementioned vimana is a tiny part, is enclosed by a wall rising to a height of twenty feet, interrupted on each side by a gopura. All the four gopuras are singular in respect of the material of their construction. Unlike their peers of South India, they are completely built of stone, the hardness of which is a certain

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guarantee against the action of time. Being structures of hard stone, the towers are plain and undecorated by any of the sculptures or stucco figures and pilasters, which generally bedeck the pyramidal storeys of brick and chunnam. Another remarkable feature about them is their incompleteness, except in the case of the western tower. The North and South towers, in fact, rise hardly higher than the walls on which they stand, and are, in consequence, called ruined gateways. On the eastern side there are, unlike on the other sides, two towers, of which one is far larger than the other. If completed, says Fergusson, "this tower would have been one of the largest of this class, and being wholly in stone and consequently without its outline being broken by sculpture, it would have reproduced more nearly an Egyptian propylon than any other example of its class in India." As it is, the external appearance of the temple is, as Mr. Bruce Foote says, the least imposing. The best view of it is obtained from a craft in the open sea half a mile from land, but even the best view is not picturesque. The lowness and squatness of the towers lends no enchantment even to a distant view, while nearer, it is hardly better, in consequence of the small blocks of ugly and dirty coloured, "calcareous sandstone" with which they are built.60

While the external appearance is so ineffective, the temple is a paradise of art in its interior. Its glory is in the corridors which surround the inner sanctuary. The total of their length amounts to 7,000 feet. Their breadth varies from twenty to thirty feet, and their height is about 30 feet. Their beauty lies in their great length and the wonderful perspective of the lines, which very nearly meet in a true vanishing point. The central corridor is 2,700 feet long, and has a series of pillars of an extraordinarily rich and elaborate design. On these pillars stand the life-like portraits of the Sēṭupatis on one side, and the Dājavāis on the other. The transverse galleries and side corridors are narrower, and have fewer sculptures, in Fergusson's opinion, less vulgar and more pleasing. Throughout these structures the immensity of labour that has been displayed is something marvellous and apparently superhuman. There is, moreover, as Fergusson says, a certain mystery and picturesqueness which imparts a charm to the place; and though, as Bruce Foote maintains, much of the beauty has been marred by the poor nature of the stone employed, and though the quality of the work is, when compared with the Chalukyan temple of Halebid, inferior from the artistic standpoint, yet the unrivalled exuberance of fancy and enthusiasm of labour employed therein, together with the halo of mystery and solemnity which pervades it, leave it unsurpassed by any other temple in South India, and by very few elsewhere. Nature has been, in short, overcome by man, and "out of the way on unapproachable spot" has been converted by human faith and human labour into the classic ground of religion and the most extensive resort of pilgrims.

It is not in religious architecture alone that Tirumal Nāik's name is distinguished. The people of South India, great builders as they have been from the dawn of history, have not left any civil, municipal, or other secular buildings, which can be traced to the pre-Mussalman period. Secular architecture must have of course existed, but it has perished. "What is however even more remarkable," says Fergusson, "is that kingdoms

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60 "I examined a great many of the great corridor pillars, and wherever the gaudy, trumpery, colour-wash with which they have been overlaid allowed of the recognition of their true nature, found them to consist of rather coarse shelly sandstone" (Bruce Foote, Christian College Magazine, Vol. VII). The place from which these masses of stone were brought is not known. Mr. Foote believes it to be Vellmukham Bay, 46 miles south-west of the Rannad coast, where similar quarries are even now seen, and from which they must have been taken to the temple by the sea. Christian College Magazine, VII.
always at war with one another and contending for supremacy within a limited area have
left no monuments of military architecture, not a single castle or fortification. What is
still more singular in a people of Turanian blood is that they have no tombs. Owing to
the practice of burning and other circumstances no Dravidian tomb or cenotaph is known
to exist anywhere.” This era of artistic barrenness vanishes with the advent of the
Muhammadans. Then arose a mania, a universal fashion, for the construction of palaces,
cutcheries, châtrams, elephant stables, etc. The Râyas of Vîjayanagar were the first to
effect this Renaissance. The kings of Madura and Tanjore were their disciples. The Nââk
monarchs devoted as much attention to the construction of palaces and offices as of tem-

ples.

With the change in fashion there was also a change in style. The imitators of the
Mussulman spirit, the Hindus imbibed the Mussulman method as well. They were not slavish
imitators, however. While retaining the Saracenic model, they modified its architectural
features so as to suit their own purpose and feeling. With scrupulous obstinacy, they ex-
cluded the style of the religious architecture from their new civil buildings and took with
enthusiasm to the pointed arch and the vault systems of the Moors. Not caring very much
for the taste, they used the arch everywhere and for every purpose, their minds solely bent
on picturesqueness of effect, and they have succeeded. It should be acknowledged, with
Fergusson, that the labour bestowed on these buildings is practically nothing when compared
with that lavished on the religious edifices already described, but this does not mean that
they are deadly prosaic. The fact is the charming combination of the Saracenic and Hindu
styles makes, as all works of a transitional nature must do, the styles more attractive than
the art, but the art is not inferior. The roof and pillar work are, unlike the roof and
pillar work of sacred buildings, light and elegant, and display a fine taste, which has made
some, more jealous than just, attribute them to the influence of European artists. What
a sea of contrast is there between the civil and religious styles! The one is light, elegant,
fairy-like; epicurean, earthly; while the other is grave, spiritual, solemn and dignified.
Beauty and sensuousness are the characteristics of one, while grandeur and solemnity are the
characteristics of the other. The one is the work of enjoyment, of power: the other, of
veneration and man’s devotion. The one revels in the charms of earthly life, the other
endeavours to make men forget it.

Of these characteristic features we have a fine example in Tirumâl Nââk’s palaces at
Madura, at Srivilliputtur and Alagar-malai. In its original grandeur, the Madura palace
consisted of a large number of detached buildings, but now, thanks to the vandalism of time
and the larger vandalism of Chokkanâtha Nââk, a portion only remains. The ten lofty
pillars which once formed part of the approaches to the extensive palace, are now detached
from it and stand in a row in a narrow and dirty lane, in the midst of a dense mass of
thickly populated Saurâshtra houses. They are built of granite slabs and plastered with
mortar, which is now slowly decaying. The situation has exposed them to vicious but uninten-
tional acts of vandalism on the part of these people. By driving nails into the joints for
drying clothes, by streaking the lower portion in red and white bands, and by allowing the
free passage of the drains at the bottom and the growth of free vegetation at the top

91 See Madura Gaz., 232-4.

92 See Mad. Arch. Rep. 1909-10, p. 10; 1907-08; The vegetation on top of the pillars was removed
in 1907 by the Madras archaeological department.
the people of the present day bear a silent but eloquent testimony to the horrible degeneration which the country has witnessed in the realm of art since the days of Tirumal Náik. Nevertheless, these tall and majestic columns give, in spite of their incomplete and unadorned nature, a true idea of Tirumal Náik's grand designs and grander resources. The actual remnant of the palace consists of a courtyard measuring 244 feet from east to west and 142 feet from north to south, and two beautiful halls connected with it by means of beautiful arcades. The courtyard was, it is evident, an arena for animal fights, gladiatorial contests, and other amusements. The arcades, twelve in number from east to west and seven from north to south, are supported by pillars of stone which are forty feet high, and joined by foliated brick arcades of great elegance and design. The whole of the ornamentation is worked out in the exquisitely fine stucco, called chunam or shell-lime, which is a characteristic of the Madras Presidency. The fine octagonal domes in the angles of these arcades are of an exceedingly beautiful design. On the western side of the court stands the celebrated Svargavilāsam, the throne room of Tirumal Náik. It is an arced arcaded octagon covered by a dome 60 feet in diameter and 60 feet in height. On another side of the courtyard, that is, to the north of the Svargavilāsam, is a more spacious and splendid hall, the Durbar hall of the Náik sovereign. “This one in its glory must have been as fine as any, barring the materials. The hall itself is said to be 120 feet long by 67 feet wide, and its height to the centre of the roof is 70 feet; but what is more important than its dimensions, it possesses all the structural propriety and character of a Gothic building. It is evident that if the Hindus had persevered a little longer in this direction, they might have accomplished something that would have surpassed the works of their masters in this form of art. In the meanwhile it is curious to observe that the same king who built the choultries, built also this hall. “The style of the one is as different from that of the other as classic Italian from mediaeval Gothic; the one as much over-ornamented as the other is too plain for the purposes of a palace, but both among the best things of their class which have been built in the country where they are found.” (Fergusson p. 382-3). The yali figures, and statues of sepoys in the corners, all worked in fine stucco, bear testimony to the fact that if the Hindus could imitate other races, they could nevertheless do so without losing their own individuality.

In this description of Tirumal Náik’s works a place should perhaps be given to a curious building called the Tamagam (a summer-house), which, according to some, was constructed by Tirumal, and according to others, by Mañgamal. Built on a platform, fifteen feet high and faced with stone, it possesses in its arches and its manner of construction all the characteristics of the Náik secular architecture. “Its roof is a masonry dome 21½ feet across, supported on the crowns of crenulated arches sprung on to square pillars, with similar arching arranged in the form of a square and supporting separate small truncated roofs. Its existing walls are clearly a later addition. The ceiling of the dome is of painted chunam, is exactly similar in design to several of those in Tirumala Náyakkan's palace, and represents an inverted lotus blossom. . . . Rumour says that it was a kind of grand stand from which gladiatorial exhibitions and the like might be witnessed.”

93 In 1908 two boys somehow or other got over the lofty roof of the palace and cut and stole the lightning conductor. They were caught and sentenced to 6 months imprisonment (Arch. Rep. 1909-10, p. 229).
94 Madura Gaur., p. 262, etc. The building is now the collector's residence and has been much changed and added to. For its vicissitudes, see Madura Gaur. 262-4.
SECTION II.

The Mysore War.

Almost the first act of Tirumal Nâik after the assumption of the royal dignity was an indiscreet attempt to throw off the yoke of Vijayanagar supremacy. True, in desiring the separation of his province from Vellore, then the headquarters of the phantom Empire, Tirumal desired a verbal expression to what had already been a fact during the past thirty years. For, ever since a generation back, the weakness of Veṅkaṭapatī Râyalâh had compelled the transfer of his capital from Pennakōḷa to Vellore, the bond that had united the province with the central authority had been loose, and the payment of tribute irregular and uncertain. With the decay of the imperial power, remissness in the remittance of tribute had become a common-place occurrence. But no provincial chief had so far dared to turn his province into a kingdom and his viceroyalty into a royalty. The real sovereigns of their territories, they had no interest in assuming the title of kings.

In fact, even after the cessation of annual tributes the various governors used to send presents, as well as assurances of loyalty, to their nominal suzerain. Tirumal Nâik was evidently the foremost man to desire to end this political hypocrisy and to proclaim himself an independent king. Inspired by this view he made grand preparations. He repaired the old forts of the realm, constructed new ones on the frontier and mustered 30,000 troops. At the same time he took steps to make disaffection a widespread movement and to persuade his brother chiefs of Tanjore and Gingi to imitate his example. These chieftains had hitherto refrained from open defiance to the Emperor, chiefly owing to want of precedent and lack of self-confidence. Both were now supplied by the Nâik of Madura, and the three rulers entered into a confederacy, with the object of withstanding by arms any attempt on the part of the Emperor to enforce his suzerainty.

Châma Râja Udiyâr.

Everything was thus ready for a formidable rebellion, when an event led to its collapse. Tirumal Nâik became involved at this time first in a war with Mysore, and then in the subjugation of a dangerous rising on the part of the Sêtupati. These affairs engaged his arms for the long space of fifteen years. Mysore was then, as has been already mentioned, under the rule of the great Châma Râja Udiyâr (1617-1637). A youth of 15 at his accession, Châma Râj, famous in literary history as the author of Châmarajókti Vilâs, acquitted himself with the skill of a good soldier. His mind was always engaged in the revolving of schemes for the expansion of Mysore at the expense of his neighbours, and it seems that about 1625 (?) he despatched his general, Harâsura Nandi Râj, through the Gazellehâtti Pass, to seize the important and strategic fort of Dindigul. He conquered the country below the Ghats, but failed to take Dindigul by storm. The general of Tirumal Nâik, the capable Râmaprâya, took advantage of this change in the tide of war and, joined by the great Polygar Raṅganâtha Nâik of Dinaţigul, came up with Nandi Râj, and inflicted on him such a disastrous defeat that he abandoned his conquests, and made a precipitate retreat into his country. The valour of Râmaprâya and the dignity of Tirumal Nâik were not content with the expulsion of the enemy, but desirous of assailing him in his


[96] See the History of the Polygars by Kannivâdi. Raṅganna Nâik, the son of Nadukkutalai Chinnâ Kadir Nâik, the contemporary of Tirumal Nâik, and proved an able and enlightened Polygar of excellent character. The MS. wrongly gives the name of the Mysore king as Diva Râjâ. The real king was Châma Râja Udiyâr VI.
own home. He therefore closely followed the Mysore general, ravaged the frontier districts, and laid siege to the capital itself.

**Rāmappaiya's invasion of Mysore.**

At this supreme moment the victorious general received, to his intense surprise, a sentence of recall from his sovereign. The Dalavāi had many personal enemies in the court, and they alienated the mind of the king from him by spreading the report that he was a traitor and that he should be recalled. The king swallowed the bait and sent two messengers to the seat of war in order to bring the alleged traitor to his presence, authorising them to apply force, if necessary. When Rāma heard of his recall, he had to seek one of two alternatives,—either to obey the will of his sovereign and bring disgrace on the Madura arms, or to disobey, for Tirumal's own sake, his commands, and continue the campaign till it was brought to a successful close. Obedience meant the waste of past endeavours and a blow to future prestige, but disobedience might be construed into treason, punishable with imprisonment and even decapitation. Unable to reconcile his duty with his policy and his loyalty with the true interest of his sovereign's cause, Rāma long hesitated to adopt one of the two courses open to him but at length resolved to ignore Tirumal's mandate. Actuated by the hope that success would justify his action and prove his sincerity, he continued the siege of the Mysore capital.

**His eventual Success.**

Unfortunately Rāmappaiya did not stop here. Highly indignant at the obstinacy of the royal messenger and his application of force, he ordered his hands to be cut off. There can be no question that, in this act, the general committed an act of imprudence and a grave breach of morality, (as his sincere friend and adviser, Raṅgaṇa Nāik, who was a personal witness of the Dalavāi's interview with the messengers, pointed out). By his cruelty Rāma gave a handle to his enemies and increased the jealousy of the king towards him. His position, in consequence, was very serious; but the nobility of his friend, Raṅgaṇa, came to his rescue at this moment. The latter had protested against Rāmappaiya's severity towards a royal servant, but he knew that there was some justification for it, that the general was, after all, guilty of imprudence and not of disloyalty; and that, if his conduct was questionable, his motive was good. He therefore espoused his cause when, shortly after the incident, he was summoned by Tirumal Nāik to explain the facts. He described the difficult situation in which Rāmappaiya found himself at the time when he received the king's orders, his long deliberation, and his eventual decision. He dwelt on the absolute unsellish, of the Dalavāi, his staunch loyalty, his heroism in the field of war. He probably contrasted the merit of his services with the hollowness of his courtly assailants. These arguments, from a man of the rank, power and position of Raṅgaṇa Nāik, could not but convince Tirumal of his general's innocence. In the meantime, the latter had not been idle. He captured the Mysore capital, humiliated the Mysore Rāj, and set out for home, anxious for the nature of the king's reception. He might have, if he had been a man of ambition, kept his army as a resort in case of danger; but his loyalty was too noble to conceive the idea. Coming direct to the royal presence, he laid at the feet of his sovereign, a golden head, and a pair of golden arms to signify his willingness to lose both head and hands as a punishment for his cruelty towards the royal messenger; but at the same time he pleaded that a worthy motive was an adequate palliative of the guilt. The Nāik king realised the depth of his own folly and the nobility of his general; and far from
accusing him, came to regard him as the saviour of Madura’s honour, and so showered honours on him. As Nelson says, Tirumal’s later conduct was truly tactful and generous, and proved that he was not ignorant of the art of winning men.

SECTION III.

The War with Travancore.

When the war with Mysore came to an end Tirumal Nāik was engaged in a war with Travancore. The relations between Madura and Travancore had been, on the whole, of a friendly nature, from the time when Viśvanātha established his dynasty in 1560. At the time when this happened Travancore was distracted by unceasing war between the senior Tiruvājia of Siraivoy and Jayasimhanāṭi for supremacy. In 1559 the head of the Jayasimhanāṭi was Uṣṇi Kēraḷa Varma, and the head of Siraivoy, Sri Vira Āditya Varma. The former ruled till 1561 and the latter till 1565. In 1567 both these positions came to be combined in king Udaya Mātrāpīta Varma. For a space of twenty years this Rāja held evidently an undisputed sway. He was not without co-regents; for we hear of a queen of the Kūpākas in 1576, a Ravi Varma in 1578 and a Bhūtalā Vira Rāma Varma in 1586; but all these were apparently loyal and obedient to him. From 1595 to 1607 the reigning king was Sri Vira Ravi Varma. After him ruled Sri Vira Uṣṇi Kēraḷa Varma (1612-23) of Siraivoy (who had a coregent in Sri Vira Ravi Varma 1620-3) and Sri Vira Ravi Varma of Tiruppāpur (1628-47) who had a coregent in Uṣṇi Kēraḷa Varma (1632-50). The last of these was the sovereign who granted Vizhinjam to the English East India Company, the earliest English settlement in Travancore.

The relations between these kings and the Madura Nāiks seem to have been, as I have already mentioned, on the whole cordial. There were indeed occasions when the Nanji kings tried to wrest the extreme south from Madura, but their attempts invariably ended in failure, and they had to acknowledge not only the Vaḍugā’s right to the possession of the disputed area but to the payment of tribute. In 1606, for example, Muttu Virappa gave some lands to the Bhagavati temple at Cape Comorin. Apparently the Nanji king, either Vira Ravi Varma or Uṣṇi Kēraḷa, refused to pay the wonted tribute to Tirumal Nāik, thereby provoking his anger in 1634.

However it might have been, the campaign of Tirumal Nāik was a success. An edict of the Travancore king to the Nanji ryots in 1635 tells us that Tirumal’s victorious army occupied the region between Mangalam (3 miles from the Cape) and Maṇḍakūṭa, that the agriculturists were put to immense trouble by the invaders and were helpless, that cultivation was not carried on, and that a part of the tax was therefore remitted by government.

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98 He was the senior Tiruvājia of Tiruppāpur.
99 He completed the construction of the eastern gopura of the Padmanābhasvēti temple. For another gift of his see Trav. Manual, p. 300.
100 She constructed the temple of Kariamāṇikka at Idaraikudi (Agasteyāvaram Taluk). She was not improbably the queen who, according to Portuguese records fought with the Portuguese and was compelled to make peace with them. Mr. Mackenzie says that in 1571 and 1574 the senior Rāja of Travancore at Attingal started an agitation against Christians and burnt three churches. Was she the same as the queen of the Kūpākas? See Ibid, 300-1.
1 The Tiruvāṭṭār inscription refers to him. See Ibid, 301. He had a coregent named Sri Vira Rāma Varma. An inscription at Suchindram dated in 1609 refers to his death.
3 Ibid, 302-3. The whole edict has been reproduced there.
The compiler of the Travancore Manual further points out from the inscriptions of certain villages in the Agastyéśvaram Taluk that "the forces of Tirumal Náik visited the country several times conquering and plundering wherever they went and that the country was in a state of anarchy and confusion for about half a century. It should be remembered that the limits of Nanjanád which now comprise the Tovala and Agastisvaram Taluks, were not the then limits of that tract. The records show that a large strip of land between Mangalam near Ponmana and Manakudi, formed part of Nanjanád, while a part of Agatisvaram Taluk from the Cape to Kottaram belonged to and was governed by the officers of Tirumala Nayak and his descendants. There existed in those days a partition wall, the remnants of which are still to be seen from Manakuji to Pottaiyadi, and the triangular piece of land on the other side of the line including Variyur, Karungulam, Alagappapuram, Anjugramam, Cape Comarin, Mahadanapuram, and Agatisvaram, went by the name of Purattayananad or Murattanad. There was thus great facility for the Naik's forces to march into Nanjanad and commit depredations."

SECTION IV.

The Setupati Rebellion.

Scarcely was the war with Travancore over when Tirumal Náik was engaged in the quelling of a serious domestic revolt, his behaviour in which proves his tendency to be impelled more by prejudice than by principle, by evil counsel than by policy. The utmost differences of opinion exist in connection with the causes of the revolt. According to the Curna. Gours. and Rámmappaiyan-Ammánai, a beautiful historical ballad, the question was one of pure and simple disaffection and rebellion. Sañayakka Déva or Dajávi Sétupati, they say, refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the Náik. He withheld the tribute, and when the Karta remonstrated, he beat and ill-treated the royal agents who brought the 'Takid' of protest. The other versions, while differing in details, agree as a whole in representing the affair as an affair of disputed succession. According to Wilson the dispute was between the sons of the celebrated Káttan Sétupati who, after a rule of 13 years during which he shewed himself endowed with the temper of a chief and the valour of a soldier, died in 1635, leaving three sons two legitimate and one illegitimate. The eldest of the legitimate sons (whose name Wilson does not give) assumed the title of Sétupati. But no sooner did he begin to administer his estate than a formidable rival arose in his younger brother Ádi Náráyaṇa Tèva who, with greater ambition than justice, desired to expel his brother and usurp the crown. Fortunately for him he had a very able soldier in his son-in-law Vañiyiya, and with his help, gained the object of his ambition.

Tirumal's policy.

The elder brother was deposed, and Ádi Náráyaṇa was seated on the gadi. But he was not destined to enjoy his ill-gotten position long. His illegitimate brother, Tambí Sétupati, embraced the resolution of imitating his example, and created a faction in the State. The aspirant, in his inordinate desire to obtain the support of Tirumal

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5 Ibid, 316. It is very probable, however, that the Madura chronicles use the term Nanjinád rather vaguely for Travancore and not in the strict geographical sense pointed out by Mr. Nagam Aiyá.

5 This MS, is one of the MSS. copied by Taylor. It is in his Vol IV. pp. 303-376. A summary of it is given by him in his Raśis, Catal., Vol. III, p. 347 and O. H. MSS., II, p. 179. Both the notices are very meagre and unsatisfactory.
Nāik’s ministers, hurried to Madura, gave his version of the situation in Rāmnād, and by a skilful exertion of the arts of persuasion, convinced them of his claim to the estate; and Tirumal Nāik, without bestowing attention on the justice of his measure or even summoning the other claimant to explain things, condemned the latter unheard, and invested the intriguing Tambi with the musnad. When the new ruler returned to Rāmnād, however, he found in his rival a soldier who was ready to fight for his cause to the bitter end. Tirumal Nāik had therefore to send a large force under his General Rāmappaiya and enforce his sovereign will. The version given by Mr. Nelson and J. W. L., purporting to be derived from the family histories collected by them, bears some resemblance to Wilson’s, but varies in minor details. They say that Kūttan had not five sons but only two, one legitimate, named Saṇayakka, and the other illegitimate, ‘Tambi’ by name. On his death, Kūttan bequeathed his estate to Saṇayakka or Daḷavāi Sētupati, as he was also known to his contemporaries. Saṇayakka maintained an efficient rule for two years (1635-7), when for some unknown reason, he desired to abdicate the throne in favour of his adopted son, Raghunātha. It was at this stage that the soaring ambition of the illegitimate Tambi created a party in his favour, and even gained the support and the military championship of Tirumal Nāik.

Rāmappaiyan’s army of expedition against Ramnad.

The actual operations of the war which followed are given in an exceedingly picturesque, spirited and dramatic manner, in the long and beautiful ballad Rāmappaiyan-Ammānai. Like the majority of historical ballads, it is not quite accurate either in its personalities or its dates. It has, as we shall see presently, some anachronisms. Nevertheless its fine and realistic, though one sided, description of the war, of the chiefs of the different sides, and the light it throws on the military customs and methods of war, make it, apart from its fine and spirited language, one of the most valuable historic documents of the period. The poem opens with an interview between Tirumal Nāik and his great General Rāmappaiya. News had just been received that the Marava chief shewed signs of turbulence and disaffection, and the king was very anxious about it. Rāmappaiya asks in earnest and boastful language to be honoured with the

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6 Madura Manual p. 128 and Col. Review.
7 For a very absurd and inaccurate version of the war, see Storia do Mogor III, 100-102. The ‘Tevara’ of the Maravas, he says, a giant who ate as much as 20 men and drank much wine, rebelled. The Madura king sent 80,000 men under General Chinna Tambi Mudaliar. Astute and valiant, this soldier met the 35,000 troops of the ‘Tevara,’ defeated him, massacred his people, and brought him as a prisoner to Madura. The king admired his stature and valour and kept him fettered in the audience-hall as an object of recreation. When the king once asked him what he would have done in case he himself had by some chance fallen a prisoner into his hands, the bold chief replied that he would have pounded him in a mortar, then mixed with clay, and made pellets for his boys to shoot birds with. The king instead of being angry, was struck with this reply, and offered to set him free on payment of 40,000 pagodas worth of precious stones. The king’s General, however, insisted on the Tevar’s death, and offered double the amount to the king; and threatened to become a Yōgin if the king refused. The Tevar was thereupon horribly murdered, limb after limb being cut off. The king then conquered the Marava country and entered the capital, “The Marava women pledged their word to each other that they would deny their husbands all marital rights” till they took vengeance on the Madura king; and they succeeded in killing his General and his men in one night. They then raised to the throne a nephew of Tevar, who made a brave defense and established himself firmly. Storia do Mogor III, pp. 99-102.
command against him. Trumal evinces hesitation. He recalls the experience of the past, points to the fact that those who went to war with the Marava never returned; that the Marava was a much more valiant man than the Vajuga, that he looked with contempt on the Madura army, and that with his arms and his guns, he would prove the victor. The Daḻavāi replies that there is no room for anxiety; that the arms which conquered Tanjore, Mysore, Bengal (!) Koṅgu, and Malayāḷam could not fail against the Marava! The King gives his reluctant consent, and the brave General, after paying worship to Minaṅkshi for victory and getting permission from his fond and anxious brother Vaidyanāthaiya by the assurance that he would return victorious in the space of eight days, sets out on his expedition. The Vajuga army is a formidable and gigantic array. There were almost all the Polygars, the chiefs and feudatories of the land. There was the brave and gallant Trumalai Koṅṭaiya, the Daḻavāi's son-in-law and faithful companion. There was the able Pāpiā Naṅk of Maḻur and Līṅgama of Nattam. The Toṭṭiyan chiefs, Gaḻdama and Eḻappu, Koppaiya and Iṛhaka, Pūchchhi and Muttiyaiya, Kaṭṭa Bomma and Obala (of Īḻumalai), Bomma and Mallappa, Kāmākshi (of Illipūr), and Paḻli-Chinmana, Kaṇṭama and Chinnōbala, Appaiya, and Tumbichchi, Bettana and Bōdi, and others, with their gallant men, were eager to measure their strength with the hated Marava. The Maravas too contributed an equal strength to Rāmappaiyan's force. There was the fierce Kuttāḷa Tēva of Naḻuvak kuruchihi, Chinnāṉja Tēva of Chokkampati, Marudappa of Īḻumalai, the Āṉjukkōṅjār Īḻiyirampaṅgai; and a host of others. Even the Sivēl Māran of Teḻkāśi, the king of Nāṉji Naṅgu (i.e., Malayāḷam) and the king of Colombo, are said to have sent contributions to the Naṅk's army. The Rēṅji and Kaṉuṅḍas were not behind hand. From the side of Koṅgu and Erode, they thronged, and thronged in large numbers. The Canarese and the Muhammadans also are mentioned. (To be continued.)

BOOK NOTICE.


This little book by the learned Professor of Indian History and Archaeology in the University of Madras is a revised edition of a lecture read before the Madras Literary Society, with his Excellency Lord Pentland in the chair. Poor Lord Pentland, he must have been glad when the discourse was over. It dealt with obscure questions of chronology concerning forgotten kings of Vijayanagar in the fifteenth century, and as a lecture must have been almost unintelligible. The essay in its revised printed form is not arranged as lucidly as it might be and in consequence is difficult to follow. I have now studied it in conjunction with Mr. Sewell's equally learned article entitled 'The Kings of Vijayanagara, A.D. 1486—1509' (J. R. A. S., 1915, pp. 333—395) and think that I understand the points at issue. All specialist students of the subject admit that it is difficult to reconcile the authorities concerning the succession of the kings of Vijayanagar during

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8 The accounts of the Polygars given in the appendices bear out the statements of this heroic poem.

9 The Sivēḷ Māran referred to here is evidently either Perumāḷ Sivāḷa Māran aliṅg Varaguṇārāma Pāṇḍya Kulasēkhara Śrīmaṇiṅgār, an inscription of whom dated 1016 has been discovered, (see Trumalai. Arch. Series, I, 148), or some successor of his. There is no epitaph to enlighten us on this point. Is it possible that the term Sivēḷ Māran is used without any significance? It is noteworthy that Tirumal Naṅk who recorded a gift of lands to the temple of Āḻiyur, south-west of Ambacamālam, in 1635 does not mention any Pāṇḍya king. (See Antiquities, I, 309). Nor does he mention him in the Vavāvikāḷam inscription of 1645 where, Tirumal makes a gift to a Śūdrā priest. (Ibid., p. 310).

10 According to Shunghoony Meenāḷ the kings of právāraka in the earlier half of the 17th century were Viṟvāraka (1604-6); Raṟvāraka (1606-19); Unni Kēṟalavārka (1619-23); Raṟvāraka (1623-31); and Unni Kēṟalavārka (1631-61). The last of these should have taken part in this war if it is a fact. This version of the Tvas. Mārka also favours this.

11 The Pottu Kongaḷa were the masons of this place and it is difficult to see how a king of that place could have come to the help of the Naṅk. See Tānuma's Ceylon, II, 41—3.

12 The Polygar masons of Koṅgu province are very proud of this. E. g. the Oḷḷi Mūdallār.

13 The MS. is very absurd at this point as it gives the name of Shah Abbas, Khamā (i.e., Yusuf Khan), Bade Khan (brother of Chanda's son) and other eminent men who belonged to totally different periods and different spheres of activity.
the disturbed period in question, A. D. 1486—1509, which seems to have included two usurpations.

There is general agreement that the First Dynasty came to an end at some date between July 29, A. D. 1485 and November 1, 1486, that is to say in A. D. 1485-6, when the ‘first usurper’, Nṛsiṇihā or Narasīhinā I, the Sālūva, deposed the last member of the First Dynasty—person about whose identity there is some doubt—and himself seized the throne, thus establishing the Second Dynasty, consisting of two generations only.

It seems also to be certain that the reign of Nṛsiṇihā the usurper came to an end at the close of A. D. 1492, prior to Jan. 27, 1493, after lasting more than seven years. His son Immajī, otherwise called Narasīhinā II, succeeded. He is also known by the title of Tammayā-Rāya, the ‘Tamarā’ of Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler.

The questions controverted by the specialists chiefly concern the manner in which the reign of Immaji (Narasīhinā II. or Tammaya-Rāya) came to an end, and the date of its close.

Mr. Sewell, following Nuniz, holds that king Immajī was killed by the contrivance of Narasā Nāyak (Narasayyake) the minister, who was thereupon raised to be king over all the land of Naraymga’ (see J. Kingdom of Vijayanagar). He further holds that Narasā died shortly after his usurpation and was succeeded by his son, Vīra Narasīhinā. All these three events, according to Mr. Sewell, occurred between February 28 and either July 16 or August 14, A. D. 1505 (Inscriptions Nos. 67 and 70 in the author’s list).

Mr. Krishnaswamy discredits the narrative of Nuniz, and thinks that the death of Immajī followed that of Narasā, who never usurped the throne himself, being content to exercise power de facto, without assuming the royal style. Our author agrees with Mr. Sewell that Narasā died in 1505; but is of opinion that the ‘usurpation’ of the throne was effected a little later by his son Vīra Narasīhinā.

Thus, according to one authority, the ‘Second Usurpation’ was carried out by Narasā, while according to the other, it was postponed until the accession of Narasā’s son, Vīra Narasīhinā in 1506. The earliest inscription which gives the imperial titles, namely, those of the ruler of Vijayanagar, to Vīra is No. 73 of our author’s list, with a date equivalent to Dec. 1506.

The authority of Nuniz is not to be disregarded lightly. His chronicle was written about the year 1535, during the reign of Achyuta; he lived at the Hindu capital itself, and he gained his inform-

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1 A Forgotten Empire, p. 314.

2 A Forgotten Empire, p. 110.

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Especially the one in his opening sentence, when he writes 1230 for 1330 (ibid., p. 291). But that mistake concerns ancient history. He was not likely to be misinformed about the events of 1505.
SOME NOTES ON YASKA'S NIRUKTA.

BY PROF. P. D. GUNE, M.A., Ph.D.; POONA.

(Continued from p. 160.)

Before trying to determine the sense, we have to see what Yāska means by संविषाणे दुर्गा is not right when he paraphrases it by 'बेदु तात्तकार्याखियांचे ऐसे, in their case there is no disagreement.' To settle the sense, we shall examine other passages where this word occurs, in this or in other forms. In R. 31, 13 and S. II 23, 15 it is used without the preposition निति ‘साहानायाचा असाहानायांसारा दाँडून संविषाणे यवमर्यम् यवारायणां लीला,’ because the word is pervasive and subtle, it is used by people in common intercourse to denote objects.' संविषाणे is therefore denotation, conventional denotation.

In R. 119, 20 we have the word with both the prepositions and this passage therefore is very useful in determining the true or Yāska's sense of संविषाणे. 'तत्त्त्वादे समासनितिः हुनापि तु सनायानाति बुधि संविषाणमुस्ता अवाहानस्यतुल्यं सत्तमाने some enumerate even these (i.e. attributes like तृणम, among the names of gods); they are however too many for such enumeration. I shall however collect only that (attribute or name) which has become संविषाणे (a name by which a god is known among the people) and by which a deity receives independent praise.' This passage shows that attributes can't be regarded as names of gods, until and unless people conventionally agree that a certain attribute shall be regarded as a distinctive name of a certain deity. A संविषाणमुस्ता name therefore is a conventional name.

And this is the sense that is most suitable in the passage under discussion and not that proposed by Durga. Roth has probably seen this. We agree with him when he regards संविषाणमुस्ता नामिति यथा गौरेष्यांत् etc. as the first point in गौरेś्य a great indictment of the Nirukta school. Such names, says he, as गौरेś्य, अवर् etc. are conventionally given and cannot be traced to any root.

There remains only one difficulty now. What is to be made of the relative sentence ending with स्यानाम्? Unless there is some idea corresponding to it and forming the principal sentence, it sounds incomplete and therefore very irregular. For an explanation we shall turn to Yāska's rejoinder to Gārgya.

The reply of Yāska is contained in the passage R. 36, 10 to 22, S. II 94, 7ff. i.e. from वयों एततु तद्वच श्यासांतरो... to नम्नोभुवन इति. If we examine the passage closely, we find that Yāska proceeds to controvert Gārgya, statement by statement. While doing so he repeats Gārgya's statement, placing it between वयों एततु and इति. For example वयों एततु निष्पिले १५ निष्पिले १५ निष्पिले १५ निष्पिले अन्य धर्मस्य औषधि औषधि... दीर्घार्याति is Gārgya's statement and from नम्ना onwards in Yāska's reply. Here then we find Gārgya's statements (without examples) quoted word by word. Now what is the first statement that is replied to by Yāska? It is in the very first sentence bracketed by वयों एततु and इति. It runs thus:—वयों (ि सु या) एततु तद्वच वस्तुस्काः समध्यम् प्रायिकेरणे गुणादिगतिः स्यानार्य सभृ निवार्यातिबियें सत्त्वभाषणम् एव नयति ' where the accent and formation are regular and are accompanied by an expository root, all that is पार्याचिक (i.e. to be derived from the root). If this is what गौरेś्य means, it is no taunt (or objection, because we say the same thing). This clearly shows that the principal sentence corresponding to the relative sentence ending in स्यानार्य is सभृ निवार्यातिबियें. And that is also what we expect. Strangely enough, it is omitted in the original statement of गौरेś्य quoted above. To whatever cause we attribute the omission, we have no doubt that the initial statement at R. 35, 20 is incomplete without सभृ निवार्यातिबियें. And we are also sure, comparing the initial passage with its counterpart in Yāska's reply at R. 36, 10, that सभृ निवार्यातिबियें must have been
there. Its omission is strange and unaccountable. Perhaps it is the scribe’s mistake, who, seeing that all other statements of Gārgya are supported by examples, wanted to connect the examples गृह: अन्व: with the first statement. The original sense of सूचिवालानिन्दा नाशि being obscure to him, he appears to have understood it as Durga understood it later and striking off सन्त्रासिकय, connected it (i.e. सूचिवालानिन्दा etc.) with the sentence ending in स्मालानि.

Max Müller has a different construction. He makes the first sentence end with हस्तागिनं, taking these to be examples of the case where Gārgya and the Nirukta’s agree. सूचिवालानिन्दा नाशि—‘would be in themselves intelligible’. To Gārgya however गृह: अन्व: etc. are not examples of regular formation, as his objections show. See Max Müller Anc Sansk. Lit. 165.

IV R. 39. 11ff. S. II 137, 18ff नैपूण्यकिंद्रयेऽवत्तानमप्रायाश्चर्णेनस्मिति | तथाप्रस्तै यथे निपति नैपूण्यकिंद्रयेऽवत्तानमप्रायाश्चर्णेनस्मिति | Here—the difficulty is caused by the one compound वत्तानमप्रायाश्चर्णेन. Durga S. 532 has अपाश्चर्णेन नैपूण्यकिंद्रयेऽवत्तानमप्रायाश्चर्णेन etc. as explanation. ‘This is called नैपूण्यकिंद्रयेऽवत्तानम owing to the subordinate nature of gods’. In the first place this way of interpreting the phrase makes the following line तथाप्रस्तै यथे etc. (that, which falls in a verse dedicated to another god is नैपूण्यकिंद्रयेऽवत्तान) quite redundant as the same meaning is apparently briefly expressed by the phrase in question. Secondly, this way of taking the passage does not do full justice to the two इवेस्त. On the very face of it, the passage offers two words or names that are so to say pitted against each other by the parallel expression इवेस्त इवेस्त. Thirdly this sort of explanation ignores the force and the propriety of the parallel phrases introduced by तथाप्रस्तै यथे etc. and तथाप्रस्तै यथे etc. They are explanations of the two classes of words that are mentioned in the head line and that the author is anxious to define and distinguish clearly.

Roth has not got any note on the passage. There is however an indication in his Einleitung P. XIII, that he took the passage to mean ‘this is नैपूण्यकिंद्रयेऽवत्तानम owing to the prominence of the names of gods’. He has given a general idea of the whole passage beginning from नैपूण्यकिंद्रयेऽवत्तानमप्रायाश्चर्णेन. The translation of the closing portion, which only is pertinent here, runs thus:—‘The following generations, then, composed this book also in which are enumerated, the roots for one activity, the nouns for one idea, also words that have several meanings and lastly the names of gods’. The last line suggests that he understands the passage as just indicated. If so the इवेस्त इवेस्त and the parallel expressions which appear to be purposely put to distinguish between two kinds of names viz., तथाप्रस्तै यथे and तथाप्रस्तै यथे etc., are not well explained. The following is I think the proper way of explaining the passage.

We have first to separate the words वत्तानमप्राया and यथाप्रस्तै. The passage then reads नैपूण्यकिंद्रयेऽवत्तानमप्रायाश्चर्णेनस्मिति ‘This name of a god is नैपूण्यकिंद्रयेऽवत्तानम, this one (however) is primary.’ Having first of all postulated two kinds of names for gods, he proceeds to explain them in turn. नैपूण्यकिंद्रयेऽवत्तानम names are those that occur in a verse for another god; while those that contain the praise of certain gods primarily (i.e. without being subordinately mentioned with others) are वत्तानम names. The word नैपूण्यकिंद्रयेऽवत्तानम then gets an extensive application. It means then, not only subordinate names of gods but in a general way, such other names as occur in verses in praise of a particular god. An example of a नैपूण्यकिंद्रयेऽवत्तानम यथा अष्टासाद्वाश्च अस्मिति यथाप्रस्तै यथाप्रस्तै is often secondarily mentioned but rarely primarily,’ नैपूण्यकिंद्रयेऽवत्तानम is a synonym of निर्णय e.g. R. 47, 22 तत्स्यं निर्णयं निर्णयं वैभाषानि वैभाषानि वैभाषानि.
This explains the two correlative इव्व् satisfactorily, avoids the repetition that is inevitable in Durga’s manner of understanding the passage and moreover supplies a basis for the two following passages तत्त्वेन्यैश्वेते etc. and तदावनमात्रां तदावनमात्राः etc. where the two classes of words are clearly distinguished.

V. In this connection I have to draw attention to the names of the three natural divisions into which the subject matter of the book falls. If we refer to Sāmaśrami’s edition, we shall at once find, that besides the division of Yāska’s ब्रह्माण्य into twelve chapters, there is another broader division into three Kāndas or books as we might call them. They are called नेत्रपुक्रम, नेत्र, देवत. There is agreement between Durga whom Sāmaśrami follows and Roth, as regards the chapters that bear the name देवत। chapters seven to twelve constitute the देवत। Here there was no possibility of difference of opinion, as Yāska himself says at the beginning of the seventh chapter, ‘अयंति देवत, now the Daivata’ and repeats the definition of the देवत that he has laid down at the end of the first chapter; R. 39.21. He had said there that he would explain it i.e. the Daivata below (उपरिय)। It is clear therefore that the last six chapters constitute the देवत।

Now which is the नेत्र and which the नेत्रपुक्रम कारण? Here Roth differs from Durga in calling the first six chapters of the Nirukta the नेत्रमयकारण। According to Durga, it is only the 4th, the 5th and the 6th chapters of the निरर्थी that go to form the नेत्रमयकारण। Then the original lists of words in five chapters, which is the समासाः or व्ययप्रय, according to Yāska, is named by Roth as the नेत्रपुक्रमकारण; while it is only the first three chapters of the Nirukta itself that are called नेत्रपुक्रमकारण by Durga and Sāmaśrami.

Now which of the views is correct? And is there any indication of this division in the निरर्थी itself.

For an answer to this question we turn once more to chapter 7. There it is said अयंति देवत। देवतानामानि प्रायाप्त्यस्तूनां देवतानां देवतानिमुक्ताश्च देवत नयोगिनीः ‘now the Daivata (section); those words or names which denote the gods that are principally (independently) praised are said to form Daivata’. This reminds us of the passage at the end of the 1st chapter of the Nirukta, where the same words occur without any change at all. The closing words of the passage run thus:—“तत् (i.e. देवत।) उपरियाः व्ययाः। नेत्रपुक्रमनि नेत्रां स्थिति इह। I shall explain the Daivata below; the नेत्रपुक्रम नेत्र (पर) here i.e. immediately. This is then the threefold division. The नेत्रपुक्रम section therefore is to follow. It is a part of the Nirukta itself. Roth therefore is wrong when he calls the whole lists i.e. the निरर्थी as नेत्रपुक्रमकारण। The नेत्रपुक्रम and नेत्र then, are sections of the Nirukta and they precede the 7th chapter of the Nirukta and follow the 1st chapter. Which is now the dividing line? Where does the नेत्रपुक्रम end and the नेत्र begin? For an answer we have to turn to the 4th chapter.

The 4th chapter of the Nirukta begins with the words ‘एकापर्यमेव वाच्चासामिक्षेत्रस्त्रात्’। अयं वाचानांकर्पस्केत्रस्त्रायानि वाचानां वाचासामिक्षेत्रस्त्रायानि वाचानांस्त्रायानि वाचानां वाचासामिक्षेत्रस्त्रायानि। नेत्रपुक्रमकारण नेत्रां नेत्रां नेत्रांैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैষ्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैষ्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैষ्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैষ्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैষ्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैষ्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैষ्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैষ्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टैष्टै
Now we have to turn to the end of the first chapter. There, after mentioning the circumstances which very probably must have led to the compilation of the lists of words, Yaska also puts forward a general scheme of division of the work into three great parts.

1. एकोनाम: सामानकर्मी धार्मिक | एकाक्षरमं विशेष नामकरण। So many are the roots having the same meaning; so many are the names of this object. It is easy to see that this means synonyms: several words whether roots or nouns, having identical sense.

2. यास्कानुसाराध्यायिनिः समानकर्मी नामकरण। So many senses are conveyed by this name (this approaches homonyms); one and the same word having different senses.

When we compare this with the above, we easily see that this is the same twofold division, as has been mentioned in the sentence of the fourth chapter quoted above. Yaska has not left us in doubt as to the names of these two sections—they are नैपथ्यकाण्ड and नैवायम respectively. The third, as we know, is नैवायत.

The second and the third chapter of the नैवायत constitute therefore the नैपथ्यकाण्ड, the following three the नैमकाण्ड and the last six the नैवायत. We know that there is also another name for the second book; it is नैव्य-विवृति. R. 65-2. We have seen how the name could have arisen. If we laid too much stress on र्यावहार्यन्ते so they call it R. 65-2, then we might say that it is a name in use before Yaska; his name for the section is 'नैवायम.' We can also see how that section could have received this name. Because it contained chiefly नैवायम or 'Vedic words' whose संस्कार is not known, therefore it was नैमकाण्ड.

See Max Muller A.S. L. 155.

It is possible to apply this division also to तय्याद्रित: The first three chapters of these lists, containing words from अन्तरे र्षि धार्मिक नामकरणां नामकरणां constitute नैपथ्यकाण्ड; the fourth, from वहा ति धार्मिक, forms the नैमकाण्ड and the fifth the नैवायत. But as a rule it is applied only to the नैवायत. Roth is therefore wrong in calling the whole of the lists themselves the नैपथ्यकाण्ड or a section of the work.

VI. R. 40, 15 and 16; S. II 160, 13. शाक्तमित्रिजानां काम्यकामायन नामकर्म | विकारमुक्तायु नामन्ते शव र्षि it is only among the Kambojas that the root शवित, meaning 'to go' is used; its derivative शवि, is used among the 'Aryans.' Roth has a long note on this passage. It means:—"This passage is more than a riddle. The first distinction is made between the Kambojas and the Aryans i.e. the people of the North-west, who were formerly Aryans, but who now no longer have a common faith and learning (with the Aryans), and the genuine Aryans. The former are supposed to say शवितमित्रिजानां, the latter on the contrary शव शवितमित्रिजानां. So far as the Aryans are concerned, this is wrong according to all the other older grammars that we know and according to Yaska's own work, who in III, 18 and IV, 13 says शवितमित्रिजानां, although no one would regard him as a Kamboja (for that). Further the Easterners, who with the Northerners form only sub-sections of the Aryans themselves—compare the use of the term in Pāṇi; Böhlung II S. V.—would also use the same terminology as is current among the Kambojas; and therefore the first distinction (between Aryans and Kambojas) would be done away with. Under these circumstances, the only possible explanation appears to me to be that we have to banish from our texts the words—शवित to शव शवित 'as an unskilful interpolation of a wiser grammarian. But still the passage is valuable as it shows that (the existence of) a Sanskrit grammar among the Kambojas was at any rate presumed."

The passage therefore, is an interpolation according to Roth. I think this conclusion is based upon a misconception: first because there is no mention of a terminology that was current in certain regions etc; and secondly because Roth has not understood the meaning properly. For the passage certainly does not mean 'the Kambojas say शवितमित्रिजानां.' The meaning of नैवायते and नैपथ्यते appears to have puzzled Roth. It means 'is spoken,' i.e. is current in the language. The passage only means that the root itself is current
among the Kambojas, whereas only the derivative is used in the Aryan Language. I don't quite see how III, 18 'संस्कृतमेतिप्रत्ययांगात्मिकि' contradicts 'तत्त्वसिद्धांगितत्त्वाय्रत्वाय्रत्रनामय. The former means that श्रृ त could be derived from the root श्रृ which means to go. Does this look like the root or base itself being current among the Aryans? It is only a derivative from it that is current. The same can be said of IV, 13 शृः शारवेत्ति: 'शृः is derived from शृृ 'to go.' Does this say that the base शृृ itself is 'current in the Aryan language? It is only the derivative शृृ that is current there. And there is no harm in deriving a derivative from a root that might not happen to be current in the same dialect.

Yāska has clearly said in the sentences immediately preceding this passage that roots or bases only are used in certain regions, while derivatives from these bases only in others. As an example, the root श्रृृ only is current among the Kambojas, while its derivative or is current among the Aryans. प्रकृतिः एव एकंत्रात् नापरेव विशेषत्वेत् एव एकंत्रात् पूर्व R. 40, 15.

VII. R. 49, 19 and 20 S. II 161, 2 and 3. श्रृृः शारवेत्ति: तत्त्वसिद्धांगितत्त्वाय्रत्वाय्रत्रनामय. Durga’s note on the passage at S. 552. 18ff runs thus. ‘Do we anywhere find शृृ in the sense of शृृततिः—he holds? Yes; both in Veda and in common parlance (what Yāska calls नामाय० or श्रृृ: अनिष्ठो अनिष्ठो, नापरेव, e.g. R. 33, 5 श्रृृतो विशेषत्वायर्थियो नापरेयुगमनन्तत्त्वायर्थियो). In the Veda in तत्त्वेति: अनुकूलो शारवेत्ति: VII, 33, 11. see R. 84, 11. In common parlance or colloquially ‘अनुकूलो अनुकूलो’ etc. Akrūra was a king, the ruler of the श्रृृततिय. He holds the jewel named श्रृृततिय on his head’. Durga evidently refers to the celebrated theft of the jewel, a dark episode in Kṛṣṇa’s life.

Roth’s remark on this passage is as follows. ‘If one would draw literary-historical conclusions from this example, taken from the well-known legend of the Yādava race regarding the jewel श्रृृततिय, we must draw attention to the fact, that the example is here inserted (interpolated) in a form, which nowhere else occurs in Yāska.

What Roth means by the last words of his remarks is not very clear. Perhaps Roth finds it strange that Yāska should take a colloquial passage to support this view. If so, I think justice is scarcely done to Yāska, who now and again points out differences between the नापर and the श्रृृ. The contrast नापर and अनिष्ठो is a constant feature of the exposition of निर्देश or पाद.; e.g. R. 32, 10 ‘पादेति: नापरायुः चालन-अयुः etc.

The whole passage R. 32, 24 to 33, 7 points to the fact that Yāska has drawn many examples from the living dialect, called नापर e.g. कृति हि श्रृृतिकृतिति श्रृृृा कृति। श्रृृृा कृति. It is true Yāska has not repeated the words अनिष्ठो after these, as in our passage. But so much is clear that Yāska has not totally disregarded the नापर in his exposition. And it is not at all strange that he should quote a passage from the नापर, even if it looks like a half verse. It is again in the fitness of things that in this particular connection Yāska should prefer the नापर to the अनिष्ठो or श्रृृ: for श्रृृृपुष्प is not a Vedic word occurring in the निर्देश. It occurs incidentally just as an example in the course of the exposition of general principles of etymology, which Yāska lays down at the beginning of the second chapter.

I think no valid reason has been brought forward by Roth to prove that the passage is an interpolation. श्रृृतिकृतिति is a parallel expression to श्रृृतिकृतिति which latter is used when the quotation is from a अनिष्ठो (although श्रृृृ अनिष्ठो is often used in such cases) or at any rate not from the नापर or colloquium.

Now what are the literary-historical conclusions that Roth fears to draw? Well, they are that Yāska knew the Syamantaka story. This places the episode beyond Yāska; and so far as we know there is no absurdity that could vitiate the conclusion. The passage may also suggest that Akrūra’s time was not far anterior to Yāska, if the present tense of श्रृृति is respected. But it might be a sort of adage and therefore the present tense need not carry us to any conclusion like that.
THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 171.)

The Plan of Campaign.

With such a strong array, Râmappaiya set out on his campaign. Proceeding along the Vaigai, the army fixed its camp at the end of the first day at Chinna Râvuttan Pâlavam. The next day it reached Vañjîyûr. From thence two days' march brought it by way of Tiruppuppenam to Vâna Vira Madura in Alagar country, the strong and fortified place where the Mâviliyâna had lived and ruled. The van of the Madura army—600 elephants, 700 camelry and 6,000 cavalry—no sooner reached the banks of its magnificent lake than the spies of Sañjayakka carried the news to him. They described in glowing and eloquent language the formidable nature of the invading army; but the Sêtupati got more furious than afraid. Had he not conquered and enslaved kings at Paramakûdi? Had they forgotten their experiences so early? Did he not conquer Sûrappayya and Aruñânâtha? He would never cease fighting unless and until he captured and chastised this foolish Brahman, this brainless adventuress, this dabbler in war. He would sacrifice his throne, his very life, if he did not before long tie a cocomut to the Brahman's knot of hair and paraded him in shame before a jeering and pitying world. With this commendable resolution the Marava chief prepared to meet the enemy. Nothing deterred him from his resolve to fight to the bitter end. The Pañjâram of Râmaliyogavâmy, indeed, said that, as a result of his consultations with the divinity, he anticipated defeat in case of war, and therefore advised him to yield and pay tribute. But Sañjayakka was more in a mood to give reproof than to take advice, and the priest had to leave the royal presence in sullen anger. All the men of the Marava land were immediately called to arms. The fierce Vannimalai Kumâra Viran, the tiger-like Magattîl (?), the Kurumba of Kôñjâmôñta, the chief of Sembî Nâçu and Maçâla Nâçu, the Râvuttas—all assembled under the general leaderships of Vishakantha Dêva, Mottai Uçayân, Karrutta Uçayân, and above all, Vañjiya, the son-in-law of Sañja-yakka and the bravest fighter of the day. Bold and daring, fierce and aggressive, these chiefstains looked on their Brahman opponent with contempt and hatred. They vowed either to capture him or to die in the field. They asked if he had no god to perform puja to, and what right he had to take up the occupation of the soldier? Vañjiyan vowed to take away his sacred thread and use it to tie up cows! Inspired by such feelings they marched in different directions to meet the enemy. Kumâra Vira went to the defence of Ariyândipura-Kôñta, Mottai Uçayân, Karrutta Uçayân and Râvutta Kâttan occupied Pogâlûr. Pottai Uçayân and Vishakantha Têvon, went to Pudu-kil-Kôñta(?). The next day, Vañjiga saw the Madura army at Ariandipur Kôñta. An engagement immediately followed,—the first in the war—and ended in the victory of the Marava. The Madura camp was plundered, and 300 men lay dead, while the Maravas lost 60. Râmappaiya, however, renewed the attack on the place the next day. His army was in 18 divisions, while the enemy's in five divisions, under the respective

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14 See p. 312 of Taylor's Rest. MSS., Vol. IV. (Line 16). It is later on called in the MS. Mândmarut.

15 It evidently refers to some local chiefs. In the reign of Kumâra Krishnappa it was under a Tumbuchchî Nâık, as we have already seen. Perhaps the Sêtupati had distinguished himself by subduing certain turbulent chiefs of the place.
commands of Karutta Ujayân, Vishakantha, Pottai Ujayân, Mada Têvan and Katta Têva. The battle was indecisive, each losing 300 people. During the next two days, the valor of Mâppilai Koṇḍappaia and Vêkata Krîshnaiya took the offensive, and though the poem, with its onesidedness, attributes greater loss to the Nâik army, succeeded in breaking through the enemy. Then the struggle began in full fury. The Maravas were first put to immense trouble. “Like deer caught in a net and water in the midst of mountains,” they fumed and raged, toiled and moiled. The men of Ariyâni-pur and Kaṭândakûdi, however, came for their rescue, and in the subsequent engagement, they were, we are informed, successful, and inflicted, besides the loss of 200 horses, 10 elephants and 3,000 men, death on the chiefs of Virûpâkshi, the Toğamân, Kâmâkshi Nâik and three others. The next day, however, Râmappâiyya besieged Ariyâni-pur Kûṭtai and took it.

Pursuing his success, he came to Kâṭandakûdi, crossed the Vaigai and at “Attiyutti-kûṭtai” (Ramnad Taluk) came up with Sadayakka himself. A furious engagement followed, in which Sadayakka was seriously wounded, and compelled in spite of Vaṅgégan’s bravery, to retreat with all his forces, treasure, palanquin and state paraphernalia to the Pâmban channel. Râmappâiyya promptly took “Attiyutti-kûṭtai” and pursued his adversary. The Sêtupati therefore crossed the channel to Râmêsvaram, and trusted himself, as the poem says, to Râmanâtha Svâmi’s grace!

A Diversion to the North.

At this stage, while Râmappâiyya was enjoying a well-earned rest from his recent campaign, he received the terrible tidings from his master that 30,000 men of the ‘Mugila’ (Mughal?) and the Padshah ‘of Golconda’ had crossed the pass into the Râya’s dominions, laid waste the country around Vêlur and Vijayapuram, and were about to invade the Nâik kingdom. With characteristic promptness, Râmappâiyya resolved to go to the north. Leaving the seat of his recent war with the promise of returning in eight days and with the strict orders to the Poligars to keep a vigilant watch over the ports and forts, he proceeded to Madura, had an interview with Tirumal Nââik, and at the head of 1,000 horse, hurried to the north. The poem gives his route of march—Sôjavandân, Vaṭjamadurai, Dinidigul, Tikka Markalai Maṅappârai, Raṭṭaimalai, Trichinopoly, Srîraîgam, Samayâvaram, Kaṅanur, Çittattur, Vâlilipâpârâpura, and Vêlur. The gallant general had an interview, we are told, with the Râya, received the pân supârî of supreme command from him, and hurried towards Bangalore. There he joined Ikkêri Vêkata Krîshnaiya and assisted him in driving the Muhammadans across the river and defeating them with great slaughter. With 1,000 cavalry, 50 camels, and 60 elephants as the spoils of war, he returned to the Râya, after, we are told, going as far as Bijapur and Anagundi. At Vêlur he was received with magnificent cordiality and pressed by the Râya to stay, but he naturally refused, and promising to go there at least once a year, set out on his return journey, and by the same route, reached Sôjavandân and Pîlaiippâlâyâm. The gratitude of Tirumal Nââik had arranged for a grand welcome through the hero’s brother Vaidyanâtha; but waiving that pleasure and honour to the time when he would return as the victor from Râmêsvaram,
Rāmappaiya went direct to “mattam Sirukuși.” Here he bestowed a lasting benefit on the people by subduing the fierce Kailas who had given them incessant trouble. From there he went by way Tiruppuvāna and Vāna-vīra Madurai to Pugalur, where Kumāra Alaha and others resisted him. The Brahman general threatened to take very severe measures if they did not yield, and when they were obstinate, he attacked the place with wonted energy, took it, and with singular cruelty put the leaders to death. Pugalur taken, Rāmappaiya was able to promptly march, through Attangarai and ‘Vēdāni’(!), to the Pamban channel.

The building of the Pamban Causeway.

Rāmappaiya’s return to the Pamban was the sign of extraordinary activity in that quarter. Undaunted by any obstacle and undeterred, even by nature, he embraced the “mad” idea of rebuilding, like his divine namesake, the Sētu, and marching his gigantic army across it to attack. Everywhere the revelation of the general’s design excited laughter. Men spoke that uniform victory had affected his brain, and that his folly was sure to bring him ruin. But Rāmappaiya scorned all scorn. Opposition only strengthened his activity, and when many refused, he showed that he was true to any work by carrying the stone for the dam himself. Everybody was then surprised and ashamed, and the Nāik and the Marava, the Telugu and the Tamil, the Canarese and the Malayāli, combined together to build the dam. Each contributed, like the old monkeys, his share, and with the growth of the causeway their enthusiasm grew. Public women, says the poem in a true vein of humour, laughed at the soldiers, and asked, while they were lifting the stones, where their swords were, their robes, their ornaments. In great shame, the latter complained to the general, and he ordered the 7,000 dancing girls of the kingdom to join! Each was compelled to take seven stones, singing all the while! The mild and indolent Chēṭṭis, seeing their condition, clapped their hands in contempt, and asked where had gone their proud gait, their sounding ank’ets were! Were they not like Gopura asses lifting mud? In great anger, the fair victims of the taunt appealed to the Dālavāi, and he issued the mandate that every one of the 8,000 Chēṭṭis of the land should join in the business and place 10 stones at least for the growing causeway! While the Chēṭṭis were paying the penalty of pride, an Āṇḍi forgot the lesson and remarked how well they deserved this punishment—they that told the beggars to come ever afterwards, that would not pay a pie even if addressed as “father” and took the shoe when addressed as uncle! The only result was that the Āṇḍis and Paradēs had to contribute their share to the grand undertaking! The progress of the dam in consequence was startlingly rapid, and Rāmappaiya was able to carry his men across and lay siege to the island.

Rāmappaiya’s alliance with the Portuguese.

The Sēṭupati was now in serious danger and was indefatigable in his endeavours to save the island at all costs. Rāmappaiya at this stage is said to have had some negotiations with the Paraṅgīs of Singala, Colombo, Mānnar and Cochin, whom the Sēṭupati had alienated by his collection of extravagant tribute. Rāmappaiya offered them not only the freedom from tribute but the island itself in case they helped him, and they consented. It is not a difficult thing to say who these Paraṅgis were. They should have been, of course, either the Dutch or the Portuguese who were, as we have already seen, busy attacking each other in this part of the

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19 A very important religious centre, 16 miles off Śivagaṅga. See Antiquities I, p. 298.
20 This village is in the Ramaṇad Taṅk. Śirukuși is also here. I have not been able to identify Vēdāni.
21 See Danvers, Vol. II.
world; and a little thought shews that Râmappiya must have obtained the cooperation of the Portuguese. At the time when Tirumâl Nâik ascended the throne the Dutch had been gaining ground everywhere. Almost every year they blockaded Goa and subjected it to immense loss of trade. The English, then allies of the Dutch, acted with them and, with their superior ships and men, secured easy victories. Everywhere where the Portuguese lost Malacca, once the most flourishing centre of eastern trade, was reduced to a second-rate dependency, yielding barely a revenue 3,000 *cruzaos.* In Ceylon, indeed, the Portuguese had their own way; for in 1628 they erected forts at Trincomali and Batticalao and provoked a successful war with Kandy. But the very next year the Portuguese general was decoyed into mountains and, deserted by the Singhalese section of his troops, was defeated and slain by Râja Singha. In 1633 their position, it is true, was somewhat bettered; for a convention with the English East India Company introduced an era of comparative immunity from a formidable enemy; and at the same time, a number of victories in Ceylon made Râja Singha agree to a treaty in April 1633, by which he was to share his dominions with two other sons of queen Catherina, to refrain from wars in future without due notice and reasons, to give Batticalao to Portugul, to pay one elephant as tribute every year, and to permit a prelate of the order of St. Francis to reside in Kandy and minister to the religious wants of the Christians of that locality. But much of this success was undone by the weakness, the disunion and the cruelty of the Portuguese themselves. They thoroughly "alienated the native populations as much by the barbarities perpetrated not only on their defeated enemies but on harmless and defenceless women and children, as by the persistency with which they endeavoured to force the Catholic religion on all who became subject to their rule". At the same time, owing to their defective management of commercial affairs, the revenues in the different ports dwindled down to practically nothing. More than these, the Jesuits and priests, whom they encouraged at their own expense, became enemies more deadly than the Dutch themselves. They assumed a tone of arrogance in their conduct and made bold to defy the viceroy himself. They interfered in politics and in trade, and made themselves absolute masters of the pearl fisheries of Travancore and the Indian coast. They actually waged war against His Majesty's captains on the seas. They obtained, by underhand means, a general charge over the several fortresses of the north and refused to render any account of the expenditure. They purchased lands and received legacies without permission. Above all they held secret communications with the Dutch and even with the Muhammadans. Deriving every support from the government, they thus proved ungrateful intriguers against its authority. The government did indeed prohibit them in 1635 from purchasing land and receiving legacies without sanction, and from interference with pearl fisheries, on pain of the loss of the care of the Christians. But the large allowances they had been drawing and the large private property they had accumulated, made them indifferent to these threats. Financially the dependents of the State, they were actually richer than the State, which, on account of its poverty, could not even pay the soldiers and therefore drove them to be monks. The life of the monk in fact became the coveted life of the day. Hundreds of people who came every year from Portugal on the King's service, gave up their original object and embraced the easy and alluring occupation of monk. It is no wonder that the ecclesiastical men in Goa were far out of proportion to officials.

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*For a detailed account of the religious activity of the Portuguese in Ceylon see Tennent's Christianity in Ceylon, 22-29.*
and laymen, that they outnumbered the soldiers and civilians put together. An empire assaulted by such gross evils could not but undergo irrevocable dismemberment and decadence, and within the next 20 years it was destined to collapse. In 1635 the Portuguese, however, adopted an enterprising policy against the Dutch. They entered into an arrangement⁵ with Vēṅkaṇapati II, by which he was, in return for 30,000 xeraffins, 12 horses, and 6 elephants, to attack the Dutch at Pulicat by land, while they were to do so by the sea. On the success of this affair depended the future of Portuguese trade on the Coromandel coast. Vēṅkaṇapati, however, was unable to carry out his part of the engagement on account of, as he himself said, a disturbance in his own dominions. The Portuguese fleet (of 12 ships), which had come to the Dutch port, had therefore to go back towards Ceylon. On the way they entered into a quarrel with Tirumal Naṅik, at Tuticorin. The cause of the quarrel was Jesuit perfidy. More worldly than the most worldly of laymen, these Jesuits had made themselves the practical lords of Tuticorin and its trade, and with the support of an army formed by themselves, they defied their Portuguese benefactors, intrigued with Tirumal Naṅik and instigated him to seize a Portuguese agent who had been sent to purchase saltpetre in exchange for elephants. It was with a view to overawing the Jesuits and chastising the Naṅik that the Portuguese came to Tuticorin. Their endeavour seems to have been successful. The details are not known, but it seems that the Portuguese demonstration taught the Jesuits and the Naṅik the value of gratitude on the one hand and of a milder policy on the other. It was just a few months after this that the Setupati war broke out, and he found himself a prisoner in the island of Rāmēsvaram. It is not improbable, nay it seems certain, that the Setupati asked for and obtained the assistance of the Dutch in this crisis, (though the poem does not mention this) and that Rāmappaiya, as a countermove, conciliated the Portuguese. The Portuguese had too many reasons to come to such a bargain. During the last two years the Dutch had proved singularly troublesome. They had had themselves with the emperor Vēṅkaṇapati by the tempting payment of 20,000 pardos for the uninterrupted possession of Pulicat. They had attacked Mylapore and reduced its wealth and population. They had seized the whole trade from Japan to the Straits. Above all, they intrigued with the Grand Moghul, Shah Jahan, and let loose his anger on them. They had moreover endeavoured to undermine the Portuguese influence in the courts of Tanjore and Ginji. All these circumstances induced the Portuguese to readily join the Madura general in the siege of Rāmēsvaram. It is not surprising that

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²³ Sewell refers to this agreement, but he attributes it to 1633. He also refers to a second agreement of a similar date and it is not improbable that it was in 1635.

²⁴ Mr. Rae in his "Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company" refers to this, though he gives the wrong date of 1633. "In 1653," he says, "the Setupati of Rammad rebelled and entrenched himself in the island of Pamban. He was assisted by a number of Europeans who came in five vessels from Ceylon and Cochin. Their motive was said to be to gain a footing in the country. They might have been either Portuguese or Dutch. They were most probably the latter, for at that time their activity was on the increase." Rae's surmise is correct; for the Portuguese were on the side of Tirumal Naṅik.

²⁵ Danvers II, 250. Between 1636 and 1638 the king of kandy also was on the side of the Dutch, to become afterwards the dupe and victim of their treachery. For details based on Baldeo see Tennent's Christianity in Ceylon, p. 38-9. As regards the trade in elephants in the Portuguese and Dutch periods see the same writer's Natural History of Ceylon, p. 163-4.

²⁶ Danvers II, 268. The Naṅik, however, was unwise in joining the losing side. For the Dutch took place after place after this. In 1639 they took Trincomali, (see Ceylon R. A. S. 1887). In 1658 they took Manar, arrived at Tuticorin, and the Portuguese, after a slight resistance, evacuated the town, burnt their vessels and took to flight and the Dutch occupied it. (Danvers II, 220); in 1660 Negapatam fell.
"on the 13th August, 1639, an ambassador arrived at Goa from the Nāik of Madura, who gave the Viceroy an assurance, on the part of his master, that in consideration of the assistance that had been sent to him when he wished to take Marava, he undertook to give the King of Portugal a fortress in Pampa, called Uhead, or wherever he might desire one, with a Portuguese Captain, fifty Portuguese soldiers, 100 lascars, and 3,000 pardoos for the maintenance of the same; he also undertook to build at his own cost a church at Ramnad, and seven churches between Pamban and Tondi. The Nāik also gave permission to all those who might desire it to become Christians, and promised to furnish gratuitously to the King of Portugal all the assistance he might require, both in men and supplies for service in Ceylon. He further undertook not to be friendly to the Dutch, nor to admit them into his territories, whilst his vessels would also not be permitted to visit Dutch ports."

**The Siege of Ramōśvaram.**

To resume the narrative of the war. When the forces of Madura encompassed the island, the Vaṣṇiyān redoubled his energies, to invest their boats and to remove their bowels. Taking the idols of Rāma and Lakṣmīṣaṇa in his ship, he gave battle to the besieger. During the first two days it was indecisive. On the third 500 ships (!), it is said, were engaged in the battle, and Rāmappaiya and his generals were so terrible that the Sē Tupati’s army lost 6000 men and fled in confusion. The island was about to be taken when the valour and common sense of Vaṣṇiyān turned the disaster into victory. The ensuing day, the Madura Daḻavā issued orders that if his lieutenants failed again they would be executed. At the same time he resorted, as the poem evidently seems to imply, to magical incantations and caused this great rival to suffer from small-pox. Vaṣṇiyā and his uncle were undaunted. They proceeded to Rāmānāthasvāmī’s shrine and prayed to obtain his grace. They implored the favour of Durgā, Kāḷi, Māri and other deities by the magnificence of their offerings and the sincerity of their prayer. They summoned the learned orthodox and with their aid performed sacrifices. The result of all these special enterprises was seen in the formation of ‘royal boils’ throughout Rāmappaiya’s body, and gave him unbearable pain. Nothing daunted, however, he fought on. The waters around the island were dyed red, and the Maravas were panic-stricken. Vaṣṇiyā himself left his sick bed and resorted to the battlefield, the last he was to engage in. Tied on to an elephant, he came in the midst of the usual paraphernalia. The five-coloured umbrella was held up before him. The chamaras were waved, the 18 kinds of music sounded, the archers formed the front ranks, and silver ringed matchlocks were carried. Auspicious omens attended him. The Garuḍa circled over him, while Ramappaiya had bad omens and forebodings. He dreamt that his master was killed by Vaṣṇiya, crows cawed over him and his left shoulders throbbed. The battle which followed was furious on both sides, and ended in the victory of the Marava. Admired and loved, the hero returned home and, as it turned out, to his death bed. Feeling the call of death, he advised his uncle to write to Rāmappaiya offering obedience and loyalty and an indemnity of one crore of rupees, and to surrender after getting an oath of fidelity in the name of his elder brother. With this wholesome advice the hero died. The poem describes, in eloquent and pathetic language, the widespread lamentations of the relations.

27. An interesting contribution by Burgess on the ritual of Rāmōśvaram can be studied in connection with this subject, *ante,* XII. pp. 315-26. See *ante,* Vol. XXVIII for examples of the application of magic to kill an enemy.
of the people, and the sāti of his wife. The very next day, the Sētupati's letter of surrender reached Rāmappaiya and two sthānapatis from the latter waited on the illustrious chief. With gold and silver flowers, with ornaments and other presents, he came to the great Dalavāi's presence. But no sooner did he make obeisance than the Brahman, with singular lack of chivalry, asked the fallen chief to shew him the cocoanut which he had vowed to tie to his hair. In proud and dignifid sullenness, the Sētupati replied that, if his nephew were alive, he would hardly have occasion to stand there and hear this supereilious language. The Dalavāi thereupon ordered him to be put in fetters, and when, immediately after, the army returned to Madura and Saḵayakka was brought in chains before Tirumal Nāik and was asked by the latter why he had dared to disobey, the prisoner gave him the same reply that, but for his nephew's death, he would never have yielded. The only result of this was that the Sētupati was subjected to the miserable life of a prisoner. There, the poem concludes, he made an earnest prayer to his Rāma to free him from his misery, and to the surprise of all, the chains which bound him broke of themselves, and made his person free. The news of the miracle was immediately carried to Tirumal Nāik, he felt convinced that the Sētupati had the full grace of Rāmanāthasvāmy and set him free. Saḵayakka28 then made obeisance to the Karta, and was taken to Rāmnāḍ and crowned in great prompt.

Such is the story given in the Rāmappaiyān Ammānai. Nelson29 gives a slightly different version. He says that Rāmappaiya actually died in the midst of the war on account of the enemy's resort to the black art, that he was then succeeded by Siva Rāmāya, his son-in-law, and that the latter, not less brave than his predecessor, succeeded in taking the island and capturing the rebel and one of his nephews, Danaka-deva. The prisoners were taken to Madura and there kept in prison. Tambi Sētupati was now placed at the head of the Maravas. He thus gained his ambition, but he was not wise enough to strengthen himself by an equitable rule. His want of statesmanship and his injustice raised popular discontent and diminished the revenues; and this state of things was availed of by Raghunātha Teva and his brother Nārāyaṇa to set up their claims and raise the standard of rebellion. Popular sympathy enabled them to gain the victory and make themselves the masters of Rāmnāḍ. Tambi once again resorted to Tirumal and prayed to him to restore him. But a large number of Bhairāgis and pilgrims waited on Tirumal and impressed on him that peace and security would come back to the country only if the Dalavāi Sētupati was set free and restored. Thus it was that the rightfull heir came to the throne. For a space of five or six years he ruled in peace; the country recovered from the effects of the war, and the people were contented. The History of the Carnatca Governors gives a simpler account. It says, that when Saḵayakka was in prison, the roads to Rāmēvaram became unsafe. "The Bhairāgis and Lāḍa Sanyāsins in consequence who had come from the north in pilgrimage to Rāmēvaram, waited for many a day outside the palace for an interview with the king, laid their own complaints, and earnestly begged for the liberation of Saḵayakka. The king sympathised with them and setting the

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28 According to one version Saḵayakka died at Rāmēvaram but not before encompassing the death of his younger brother by magic. J. L. W. believes in this, and thinks that Tirumal Nāik could not have conquered the Maravas, "that the United States of the Maravas had already begun to attain a vigour and power of resistance quite superior to any force," that the Madura monarch could put in the field. This is of course absurd. Calc. Rec. 1878, p. 451.

29 See Appendix I; also O. H. MSS. II, 180-1.
Sétupati free, asked him to behave more wisely in the future, and dismissed him to his kingdom with presents of robes and ornaments."

SECTION V.

War with Sṛt Rāga Rāya.

From these events it is plain how deficient Tirumal Nāïk was in all those talents of statesmanship which conducive to the strength and security of a kingdom. Lacking in foresight and in firmness, he signalised his reign by a series of blunders, which, far from fulfilling his ambitions, went to curb his power and subject his kingdom to the evils of war and his subjects, to misery. We have already seen how, immediately after his accession, he entertained the idea of declaring himself formally independent, and made warlike preparations, but how other circumstances intervened and, besides chocking his ambition, dictated a more peaceful attitude. Epigraphical evidence conclusively prove that he acknowledged his sovereign as late as 1634 (Bhāva). An inscription of 1629 at Tāpjikkombu shows that Rāma Dēva was acknowledged. In 1634 again, we are informed, the nominal emperor Vira Vēṃkaṭapati Dēva (Venkata II.), granted, at the humble and loyal request of Tirumal Nāïk, the village of Kāṇiyār or Muttukrishṇapuram in the Viravanallūr Māṅgaṇa of Mullai Nādu in Tiruvāḍi Rāja to certain Brahmans. But no sooner did the Sétupati war end than Tirumal gave up this loyal attitude and renewed his alliance with the governors of Tanjore and Ginji and entered into war with the nominal Emperor. And it was well that he secured the cooperation of those chiefs. For about 1642, there came to the throne at Chandragiri a prince, Srīraṅga Rāya III. by name, whose talents and character made him an exceptionally powerful monarch. He had, unlike his immediate predecessors, a superior spirit and understanding which could hardly, like their meek and placid disposition, submit without a murmur to the insolence of his vassals. Immediately after his accession he seems to have entertained the idea of reviving the greatness of his ancestors and releasing the central government from the turbulence of local and provincial authorities. Such a prince, with such a policy of centralisation and efficiency, could hardly ignore the formidable treason of Tirumal and his confederates. With a large and formidable force, therefore, he promptly marched southward to chastise the guilt of his feudatories. This stern resolution and prompt action on the part of the emperor seems to have struck terror into the hearts of the governors, and cooled their ardour for united action.

The Emperor's Victory.

Both from principle and habit they had long been jealous of one another, and the present sense of common danger or common interests could not overcome their traditional

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30 Antiquities, 1, 289.
32 The date of his accession, according to Mr. Krishna Sastri was in September or October of 1642, see Arch. annual, 1911-2.
33 Orme quotes Thevenot (Fragments p. 231) to show that Vellore was the capital, while Chandragiri had occupied that place at the end of the 17th century. See J. H. Garstin's S. Arcot Manual, p. 4. In his Forg. Emp. p. 233, Sewell points out from Portuguese records of St. Thome that about 1635 the king was at Vellore and that the king was then "devoid of energy, and that one Timma Rāya had revolted against him." It is very likely that this Timma Rāya was Tirumal Nāïk.
rivalry. When Śrī Raṅga Rāya approached Ginji, therefore, he found his adversaries not only unprepared, but disunited. The Nāik of Tanjore, evidently the pious Vijaya Rāghava, availed himself, with plausible sincerity, of the first chance to add a second treason to the first. At the mere sight of the imperial forces, he deserted his allies, offered his submission to Śrī Raṅga Rāya, informed him of the nature and extent of the confederate league, and, faithful to his new allegiance, took part in the operations of the imperial army. Śrī Raṅga was now in a position to march on Ginji. It is impossible to explain the lethargic despair into which Tirumal Nāik fell at this crisis.

More than fifteen years back,²⁴ he had commenced, in the anticipation of this very war, to husband the resources of his realm, and what was more, would probably have succeeded, if the war had then broken out; and yet, fifteen years later, when the invasion did actually take place,—an invasion that, being the sole outcome of his deliberate treason, must have been long expected by him—he showed himself, even with the assistance of the Governor of Ginji, singularly impotent. What were the reasons of this strange inconsistency? Possibly, the military strength of Madura had been weakened by the Ramnad rebellion. Possibly, Tirumal had not yet recovered from the effects of his protracted wars with Mysore and Travancore. His very eagerness to ignore his differences with the chiefs of Ginji and Tanjore and to enlist their cooperation had been in all probability due to this exhaustion of his resources. It is at the same time probable that he mistook the military capacity of his suzerain, and deluded himself into the notion that the emperor was too weak to resist or too timid to chastise his disaffection. Whatever it was, the fickleness of the Tanjore Nāik and the unexpected activity of Śrī Raṅga Rāya evidently upset his calculations, disappointed his expectations, and paralysed his energies. From that time he appears to have sunk into a depression of spirits which dulled the fiery elements of his nature and incapacitated him for exertion.

Tirumal's invitation to the Golconda Sultan.

At this crisis, he took a step, the enormity and folly of which will always single him out as one of the most shortsighted rulers in Indian History. This was no less than an invitation to the Sultan of Golconda the greedy Abdulla, Kutb Shah, the fifth of the Kutb Shahi dynasty and the deadly enemy of the Empire, to invade the Northern dominions of his master. It was a diplomatic move, no doubt, but the act of a political vandal who knew neither honour nor patriotism, and worshipped expediency and selfishness alone. For the sake of a title, Tirumal Nāik thus betrayed his religion and his country, besides sacrificing his conscience and his reputation. More than 300 years had passed since Malik Kafur had marched his army into South India. The obstinate defence of Vijayanagar on the one hand and the disunion among the Dakhani Sultans on the other hand prevented the complete Muhammadan conquest of this region. Even after the disaster of Talikota and the removal of the seat of government to Pennakoḍa, the Musalmān attempt at conquest and domination had, as we have already seen, almost though not entirely, failed. And, by a strange irony of fate, it was reserved for the most orthodox king of the age to play the traitor and invite the dreaded enemy into the land. Mr. Nelson, an ardent admirer of Tirumal Nāik, mistakes his treachery for diplomacy, and considers his call for Musalmān interference to be a laudable break from the past isolation of Madura. But the conduct of

²⁴ Tirumal Nāik's rebellion against 'Vijayanagar' is generally attributed to 1638. See, for example, S. Arcot., Gaz. p. 36. But it took place after 1642.
Tirumal Naïk is too plainly shortsighted to be capable of defence. His was an action which no true statesman in his position would have taken, no true Hindu would have supported, and certainly no man with any knowledge of Moslem rule would have thought of.

As for the Sultan, he was too glad to embrace such a golden opportunity, an opportunity for which he and his ancestors had long waited in vain. He had learnt from experience that, so long as the Cis-Krishna lands were united under a single nominal sway, he could not, in spite of victories in the field of battle, plant his power permanently there. He had also known that the moment the viceroys of South India disavowed their allegiance to their common overlord, the conquest of that region was a question of time. The treason of Tirumal Naïk and the infidelity of his brother chiefs precipitated this very circumstance, and the Sultan only too eagerly seized the Naïk's proposal for an alliance and invasion. It is true, as Wilks says, that the Sultan of Golcoo'da would have been wiser if he had joined the Sultan of Bijapur, and opposed the Mughal who had taken Daulatabad in 1634 and Ahmadnagar in 1637, who had just established a regular imperial government in the Dakhan, and who openly desired to subdue and annex the two southern powers. But the Sultans were too shortsighted to understand their own interest. They had arrived at that stage of civilization in which gorgeous and awkward splendour covered the most gross political darkness. Instead of directing their united force against his paramount and obvious danger, they were engaged in idle pomp and pageantry and in an arrogant and shortsighted project for the partition of the dominions of the South. It was agreed that each should extend his conquest over the countries of the Zemindars of the Carnatic as they affected to call them, who were nearer to their respective territories. The aggression of Mysore in the upper Carnatic led many chiefs of that region—for instance those of Tarikera, Anicul, etc.—to call in the help of Bijapur, while the chiefs of Madura, Tanjore and Ginji in the lower Carnatic brought about, as we have already seen, the Golcoo'da invasion by their disaffection.

The Golconda Invasion 1644?

The army which Abdullah sent in response to Tirumal Naïk's offer of alliance had a rapid and sure progress. The frontiers of the tottering Empire had been evidently left without defence, owing to the Emperor's engagement against his refractory vassals in the South. The Golcoo'da army in consequence found the country a ready prey to their occupation and vandalism. In their fury, they ravaged the country, burnt villages, destroyed temples, tortured people, demolished edifices of rare architectural skill. Sri Raïga Râya was alarmed. He promptly abandoned his campaign in the south, and proceeded to the north to meet the new danger. We have no materials to enlighten us on the details of the campaign which followed. It seems that the valour of Sri Raïga Râya gained more than one victory, but it was hardly a match for the superior skill of his adversaries, and before long he had to resign his northern districts for ever. The prudence of Sri Raïga Râya then sacrificed his pride, and called in his troublesome vassals to suspend their animosities and combine in the defence of their homes and their gods. With truth and logic he point-

35 Wilks, I, p. 41.
36 Wilks is ignorant of this fact. He does not see that the actions of the lower Carnatic chiefs were independent of those of Mysore, and that they applied to the different Sultans. Owing to this ignorance, he thinks that the account of Golconda's dealing with Ginji must be a mistake of the copyist. Wilks does not know that it was Golconda that first intervened in the lower Carnatic, though, owing to certain circumstances, which I shall presently point out, that had to retire and Bijapur took her place.
ed out that the Muhammedan was as much an enemy to them as to himself. His appeal to reason failed, and he used, we may be certain, the language of threat and indignation, and vowed to chastise a guilt unpardonable under any circumstances. But his threats, and his entreaties were equally ineffectual. For months his endeavours brought forth little more than empty exchanges of sweet words. Shows and pomp, amusements and entertainments, followed in rapid but futile succession; but while the emperor's glory was exalted by pomp and pageantry, by falsehood and flattery, the profusion of praises on the part of the Naiks was hardly accompanied by sincerity of feeling or rectitude of conduct. With the gorgeous display of loyalty and liberal assurance of support they combined a duplicity which did not hesitate to hold friendly communications with the invaders. The King of Mysore, the gallant and chivalrous Kanthirava Narasa Raj, who came to the throne in 1639, was the only ruler who had a true and statesmanlike grasp of the situation, and who was true to his suzerain. But he, as we have already seen, had his own difficulties. While Golconda had been engaged in attacking the Empire in the plains, Bijapur had been warring with him in the Upper Carnatic. Indeed by 1637 the Bijapur General Rendulla Khan had overcome "the whole open country of Bankapur, Hurryhur, Baswapatam and Tarrikeram, up to the woods of Bednore," and in 1638 laid siege to Sirraipatana itself. Rendulla Khan succeeded in effecting a formidable breach and making a general assault; and it required the utmost energy and sleepless valour of Kanthirava to save the capital and compel the enemy to retreat. Under these circumstances, he could not promptly come to the assistance of his suzerain, and the army which he despatched in consequence was to late too assist or too weak to avenge. The Muhammadans had taken advantage of Sri Raiga's tardiness or rather weakness to garrison the conquered region, so that they now had new resources at their disposal. In a few months the prospect of Sri Raiga became so gloomy that he gave up the idea of defence and took refuge among the Kaillas of N. Tanjore, where, in the fidelity of his rude hosts, he forgot for a few months the precariousness of his situation. Misfortune, however, pursued him thither also. The loss of power and lands brought the loss of friends and attendants. Powerlessness provoked disaffection, and adversity ingratitude. Many a soldier, courtier and nobleman, deserted his sovereign at a time when his fortunes were in the lowest ebb, when the toils of hardship and the sorrows of want made life a burden to him. Friendless and homeless, the unfortunate monarch, a pathetic spectacle of fallen greatness, then fled for protection to the only chieftain who had proved himself to be a loyal servant and true statesman,—the ruler of Mysore.

(To be continued.)

37 Wilks, I. p. 32 and 41. Kanthirava was a very strong and chivalrous ruler. Wilks narrates an instance of his chivalrous spirit. Once he went to the Trichi Court and defeated in combat a champion of that Court, who had defeated all his challengers from every part of India. Wilks I, p. 30. For his administration of Mysore, Ibid, p. 32-33. It is curious that Wilks does not refer to the war between the emperor and his vassals and to the part that Mysore played therein. The numismatic importance of Kanthirava's reign is described in Chap. XI: see also Ante, XX, p. 368-9; Madr. Arch. Rep. 1910-11 p. 3; Buchanan II, 381.

38 The dominions of Jaga Deva at this time were all brought under the Mysore Rajas and the Muhammadans now attempted to take these regions. See Buchanan II, 484; Rice's Mys. Gaz. II, p. 62; and Madr. Ep. Rep. 1911, p. 62.
THIRTEEN NEWLY DISCOVERED DRAMAS ATTRIBUTED TO BHĀSA.

BY BHATTANATHA SVAMIN; KUMBAKONAM.

Mr T. Gaṇapati Sāstri of Trivandrum has edited a number of Sanskrit dramas and attributed them to the ancient dramatist Bhāsa, who is earlier than Kālidāsa. The discovery has resulted in drawing the attention of many Sanskritists, one of whom is Prof. Jacobi. Mrichchhakatika, supposed to be one of the best, if not the best, of Sanskrit dramas, is now reduced to an adaptation of one of these dramas. How disappointing it is to be told that a poet praised for his unparalleled originality did nothing more than take an ancient drama and make several additions without much embelishing the original? Does this not show a hopeless lack of originality of the reviser? One should not forget, however, that this observation cannot be well established unless Bhāsa’s authorship of these dramas is proved beyond doubt.

When we come to that question, what strikes us first is that none of these dramas supplies us with the name of the author. The editor, however, convinces himself that the author of all is no other than Bhāsa. He comes to this conclusion on the following grounds:

(1) Several instances show that all these dramas come from the pen of one and the same author. So if we succeed in discovering the author of one of them, we have the author of all.

(2) There is reason to identify one of these dramas with the Svapnavāsavadatta quoted by several authors. Hence if we know the author of Svapnavāsavadatta, we know the author of all these dramas.

(3) The verse of Rājaśekhara which runs

भासानात्तककषोधकः कछोदकः लिंगे परिलिंगम्
स्वप्नवासवासवद्य श्रीकौमुख पावकः

tells us that the author of a number of dramas including the Svapnavāsavadatta is Bhāsa. From this we can conclude that the Čhārudatta-nāṭaka and its sister dramas must have been written by Bhāsa, for they must necessarily have been composed by one who wrote Svapnavāsavadatta.

So the editor thinks that some, at any rate, of the dramas included in the Bhāsa-nāṭaka-chakra, as it is called by Rājaśekhara, have been brought to light now for the first time.

But I am not convinced of Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstri’s arguments. Undoubtedly there are many references to a drama called Svapnavāsavadatta. We are thankful to the editor for having collected all those references in his introduction. The point to be considered is whether they are references to the drama now published with the title Svapnavāsavadatta. A careful examination of two references negatives this fact.

(1) Sarvānanda’s Tikā-svarupa on Amarakośa refers to a Svapnavāsavadatta. The passage as quoted in the introduction of the Svapnavāsavadatta runs as follows:

“स्वप्नवासवासवद्य प्रभावतीपरिपूर्ववशस्त्रः स्वप्नवासवशस्त्रः | इत्यथास्वशस्त्रेत्थज्ञानार्थयुक्तः कामकौमुखः

(See Svapna. Intro. p. XXII.)

This is a clear reference to the present drama which has Padmāvatī’s marriage for its plot. But the passage actually found in Sarvānanda’s work slightly differs from the above. The learned Sāstri himself has undertaken the editing of the valuable work of
Sarvānanda, and the passage in question is found in the portion already come out of press. On page 147 of the first part of that publication we find

"त्रिविषयः शुक्लराय परम्यलक्षणमिति: । तपाको यथा नियमचरणां ब्राह्मणोऽन्तः । द्वितीयः श्वेताकारः
   मातरसाकलतेनसुसरसति पदार्तशीर्षपत्तिः । तृतीयः श्वेताकारः सस्ये सस्ये वासवदत्तायांपरिणामः
   कान्तरुखः ||"

Whence, then, has the editor got the version which he has quoted in his introduction to the Svapnavasavadatta? Taking existing MSS. of Tikāsarasva to be imperfect here, the editor has cited what he has supposed to be the correct reading of the passage. This is proved by his foot-note on the passage in his publication of the Tikāsarasva.

"शुक्रारं श्वेताकारम् । द्वितीयस्वरूपः। हेतु पदश्च: स्वाम।"

All this has been done because Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstri considers that the drama called Svapnavasavadatta is no other than the one published by him. I, on the contrary, suppose that the Svapnavasavadatta quoted by Sarvānanda is an entirely different work and has for its plot Vāsavadatta’s, and not Padmāvatī’s, marriage with Udayana.

(2) My supposition is strengthened by another reference to the Svapnavasavadatta. It is in Abhinavagupta’s Lochana on the Dhvanyāloka. Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstri remarks on the reference thus “The Āryā

"सत्त्वलक्षणकारः नवमार्ग्रो श्वेतपत्तित्रेण (?)।
   उदयां सा प्रकटम हरसुभृं म नूपतत्तुजः||"

"is quoted in page 152 in the 3rd Udyota of Dhvanyālokalochana as being taken from Svapnavasavadatta. But I should think that this īloka is not from Svapnavasavadatta, for it is found in none of the three manuscripts of ours. Besides, this īloka apparently signifies the springing up of love for a lady at first sight. It should be either for Vāsavadattā or Padmāvatī. But it could not be for the former, for the troubled thoughts of a lover for his far off lady appear in this Nāṭaka only long after a happy wedded life; nor could it be for the latter, for, she was offered to Vatsarāja even without his request, at a time when he was much afflicted with thoughts of Vāsavadattā. This surely could not be the occasion for describing his love for Padmāvatī. It is thus seen that this īloka could not find a place in Svapnavasavadatta. Hence, we could not infer that this was an omission in the readings of some manuscripts owing to the Nāṭaka having ceased from circulation.” (Svapna. Intro. pp. XXIII f.)

I cannot but agree with the editor that the verse quoted by Abhinavagupta is a lover’s expression of the depth of his love at first beholding his beloved and that there is no room for such an expression in the present Svapnavasavadatta. I set aside the editor’s assumption, however, that there has been only one Svapnavasavadatta in the whole Sanskrit Literature and that it is identical with the printed one. If there had been, as I suppose, another drama dealing with Udayana’s making love to Vāsavadatta and if, on the authority of Sarvānanda, its designation must be Svapnavasavadatta, we should have no reason to hesitate to declare that Abhinavagupta took the above Āryā from that drama, for the īloka can find a context in it.

If we consider the significance of the title Svapnavasavadatta, we at once find that its application to the present drama has a certain amount of irrationality. The event from which a drama derives its name must have an importance; in other words, it should give effect to further development of the plot. In Abhijñāna-Sākuntala the ring which is the abhijñāna, or the object of recognition, is the central point of the plot of the fourth, fifth
and sixth acts, and of the seventh act to a little extent. It is introduced in the very first act where it serves the purpose of the king being recognised by the maidens. Thus Kālidāsa is fully justified in giving the name Abhiṣēkā-Sakuntala to his play, which means अभिषेकानवरोधां शाकुन्तलां “the work on the story of Sakuntalā whose prominent feature is some token of remembrance.” The name Mudrā-Rākshasa, too, depends upon the prevailing importance of the seal. The name Vikramorvaśīya means, according to some interpreters, “the work on the story of Ģūrvaśī having valour as its important feature.” It is justifiably because Purūravas’s valour releases Ģūrvaśī from prison. Its effect on the love of Ģūrvaśī is manifest in हसन उभारविव राविनि राभय सि etc. (p. 18); काह नु ह सो आभणपुष्पमी मद्ये (p. 41); and नस सुवारीने हुजअव महाराजे एव रवय रणन राजी (p. 52). Also his valour is the cause of Indra’s allowing Ģūrvaśī’s union with Purūravas. (See pp. 72 and 146). In Mrīchchhakaṇṭha the event of a clay cart has for its sequence Chārudatta’s accusation, which resulted in speedy destruction of Pālaka through the hands of Chārudatta’s friend Āryaka and his party, and thus brought prosperity to Chārudatta. 4

Now to come to our subject, in the printed Svapnavāsavadatta, the Svapna, the scene of the fifth act has no striking connection with the main plot. It is introduced in an unexpected way and finished without manifesting any effect upon coming events. It is absurd of the author to name his drama after such an unimportant event. If Bhavabhūti had named his Uitara-rāmacarita after Rāma’s union with the unperceived Sitā in the third act, it would not be more absurd than this designation. Though unimportant, it serves to safeguard Rāma from falling a victim to a broken-heart. Here this event of svapna is introduced when the king’s state of mind has become less acute, as expressed by the words “मन नु मन द्वारा शोकः”. 3 Besides this, Padmāvati’s unexplained absence from Samudragrīha, and the event not being a dream in reality, are utterly unbecoming for such a highly praised drama as the Svapnavāsavadatta. Thus the author, whoever he may be, instead of giving a name after finishing the drama or mentally rearranging the plot, seems to have taken the name into account first and then begun to write a drama to suit the name. His choice of the story and many other disadvantages prevented him from attaining his purpose. This consideration induces us to suppose that there must be another drama from which such absurdities are absent.

From the references of Sarvānanda and Abhinavagupta we inferred that there was a drama with the name Svapnavāsavadatta and Vāsavadattā’s marriage for its main plot. In all probability this belief seems not to be far from the truth for two reasons: (1) Abhinavagupta’s quoting a verse as from the Svapnavāsavadatta need not be taken as a misrepresentation and (2) Sarvānanda’s specification of the story of the Svapnavāsavadatta requires no modification. So we have reason to conclude that our Pseudo-Bhāsa has availed himself of the name Svapnavāsavadatta either in full or in a contracted form, and has tried to produce a play to suit that name.

One objection may be raised in this connection. How can a drama developing the love story of Vāsavadattā and Udayana give a prominent place to a dream, since the story as told in the Kāthāsārīt-sāgara does not hint at a dream? This objection, however, may be got

1 “I am aware that the generally adopted explanation of the name is to take it as a Madhyamapadacānd compound and as meaning Ģūrvaśī won by valour etc.” S. P. Pandit’s preface to Raghuvirasā Vol. III. p. 31.

2 Bombay Sanskrit Series; Vol. XVI. 3rd edition.

3 Svapna, p. 51. (1st ed.)
over very easily. Names such as Abhijñāna-Sākuntalā and Nirdosha-Daisaratha suggest that the name given to a drama by its author may depend upon a dramatic refinement for its significance. Moreover, Udyana's story as narrated in the Kathāsarit-sāgara is not closely followed by many authors. For instance, from the Rainivali and Priyadarśanī we learn that Vāsavadatā's father was Pradyota, ruler of Ujjayinī. According to Kathāsarit-sāgara, Pradyota was a ruler of Magadha and was the father of Padmāvatī, and not of Vāsavadatā. Further, in the Kathāsarit-sāgara Udyana alone was thought to be deserving of marriage with Vāsavadatā by her father. But see Bhavabhūti's representation:

"सातत्रेयसा च संजयास्वर रात्रेपिबदिष्यति
रुद्रनाभादनुदेश्यनयः प्रकटिं"

(Mālatī-Mādhava, Act II.)

Fortunately we know a story which answers to this allusion. Commenting upon the verse पारशुरामनन्तननकुंभकाविवाहमुद्रापूर्व, etc. the late Prof. Wilson says:—"The story of Udayana, or Vatsarāja, as he is also named, is thus told concisely by the commentators on the poem; Pradyota was a sovereign of Ouejin, who had a daughter named Vāsavadatā and whom he intended to bestow in marriage upon a king of the name of Sanjaya. In the meantime the princess sees the figure of Vatsarāja, sovereign of Cūshā Dripa, in a dream and becomes enamoured of him; she contrives to inform him of her love, and he carries her off from her father and his rival. The same story is alluded to in the Mālatī Mādhava, a drama by Bhavabhūti, but neither in that nor in the Commentary on the Megha Dūta, is mention made of the author, or of the work in which it is related." Bhavabhūti's mentioning Vāsavadatā is preceded by two references to Sakuntalā and Ėrvāṇī. About those two Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar says:—"The story of Sakuntalā and Dushyanta and of the Apsaras and Purūravas, mentioned by Kāmanda in the first act of the present play, may, very reasonably, be understood to be allusions to the Abhijñāna-Sākuntalā and Vikramorvaśiyā." (Int. to Mālatī-Mādhava, Bombay Sanskrit Series; p. XI). If these two allusions are really to certain dramas, the one following them, too, may possibly be ascribed to some drama. I think that is the drama of Bhāsa which goes by the name Svapnavāsavadatā. The dream of Vāsavadatā, serving as the starting point of Vāsavadatā's love and thus having an important part, justifies the name. Besides, the verse स्वप्नवासवासवदत्त, etc., quoted by Abhinavagupta also justifies the title. The verse, if translated, runs as follows:—"Having opened the gateway of my eye, whose doors of eyelids had been shut, by means of the key of her own beauty (?) the princess entered the lodgings of my heart."

From this we learn that the lover, most probably Udayana, first beheld his beloved princess, seemingly none other than Vāsavadatā, in a dream.

Concerning the account given by the commentators on Meghadūta, Prof. Wilson observes that the tale of Subandhu's Vāsavadatā "corresponds in many points with that of Udayana as here explained." The inference founded upon the sloka quoted by Abhinavagupta furthers this resemblance. Subandhu narrates that both the hero Kandarpaketu, and the heroine, the namesake of Udayana's queen, first see each other in dreams. So it is

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4 See Sarvaśākiṣṭhānādharana, p. 309 (Jivānanda's edition of 1894.)
6 Meghadūta, Canto I, 32, and page 32. (Wilson's edition.)
7 This seems to be a scribal mistake for कञ्जनम्भ।
8 See also Nandarghar's notes on Meghadūta, p. 35.
9 See Vāsavadatā pp. 56-79 and 181 to 188 (V. ni Vilas edition, 1906.)
possible, nay, even probable, that a drama on the love of Vāsavadattā and Udayana, properly named Svapnavāsavadatta, exists. It is also established that there are references which cannot be explained unless such a drama has existed.

Now comes the question whether there are any references to the Svapnavāsavadatta which we have in print. In Abhinavagupta’s Bharata-Nātyavedavirīti a reference “कैचल्यी वया च चम्पाशस्वचनायम्” is found by Mr. Gaṇapatī Sāstri10 but we cannot conclude that it is a reference to the published work, unless we are in a position to positively state that the other Svapnavāsavadatta is devoid of a description of Kriṣṇā. As a love story it may possibly contain it. Rājasekhara’s verse quoted above can be a reference to any one of these two Svapnavāsavadattas. It is safe, however, to conclude that it is a reference to the other Svapnavāsavadatta yet unpublished and not to the present one, the existence of which, in all probability, was unknown to any one of our reliable authors. Similarly we cannot accept Bhāsa’s authorship of other dramas of this collection. It entirely rests upon the identification of the author of the present Svapnavāsavadatta with Bhāsa, and we are certain that that identification is dubious.

In his introduction to the Pratimāndīaka Mr. Gaṇapatī Sāstri says11 “the Swapnavāsavadatta and Pratijñā-yuangandharāyaṇa were, beyond doubt, in vogue at the time of the rhetorician Vāmana; and the Bālachārīta and the Chārūdatta in the time of Daṇḍin, as is seen from their having extracted verses, as examples, from them. From the fact that Abhinavagupta mentions in his Nātyavedavirīti the names of Svapnavāsavadatta and Daṇḍa-chārūdatta, it could be concluded that the said Rāpakas used to be studied in his time. The other Rāpakas might have been forgotten during the times of Vāmana and others, and hence, I think, no verses have been quoted by them from those works.” In other places he says “the said poet lived in times previous to the age of Vāmana, Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, who have quoted from these Nātakas ad verum, ad sensum”12 and “it is quite proper that Chārakya quoted the verse occurring in the Pratijñā-Nātaka and that Bhāsa lived considerably long before Chāṣṭikya.”13 Taking all these to be granted, the Sāstri enters into numerous conjectures. I do not wish to discuss all of them here. I briefly state my opinions upon some of his seemingly strong conclusions.

He thinks that Chārūdatta is known to Daṇḍin and not to Vāmana. But Vāmana quotes the following verse, which is found both in Chārūdattānāndikā and Mričchhakālīka:—

बासं बलिण्यति मृदुवर्षाण्या हर्षेन सारसागरेष्व विनववार्ये।

तानवेश पुरुषविश्वात्रुमुच्यते जीवितेऽवति: पतनि कौः कौमालावतितः। 14

But another quotation “यूलव नमस्त्रेष्वाविशिष्टम्य राजस्तम्” (Kavyālaṅkārasūtra, p. 56. Kāvyamāla ed. 1889) is not found in the Chārūdatta-nātaka. So this is certainly taken from the second act of the Mričchhakālīka. Moreover, Vāmana praises Sūdraka in the following sentence:—

शृंगपतीर्विशेषैं भवन्यवर्ध्यं दुर्गमयानो वृत्ती (III. 2.4).15

If Sūdraka’s adoption of the Chārūdatta-nātaka has been known to Vāmanā, he would not have been justified in praising Sūdraka, and not Bhāsa, for his skill in developing the plot. If we admit Mr. Gaṇapatī Sāstri’s estimation of Sūdraka, we must think that Vāmana too has been “under the false impression that he16 is the original author.” But who was

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10 Introd. to Scapna. p. XXII.
11 Ibid. p. XXXIX.
12 Ibid. p. XXXV.
13 Ibid. p. XXXVI.
14 Scapna. Int. pp. XXII and XXIII.
15 Ibid. p. XLII.
16 Scit., Sūdraka.
not under that impression? Mr. Gaṇapatī Sāstri concludes that Daṇḍin knows the Chārudaṭta and Bālakārīta, simply because he quotes a line which is found in those two dramas.\textsuperscript{17} But the line is also found in the first act of Mricchhakātikā.\textsuperscript{18} So there is absolutely no proof to say that Daṇḍin knew the two works unknown to Vāmana.

A few words about [Daridra] Chārudaṭta will not be out of place here. Mr. Sāstri hinks that the Chārudaṭta is an incomplete work.\textsuperscript{19} But it seems to me that it is complete. Its author wanted to abridge the Mricchhakātikā so as to be acted in one night. This necessitated its completion with Vasantaśa's Abhisaraṇa to Chārudaṭta in the fourth act. In finishing it there he carefully omitted all passages and scenes which indicated events of the last six acts of the Mricchhakātikā. That is why the last words of Saṁvāhaka, which are as follows, are omitted in the Chārudaṭta-nāṭaka:\textsuperscript{20}

“ता श्वासार्य वृहि-भवे द्रव्यमप्तकरणे श्वरोपतिः वर्षाकर्षणे एवं अवस्य” (Mr. p. 117.)

Every reference to Āryaka in these four acts is omitted. Sakūra’s words “अहिंसितं वर्धिन्तं अन्नलेखनस्य”\textsuperscript{21} are omitted because they indicate that there would be a trial scene. Reference to Pālaka in the Prastāvana is also omitted purposely. Once he failed in doing so; he failed to omit the line “पायम् कि च वितरिक्रि कृणेत बलवते संज्ञाते”, which is meant to indicate Chārudaṭta's accusation in the ninth act. He who fails to acknowledge the significance of the passage must be the borrower. Moreover, in the seventh act of the Mricchhakātikā we find औ न वसन्तसेना। वसन्तसेनी श्लोकोऽथ (p. 305). In Chārudaṭta औ तथा वसन्तसेना, वसन्तसेनी पनी (p. 60) is in the third act. If Sādrika is the author that has adopted from the other, we see no reason why he should change the context of the above expression. If we take the author of Chārudaṭta as the borrower, we see that he not only adopts the Mricchhakātikā, but omits the last acts of it; so unwilling to lose such an expression full of fun, he may have inserted it in one of the first four acts. The author of the Chārudaṭta also replaces some difficult words by ordinary ones. See मत्स्य in Chārudaṭta\textsuperscript{22} instead of वर्ण in Mricchhakātikā; अर्द्ध अस्त्रक वर्तमानः for अर्द्ध अस्त्रक वर्तमानः। Also by changing अभि चतुष्ठानिन्द्रे वास्तविकताँ तथा गहनाः न इन्द्रयम् where the sense is spoiled. संस्कर्तं कृपया is changed into संस्कर्तं न लिखितम्.\textsuperscript{23} These show that the author of Chārudaṭta, but not of Mricchhakātikā, is the modifier.

Let us turn to our subject. The Daridra-Chārudaṭta referred to by Abhinavagupta is supposed to be the Chārudaṭta of this collection.\textsuperscript{24} I cannot admit this inference unless I actually see the passage, consider its context, and be assured that it cannot but be a reference to a play and that it cannot be another name of the Mricchhakātikā. Anyhow, I am sure that an authority of Abhinavagupta's rank will not at all think the Chārudaṭta-nāṭaka, certainly a slavish adoption of the Mricchhakātikā, worth notice.

Vāmana’s knowledge of the Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa is open to doubt. Mr. Gaṇapatī Sāstri’s statement is based upon Vāmana’s quoting श्रवणिण्यवेदयु कुते न भूक्ते, which is found in the said drama.\textsuperscript{25} But it is also found in Kautilya’s Arthasastra.\textsuperscript{26} We have no

\textsuperscript{17} Scapna. Intro. p. XXIII.  
\textsuperscript{18} Mricchhakātikā (Bombay Sanskrit series Vol. LII), p. 41.  
\textsuperscript{19} Pratimatārthaka. Intro. p. XXII.  
\textsuperscript{20} Mricchhakātikā (Bombay Sanskrit series Vol. LII), p. 41.  
\textsuperscript{21} M. ich. p. 59 and Chārudaṭta p. 25.  
\textsuperscript{22} Chārudaṭta p. 10.  
\textsuperscript{23} M. ich. p. 134 and Chārudaṭta p. 50.  
\textsuperscript{24} M. ich. p. 150. and Chārudaṭta p. 57.  
\textsuperscript{25} In page 63 of the Chārudaṭta we find (कवीया सुप्रिया) हरि सर्वर्वं सुपर्णं, which shows that the persons who adopted the Mricchhakātikā is a Southerner. Can these Nāṭakas be productions of the Chākyar actors of the past? See Int. to Pratimāraṇa p. XI.  
\textsuperscript{26} Int. to Scapna. p. XXII.  
\textsuperscript{27} Scapna. Int. p. XXII.  
\textsuperscript{28} Scapna. p. XXII.  
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid. p. XXVII.
data to prove that our Pseudo-Bhāsa is earlier than Vāmana and Chāṇakya. I admit
that the verse

“हर्षदर्शद्रुपकृतिवा वाताविवेचन नामिनि।
कामतुल्यस्तमासितस्तमुखसतम न मम।”

is quoted by Vāmana. But the author of the so-called Scapnavāsa-vadatta is the author
of an adoption of the Mṛchekhatākā, i.e., Chārudatta-nājakā. Hence, he is in the habit
of utilizing others’ composition. Then the above Anushṭubh may be a borrowing in the
printed Scapnavāsa-vadatta. We find the following sentence in the Chārudatta-nājakā.

“शार्यवें नाम नविनिनु: पुद्दम सीष्ठाचर्य मनम्।”

(Chārudatta, page 8.)

A similar quotation is found in Vāmana’s work.

(IV. 3. 23.)

It is improbable that in quoting a passage as an illustration one would have modified
it. The modification is unnecessary for Vāmana, while it is quite a necessity to the
dramatist. It is reasonable, therefore, to think that our dramatist is indebted to Vāmana
at least for this passage. Moreover, there has been another play having the same plot as
that of the Scapnavāsa-vadatta. It is called the Tāpasavatsarāja.31 The following quo-
tations clearly prove the identity of plots of the two dramas:

“हृष्टा गृहयं निजिता विश्रुत्वम् प्रातः हेति नूयाचार्यः च नूयः।
सम्भ्राहस्युपत्तिस्तन: चार्यः किं च नूयः (हृष्टा) गृहयं च नूयः।”

“सत्यासुभिर्मः (प्रतिभयः) हि ज्ञानविनीतिमहानिनिनतत्ततः तदुपसुन्दरस्यतीतानानासुभिर्मः।
प्राणानत्तत्ततः [सत्यासुभिर्मः] प्रातः हेति नूयाचार्यः।”

(Dhevanīloka-Lochana p. 151 and Hemachandra’s Kavvīkanūsāna p. 122.)

We are not in a position to realize the exact amount of the development of the plot
which our author owes to the author of the Tāpasavatsarāja. The following quotation from
the Sarasvatīkāyādhārana shows that there is at least one event, which is not touched in
the present Scapnavāsa-vadatta, but described in the Tāpasavatsarāja:

“किं च श्राब्धा मनस्ते वासुदेवस्यां वेदान्तिकाविर्दितां प्रायविणी
नववासो नववृत्तिः सत्यासुभिर्मः विकारण्यवती
व्यवहारसीनां व्यवहारसीनां नारायानसरसीनां
(Sarasvatīkāyādhārana (Calcutta 1894) p. 809.)

Perhaps the verse शरदंश्रिित्व वृक्षेऽथ, etc., is found in the Tāpasavatsarāja.

As regards Bhāmaha’s quotation I am certain that Bhāmaha’s criticism of the original
story of the false elephant is well-known to our dramatist, for the latter introduces the
speech तस्माव तस्मात: ब्रह्माण्यवत: एकं: etc.,32 to meet the gravest of the objections raised by
the former in the verse:

“सत्यानां सन्ततिः मायाय सन्ततिः च।
विग्राहमेवं वेष्य सर्वार्थविनात्तिः किं च नूयः।”

Otherwise, if as Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstri thinks, Bhāmaha criticises the Pratijñānaṅkā, it
would have been absurd of Bhāmaha to raise a question which is answered in the
text itself. So “अनेन नम नास्ति” etc., must have been borrowed by the author of
Pratijñānaṅkā from Bhāmaha’s work, and not by Bhāmaha from the Pratijñā-Yaugan-
dhāraya.

Thus the dramas discovered by Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstri seem to be quite modern and
unworthy of being attributed to Bhāsā.

[31] A fragmentary MS. of the play is noticed in the Catalogus Catalogorum. My Brother S P. V.
Ranganathaswamy Aryavaraguru of Vizagapatam tried to get a copy of it, but failed owing to his ignorance
of the actual place of its deposition.

[32] Scapna. Int. Part. XLIV.

[33] Bhāmaha IV. 47.
THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 188.)

Golconda’s attack on the rebels themselves.

The Muhammadans had by this time brought the Northern provinces of the Chandragiri Rāj under their oppressive weight, and they wanted to bring the feudatory states also to recognise their power. With characteristic ingratitude they turned against the very princes who had courted their alliance and invited their invasion. In their thirst for conquest, they forgot past friendships, and pointed their destructive course towards the kingdoms of Ginji, Tanjore and Madura. It seems that this unexpected movement paralysed the activities of the Nāiks and threw them into a state of despair from which they did not recover till too late. Even Tirumal Naik was so much taken by surprise that he was unequal to the task of organising a defence. The Golconda troops, in consequence, easily swept away the historic region between the Jávaţi hills and the Seven Pagodas, the region containing the renowned cities of Arcot and Arni, Conjesvaram and Wandiwash, and assembled at the foot of the impregnable walls of Ginji. Vijaya Rāghava Nāik was the first to yield. More selfish than brave, he readily acknowledged the supremacy of Golconda in place of Chandragiri and bound himself to pay tribute. The submission of Tanjore had a most unfortunate consequence. Tirumal lost the little heart he had, and in his alarm that, after Ginji, the turn of Madura would follow, he repeated the blunder he had once committed. A wise statesman in his place would have, in case he was not able singly to meet the enemy, concluded a defensive league with Kanthirava of Mysore. Race, religion, and interest pointed to such a step. But Tirumal was incapable of it. He sought the alliance of an enemy of Mysore, the Sultan of Bijapur, on the ground that he was politically an enemy of Golconda. We do not know on what terms he concluded this alliance. Indeed it is doubtful whether it was an alliance between equal sovereigns or an agreement between a suzerain and a feudatory. We may believe that, as Tirumal was acting against the demanded dominance of Golconda, he refused in his agreement with Bijapur to recognise himself as subordinate chief, that he concluded his alliance in the capacity of an equal sovereign. But even supposing that it was so, Tirumal must have perceived that he was playing with a double-edged sword. He must have perceived that Bijapur might have more solicitude for religion than for politics, that there was always a greater tendency for even deadly rivals among the Muhammadans to unite than to help the Hindus against some Muhammadan power. He might have realised that, however deadly were the rivalries among the Musalman powers, these were likely to suppress them and combine together as against the Hindu. The policy of setting the Muhammadan against Muhammadan was wise, if accomplished outside his kingdom; but the present move of Tirumal Naik would only convert his kingdom into a theatre of war between foreigners, and subject his subjects to the evils of war. It would reduce him, in other words, from the position of a ruler to that of a partisan. It would moreover widen the gulf between Mysore and Madura. Tirumal Naik was blind to all this, but it was not long before he had to see that, his mastery in his kingdom gone, his people in misery, and his prestige shaken, the greatest enemy he and his kingdom had was himself.
Tirumal’s alliance with Bijapur and the latter’s treachery.

Muhammad Adil Shah (1626-1656) embraced cordially an opportunity which promised at once the humbling of his Musalman rival and his supremacy over the Hindu princes of the south. We have already seen how uniformly the Sultans of Bijapur tried, ever since the campaign of Talikotta, to conquer the Vijayanagar provinces, but in vain. Thanks to the rivalry of Golconda, to the domestic troubles caused by frequent rebellions and the valour of the Hindu chiefs, the Bijapur arms had hardly been successful. Nevertheless, by the year 1638, the army of Bijapur had advanced as far as Bangalore and conquered the districts around it. It would have taken Srirangapatam itself, but for the stout defence and martial skill of Kanthirava. Three years, later, this invitation came from Tirumal Náik. Nothing was better calculated to fulfil the Sultan’s objects. An army of 17,000 horse left Bijapur and reaching the Madura kingdom by way of Bangalore or its neighbourhood, where the arms of Rendulla had very recently gained a triumph over the local Gauda chief, joined with the 30,000 foot of Tirumal Náik somewhere near Madura. The combined army, an inefficient and heterogeneous medley of Telugus and Tamils, Musalmans and Maráttias, advanced to the relief of Ginji, now besieged by the Golconda troops. The conflict of class and creed, of interests and policies, of customs and modes of life among the allied forces impaired their strength andflagged their zeal. An army united under such a frail bond, and disabled by such a lack of unity, interest, and discipline, could not be sure of beating an enemy, whose past victories had implanted in his breast an idea of invincibility. The Golconda general, however, preferred intrigue to fighting, and diplomacy to arms. He tampered with the loyalty of the Bijapur men, appealed to their religious feelings and won them over to his side. Community of religion prevailed over political jealousy, and Bijapur joined Golconda for the spoliation and exploitation of the Hindu kingdoms.

The fall of Ginji.

The immediate result of this shameful apostasy was the fall of Ginji. True, immediately after the desertion of his ally, Tirumal Náik had a cause for satisfaction in the necessity of the Golconda troops to withdraw further north, owing to the revival of the war in that region by Sri Raagá Ráya with the help of Kanthirava Narasa Ráj; and true he was able, on account of this, to find his way into the beleaguered fort; but this triumph proved a curse in disguise. For, as his men were “of different castes to those of the garrison,” quarrels cropped up every moment; and Tirumal had to devote as much attention to the maintenance of harmony and discipline among his own men as to the encounter with the enemy. His endeavour to maintain harmony, however, failed, and as a result “a general riot took place. During the confusion which resulted, the forces of Bijapur gained possession of the fort almost without a blow and proceeded to pillage it of all the enormous wealth it contained.” And Tirumal Náik had to congratulate himself on his bare escape. In great precipitation and alarm, he took the route to his capital. History gives hardly a better example of treachery so soon chastised and want of patriotism so promptly punished.

The partition of South India between the two Musalman powers.

The colours of Bijapur waved triumphantly over the impregnable walls of Ginji. By a strange chance, the mastery of the lower Carnatic was now within the grasp of Bijapur, lately the ally and champion of its chiefs. For Golconda, as we have already seen, was
compelled to leave the task of completing the Musalman conquest of the south to its rival and ally, and withdraw to the north. It seems that, from this time to the conquest of the south by the Mogul, there was a sort of understanding between the two Musalman powers to the effect that Golconda was to retain the mastery of the Carnatic plain to the banks of the Peñjar, i.e., the area now covered by the districts of Guntur, Nellore, N. Arcot, Chingleput, and a portion of South Arcot, and that Bijapur was to have the mastery of the rest of the Carnatic and get tribute from its princes. According to this arrangement both the states would have well-defined boundaries of their spheres of influence. The eastern boundary of the Bijapur territory would be from the junction of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra along the western ridges of the Eastern Ghats right down to the Peñjar, where it took a south-western course towards the Mysore territory. To the east of this line and to the North of the Peñjar, lay the territory of Golconda; and every district to the West of the line, including the Ceded Districts and Mysore, would be under Bijapur. South of the Peñjar, the regions watered by the Kavéri and the Vaigai, were under the political supremacy of Bijapur. It was a partition more favourable to the Western power, if the comparative area of the two spheres of influence is considered. But it ought to be remembered that Golconda had a more easily manageable territory. The major portion was Telugu country, and there were no powerful chiefs to dispute its authority and resort to formidable rebellions. On the other hand, Bijapur had yet to subdue Mysore and Madura, and even if subdued, they could with difficulty be kept in a spirit of uniform loyalty.

**Bijapur's supremacy over Madura.**

The army of Golconda, after its withdrawal from Ginji, was not quite successful against Sri Raiga Raya and his Mysore ally. Thanks to the advantage of a favourable beginning and the mountainous nature of the country, the Hindus were able to give no small trouble to the Muhammadans. The Bijapur army, on the other hand, had a triumphant career on its southward course. The Tanjore Naik once again took the oath of allegiance and paid an enormous sum or rather booty to the Sultan. The turn of Madura was the next, and the Muhammadan tempest burst upon it. The mind of Tirumal Naik, already-oppressed and distracted by the misfortune he had sustained, was paralysed to powerlessness by the fear of treason among his own officers. The safety of citizens required the heroism and the tact of a soldier statesman, but none was equal to the task. The Bijapur army therefore found Madura a helpless prey to its greed, ready to offer the most object submission on any terms. The Muhammadan general made the best use of his triumph. He imposed a heavy war indemnity on the Madura monarch, compelled him to acknowledge the supremacy of the Sultan and pay a yearly tribute. In his new allegiance, Tirumal Naik seems to have known no limit or reason. He seems to have co-operated with his new suzerain in helping Golconda in the last phase of the latter's struggle with Sri Raiga in the north. For it seems that after the reduction of the south, the troops of Bijapur, at least a portion of them, proceeded to the region of Arcot where Sri Raiga was making his obstinate resistance. Tirumal seems to have despatched an auxiliary force to fight against his old suzerain. The descendant of Kirthadéva Raya could no more maintain a struggle, and had to withdraw once again into Mysore. The Muhammadans now took the offensive. They were desirous of penetrating into Mysore, of

39 Madras was consequently under Golconda. For the Nawab's policy towards it, see Wheeler's *Early Records of B. Ind.* p. 50.
chastising Kanthirava for his help to Chandragiri, and of collecting tribute from him. It is difficult to follow their movements from this time. It is not certain, for example, whether the Bijapur troops alone desired to invade Mysore or the Golconda troops also. Golconda had no motive for an offensive operation except the motive of revenge, and it is fairly questionable whether for the gratification of a feeling alone, the Kutb Shah would have once again plunged into a war. On the other hand, Bijapur had everything to gain by the Mysore conquest. It is therefore doubtful whether both the states acted together in this affair, and if they did, we may be almost sure that Golconda must have taken an auxiliary part. However it was, the invasion did not begin in an encouraging manner. The frontiers of Mysore in the east were so well guarded that the Muhammadans could make no impression on them. At this stage, Tirumal Nâik came to their rescue. It seems that while Tirumal was engaged in the north, the king of Mysore had in 1641 descended the Kâveripuram pass and taken the estate of Ghetti Mudaliar in Kongu country, as far as Gambally (Somapatti); and Tirumal now took revenge by throwing open the passes in his country, leading to Mysore, and giving the right of passage through his kingdom. A more imbecile or cowardly act cannot be imagined, and after all even this unnatural and imbecile slavery did not save him. For, when the Muhammadan army returned victorious after humbling Mysore and sealing for ever all hopes of Vijayanagar revival, they showed their esteem and their gratitude to their humble ally by extorting extravagant spoils from him. The spoils of peace were, to them, not less lucrative than the spoils of war, and friendship and allegiance were, in the experience of Tirumal Nâik, hardly less costly than enmity and independence.

The end of the Chandragiri dynasty.

Thus ended the attempt of Tirumal Nâik and his confederates to declare themselves independent of their nominal suzerain. From an imaginary Scylla they fell into a veritable Charybdis. Tirumal especially, had endeavoured to disdain the ostensible authority of his Hindu master, and brought about Musalman dominion not only over Madura, but the whole of South India. He had plunged into war for the sake of a word—for the reality he had already possessed—and in the end he did not only himself become a slave, both in fact and in theory, but made the other Hindu kings of the south slaves of the despised Mlechchhas. What Kafur had failed to do and what the Bahmani Sultans and their successors at Bijapur and Golconda had failed to do for centuries, was now done by the treason of Tirumal Nâik. As regards the fate of the unfortunate Sri Raiga, we are unable to say how it ended. Col. Wilks, whose history in this period is very meagre and unsatisfactory, ignores entirely the part that the king of Mysore played in the recent wars. He contents himself with the statement that “In consequence of a succession of revolutions

40 Wilks, I, p. 33, Salem Manual, I, 48. Buchanan, I, 422 (where the great traveller gives an account of Kaveripuram and its Polygar). Buchanan's historical knowledge is naturally very meagre, as is clear from his remarks in p. 429, where he refers to “Dalavai Rama Poya” and of “Gullimodal” (i.e., Ghetti Mudaliar) his contemporary. See also, p. 455 where “Sati-mangalam” is referred to and p. 464 where some account of Coimbatore is given.

41 Vol. I, p. 36. Buchanan gives a good deal of legend and information about the Ikeri dynasty, all of which have been utilized by Rice. See also the Canara Manual. Here it may be noticed that Veshkatappa Nâik changed his capital from Ikeri to Bednore in 1646, and that he was succeeded by Sivappa Nâik in 1647. It was the latter prince that took Sri Raiga's side. It is very curious, however, that in a number of grants which Sivappa Nâik gave to Sri Raiga between 1652 and 1662 he does not recognize Sri Raiga. See Ep. Carna. VI, Sy 9, Sy 11, Sy 13, etc.
and misfortunes in Dvāraka, Śrī Raṅga Rāy, the representative of the house of Vijayanagar fled from that country in the year 1646 and took refuge with the Raja of Bednore, formerly a servant of his family." Wilks proceeds to see that about 1655, this Raja availed himself of the name of the royal exile to extend his own dominions and lay siege to Śrīraṅgapaṇḍam itself. But the prowess and liberality of Dōḍḍa Dēva Rāj, the successor of Kāṇṭhīrava, resulted in the Rājā's discomfiture and retreat. After this, he continues, "we hear no more of Śrī Raṅga Rayeal or the house of Vijayanagar." (I, 36). It is evident that Wilks omits the career of Śrī Raṅga between 1646 and 1655. It is not improbable that, on the death of Kāṇṭhīrava Narasā Rāj, his successor Dōḍḍa Dēva Rāj was reluctant to help the royal refugee, and that the latter therefore proceeded to Bednore. The immediate result of this was, as we have already seen, the rise of Bednore against Mysore. It ended in failure, and, Śrī Raṅga, who seems to have lived at Bīlūr, died sometimes after 1662. For an inscription of his name dated in that year records a gift to the Vyāsaśāṭhī Maṭhā at Sūsālē.45

Vijayanagar history closes here, and the supremacy of the Musalmans over the S. Indian dynasties begins. Even after this, it is true, inscriptions of the southern kings are sometimes in the names of supposed suzerain Rāyas. Tirumal Naik, himself, for example gave in 1655 a grant at Kānmaṇḍapūr, ten miles south-east of Uḍumalpet in the Coimbatore district, a grant in Śrī Raṅga's reign.44 And almost all the inscriptions of his successors contain the names of a Śrī Raṅga, a Vēkēta45 or a Śrī Rāma. These three names occur not only among the Madura records but also the Mysore ones; their mention is a purely formal affair and possesses no historic significance whatever. Obscure descendants of the once magnificent dynasty tried at times to obtain the good will of local sovereigns and the enterprising Companies of the European nations, and revive their old glory; but such attempts could hardly succeed. Nicolas Manucci, for instance, tells us that a descendant of the Rāyas negotiated with the French for assistance; but such attempts arouse the curiosity and interest rather than his real serious attention.

SECTION VI.

The Second Mysore War.

One great legacy of Tirumal's war with the Empire was the undying enmity between him and the Ujajār of Mysore. The betrayal of the latter to Golcāndā and Bijapūr naturally exasperated Kāṇṭhīrava's animosity and made him undertake an expedition against Tirumal. He knew that his antagonist had suffered more from the recent political storm than himself, and was consequently in a greater state of exhaustion. Tirumal's army had been sorely thinned, his treasury exhausted, his soldiers discontented, and his subjects unable to bear the expenses of protracted warfare. It was with great ease, therefore, that a Mysore army burst through the frontiers of Madura, conquered the province of Sāyamaṇḍalam and

44 That Raṅga was in his dominion up to 1943 is proved by the fact that in that year he built certain inscriptions and made certain endowments to the Gōvindārja temple in that year. See Mādr. Ep. Rep. 1914, p. 102. (Insc. 271 of 1914).
47 See the list of them in Sewell's Fong Emp., p. 234. Dōḍḍa Dēva Rāj or Ūjajār's inscriptions however do not name him. On the contrary, Tk. 21, Om, 153, and other inscr. are examples of nominal allegiance on the part of the local chiefs after 1663.
Coimbatore, and ravaged the country right up to the gates of the capital. The cause of Mysore was just, but it was vitiated by the atrocities committed by the soldiers on this occasion. Hindu warfare has, as a rule, been characterised by commendable moderation and self-restraint on the part of the victors. From time immemorial, the law of war had enjoined on the conquerors the duties of preserving the old and young, tending the wounded, protecting the refugees, and respecting the lives of women and children. The victorious soldiers were prohibited from the accumulation of unlawful spoils, from cruelty to the populace, and from vandalism. The Mysore army set aside the laws of humanity and civilization, and behaved more like bloodthirsty monsters than the retrievers of their country's shame. All those who came within their grasp, young and old, women and children, fighters and non-fighters, were horribly mutilated. Their noses were severed from their faces, and sent to their king as the trophies of war! Intoxicated with success, they bade farewell to the softer sentiments of the heart and the honourable sides of their character, and made large parts of the Madura kingdom a prey to hideous scenes of human cruelty, lust and greed.

The progress of the Mysore army caused wide-spread alarm. Tirumal Naik was panic-stricken. The recent wars had exhausted the treasury and the country and the army of 30,000 men he had was insufficient. He therefore urgently wrote to all feudatory chiefs, dilating on the serious danger of Madura and the necessity of immediate response to the suzerain's mandate. The call was nobly answered, we are told, by the Sêtpati. The Sêtpati of the day was the celebrated Raghunâtha Dìva, the successor of that a-jayakka II, who had fought with Râmûppâya and whose claim was eventually recognised by Tirumal. In 1645 the latter had, after a period of six years peaceful rule, succumbed once again, this time fatally, to the greedy ambition and undying energy of Tambi, who revived the conspiracy in 1645. Tambi then seized the crown, but was unable to gain either the obedience of the people or the subjection of Raghunâtha and Nârâyâna. Civil war once again r. resulted. Tirumal Naik interfered at this stage and brought about a partition of the state, by which Raghunâtha was to have the capital and surrounding districts, Tambi to get Sivagalga, and Danaka and Nârâyâna the conjoint possession of Tiruvâdânai. By this equal partition he hoped to set a long-standing series of quarrels at rest and to give that peace which the country had long been longing for. But the settlement was not destined to be a permanent one. For Providence intervened by bringing about the death of Danaka and another civil war between Raghunâtha and Tambi for his lands. At this stage, fortunately, Tambi died, and the whole Marava country

46 This is probably the war mentioned by Wilks in 1633. He says that “the Mysoreans descended the Gajjalhaty pass, took Denaikan cotta, Satti mungal, and other places from Venkaldeyy Naik, brother of the Raja of Madura, and brought home immense booty; he also took many Talooks from Veerapa Naich of Madura.” Perhaps Vëâkshîkri and Vìrippâ were the agents of Tirumal (Wilks I, p. 34). That Tirumal Naik had full power over Salem in 1632 is seen by an inscription in Yerumîppâji (10 miles south-east of Nâmakkal), which records a gift to the local temple in his reign (Antiquities, I, p. 204). See the Carnâ, Hist. and the Polgyar memoir of Kannîvâji for details. The Mysore invasion therefore should have taken place after 1632. Insen. 170 of 1910 mentions Kanîhrâva and Dalavai Hampaiyâ in connection with Madura in Mâyâmathâ, which corresponds to 1655-6. See Mâ.â. E. R. Rep. 1911, p. 93.

47 See Wilks' Mysore, I, p. 22 foot-note.

48 From an inscription (416 of 1914) of Aruppukkôjâi which mentions a gift for the merit of Tirumalai Kâttâ Raghunâtha Dîva by his agent Tambi Uîlaja or Tevar in Dundubhi (1664). Mr. Krishnâ Sastri surmises that Tambi lived very late and did not die as early as 1645. But it is doubtful whether the Tambi of the Aruppukkôjâi inscription is the same as the old opponent of Raghunâtha.
came into the hands of Raghunātha. And the world knew that he was the best man for the place. Bold, generous, courageous and wise, an embodiment of chivalry and valour, he gained the good will of all. Forgetting the injustice of his suzerain, he shewed a commendable loyalty to him by leading an army against a confederacy of the southern Polygars who, for some unknown reason, had risen under the lead of the great Toṭiyān chief Eṭṭappa Nāṅk. And now when the Mysorean was at the gates, when the Nāṅk was paralysed to inactivity, when the kingdom itself was shaken to its foundations, he was noble enough to respond to Tirumal Nāṅk’s call. With 60,000 men, it is said, he came to Madura and joining his forces with those of the king, gave battle to the Mysoreans, and drove them, after inflicting upon them a tremendous war, beyond the passes. The gratitude of Tirumal, we are told, bestowed upon him rare privileges and honours as reward for his services. Besides entertaining him in his own grand fashion in his palace, he bestowed upon him, with a number of elephants and horses, and robes and ornaments, the title of Tirumalai Sēṭupati. He further gave him, besides the villages of Tiruppuvanam, Tiruchchelai and Pallimadai and the lion-faced palanquin which he himself had used, called him (in the fondest political language of the day) his adopted son, and declared his estate a sarramāṇyam, i.e., free from all tribute. “From that time the Sēṭupati paid no tribute.” Raghunātha, after his return to his estate, acquitted himself as a good ruler. It was he that removed the capital from Pugalur to Rāmmad and constructed, in place of the old mud fort, a stronger one of stone.

Kumāra Muttu’s campaign against Mysore.

Tirumal Nāṅk was not satisfied with the expulsion of the Mysoreans. He indulged the spirit of revenge and ardently desired to humiliate the house of Mysore and to prove that the cruelties of its soldiers could not go unpunished. With reckless violence, his vanity plunged his kingdom once again into war. A large army under the leadership of his younger brother, Kumāra Muttu, which was joined at Dindigul by the loaves of the Polygars headed by Raṅgaṇa Nāṅk of Kannivādi, was soon on the borders of Mysore. After an incessant march day and night, they overtook the Mysorean army returning from their recent campaign, and retrieved the shame of their past disgrace by a splendid victory. Several fortresses were then taken and garrisoned, and Srīraṅgapaṭṭam itself assailed. It is not known whether the place was taken; but if the version of the Madura chronicles is true, the Mysore king became a captive in the hands of his enemies, and suffered for his atrocious cruelty in the past by the loss of his nose. With thousands of less illustrious noses, it was sent by the exultant Nāṅk commander to delight the eyes of his royal brother, but before those eyes could be delighted, they had closed for ever from the scenes of the world.

SECTION VII.

The Progress of the Christians.

We saw in the last chapter how a period in the labours of De Nobilis had come into existence on account of the opposition that arose within the church itself against him, and how by June 1623, the very year of Tirumal Nāṅk’s accession, he found it impossible to stay any longer in Madura. Condemned by his own men, he took the staff of a pilgrim,

49 See Madr. Arch. Rep. 1911, p. 89 where Tirumal’s interview with the Sēṭupati is epigraphically proved.

50 Inscription 650 of 1505 says that Tirumal Nāṅk gave a village near Tiruchcheṅgōlu for the merit of Kumāra Muttu. Tirumalai Nāṅk in S. 1581 (Vilambi). The latter is said to be Tirumal’s son. See Antiquities also, I, 203.
and proceeded to the north with a view to plant the seeds of his faith there. Attended by a Brahman who carried his breviary, another his umbrella, a third his tiger skin, and two others the holy vase and water, he travelled in the guise and trim of a Sanyasin, and at length arrived at Sündamaigalal. Here he had a kind and cordial reception from the local chief, who promised to give the Sanyasin a site for building a place of worship.

De Nobilis leaves Madura for Sendamangalam and Salem.

De Nobilis, however, promised to take advantage of his generosity later on, and proceeded to Salem, the seat of another tributary chief. The reception which the Sanyasin got in this place was exactly contrary to that at Sündamaigalal. Refused food by rich and poor alike, he put up in an exposed building, evidently a maṇṭapa, outside the town, and lived there for forty days. The exposure to wind and sun brought disease, and his quiet life and suffering changed the heart of the Salem people. They now proceeded to the other extreme. They afforded him residence in the house of one of their magnates. They listened to his teachings with attention and interest. Even the elder brother of the local chief, hitherto a persecutor became a disciple, and entrusted the education of his four sons to the teacher. The king himself honoured him by a visit, and acknowledged, it is said, his victory in a debate with the Brahmins of his court about the doctrines of Pantheism, and assigned him a house in the Brahman street. It did not take long for the Brahmins to find out who De Nobilis was. They discovered that he was in reality a “Parangi,” that he had been driven from Madura, and that he was no Sanyasin at all. They prayed in a body to the king to expel him, but De Nobilis, persuasive tongue charmed him into friendship, and the king issued a positive order that the priest should in no way be harmed.

At Cochin and Trichinopoly.

After the firm establishment of the mission at Salem, De Nobilis was absent for a year at Cochin, whither the father superior and archbishop had summoned him. On his return in 1625 he interfered freely in the disputes which then raged between the chiefs of Salem, Sündamaigalal, Moramangalam, etc. and tried, though in vain, to make political intrigue the means of religious propaganda. Indeed he even succeeded so far as to secure for the Moramangalam chief, an enemy of Salem, a rich banner with the cross on one side and the legend, In hce signs vinces, in San-krit on the other, from the father provincial. But his cause was hardly benefited by it, as even his ingenuity was not a match for the elasticity of his converts’ feelings. Nevertheless he converted many men from these parts, not overlooking even the Pariahs, though among the latter he worked in secret. In 1627, De Nobilis came to Trichinopoly and for a decade worked there. He converted hundreds to the “Christian faith,” built chapels, and argued with the Panḍāras. Not infrequently he had to excuse himself from a disputation with his adversaries on the ground that he “could explain dogmas only to those who came for the truth.” The father had more faith than philosophy in him, and he had at times to assume for truth what others wanted him to prove to be truth. The progress of Christianity, under such circumstances, could not naturally be smooth. By 1630 persecution began in real earnest. The neophytes, already exhausted by poverty, had to suffer persecution for their creed or rather change of creed. Opposition however increased the Christian activity; and it was in the midst of furious popular demonstrations that a prominent Panḍāram with the insignia of umbrellas, servants and horses, took the city by storm by his apostasy. When he appeared before the Regulee he was indeed roughly handled, but he simply asked them to strike still harder. Such examples of forbearance on the one side and cruelty on the other formed the secret of Christian success.

31 A very learned Pariah was baptised under the name Hilary.
His return to Madura (1638) and persecution.

In the year 1638 De Nobilis found himself once again at Madura. During the 15 years of his absence his work here had been continued by Father Vico, and now they combined their labours. De Nobilis' delinquencies were forgotten in his services, and he was received with cordiality by all. A timely service he was supposed to have done on this occasion raised him to Court favour. A Brahman magnate had a haunted palace, and it was freed from the evil spirit by the blessings of De Nobilis and the influence of a sentence of scripture he attached to the arms of the inmates. The gratitude of the Brahman, it is said, gained him the Nâik's favour. And De Nobilis took advantage of the new condition to increase the sphere of his activities. Availing himself of the death of Father Vico (after a hard life of 28 years) in October 1638, the first missionary to be buried in Madura, De Nobilis proceeded to Cochin to get new missionaries. Re-inforcements were now particularly necessary, as he himself was by this time too old, worn out, and weak-sighted to labour much. The new recruits had more enthusiasm than discretion. They appear to have pursued a line of extremism and made a frontal attack on Hindu beliefs. Their activity therefore raised widespread alarm, and even Tirumal Nâik had to give way to it and order the arrest of the missionaries both in Madura and Trichinopoly. Some of the Madura missionaries escaped, but De Nobilis was seized, the church and presbytery plundered, and the fathers, with their Brahman attendants, were, after exposure to the sun till night, taken to the prison and detained there for seventeen days on a handful of rice, without a change of clothes or water. The Nâik himself was so indignant with De Nobilis' obstinacy that he expressed the desire of killing him with his own hand. As for the missionary the more he suffered and the older he grew, the more did his studies and his austerity increase. Whether in prison or whether free, he and his companions were uniformly active. Even when free, they could not sometimes, go to their Church and had to live anl worship in huts. In the midst of all this De Nobilis found time to compose various works, “For instance, to replace the wailing chants of widows, he composed laments on the Passion, the desolation of the Holy Mother, the fall of the angels, Adam, the evils in chastisements, etc. These were taught to Christian widows and by them he tried to protect the neophytes from the unclean language of heathen songs.” (Chandler).

De Nobilis' appeal to Tirumal and his edict of toleration.

By the year 1644 De Nobilis was tired of persecution. He held consultations with the other missionaries and resolved to appeal to the generous sentiments of Tirumal Nâik. Through the influence of a eunuch, they gained the royal audience and placed before the kind monarch a heartfelt appeal for favour. Speaking in Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit, the reverend and blind father, a true Father of his faith, dilated on the tribulations of the Christians and used all his remarkable persuasive powers to move the heart of the Nâik monarch. And he gained his object. Tirumal issued an edict of toleration, authorised the missionaries to live and preach in his dominions, restored the spoils of the church, expressed a desire to see the leaders every month at his Court, and dismissed them with robes of honour. The Pâpjârams were alarmed at this change in the king's attitude. They held a consultation among themselves, and resolved to kill De Nobilis by magic. The most capable magician in the land invoked, in the midst of a curious crowd, the anger of the Gods. He arranged his apparatus, traced figures in the sand and circles in the air, performed certain ceremonies, and with inflamed eyes, contorted face, grinding teeth, and howling tongue, threw a black powder in the air cursing the missionary to death. But De Nobilis stood before him as hale as ever. The magic had failed, and people concluded that the missionary was more than human.

(To be continued.)
Tota Giri. A goddess invoked in Amra-iṭāniya and Giri-liyō-dalaha-pidavila, and apparently the same as Tota-häli Giri, q. v. See also Giri.

Tota-häli Giri. A goddess invoked in Dolos-giri-dev-liyiyé punya as haunting fords where clothes are washed. See Tota Giri and Giri.

Tota Kaṭavara. "The Ford Demon." According to T.-k.-upata and Kaṭavaravatūp, the washerman of the king of Baranāśa, having lost one of his master's garments, ran away to Kāśi (sic) where he pretended to be an exiled prince of Baranāśa, and married the king's daughter, who bore him two sons, who played at washing and sewing. This raised suspicions, and the king asked the washerman to draw a sketch-map of Baranāśa. The latter drew it with his sword on the ground, and forgetting his part, marked in it the washerman's quarter, and spoke of the latter as his home. He was accordingly put to death, and reborn as a demon dwelling in a naga or Indian-fg tree near a ford (tota), where he smote with sickness the princess, his former wife, when she came to bathe; she was cured when on the advice of Brahman's offerings were made to him. He then sailed to Jaffna in Ceylon, but was refused permission to land by Nāta Dēva, and he went back to sea, but later was allowed by Vira-muṣa to enter. At Ruhuna he was driven out by Kunśa; but he appealed to the four Guardian Gods, and having been taken under Pattini's protection, he landed again with Devol Dēva. He causes sickness in women, especially lying in wait at fords, and is propitiated with offerings and dancing. Another T.-k.-upata states that he was originally a washerman named Ratna-pati in Bimbānuvara of Kāśi-raja, who, when the king's robe was blown into the sea, fled to Soli, where he pretended to be a prince of Bimbānuvara and married the princess, who bore him twin sons, who played at sewing, and two other sons, who played at washing. The rest of the story is nearly as in the preceding version. When he became a demon, he made his four sons also Yakas when they and their mother visited his tree, and the four Guardian Gods permitted all the six to receive offerings in Ceylon. A Tota-kumāra-balīya tells a similar story; the hero however is said here to have been a washerman in the service of the king of Kāśi, who went to Soli-raja, where he pretended to be the son of the king of Bimbānuvara. One child only is mentioned, who played at washing a cloth. It prescribes an image 7½ spans long by 4 wide, with a cobra's hood over the head. The prince is in the middle; his wife, with a cobra around her, carries an infant on each hip; a child is near his feet. Yamś, cabbages or hearts of vegetables, flowers, food, rice, fish, 7 kinds of flesh, cakes, and 5 kinds of parched grain are offered to the image on behalf of the sick man. It then prescribes a balī-rite, with a blue image 7½ spans long by 4½ wide, with a cobra's hood. The prince on the top is golden; he has gold ear-jewels, a sword in the right hand, a child on each hip, a switch in the hand, and with his feet he rocks two babes. The female figure has a cobra around her, as has also the prince. The vehicle is a cobra. Blood and rice of 8 colours are offered on the 8 sides.

In a collection of verses to several Yakas Tota Kumara or Malra Rāja is said to have been born as son of Mahāja Rāja and Sandana in Doluvara-raja. He came in a ship to Ceylon with a Yakini or female demon, and was empowered to receive offerings by Śivarāma Śīna, Katarāgāma Dēva, and Sikra. He is worshipped by means of a vidi. Another T.-kumāra-balīya gives a ritual to exorcise sickness caused by him. His balī-image has a cobra's hood over its head, and sits upon a coiled cobra; another cobra is twined round its body. He rolls two weeping children beneath his feet and beats them. His wife is represented as suckling two other children and sitting in a cobra's coils. A washerman's
basin and a clothes-post are put up for the offering; and a dish of food is set for the 12 Giris. The Kaḍjavara, Samayam, Pili, Riri, Kalu, Sellan, Daḍimunda and Mal are excorised with him. He is probably the Tota Yaka mentioned in Sanni-yak-dāpan. A T.-kumāra-sāntiya invokes him as god of fords with 8 and 36 attendants to heal a sick man, as well as Vāli Yak Kaḍjavara, Kosambā K., Vāḷē Yak K., Daḍē Yak, Avara Yak, Devel Maha-K., Bhūta Maha-K., Aliyama K., Perayama K., Maddima K., Lē K., Mas K., Abhāta K., Riri Puluṭu, Mal K., Hapumal and Gini K. He is invoked in Āḷḍi-kaḍjavara-tovil, K.-gōṭu-pidavila, K.-ūpata, K.-vidīya, Tēḍḍālākdrāya.

Tota Kurumbura. See Kurumbura.

Tota-madana. A demon, on whom see Ratikan.


Tovil. The ritual Tovil-pāli-upata, “Origin of the Series of Offerings”, prescribes an exorcism for sickness, invoking the Yaksas to descend into a thread washed with turmeric, and into a vase. The Earth-god, Mihi Devindu, took a golden vase and broke through the earth’s crust into the world of men. Iśvara planted 7 yellow cocoanuts in the world of men to dispel sickness. Saman created resin. Betel arose from the hood of the Nāgā king; the second shoot grew in a park of sal-trees. The fowl offered arose from the peacock-throne [of Kanda?] when it was torn in two by the Asuras; the god issued thence with a fowl in his hand. The ritual Tovil-vidīya, after describing offerings for the Planets and Viṣṇu, invokes at the samayan or 4 divisions of the day the Kiravālī queen, Asupāla Kumari, Sanni Yaka, Maṅgra Hāmi, Ridi Bisavu, Pattini of the Four Quarters, Mihikat the Earth-goddess, and the Guardian Gods of the Eight Quarters.

Trivakkālī. Mother of Devel Devi.

Tun Bāra. Three spirits invoked in Vāḍi-sāntiya.

Tur-net Tuman. See Śiva.

Turikī. A Nāgā king, father of Kāli.

Turmeric. Water coloured with turmeric is used in rites of purification. It is said in Kaha-diya-upata that when Mānikpāla was to be cured of the spell of Māra and a bower prepared for the exorcism, Oḍḍīsa, who was the exorcist, needed turmeric. Sīkra blew upon his jaya-saka or conch, and sent Mihi-kata to search for it. At the Anotatta lake the Yakini Ayilakkandi gave a golden kettle full of it; Kāla-hūta Yakini brought flowers, ornaments, and fire; and she, with Golu-kirtti Yakini, who has charge of the Golu Ocean, Gini-kandi Yakini, the guardian of the Pearl Ocean, wearing red stones and red robes, Lērī, guardian of the Blood Ocean, and the Yakinis of the Vil-hata or Seven Lakes, poured out the turmeric water. The Seven Queens of the Seven Seas assisted at the rite, by which Oḍḍīsa healed Mānikpāla. See also Maṅgra Devi, Nā-mal Kumāra, Tovil, Vas.

Twelve Gods. See Dolaha Deviyā.

Uḍākkē. See Drums.

Uda-maṅgra Yaka. A demon in the legend of the plague of Viśālā, q. v.


Uduvela Rāla. A demon, on whom see Piṭiya Devi.

Uggal Surindu. A deity invoked in Valalu-vidīya.

Ulapanē Baṅgārā. A demon, on whom see Perahāra.

Uma (Parvati). The Hindu goddess, wife of Iśvara or Śiva, q. v.; mother of Kanda and of Gana Devi, who burst from her right side (see Aja Magula); sister of Mānikpāla,
Sarasvati, Lakṣmi, Siri, Gana Devi, and Tārā, in one legend, or, in another, of Mānikeśa, Viṣṇu, and Sarasvati (see Mānikeśa). She created 7 sons, who became Sellan Kaṭavara, q. v. She is one of the Seven Devas (q. v.) conceived by Nāta. She seems to have become the golden hind which gave birth to Valli Amma, q. v. She lured the enamoured Asura to destruction (see Kanda). She is sometimes distinguished from Mā-devi, and in some legends is said to have married Maha-sammata. Invoked in Tis-pāyē kina (as regent of the 12th pāya, and wife of Siva), and in Set-kavi. See also Bebel, Cobra, Kota-halu, Siva, Torch.

Umāvati. A goddess, dwelling in the magic mat (see Ata Magula).

Umāyā Devi Yakini. A female spirit invoked with bowl and blood in Samayan-pūḍura: see Samayan.

Una. See Fever.

Una Garā. The spirit of fever, exorcised with offerings and a bali-figure in a bali-vidiya: see Bali. He is figured as blue, with a red face and iron club.

Unāpāna Kiri Amma. See Kiri Amma.

Undammata Raja. A form in which Śakrā was disguised to heal Mānikeśa; see Vas.

Unuvinnā Bandāra. See Vanni Bandāra.

Upulvan. See Viṣṇu.

Uramala Pattinnī. See Pattinnī.

Uraniya. A Nāga king, whose Iraniya-bali is mentioned; see Molan Garā.

Urumusī Yaku. A follower of Dādimaṇḍaḷa.

Uruvesi. See Mā-devi.

Usangoḍa Bisava. A goddess invoked in Sat-bisav-yāga (Yāga-vidiya). See Kiri Amma and Seven Queens.

Usvāllē Kandē Bandāra. A god invoked in Gaṅgē-bandāra-kavi.


Vaḍiga Kurumbara Yakas. 60,000 of these spirits accompanied Gaṅgē Bandāra, q. v.

Viḍi-gala Yakas. 6,000 of these “demons of the Viḍisla Rock” are said to have been present at the ceremony for healing Paṭijivas. [Kaṭavara-vidiya.]

Vaḍiga-patunu. On the legend of the “Vaḍiga casket” see Mal-sarā Raja.

Vaḍiga Pēdi Taniya. A demon, on whom see Piṭiya Devi.

Vaḍiga Rśi. Some versions of Vaḍiga-patunu relate that this sage came from his home in Mini-gal-śāmāra to Vaḍiga-nuvara, or came to the latter on his way to the former. Seeing the king’s eight daughters, he beckoned to them, and they followed him to his home, where he taught them magic. For the rest of the story see Mal-sarā Raja. He is invoked in Tira-hatala-māṅgalē, where Oḍiṣa also is styled “Vaḍiga Rśi” (see Curtain.)


Viḍi Maralu. A companion of Maralu Yaka.

Viḍi Raja. A god invoked in Pattini-yāga-kavi: see Pattini.

Viḍi Riri. A god invoked in connection with Riri Yaka.

Viḍi Śami. See Kalu Bandāra.

Viḍi Yaka. A demon invoked in Kaṭavara-vidiya.
Vāḍī Yakas. The 36 V. Y. and Gojum-pat Vaḍīja are said in Kuravura-vidiya to have absented themselves from the purification of Paḍiuvas. The 36 accompanied Mula Raja on that occasion, according to another legend; see Paḍiuvas. A Vāḍī-iántiya is used to exorcise the evil influences of the spirits Malē Raja (i. e. Jivahatta), Kudā Siri-bon Raja, Amati Vāḍī, Viyanboyi, Bāli Bīsava, Gana-ran Siri Valallā, Ridi Valallā Vāḍī (the Silver-bangla Vāḍīja), Ran Valallā (Gold-bangla), Gopallā, Miti-dunu Vāḍī, Tun Bāj-raju (the Three Brother Kings), Kosambā Devi, Yaggal Vāḍī (the Vāḍīja of the Iron Rock), Kalu Vāḍījō, and the 36 Vali Yak.

Vaduru. See Smallpox.

Vaduru-halamba. On the “Smallpox-bangle” of Kāli, see Kāli.

Vaduru-Kāli. See Kāli.

Vaduru Ma-devi. A goddess of smallpox, apparently the same as Vaduru-kāli (see Kāli). The V.-m.-d. kavi states that she has authority from Viṣṇu, Kanda, and Pattini; she has a bangle in her right hand, a sunshade in her left, and a silk korchief; she dwells at the southern gate of Pattini’s house, crosses the waters with bangles on both hands and tinkling anklets, and drives away Yakas with fiery rays. She is invoked in Mal-keli-yādiina.

Vahala Bandāra. See Senevi-ratna.

Vahala Deva. See Vāsala Deva.

Vahala Devel. See Devel Devi.

Vairava. See Bhairava.

Valravana. See Vesamunu.

Vajrapati Gopalu Yakini. Mother of Oṭṭisa.

Vajrāsana (Vidurāsana). The seat of Gautama Buddha under the pipal tree at Gayā, which arose when he threw down 8 handfuls of kuśa grass (see Curtain). On the Vidurāsana-halamba see Bangla.

Vala-bhū. A king who received Abhiṣṭa Devi.

Valahaka (Vala Devi, Viduli-valahaka). A spirit who brought betel for the marriage-rites of Maha-sammata (see Bōdī). Viduli-valahaka fetched the cock for the war of the Gods against the Asuras (see Fowl). Valahaka with Viskam brought limes from the Nāgas’ world (see Limes); shot Riri Yaka; told Sākra of Miyulundana’s infidelity (see Rukattana). Viduli Yaka was sent by Śākra to fetch a torch for the exorcism of Maha-sammata and Mānīkpatā (see Torch).

Valakul. The “Cloud,” a deity who resides in the tail of the leopard used in the rite of Aśa Magula, q. v.

Valalu. One V.-vidiya describes an exorcism by fastening hoops of creepers or vines. It relates that to exorcise vas from the crown of the head the gods make a garland; for the head pāra-valala (“war-circles”) were given by the 28 Buddhas and the Yogi Guru, for the forehead by Gautama and Sākra, for the eyes by Saman; Gautama is invoked for the mouth. That on the neck and arms has the power of the 28 Buddhas and 16 aduru (exorcists); for that on the shoulders Uggal Surindu is invoked. The hoops on the arms, wrists, and elbows are tied as they were tied on the Buddha when he was bewitched. Ten rings are tied on the ten fingers, by the power of the Thousand Buddhas, as was done by Dala-kaṇja Rē to the Bodhi-sattva; those on the breast and waist are tied by the power of Gana Devi and all the gods, that on the thighs by the power of the conquest of Māra; that on
the knees by the power of the worlds of Nāgas and Asuras, etc., that on the ankles by the power of Saman and Uggal Surindu. Another V.-v. invokes Bamba-put, Nāgara Rṣi, and the Girdle-relic for the shoulders, the Four Guardians for the left arm, the Rṣis for the right arm, Vēda-patma Rṣi for the hands. An exorcism of spells is described in Valalu-vina-kāpima, according to which 103 bandages of vines or creepers are fastened at intervals on the sufferer’s body from head to foot, and cut with an areaa-nut cutter, while Vesamunu, Buddha, the Sun and Moon, etc., are invoked. See also Maha-sammata, Oḷāsa, Sūrya-valalla, Vas, Vīne.

Vālihela Gama-rāla. Father of Kohomba Raja.

Vāli Mātā. See Vālli Amma.

Vāli Yaka. The legend and ritual of this spirit are given in the V.-y.-kavi. Upulvan gave him his protection, as also did Pattini and Saman. Sītā is said to have been born from the blood of an ascetic. Vāli stopped the jingling of Pattini’s anklets, and received her bangle. He turned the son of the Vālihela Gama-rāla into the demon Khasambā Yaka, and with him received offerings.

Vāli Yakas. 36 of these accompanied the Mala Rāja when he healed Payjuvas; they are invoked in Vāyi-tāntiya and Kaḷavara-vidiya.

Vāli Yak Kaḷavara. Invoked in Āṇḍi-kaḷavara-tovil, K.-kavi, and Toṭa-kaḷavara-tāntiya.

Vāli Amma. The mortal bride of Kanda. The Vājaḷas believe that she was found as a babe and reared by their ancestors near Kataragama, hence they will not kill or eat wild fowl or peafowl, which are sacred to Kanda. The Kanda-sura-varuṇā, after invoking Pulvan, Pattini and Saman, and relating the story of Kanda’s birth, states that when Vīnu was performing austerities in the forest at Pālanīya, he took the form of a golden stag and united himself to a spotted hind (apparently Umā in disguise) from which a girl-child was born. The hind deserted the babe; but the Earth-goddess, Mihi-devi, cared for her, and some Vājaḷas found and adopted her. A cradle of gems created itself for her. When she had grown into a young maiden, the Vājaḷas cleared a patch of forest to grow millet, and dwelt there with her, and the wild animals used to do homage to her. The saint Nārada saw her and told of her to Kanda at Pālanīya. Kanda in the guise of a Vājaḷa went to her, and said that he had lost his way and was famishing. She sent him away. Then he blocked the road with a tree, and when the Vājaḷas tried to cut it down blood came out of it. Next day, while their king was hunting, Kanda came as before, and was dismissed again. Then he came in the guise of an old Āṇḍi yogi covered with ashes and carrying a wallet. The Vājaḷas received him hospitably, and Vālli cooked him food, which seemed to choke him, and he asked for water. She went to fetch same; he followed her and drank the water. Then he gazed upon her face and threw water upon it. After much argument he made Gana Deva appara in the form of an elephant, whereupon she consented to his pleading. He then assumed his own form; then he became again the Āṇḍi yogi, and they went back together to the Vājaḷas. Then they eloped; but the woman who guarded Vālli pursued them and made them return. They again eloped. The Vājaḷas pursued and shot arrows after them, which turned back upon the archers without doing any hurt, but Kanda with his arrows shot them down in crowds. Vālli lamented for her people, and Kanda made her summon them back to life, and they rose up again. Kanda then assumed his own form and received their homage. The Vājaḷa king performed their marriage-rites, and Kanda gave them power to exorcise evils from heat, cold, and demons. The Vāli-māḷē begins with Kanda’s coming in the guise of an ascetic and his wooing, which was repulsed.
Then Gana Devi took the form of an elephant who rushed at her; she clung to Kanda, and promised to marry him. The Vācchas pursued, but were shot down by Kanda, who then created a pond, and revived them, and they celebrated the wedding at Kataragama in the month Āsala. She is invoked in Tis-pāya kīma (as regent of the 29th pāya) and in Amaraśāntiya. See also Kanda, and Sandun Kumāra.

Valli Yakas. See Valli Yakas.


Valli Yak Kadavara. See Valli Yak Kadavara.

Vil Mava. See Valli Amma.

Vana Giri. A goddess invoked in Dolos-giri-dev-liyugā puwatā as haunting the skirts of a wilderness, and touching the wall-plates of a house with her hand while her feet are on the floor. See Giri.

Vanara Devi. A deity who gave the skin of the drum (see Drums).

Vana-tunga. On his legend see Perahāra.

Vanehi Raja-kumaru. See Mātalā.

Vanni Bandara (V. Devi, Unuvinnē Bandāra). A god described in Unuvinnē-bandārakavi as haunting Unuvinnē, the temples at Panvila and Kandē, the Vanni district, Kataragama, the Gal-kotuva or Stone Fort (possibly Trincomalee), where he meets the god Ḫirti Bandāra, Gurubuddē, Āndiribuddē, Kajupatvēla, the Hambiliya rock temple, Diya-bubula, Hakurutalē hill, Gēnagama, and Hiēguruvadvuwe temple, as bearing a cane given him by Kumāra Devi, and as catching wild elephants; he dwells in the woods, and is attracted to the hills by bowls of offerings. One V. b.-kavi says he is under the protection of Kataragama Devi; he smites Vācchas with sickness, catches elephants at Tambaḷagala, rides on an elephant, blows on a jaya-saka (“victory-conch”), and visits the sanctuary at Balagala. Another V. b.-kavi states that he had a bower at Hirimalvatta of Dumbara, temples at Butavatta and Udūgoja, 6 temples at Unuvimna and Puranale, and his home at Gal-kotuva; he visits Navayāletānma, Kataragama, Arukvatta, Danagamuva-vela, Kehel-āla, Madakalappuva (Batticaloa), Talvatta, Runuva, Panava, and Tamanakaja (his cult in the Padaviya-raja of Northern Ceylon being here omitted), and receives offerings in the Udara; he was born in the Treasury-village or Gabadā-gama of Viyaluva, overcame the Sanni Yakas, and catches and beats the Būta Yakas. The Dolaha-devi-kavi states that he has a temple on the top of Hunukāṭa-gala, where silver weapons are dedicated; he wears a pearl necklace, causes fits, and is worshipped throughout Vanni. He is invoked in Dulu-mura-yahan-kavi (which states that he fled from the Vanni to Udara), and Samāgam-mal-yahan.

Vanni Raja. See Vanni Bandāra.

Varo Raja. Father of Mal-sara Raja.

Varuva. A Nā-rāja or Nāga king, husband of Vimalā, and father of Irandati.

Vas. Magical influences, especially those that attend the first wearing of any object. Those attending the first wearing of a crown are exorcised by the ritual described in Ounu-cas-karanē, which relations that Bamba-put Rei brought vines or creepers (see Vine), Danta-dhātu Rei gave them power, and Viśvakarma bound them on men in hoops (see Valalu). Nāga-bamba-put Rei gave sprays of the “nine-leaf,” nava-kola-atu, of which Viśva-karma made hoops, which were tied on the person to be exorcised, in the presence of Iśvara.
and the Nāgara Rāja, with Buddhist invocations. There is a ritual for exorcising sorcery styled Vas-haranē, described in some poems of the same name. Its origin is traced to the legend of Mānikpāla (q. v.). A building was then constructed by Viśvakarma. Sākra came disguised as Undanmita Rāja, with a pusuł (ash-pumpkin), and with the aid of the Rājas dispelled the charm. Various other things were used in the rite: betel, areca, and limes, which arose from the ashes of Duma-valli’s pyre; colosia, which sprang from her ornaments; limes, which issued from her heart; turmeric, from her fingers; the creeping lily (niyagala, Methonica superba), from her tongue; fire-flies, from her eyes. All these are used in the modern rite. Various deities are present in it: the Duma-valli Deviyō in the rice offered, Avara Mahipāla in the pestle, the Four Gods in the exorcist’s ornaments, the Planet-chief Alepa in the mortar; and the Dotatupāla Yakṣas guard the gates of the building. A celestial thread sent by Sākra is said in Divi-dos-pirittuva to have been the means of exorcising vas.

Vāsala Bandāra. A god said to have had charge of the northern gate in the ship of Mala Rāja.

Vāsala Deva (Vāhala Deva). A companion of Kanda, q. v. Invoked in Pattini-yāga-kerti. Apparently the same as Senevi-ratna, q. v.

Vasavatti. See Māra.

Vāsī Devi. The rain-god. Invoked in Amara-sāntiya.

Vāsuki. A serpent-king, who presides over the leaf of the hirūsa vine; see Aṭa Magula.

Vāta Devi. The wind-god. Invoked in Amara-sāntiya. See also Pattini, Vāyu.

Vāta Girihami Yakini. A female demon who afflicts children with swelling of the stomach and emaciation; exorcised in the bali-vidiya (see Bali) with a bali-figure having a smoke-coloured body, a club, a broken bowl or skull, a discus, and an elephant goad, and riding on a Rakusu.

Vāṭa Kumāra (V. Sāmi, Mūḷa Sāmi). The Kumāra-devi-upata relates that the parents of this god were the king Boksiḷ Terindu and a queen. Astrologers predicted that he would become a priest. One day he climbed up a round relic-house (vāṭa dāgē) which his father was building, fell off, was killed, and became a Rakusu. He fell in love with a queen at Anurādhapura, and possessed her; as she seemed dead, her pyre was lighted, but he quenched the fire and restored her to life. She was hence called Sānalu Bisava, from sohona, “cemetery.” Her husband made offerings to him, and by leave of Vesamunu his worship became general. He possesses women, and makes the sufferers dance. The Boksiḷ-upata names this god Boksiḷ, and makes him the son of a queen and a king or priest named Muhot Terindu (*), born in Boksiḷ-pura. Even at the age of 7 years he was lascivious, and his father resolved to imprison him and then make him a priest. When 9 years of age he went, dressed as a Buddhist priest, to the circular Relic-house at Anurādhapura to make sacrifice, and fell down and crushed his left ribs. He died, and was reborn as a demon, who became enamoured of a princess, and thereafter assailed women with sickness. He is worshipped with offerings of cakes made of hill-rice, milk-rice, rice coloured red, red ixora flowers, and betel. He is possibly the same as Kumāra Devi, who gave a cane to Vanni Bandāra, q. v. The Vāṭa-panti-bali prescribes for his ritual a platform of plantain trunks, 7 cubits long and 7 cubits wide, divided by 18 cross-pieces; rice is then offered. Six plantain trunks are taken, a square space is measured out, and 16 sections of plantain wood are laid on it. Three platforms are made of plantain strips, twelve by twelve, and
decorated. A pathway is made round these, with 4 arches, 16 wreaths, and 48 tolu earrings. A chair is made, and flowers, betel, rice, cakes, etc., are offered, with 32 oil-torches. Eighteen verses are recited in the pathway and dances performed. The god is said to be under the authority of Buddha, and apparently bears a golden disc. He dances, staff in hand, comes at the three watches of the night, carries his head under his arm, appears to sleepers in dreams like a loud noise, stabs with a javelin, and roams about slaying men. He is associated with Yakṣa Rakusu in the R.-bali; see Rakusu. He is invoked in Garā-yak-pāliya, Vidi-bāndima, and Yak-pidavīla. See also Boksūl.

Vāta Kurumbu. A companion of Devel Devi, born from Bhasmāsura’s death-flames. See also Kurumbura.


Vāta Śami. See Vāta Kumāra.

Vāta-vīyanē Bāṇḍāra. See Rucal Yaka.

Vāta Yaka. An uncle of Kuvēni; see Vijaya.

Vat-himl Raja. A bower for him was made by Dājimuṇḍa (q. v.) at Devana-giri.

Vatuka Yaka. A demon in the troop of Dājimuṇḍa, probably the V. Demala Yaka mentioned in Sanni-yak-dāpanē; propitiates in Vidi-bāndima. See also Viśālā.

Vayu. The Hindu Wind-god; propitiated as a ṣin (q. v.), and regent of Uturu Puṭupa in Nava-graha-mal-baliya. See also Vāta Devi.

Vāyu Rakusu. A demon represented in the R.-bali; see Rakusu.

Vōdana Rṣī. A mythological sage who figures in the legend of Mal-sarū Raja.


Vēda Rṣī. A sage figuring in the legend of Oḍḍīsa.

Velabi Hanumanta Yakini. Mother of Oḍḍīsa.

Velabi Oḍḍīsa. See Oḍḍīsa.

Vellassē Bāṇḍāra. One of the Gini-kanda Kaḍavara, q. v. See also Kālu Kumāra and Piṭiya Devi.

Ven. See Viṇṇu.

Venu-put. See Kāma.

Venus. See Sikurā.

Vesālī. See Viśālā.

Vesamunu (Vaiṣṇavaṇa). One of the four Guardian Gods, q. v.; styled Lord of Yakas in V.-dāpanē, which gives a ritual of exorcism by his power. He protected Hūniyan Yaka, Kambili Kaḍavara, Rīti Yaka, and Vāta Kumāra; see also Saṅkapāla, Tanipala Rīti Yaka. He is invoked in Amara-iṇṭiya, Kaḍavara-kavi, Pandan-pāli, Saṅkṣipta-kavi, Vaḷalu-vina-kāpīma.

Vētiṇu Rṣī. Father of Budahu.

Vi. See Rice.

Vihitsana. A god, worshipped at Kālanīya (vide Tilaka-pirivan Thera’s Koval-sandesiya and Hanṣa-sandesaya, Mayūra-s., and Tisara-s.); invoked in Amara-iṇṭiya, Kaḍavara-toṇḍi, Rājāḥirāja-simha-iṇṭiya (as god of the Toṣagamuva Vihaṇa), and Śet-kavi. See also Kambili Kaḍavara and Niṭā Deva.

Viella Raja. Father of Oḍḍīsa.
Vidi. A vidi is a space of enclosed paths surrounding the site of a ceremony. The poem V.-upata says that one was used by the Rsis to heal Maha-sammata's enchantment. It was 60 cubits square; within it a golden post was raised beneath a white sunshade, and upon the post was Bamba. Oḍḍisa, being fetched from Ajakūta, made Viskam measure the ground and sprinkle it with water and sandal-dust; Viskam divided it into pādas or quarters for Bamba, Devas, and Pretas, marked out with a golden cord the plan of a pavilion, and built triumphal arches and approaches. The poem Siṃhāsana-vidiya adds that in the midst of the vidi was a throne for Maha-sammata, and that Oḍḍisa held the sun and moon in his hands, created lightning from the clouds, rode in a golden chariot, and had a chank bangle on his arm and flames from the Avici hell around his head. There is a Vidi-bāndima (Nāgara-Oḍḍisa-vidiya), an exorcistic rite said in the V.-b. to have been performed by Oḍḍisa in order to heal Mānīkālā of her enchantment. Three-storied structures are said to have been built for it, facing the north for the Yaku, the south-west for Kumaru, the south for Vaṭuka Yaku, the sunset for Vaṭa Kumāra, the west for the Nāga king, the north-east for Devel Deva; goats, peacocks, and red cocks were offered. A post of rukattana (q. v.), 9 cubits long, was brought by Viskam and placed to face the north, and a throne was set beside it.

Vidulī-valāhaka. See Valāhaka.

Vidurāsana. See Vajrāsana.

Vijalinda. See Vijaya.

Vijaya. The first leader of Hindu colonists to Ceylon, as narrated in Mahā-vaṃsa and Dipa-vaṃsa. The Vijalindu-divi-dos-upata relates that V. was born to Siṃhabādenu's navel (sic!). As he tortured and slew children and cattle, his father sentenced him to death, and set him adrift on a Saturday, under evil omens, in a ship made of plantain-trunks. He set sail with 700 men born on the same day as he. After 7 days the ship sank, and for another 7 days he swam in the sea. As he came towards the shore, he cut a sawfish into three pieces with his sword, and landed with one piece at Tammannāvila. His men also landed, and lay exhausted. Kuvēni came in the form of a bitch to look at them. V. sent his brahman to see whence she came, but he did not return; one by one the seven hundred were sent in the same way, and were all detained by her. By Sikkha's order Viṣṇu then went to his help, disguised as a Gurulu, with a pirul-cord tied round his arm (cf. below). V. set out, and found Kuvēni sitting on a golden chair, carding cotton. She said she had not seen his men; but when he seized her by the hair and threatened to cut off her head, she offered to release them if he would marry her. He consented and did so. In the night he heard a loud noise, which she said was caused by her kinsmen going from Laggala to Laggala. She became a mare; he mounted her, and slew the Yugas, sparing only Vaṭa Yaka, Koja Yaka, and Mayilavālā, her mother's brothers. She fainted at the sight of the bloodshed. In the same night he left her, journeyed away 30 yodunas, and settled in Bandā-nuvara, where he married the Pāñji princess Bimbā Devi. Afterwards he went to Kurunāgala, and guarded himself with 30 lines of watchmen. On awakening from her swoon Kuvēni created 3 babes, one walking by her side, one borne on her hip, and one unborn, and with these made her way to him and reproached him. From a distance of 3 gavvas (18,000 yards) she stretched out a tongue which pierced 7 rock-caves and reached
his heart as he lay asleep. The brahman minister on guard saw it and cut it off. A drop of blood fell from it upon Bimbá Devi’s bosom, and he wiped it off with his finger. The queen accused him of an outrage, and V. sentenced him to death. To defend himself he produced the tip of the tongue that he had cut off, which sprang upon the head of V. and brought the Divi Dos (q. v.) upon him and Paṣṇuvas, to heal which 8 inches of a leopard’s head were cut off with a sword and laid at the kings feet. From the blood spirting from the tongue arose flies, gnats, fleas, and lice.

The Pala-vadu-dāṇē gives the same story of his coronation and repudiation of Kuvéni and of the Divi Dos inflicted on him and Paṣṇuvas. The Nava-graha-mal-baliya gives an account of his sickness and Buddha’s command to Kihirāli Deva to protect him. The rituals to heal him are variously described; see Aṭa Māgula. A Vijayindu-haṭanē relates that V. was the son of Siṃha-bāhu and Siṃha-vallī. He grew up headstrong and lawless, and was banished from his father’s realm. He sailed with 700 followers to Tammannā-tōa, where Kuvéni in the form of a bitch seized his men. When V. approached her, her third pap vanished, and she yielded herself to him and surrendered his men. She prepared for them a great feast and created a city and palace. She also created the city of Upatissa-nuvarā, where she made a palace with four entrance-halls called Bhojana-ran-mini-vāsala, Megha-ran-mini-V., Tuṣa-giri-v., and Cakra-v. Another Vijayindu-haṭanē, after narrating the earlier births of V. and Kuvéni, relates that the ministers of the king, V.’s father, spoke evil of him; the king sent him away in a rotten ship, and he reached Tammannā-tōa, swimming through the surf to land. Kuvéni took the form of a bitch with red back and eyes, white belly and claws, black hind-legs and head, blue fore-legs, and a golden tail, etc. The Vijayindu-puṭata and Laṅkā-bodhi-vastuva give an account similar in most points to that of the Mahā-viṣṇa. The Viṣṇu-viṭṭaya-kavi, narrating the arrival of V. in Ceylon, states that Viṣṇu gave him a magic thread to wear, which made him proof against the Yakas; this thread is invoked in Tunu-ruvian-piruttuva. He begot by Kuvéni Jīvahatta, who is identified in one legend with Kūla Kūmarā, son of V. and Kūla Kiri Māvu or Karaṇḍu-bānā. His origin from a lion is narrated in Siṃhalé viṣtarē; his wooing of Kuvéni, in Tilaka-pirivan Thera’s Kουpul-sandesaya; his repudiation of her, in Kuvéni-asnē. For the legend of his and Kuvéni’s previous births, see Kuvéni. See further Divi Dos, Mala Raja, Paṣṇuvas. He is invoked in Piruttuva and Viḍi-yak-yādīnna.

Vijaya Kumāri. A person attacked by Riri Yaka.

Vijīita Raja. Father of Mātalāvan. See also Vijaya.

Vikāra Devi. A deity who gave clothes for the torch-rite (see Torch).

Vikrama-bāhu (Vikum-ba). (1) A king, said to have built a temple at Ambakkē; see Devatār Bāydrā. (2) A king, on whom see Piṭiya Devi.

Vimala. Mother of Irandati.

Vīna. Malignant magical influences. A V. ḍapun-kavi exercises these from the various divisions of time and space, the parts of the body, etc., invoking Buddhist and other themes. There is a ritual styled V.-vīḍiya, and poem describing it for exorcism of evil planetary influences, and to cure sonai (fits and similar diseases), dropsy, and debility. Limes are cut and the verses chanted, and Buddha’s removal of the pestilence at Viṣālā is invoked. Limes were brought by the Reis from the worlds of Nāgas, Suras (gods), and
Asuras for exorcism. Then follows a sirasa-pāda to exorcise the evil limb by limb from head to foot. See also Valalu.

Vīra. The square vine (vitix quadrangularis, hirāsā) is used in the ritual of Mohol-upakaraṇa-upata, which says it originated in a park of sāl-trees at Kusināra, where it came from the Nāgas’ world; Maha-bamba placed it at the patient’s feet. The Aṭa Magula, which also prescribes its use, says it arose from Ṇvara’s nostril. See Aṭa Magula, Divi Dos, Oḍīsa, Valalu, Vas.

Vīra. A god overcome by Mala Raja.

Vīra-bhadrā. A god, son of queen Nandā of Vaṭiga-raṭa. As Nandā was bathing in a lake, a Yaka saw her. She fainted, and he possessed her, entering her body through her nostril, and was conceived by her. Among her longings of pregnancy was a desire for human flesh, and the king, her husband, gave her bodies from a cemetery. When the child was born, the soothsayers declared that at the age of 7 years he would go into the forest of Oḍīsa and become the Yaka Vīra-bhadrā. He did so, but at the age of 16. He was 3 gavvas (12 miles) in height: fire came out of his mouth, eyes, ears, and nose, and 160 cobras enwreathed his body. He had 800 yaksas in his train. He is exorcised by dances and offerings on a decorated stage. [V.-kavi.]

Vīra-munḍa. A god; said in V.-alaikāraya to have been born after a prophetic dream by his mother. For his youthful misbehaviour, he was sentenced to death, but escaped, and sailed to Kolamba (Colombo) in Ceylon. He came to Iriyagama and at Vil-hāva constructed shrines. Seven Baṇḍāras were under his command; he fed demons of Ceylon, broke the legs of many Demalas (Tamils), warred against the gods of Ceylon (who were led by Kataragama Deva), and made Pattini’s bangle to cease rattling. He has a red silk kercief on his head, a red and blue cock in his right hand, and a golden sword and wand. The V.-yaggaya relates that before his birth his father, the king of Kōli, was warned by evil omens, and the queen’s breasts turned black and dried up. She went from Kōli-nuvara to Malala-nuvara, where she bore a son under most evil auspices. The dream (see above) is related in this version also. When the boy grew up, he was driven out of Kōli, and sailed on a stone raft to Yāpāṭṭuna (Jaffna), where he caught and beat the Śādi Tamils. He stopped the jingling of Pattini’s bangle, became lord of Rakusus, and gave authority to Kalu Kumāra to kill young girls. He carries in his hand a cock. A V.-upata gives a similar account, and states that he arrived in Ceylon at Sinigama and defeated the Yakes at Iriyagama. The V.-pena-kima states that he came to shore at Pānigalpota, where he broke the necks of 100 elephants, visited Beligal Korale, and fought with the king of Kolamba. He is elsewhere said to be the son of the king of Kolīya-nuvara, and elder brother of Rāmanā Kāt and Tāmanērā, and later was known as Malala Raja. The V.-yādinna describes him as coming to Ceylon on a stone raft. See also Nā-mal Kumāra, Pattini, Toṭa Kaṭavara. He is invoked in Mal-keli-upata and (as V. Malala-sāmi) in Pattini-yāga-kavi.

Vīra-munḍa Mūti. A god invoked in Sālu-salima; see Pattini.

Vīra-parakrama-bāhu. A king, said to have built a temple for Kanda at Āmbākkė (see Devatār Baṇḍāra), and another for Gana Devi.

Vīra Pattini. See Pattini.

Vīra-vikrama Devatār Baṇḍāra. See Dāvimudrā.
Vīra-vikum Rāma Baṇḍāra. See Kambili Kaṭavara.
Vīrāṭhaka. One of the Guardian Gods.
Vīrāṇaśa. One of the Guardian Gods.

Vīsālā. A Dan-uiya-kathāva relates that Dan Udiya received alms and ate them himself, for which he was once turned into a rock. After 12 years Gautama Buddha in pity addressed him. At the third utterance the rock began to hear, uttered a cry, emitted a stench, and returned to human shape. The stench created a pestilence that attacked successively dogs, cattle, and men in Vīsālā (Vesālī). Buddha stopped it and the 18 forms of sanni disease. This story is accordingly embodied in a ritual for Sannī Yaka. Another D.-u.-kathāva, of similar contents, refers to a vihārā (monastery) at Makkama (Mecca). In V.-iāntiya, a ballad upon an exorcistic rite, it is said that a beggar of Vīsālā asked for alms, promising to give away in charity whatever he received; but he only gave away the half, and was therefore reborn as a Preta (ghost) called Dan Udiya or Haṇsapāla Udiya, who had no arms, legs, eyes, nose, or ears. Buddha addressed him; he rose up, and thunder was heard. Plague then attacked men and animals, with drought, famine, bloodshed, and incursions of evil spirits. Buddha was summoned; rain fell, and he restored the country to its former state, and preached pīrīt. Cf. the story of the Budu-guṇa-alākārāya and Ratana-sūtra-iāntiya. A balī rite is then prescribed for Yakas of various lands. The Maha-viṣa-yādīnna ascribes the plague at Vīsālā to the demons Vāṣuka, Kambili, Siya-vāṣuka, Amu-sohona, Siri, Kaṭavara, Gopalu, Gohu, Bhiri, Kana, Kora, Pillī, Bhairava, Madana, Ratikan, Mahasohona, Teda Pattini Yakṣayō, Śuniyan, Pulūtu, Uda-maṅgra, Talātu, Bhumātu, Teda Devel, etc., assembling from all countries. The plague of Vīsālā is also connected with Hūniyan Yaka (q. v.) and Vaduru Kāli (see Kāli). See likewise Set+iāntiya, and Vīna.

Vīskam. See Vīskakarma.

Vīṇu (Upulvan, Pulvan, Ven). The Hindu deity, consort of Lākṣmi, Sītā, and Sīriyā, and one of the Guardian Gods (q. v.); said in Pala-višā-dānā to dwell with Sītā (q. v.) in Vaikuṇṭha on the Himālaya. The Upulvan-asnē relates that he fought with the Devas against the Asuras and slew their chief Mahā-bali. The Satara-deviā-devi-puṇvata narrates that he came to Ceylon and overcame the Demala Yakas. He dived in boar’s form into the waters, to seek the earth; in tortoise’s form he supported Mount Meru on his back when the winds blew upon it and the Nāga king twined round it; he overcame Bhasmāsura by guile, and alone of the gods supported Buddha in his struggle against Māra. The Vali-yakkavi states that Buddha gave him charge of Ceylon; the Buda-bala-diṣṭānē, that Buddha appointed him to guard his religion for 5000 years. He is incarnated in Rāma. He took part in the healing of Maha-sammita (see Abīna-iāntiya). With Sākra and Śiva he invented the word svasti (see Alphabet). He took part in the rite of the arrow to heal Malṣarā (see Arrow). In woman’s form he begot and gave birth to Ayyanār, q. v. He is present in the betel-leaf, and one shoot of the primitive betel was his (see Betel). He overcame Bhasmāsura by assuming the form of a lovely woman (see Bhasmāsura, Kalu Kumāra); brought a charmed thread to heal the divi-dos of Vijaya (see DiviDos); created a golden cock for the war against the Asuras (see Fowl); and plunged into the sea and straightened Meru when it had become crooked through Śiva’s blow, and himself conceived and bore Hūniyan Yaka, q. v. With his sanctuary at Bintenna Kalu Kumaṇa (q. v.) is associated. He is father of Kāma, (q. v.); aided Kambili Kaṭavara (q. v.), who carried and broke his
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IN
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SUPPLEMENT:
ALPHABETICAL GUIDE TO SINHALESE FOLKLORE FROM BALLAD SOURCES, pages 1 to 12

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE BRITISH INDIA PRESS, MARGAO, BOMBAY.

LONDON: BERNARD QUARITCH. NEW YORK: WESTERMANN & CO.
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PART DLXVI.  (VOL. XLV.)  FEBRUARY, 1916.

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SUPPLEMENT:
FOLKLORE OF THE GUJARAT by R. E. Estroeven, C.I.E., L.C.S. ... ... pages 109 to 116

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE BRITISH INDIA PRESS, MARGION, BOMBAY.

LONDON: BERNARD Quaritch.
CHICAGO: S. D. PEET, Esq., Ph.D.
NEW YORK: WESTERMANN & Co.
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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE BRITISH INDIA PRESS, MADRAS, BOMBAY.

LONDON: BERNARD QUARITCH.
CHICAGO: S. D. PEET, Esq., Ph.D.

NEW YORK: WESTERMANN & Co.
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THE EPIGRAPHIA INDICA
is published quarterly under the authority of the Government of India
as a Supplement to the Indian Antiquary.

PART DLXX  (VOL. XLV.)  JUNE, 1916.

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as a Supplement to the Indian Antiquary.

PART DLXXI (VOL. XLV.) JULY, 1916.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,
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IN
ARCHAEOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES,
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SUPPLEMENT:

ALPHABETICAL GUIDE TO SINGHALESE FOLKLORE FROM BALLAD SOURCES
by L. D. Barnett ... ... ... pages 45 to 56

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LONDON: BERNARD QUARITCH.
NEW YORK: WESTERMANN & Co.
CHICAGO: S. D. PEET, ESQ., PH.D.
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PART DLXXII. (VOL. XLV.) AUGUST, 1916.

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SUPPLEMENT--

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE BRITISH INDIA PRESS, MARGAON, BOMBAY.

LONDON: BERNARD Quaritch.
CHICAGO: S. D. Feet, Esq., Ph.D.
NEW YORK: WERSTERMANN & Co.
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PART DLXXIII. (VOL. XLV.) September, 1916.

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PART DLXXVI. (VOL. XLV.) December, 1916.

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