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The Journal of The U.P. Historical Society

Vol. I (New Series)

Parts I-II



1953

PUBLISHED BY THE HONY. SECRETARY, U. P. HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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EDITOR,

Journal of the U. P. Historical Society.

The Journal of The U.P. Historical Society

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45370



954.005
J.U.P.H.S.

EDITOR
C. D. CHATTERJEE

PUBLISHED BY THE HONY. SECRETARY, U. P. HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
1953

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Dr. K. M. Munshi, LL.D., D. Litt.
Patron, U. P. Historical Society.



GOVERNOR'S CAMP,
UTTAR PRADESH

February 13, 1955

The U.P. Historical Society has done some useful work during the last forty years of its existence. But in the context of a new outlook, the Society, if it is to be useful, has not only to carry on sustained activities, but reorient its outlook on historical problems and carry on intensive research.

Uttar Pradesh has a long and glorious history. It is the land of Indraprastha, Hastinapur, Ayodhya, Kausambi, Mathura, Kanauj, Delhi, Kalanjar, Agra, Allahabad and Lucknow. The ruling dynasties which rose and fell in these cities influenced the whole trend of Indian history.

If history is the life-story of powerful men, Uttar Pradesh is the land of Sri Ramachandra, Sri Krishna, Bhishma, Janamejaya and Vatsa, Kanishka and Ishanavarma; of Sri Harsha and Mihirabhoja; of Akbar and other Mughal Emperors; of the Nawab Wazirs and the Jat Chiefs. From the fragments of our past, the continuity of its life and influence has to be pieced together and presented in a living manner.

I hope this Association will help in this great task.

K. M. Munshi



Dr. Sampurnanand
President, U. P. Historical Society



Lucknow, February 21, 1955.

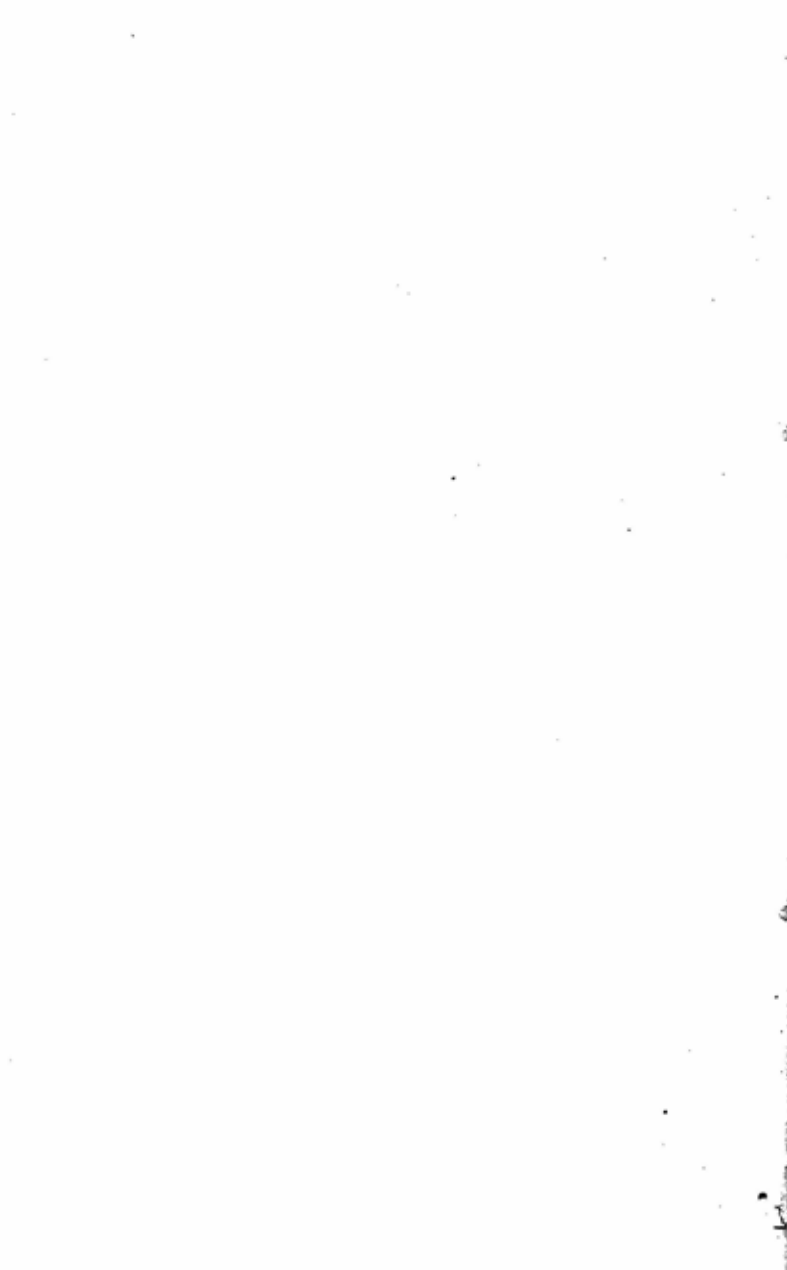
The Journal of the U.P. Historical Society already occupies a distinguished position among journals devoted to research in history and allied subjects. The Society has now decided to bring out the publication more regularly than has been possible so far and make it more useful and attractive in other ways. I welcome this decision and trust that it will meet with wide appreciation from students of Indian history and culture.

(Sampurnanand)
Chief Minister, U.P.



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The Journal of The U. P. Historical Society (उत्तर प्रदेश, इतिहास परिषद्)

Vol. I (New Series)

1953

Parts I—II

THE VALIDITY OF KANYĀDĀNA AS A DĀNA

By Dr. Sampurnanand

(Hon'ble Minister for Home and Labour, U.P.)

According to the *Saṃskāra Gaṇapati*, a Brāhma marriage consists of five parts, viz *Vāgdāna*, *Pradāna* i.e. *Kanyādāna*, *Varaṇa*, *Pāṇigrahaṇa* and *Saptapadi*. *Vāgdāna*, 'making the promise' is what might be called the formal betrothal. The girl's father makes a promise to give his daughter on a proper day to be selected by astrologers to such and such a *vara*. The father of the *vara* makes a corresponding promise. A few days before the date fixed for the marriage, friends of the *vara* go to the girl's house and formally demand her hand in marriage from her father. This is *Varaṇa*. The demand is accepted, as a matter of course. *Pāṇigrahaṇa* consists in the bride and the bride-groom holding each other's hands with the recitation of appropriate formulæ. *Kanyādāna* and *Saptapadi* are well-known terms and need no explanation.

Of these five, the first two have lost much of their significance. They are performed very perfunctorily, if at all, and in an abridged form which hardly bears, much resemblance to what the old *Dharmasūtras* have to say about them. But they are important from a historical point of view and, as I shall show later, throw a considerable light on the whole concept of Hindu marriage. After all, the marriage ceremony is one whole and all its parts must be organically inter-related.

Kanyādāna is the *dāna*, the gift of the *Kanyā* to the *vara*. It is not like a present which one friend may make to another, but a transfer of that permanent nature which characterizes all ritual gifts. But the question arises, if it is a valid *dāna* at all. We shall discuss this interesting question from several angles.

We may take it as axiomatic that one can give away only that which is one's property. The Transfer of Property Act says : 'Gift is the transfer of certain existing movable or immovable property made voluntarily and without consideration by one person called the donor to another called the donee and accepted by, or on behalf of, the donee.' The Commentary by D. F. Mulla says that 'a transfer in consideration of a spiritual and moral benefit is a gift.' Under this Act, an actionable claim is also treated as property. *Kanyādāna* can be a valid gift under this act only if a girl were a piece of movable or immovable property or an actionable claim. Obviously she is none of these things. Modern law does not recognise that the daughter is her father's property. To this extent, *Kanyādāna* is invalid. But, obviously, it is unfair to judge an ancient custom according to the canons of modern law. Let us, therefore, see what our old law-givers have to say in this connection. The *Hemādri-Dānakhaṇḍa* quotes Devala as saying :

पात्रेभ्यो दीयते नित्यमनपेक्ष प्रयोजनम् ।
केवलं त्यागबुद्ध्या यत्, धर्मदानं तदुच्यते ॥

'That is a true gift which is given from a pure sense of sacrifice, to a deserving person, with no object in view.' The word प्रयोजन, object, has been explained as इष्टफलानुसन्धान, search for things enjoyable on the earth. Sri Krishna expresses the same meaning much more clearly in the *Bhagavad Gītā* :

दातव्यमिति यद्दानं, दीयतेऽनुपकारिणे ।
देशे काले च पात्रे च, तद्दानं सात्त्विकं स्मृतम् ॥

'That gift is pure which is given from the pure urge to give, in a suitable place and at a suitable time, to a suitable person from whom no return is expected.'

These are descriptions of the moral and psychological concomitants of a truly noble and disinterested gift, but not legal definitions. The *Dānakriyā-Kaumudī* of Govind-ānanda, however, defines the term thus: उद्देश्यगतस्वामित्वजनकत्यागो दानम् । 'Dāna is that giving up which (simultaneously) creates ownership in the person named (or referred to).' In other words, *dāna* is that process whereby ownership is transferred from the person who relinquishes it to the person in whose favour it is relinquished. This is really the definition given by modern law. The whole thing then hinges upon the question, whether a daughter is the property of her father, in other words, whether the father possesses ownership over his daughter. The *Vasīṣṭha-Smṛiti* definitely says that it does. Parents have the right to gift, sell or abandon their progeny as they choose. Evidently, this is a statement of an ancient custom. There is the famous story of Śunaḥśepa who was sold by his father to

Hariśchandra and rescued from being sacrificed to Agni by Viśvāmitra.

But later on, the right to sell one's progeny was not recognised by law. It was considered a grievous sin. Manu clearly says:

न कन्यायाः पिता विद्वान्, गृहीयाच्छुल्कमणवपि ।
गृह्यच्छुल्कं हि लोभेन, स्यान्नरोऽपत्यविक्रयी ॥

'The father of the *Kanyā* should not accept any money, howsoever small. By accepting money through avarice, a man becomes the seller of his progeny.'

This means that the father was not deemed to possess the right to sell his daughter. He was not, therefore, the proprietor of her person. Clearly, then, he was not competent to give her away to another, for one cannot transfer what is not one's property. It can hardly be argued that the father's proprietorship is of a limited nature, permitting him to give away, in the hope of earning merit in the hereafter for himself and other members of his family, but not to sell, his daughter. Let us assume, however, that such a partial ownership does vest in the father. In that case, through the process of *Kanyādāna*, he can pass on this limited proprietorship to his son-in-law. The latter, then, would be competent to exercise the right that he has thus acquired and to give away his wife to another, if he so wishes. But this right is expressly denied to him. Therefore the husband has not acquired, through *Kanyādāna*, even this partial proprietorship over his wife's person. The girl's father, then, does not ever possess this right over his daughter. He is not her owner, absolute or partial, and, therefore, cannot give her away. *Kanyādāna* is, thus, not a valid *dāna* at all. The remark made by Śrī Krishna, in

answering objections to his sister's marriage with Arjuna in defiance of *Brāhma* rules, is a very sensible view about *Kanyādāna*:

प्रदातमपि कन्यायाः, पशुवत् कोऽनुमन्यते (*Mahābhārata* I, 245, 5).

'Who can support the gift of a daughter, as if she were an animal?'

We reach the same conclusion from another line of approach, which proves indisputably that it is impossible for ownership over the daughter's person to vest in the father. Ownership implies the right to enjoy, in some way to make use of, the object owned. Whether the owner chooses to exercise his right or not is immaterial. How does the father possess any such right? Supposing his daughter never married, can he put her to legal use? Obviously not. Therefore, he cannot be said to have any proprietary rights over her person.

There is another interesting fact which militates against the theory that mastership over the *kanyā* accrues to the *vara* as a result of *kanyādāna*. It is a custom, well-recognised and sanctioned by *Smṛti*, that if the bride-groom dies before the performance of the *saptapadī*, the girl can be married to another person. Not only this, Yājñavalkya says in unambiguous language:

दत्तामपि हरेत्पूर्वाच्छ्रेयांश्चेद्वर आग्रजेत् ।

'If another *vara* better than the previous one arrives, then (the father) may take away the *Kanyā*, even if she has been given away.'

'This is a very sensible rule but it raises an important

issue about *kanyādāna*. Yājñavalkya himself observes in the preceding verse:

सकृत्प्रदीयते कन्या, हरंस्तां चौरदण्डभाक् ।

'A *Kanyā* is given away once (for all); by taking her away, he (the father) earns the punishment for theft.'

If *kanyādāna* really creates proprietorship over the *kanyā*, whoever takes her away is certainly a thief. But, in that case, how can the father be authorised to give her away to another person, however suitable he may appear to be as a prospective son-in-law? How, again, can a girl be given in marriage to another person, if the first *vara* dies after the *kanyādāna* but before the *saptapadi*? She is no longer of her father so as to be given away. Authority over her person should logically pass to the relations of her *vara*. A girl's father can never be the reversioner of her lord and master.

It is not that doubts like these, never assailed any one in the past. In his Commentary on the *Pārāśhara Grhya-sūtra*, Karka approaches this question from a very interesting angle. His argument is based on what, in modern terms, would be called the principle that actionable rights constitute a valid gift. He says:

आदाय गृहीत्वैतच्चोभयं न दत्तव्यम् उच्यते च तत्किमर्थम् ।
अप्रतिग्रहस्यापि प्रतिग्रहविधिना आदानं यथा स्यादिति ।...

स्वत्वत्यागपूर्वकं हि परस्वत्वापादनं दानम् । न च कन्या कथंचिदप्यस्व-
कर्तुं कन्या शक्यते, नापि परस्य कन्या भवति, विवाहोत्तरमपि ममेयं
कन्येत्यभिधानात् । अत्र गौणो ददाति ।

It is incorrect to use the words, having taken or having accepted. (These words occur in the formula by which

the *vara* accepts the *kanyā* given to him by his father-in-law to be). But they are used. Why? So that what is not a (valid) gift, may be accepted through the procedure prescribed for a (valid) gift. *Dāna* is the creation of a right in another person by the previous giving up of a right (possessed by oneself). But by no means whatsoever, can a daughter be made a non-daughter or become another man's daughter. Even after marriage, the father refers to her as 'my daughter'. Hence, the verb 'to give' is not used here in its primary sense.

The meaning is clear. *Dāna*, or gift, implies the transfer of a relationship. Now, in this case, neither is the old relationship destroyed nor is a new one created. The father continues to be his daughter's father after marriage, but not so the husband. So nothing is really transferred through *kanyādāna*. There is no real *dāna* and the use of the word in this context is merely a legal fiction.

There are other weighty arguments pointing in the same direction. If a person gives something to another in the spirit enjoined by Śrī Kṛishṇa in the couplet from the *Gītā* quoted earlier, there is no more to be said, so far as the donor is concerned. But if an object is gifted with a certain end in view, even if that end be non-material, certain complications arise. The donee must also accept the gift on the same terms. Otherwise, the two parties will be playing at cross-purposes. Such confusion must be avoided, especially in the case of a solemn ceremony which forms part of a great sacrament. Unfortunately, such confusion does exist in the case of *kanyādāna*. The object for which *kanyādāna* is performed is clear from the *sankalpa*. The donor wants deliverance from the nether regions and enjoyment of bliss in Heaven for himself and twenty-four other members of his family, past and future. But does

the donee accept the gift for the furtherance of this object? It seems, he does not.

In the first place, he wants similar benefit for himself and his ancestors from sons born to him. He is not interested in his father-in-law's family. Again, a reference must be made here to the *vāgdāna* and *varaṇa*, the two constituents of the marriage ceremony which have fallen more or less into desuetude. Forming part, however, as they do of the full original ritual, they give an indication of the basic principles of Aryan marriage. After all, these two rites have not been formally discarded: the formulae connected with them are still repeated, even if not in proper sequence.

The *varaṇa* formula is given in several places. The *Drāhyāyana-Grīhyasūtra*, for instance, says that the relations of the *vara* in asking for her should say to the *kanyā*'s father; after giving the *vara*'s full name and other particulars, 'धर्मप्रजार्थं वृणीमहे,' 'we select her for the procreation of lawful progeny (or progeny that will observe *Dharma*)'. The latter replies 'दास्यामि', 'I shall give (her, for this purpose)'. The *Āpastamba-Grīhyasūtra* says the same thing in slightly different language: it uses the words प्रजास्तद्वत् कर्मभ्य for धर्मप्रजार्थ. The *āśīrvāda*, blessing, given to the *kanyā* at the end of the ceremony runs as follows, according to the *Kauśītaka-Grīhyasūtra*: प्रजास्त्वयि दधामि, पशूस्त्वयि दधामि तेजो-ब्रह्मवर्चस्यं त्वयि दधामि '(Through the power of the *mantra*), I establish in thee progeny, cattle (i e. wealth) and the splendour and power that comes from the knowledge of *Brahma*'.

At the *vāgdāna*, according to the *Saṃskāra-paddhati*, the father of the *kanyā* says :-

वाचा दत्ता मया कन्या, पुत्रार्थं स्वीकृता त्वया ।

कन्यावलोकनविधौ निश्चितस्त्वं सुखी भव ॥

‘(Through the ceremony of looking at the bride), you have accepted on behalf of (or for) your son the *kanyā* promised by me. May you be happy!’ And the *vara*’s father replies:

वाचा दत्ता त्वया कन्या, पुत्रार्थं स्वीकृता मया ।
वरावलोकनविधौ निश्चितस्त्वं सुखी भव ॥

‘I have accepted for my son the *kanyā* promised by you through the ceremony of looking at the *vara*. May you be happy’.

It may be finally noted that at the end of the marriage ceremony, the *vara* says, according to the *Agniveśya-Gṛihya-sūtra*: ‘अनया सह मया कर्माणि कर्तव्यानि । प्रजाश्चोत्पादयितव्याः, तदर्थं एनां परिशेष्ये’

‘With this (woman), I have to perform sacrifices. Progeny has also to be procreated. For this purpose, I marry her.’

It should be remembered that Vedic *yajñas* cannot be performed by a man who is either a bachelor or a widower. The *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* says in unequivocal terms: अयद्वियो वा एष योऽपत्नीक. ‘The person without a wife, is not authorized to perform *yajñas*.’

It will be seen that, in all these, there is no mention anywhere of the ancestors or descendants of the *kanyā*’s father. The marriage is being solemnized to enable the *vara* to have progeny and to perform the sacrifices enjoined by the *Vedas*. Such performances can bring merit only to the performer. It is clearly for these purposes that the maiden’s hand is being selected and, in the two ceremonies preceding the *kanyādāna*, her father has explicitly accepted them. He has not stipulated or even referred to any

purpose other than these. Had he done so, it would have been open to the *vara* and his father not to agree to the marriage. How then can the *kanyā*'s father interpolate, at the time of *kanyādāna*, an entirely new purpose, up to that time not known to the other party? The whole process is vitiated by this act, and *kanyādāna* becomes an invalid transaction.

It was not always so. The purpose tacked on to the *saukalpa*, is apparently an innovation. According to *Vaikhāṇasa Gṛhya-sūtra*, which seems to preserve the older tradition, the *kanyā*'s father gives away his daughter (अस्य सहधर्मचारिणी भवतीति ब्राह्मे विवाहे धर्मप्रजा संपत्त्ययं यज्ञावस्यथं ब्रह्मदेवर्षिपितृभ्यस्तृप्त्यर्थम्), so that she may become the सहधर्मचारिणी, the sharer with him in virtuous actions (i.e. those prescribed in the *Veda*). He gives her to the *vara* in *Brāhma* marriage, for the procreation of lawful (or dharma-minded) progeny, for the due performance of *yajñas* and for the satisfaction of god, the gods, the *Rishis* and the spirits of the ancestors.

This *saukalpa* is in perfect accord with the spirit of the *vāgdāna* and the *varaṇa*.

Taking all these into consideration, Dr. Altekar seems to be justified, when he says in *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*: 'It should be pointed out that the gift of the bride was a mere formality: it did not at all authorize the husband to treat his wife in any way he liked. What one receives as a sacred gift in the presence of the Divine Fire, is really a trust for the proper discharge of which one is responsible to the Creator of the Universe'. As a matter of fact, it is not the husband alone who enters upon a sacred trust, but both husband and wife do so. They undertake, not to give deliverance from

well-merited punishment to the erring ancestors and descendants of the bride's father, but to perform the duties which devolve upon every householder. These have been described at great length in the fifth chapter of *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, and, with a suitable interpretation to suit the conditions prevailing at present. They hold good today, as they did hundreds of years ago.

Setting aside, for a time, the question of the legality of *kanyādāna* as a *dāna*, let us see what purpose it serves in the marriage ceremony.

Emphasis is laid in more places than one, that the *Brāhma* marriage can be duly celebrated only with a girl who is प्रत्ता or दत्ता, 'given.' This evidently refers to *kanyādāna*. The effect of *kanyādāna* is thus described by Ratnākara, as quoted in the commentary on the *Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra*:

प्रदानं स्वाम्यकरणम् । प्रदानेनैव कन्यायां वरस्य वरस्यं जायते दातुः स्वाम्यनिर्वर्तते ।

'A gift is the cause of proprietorship, i.e., creates proprietorship. It is through gift that proprietorship over the *kanyā* is created in the *vara* and extinguished in the donor.

Yama says the same thing. The substance of his argument is as follows :

नोदकेन विना चायं कन्यायाः पतिरुच्यते । — अनुत्पादित स्वत्वायाः कन्यायाः पतिग्राहणं संस्कारात् पतिः स्वामी स्वत्ववान् ।

The husband cannot be so called, unless the *kanyādāna* ceremony is performed. Unless proprietorship over the *kanyā* has been transferred to him, he will not become

possessed of the rights of mastership over her merely by the performance of the ceremony of *pānigrahana*. The original word is *स्वामी* which Apte explains as meaning 'proprietor', 'lord', or 'master'. But we have seen earlier that the father is not the master of his daughter's person. He cannot obviously transfer what he himself does not possess. Thus, it is wrong to assume that the *vara* acquires mastership over his wife, because of the performance of this rite. The husband can never be his wife's owner. To this extent, *kanyādāna* is a futile rite.

Apart from this consideration of owner or master-ship, *kanyādāna* would have a significance, if the *vara* were deemed to become the *kanyā*'s husband and the *kanyā*, the *vara*'s wife on the performance of this ceremony. This is not so. There are various theories as to when the relation of husband and wife comes into existence. While describing the *varaṇa* ceremony in his *Vṛitti* on the *Drāhyāyana-grihyasūtra*, Rudra Skanda refers to *पत्युर्जातयो यथा* etc., the husband's relations going to the house of the 'wife', before the performance, even of *kanyādāna*. This is curious. It is no doubt a loose expression, but probably sanctioned by contemporary custom.

An interesting point claims attention in this connection. Even if *kanyādāna* did possess some kind of a validity, it would be a unilateral transaction. It would confer certain very important rights on the *vara*, but none on the *kanyā*, except such as might be assumed to flow from the fact of her being owned by her husband. These rights would be no greater than those possessed by the slave against his master. It is doubtful, if such rights were ever considered justiciable.

The common word for marriage is *विवाह*. Another

word used in the same sense is उद्वाह. Normally, marriage is the name of the ceremony which creates the husband-wife relationship. According to the *Smṛititātvam* : भार्यात्वसम्पादकं ब्रह्मविवाह, 'vivāha is that acceptance which creates wife-hood (and, by implication, 'husband-hood') The word is thus clearly synonymous with 'marriage.' But it is worthwhile to examine this definition a little ब्रह्म means 'acceptance' and implies a precedent offer. To constitute a proper उद्वाह someone must accept something offered by somebody. Now such an offer and acceptance form parts of vāgdāna, varaṇa and kanyādāna, and of no subsequent ceremony. Descriptions of kanyādāna do, as a matter of fact, refer to the vara as प्रतिग्रहीता, 'the acceptor.' Are we then to assume that vivāha (marriage is complete, before performance of the two succeeding ceremonies, viz., pāṇigrahaṇa and saptaṭpadī? A confirmation of this supposition comes from a rather un-expected quarter. The *Harivaṃśa*, the famous supplement to the *Mahābhārata*, occupies, in some ways, a unique place in religious literature. Its recital is believed to ensure the birth of an issue to the childless and devout couples, yearning for progeny. Copies of it are also presented to the Brāhmaṇas, accompanied with suitable gifts. This book is indeed a storehouse of stories reflecting ancient beliefs and customs. One of the stories called Śaṅku Upākhyāna, is the story of Triśaṅku. One of the incidents in the story is that Satyavrata, son of King Trayyārūṇa, carried away a girl whose marriage was being celebrated. This disreputable act was committed before the pāṇigrahaṇa ceremony could be completed. Referring to this scene, the author says:

पाणिग्रहणं मन्त्राणां, विघ्नं चक्रे स दुर्मतिः ।

येन भार्याहतापूर्वं, कृतोद्वाहा परस्य वै ॥

A disturbance of the pāṇigrahaṇa mantras (i.e. at the

time of the recitation of those *mantras*) was created by that evil-minded person, who had carried away another's wife, already married. To use not only the word 'wife' but the term 'already married', for a girl for whom even the *pāṇigrahaṇa* rite had not been completed, is curious indeed. Such a loose form of expression could hardly have been sanctioned by law, even if custom allowed it. If a woman could become a wife at any stage, prior to the conclusion of *pāṇigrahaṇa*, obviously all succeeding ceremonies would become superfluous and meaningless.

But there is some reason to suppose that the word *विवाह* itself has undergone some change in meaning in the course of time. The *Smṛitilattvam* says, *विवाहस्तु पाणिग्रहणात् पूर्वं कृत एव*, '*vivāha* is already accomplished, prior to *pāṇigrahaṇa*.' This statement is in accord with the usage of which we have an example in the *Harivaṃśa*. *Vivāha*, it seems, was the name of the sum total of the ceremonies which preceded *pāṇigrahaṇa*. Quite obviously, they had to be followed by others to make the marriage complete. It is not clear whether the rest of the ceremony was given a comprehensive name; it is also not quite clear, what the whole ceremony was called. But it is clear that *विवाह* in this context does not mean 'marriage' as we understand the term now. This use of the term also runs counter to the statement of the *Saṃskāra-Gaṇapati*:

यागदानं च प्रदानं न च, वरणं पाणिपीडनम् ।
सप्तपदीति पञ्चाङ्गा, विवाहः परिकीर्तितः ॥

Vivāha consists of five parts: *vāgdāna*, *pradāna* (*kanyādāna*), *varaṇa*, *pāṇipīḍana* (*pāṇigrahaṇa*) and *saptapadī*. Surely a part cannot arrogate to itself the name of the whole. We shall just a little later give another example of the use of the word *विवाह*, that is not strictly accurate,

at any rate, not in accord with modern usage.

It is clearly stated by a number of authorities that it is the last step of the *saptapadī*, the perambulation round the sacred fire, that is the crucial part of the whole ceremony. According to the *Smṛititātvam*, कृतस्नं हि जायतपतिश्च सप्तमे पदे, the complete wife-husband (relationship) (is created) at 'the seventh step.' Manu observes:

पाणिग्रहणिका मंत्राः, नियतं दारलक्षणम् ।
तेषां निष्ठा तु विज्ञेया, विद्वद्भिः सप्तमे पदे ॥

It is the *pāṇigrahaṇa-mantras* which are, of a certainty, the cause of wife-hood. Their final point is reached at the seventh step. The same thing has been said by Yama, in slightly different language:

नोदकेन न वा वाचा, कन्यायाः पतिरिष्यते ।
पाणिग्रहणसंस्कारात्, पतिश्च सप्तमे पदे ॥

'(A man) is not called a *pati* (husband), through *kanyādāna* or *vagdāna*; husband-hood arises at the seventh step from *pāṇigrahaṇa* ceremony.' The use of the word *pāṇigrahaṇa* is somewhat confusing, because the seventh step forms part of the *saptapadī*, which immediately follows the *pāṇigrahaṇa*. Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, the commentator on *Manu smṛiti*, gets over this difficulty by sensibly interpreting the expression '*pāṇigrahaṇikā mantrāḥ*' occurring in the passage from Manu quoted above, as *vaivāhika mantrāḥ*, (*mantras* connected with *vivāha*, marriage). Another passage from Manu says:

स्वगोत्राद्भ्रूयते नारी, विवाहात्सप्तमे पदे

'A woman loses her *gotra* (i. e., the *gotra* of her father's family) and enters that of her husband's family, at the

seventh step from the *vivāha*. The meaning is clear, but the use of the word *vivāha* is unusual.

All these texts show that the husband-wife relationship is created at the conclusion of the seventh step of the *saptapadī*. Everything that has gone before is simply a preliminary, leading up to that final consummation. Modern law and custom also accept this principle. No Hindu marriage is deemed to be complete, unless the *saptapadī* has been completed; and the success of many a law-suit has hinged on evidence establishing the faultless performance or otherwise of this vital ceremony. If it can be proved, in any particular case, that the ceremony was performed, the man and woman concerned become irrevocably husband and wife, and only death can part them.

It would be worthwhile to discuss a related question at this stage. It is sometimes urged that, although a woman becomes a *bhāryā*, wife, at the *saptapadī*, the *vara* becomes her *svāmī* at the *kanyādāna*. Manu's authority is quoted in support of this. This position is untenable. We have shown that no one can be said, at any time, to be the master of a woman's person. Apart from this, what would be the legal position between the *kanyādāna* and the seventh step of the *saptapadī*? The *vara* would be the girl's master but not her husband. Correspondingly, she would be his property but not his wife. Surely, this is not the intention of the *samskāra*. What would happen, if the man chose to cut the ceremony short at the *kanyādāna*? Was all that costly and solemn ceremony performed merely to help a man acquire a slave? It cannot be said that the woman becomes a wife straight-away, but the man becomes a husband later, since husband-hood occurs simultaneously with wife-hood (भार्यात्वावुत्तिष्ठादि पतित्वम्). The

two terms: husband and wife, imply each other. A woman can not be a wife without some one being her husband at the same time.

This clearly shows, as other arguments have shown, that *kanyādanā* confers, creates, and transfers, no rights. It might, if its object is supposed to be to grant the *vara* a proprietary interest over the person of the *kanyā*, or to ensure the father, and the past and the future members of his family a comfortable stay in Heaven and a means of escape from the consequences of their sins of commission and omission, as well be dropped out of the marriage ceremony, except as a purely informal social act.

THE SPIRIT OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION

By Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee

The Continuity of Indian Civilization.

Civilization in India is at once more ancient and living than in any other country in the world. Yet few countries have experienced such invasions and conquests by alien races. Even fewer are marked out for such diversity of natural conditions, customs and languages in different regions. The continuity of Indian civilization is largely the outcome of a well-nigh homogeneous pattern of myths and values, and a metaphysical frame of the social order that it has evolved through fifty centuries of struggle, gradual assimilation and synthesis. Its broad march is accordingly apt to be missed, if we look at history from the viewpoint of political events and changes. In this immense territory, invasion, war or conquest, if it has welded together or disintegrated kingdoms and empires, has not led to wholesale expropriation of population nor to the substitution of culture; it has not obliterated nor obscured the habits and character of the Indian people.

The key-note to Indian life and development is represented by a certain systematization of manners, belief and ethos, the balanced pursuit of the four-fold goals of life, *Dharma*, or absolute righteousness, *Artha*, or vocation, *Kāma*, or fulfilment of desires and *Moksha*, or release in a governing metaphysical-frame of reference. It is only through religion and scholasticism, literature and art, that one can

therefore reach the soul of India, the underlying inspiration of the formative epochs of her history and its relation to the exterior life. Kingdoms and empires of India, Maurya, Kushāṇa, Gupta, Pāla, Pratihāra, Pallava or Chola are important in Indian history, less for their political integrations than for certain ideological conformities and norms that they derived and elaborated in pure scholastic mode. Not entangled in infallible dogmas, revelatory creeds and doubtful myths, these could easily attract and win over many foreigners or erstwhile enemies whether in the country or outside.

The Role of Universal Myths and Norms in Cultural Expansion.

The Mauryan Empire accomplished as much through the systematization of Pali Canon, the *Mānavadharmasāstra* and the *Arthaśāstra*, the composition of the core of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and the promulgation of the True Law by the Rock Edicts as through the conquest of the northwestern borderland, Kalinga and the Deccan. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the *Lalitavistara* and the *Divyāvadāna* accomplished miracles for millions in Middle-East and South East Asia for many long centuries after the Great Kushāṇas of the north had disappeared. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, or the *Lotus of the True Law*, a marvel of blend of religion, metaphysics and poetry, which was composed at the beginning of the third century A. D., somewhere in the Kushāṇa territory, and translated into Chinese between 275-316 A. D, became indeed the Buddhist bible of half of Asia. Like the *Bhagavad Gītā* whose impress it bears in many important respects, the *Lotus* is one of the great scriptures India has given to Asia, and indeed one of the world's most extensively read books.

Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacharita* and Āryasūra's *Jātakamālā*, two of the most popular books of Asia, inspired some of the loveliest visions of human tenderness and compassion in world art in the reliefs and sculptures of Ajanta, Gandhāra, Lung-men and Boro Bodur.

The Golden Age that was ushered in by the Gupta Empire, and that extended from the 4th. to the 8th. century, owes its glory as much from the protection of India against the Yavanas, Śakas, Kushāṇas, Muṛuṇḍas, Pahlavas, and Hūṇas, as from the redaction of the Epics and the *Purāṇas*, the systematisation of the *Smṛitis* and rituals, the far-flung missionary enterprises of monk-pilgrims and scholars and the impulsions of the art of Mathura, Banaras and Ajanta. The *Tāntrika* art, religion and metaphysics of the Buddhist Pāla Empire of the East still bind Nepal, Tibet, and Mongolia, Further India and Indonesia with India. The compilation of the vast *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* collections, representing about five thousand works in Tibetan, was completed in Mongolia as late as 1748. This entire region was included in *Bhāratavarsha* and designated as *Dvīpāntara*. *Dvīpāntara* literally means the congeries of *dvīpas* comprising both islands and peninsulas according to Sanskrit grammar) between (*antara*) India and China. The corresponding term is *Kun-lin* in Chinese, and *Bhūmyantara* or *Nasantara* in Javanese. A constant stream of migration of Vaiśya merchants, Kshatriya nobles, Brāhmaṇa priests and Buddhist monks from India, underlay the foundation of the pioneer colonies in half barbaric lands, out of which grew across the centuries the great Hindu kingdoms of Śrī Kshetra, Fu-nan, Champā, Pan-pan, Śrī Vijaya and Majapahit. A Javanese text of 1365 mentions the regions of India such as Kārṇāṭaka and Gauḍa that sent out migrants to the Javanese capital "unceasingly in large numbers. They came in ships with merchandise.

Monks and distinguished Brāhmaṇas also came from these lands and were entertained". Thus the stream of emigration from India to Indonesia, that built up a second India intervening between the land masses of India and China, continued till the end of the fourteenth century. From the rising kingdom of Vijayanagar in South India, Bukka I sent an embassy to China in 1374 A. D. The entry of the Muslim Arabs into Malayasia, and the conversion of twenty States into Islam in the 15th century, as well as the ruin of Indian commerce and shipping wrought by the Portuguese and Dutch powers completely interrupted the age-long process of Hinduization in South-East Asia. The Gupta, Pallava and Pāla contributions to the colonial art, and art and culture of South-East Asia are writ large in the lay-out and sculptures of the cities and temples of Borobudur (750-850 A. D.), Prambanam (787-860 A. D.), Pagan (847-1298) and Angkor Thom (900-1125 A. D.), that all represent microcosmic replicas of the Hindu metaphysical macrocosmic edifices derived from the Mother-land.

The Mechanisms of Social Mimesis.

The foundation of great kingdoms and empires springing from Gandhāra to the Deccan and from Gujrat to Gauḍa was invariably associated with certain Reformations and Renaissances that not only thrilled and captured the whole of India but also often contributed certain permanent and essential elements to Asian development. These introduced new universalism myths and norms for man, society and culture, that have integrated diverse backward and foreign peoples and races through integration and absorption, what the historian Toynbee calls "social mimesis", rather than through the forced processes of conquest and racialism, so often encountered in the history of Europe, which is as

sharply divided as India by natural obstacles into distinct regions and "nations". Correspondingly, Indian patriotism is hardly marked by racial pride and chauvinism, but represents loyalty to certain universal faiths, myths and values, that are transmitted from the age of semi-divine sages, heroes and patriarchs. Set up in a metaphysical scholastic framework, these are the efficacious means of Brahmanization of heterogeneous, inferior and alien races, traditions and beliefs. The social problem of Indian History and the scholastic problem of Indian knowledge are linked with each other.

The danger of mimesis which Toynbee stresses, viz. social drill or mechanization is avoided both at home among her own backward ethnic groups, and abroad, in her scheme of acculturation in new lands through "strenuous intellectual communion and intimate personal intercourse" (Plato). It is amazing that the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṃśa* are still providing themes of plays, folk tales, puppet-shows and pageants in South-East Asia, inspiring vast crowds. Bergson points out two mechanisms by which the lead of a given culture is followed up by an uncivilized society. "There are two ways open to the education. The one way is by drill the other is by mysticism. The first method inculcates a morality consisting of impersonal habits; the second induces the imitation of another personality, and even a spiritual union, a more or less complete identification with it". India has chosen the latter mechanism. The social unity in Indian settlements, colonies and kingdoms across the seas could, only be maintained by a constant immigration of the Brāhmaṇas, priests, scholars and Buddhist monks from the mythical Agastya (Valaṅg), Bhṛigu and Kaundinya to Guṇavarman, (423 A. D.) Vajrabodhi (711 A. D.), Kumāraghosha (782 A.

A.D.) and Dipaṅkara Srijñāna (1011 A. D.), along with Kshatriya warriors, nobles and merchants, and the building of temples, monasteries and hospitals for long centuries. The South-Eastern Asiatic outposts of Indian civilization from Java to Cambodia, and from Burma to Bali, were intrinsically Indian, Brahmanical, Buddhist or Śākya Śaiva in their spirit and temper.

The Fundamental Norms and Postulates of Indian Culture.

All Indian peoples, even if their ancestors had been mounted nomads of the grasslands of Western Asia, or merchants and traders from the coasts of Iran and Syria, had sooner or later come under the spell of India's sense of the transience of life, the all-pervasiveness of her moral law of *Karma* and transmigration, the belief in an organic or spiritual hierarchy of society, the sacredness of family life and obligations, the ideal of human brotherhood and compassion to fellow creatures and the aesthetic attitude towards life with its emotions and sentiments (*rasa*) treated abstractly, and hence concentratedly. Such are the social universals of an essentially metaphysical and humanistic civilization—the broad fundamental postulates of its unity and development—that were recurrently underlined in epochs of empire-building and renaissance and that kept alive the resilience of the people in periods of subjection and misery.

These were systematized in the *Dharma-sūtras*, that important branch of ancient literature which lays down the goals and rights and duties of the individual, and of functional groups, and the laws and traditions which govern their existence, and integral equilibrium in hierarchical relations.

The *Dharma-sūtras* gave rise to the *Dharma-śāstras*, or authoritative law-books that were free from sectarian influences and gave through a whole millenium a metaphysical shape and pattern to the structure of civilization. *Purāṇas*, literally ancient lore, sometimes called the fifth *Veda* and especially intended for the common man, represent both cosmology and history. *Itihāsa* comprises accounts of old heroes, and heroines-myths and stories of the primordial events of mankind, that according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, are universal and recapitulated in human experience. In this sense, *Itihāsa*, for instance, the legend of the struggle between good and evil, between the *Devas* and the *Asuras*, and between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas repeats itself. Thus, another similar term is *Itivṛtta* that alternates and recapitulates itself through the course of these endless conflicts between the joy and hope of divine victory and the misery and dread of defeat.

The Characteristics of Renaissances and Reformations.

Scholasticism in the fields of ethics, sociology and history alike reaches a height of speculation unknown in Christian, Jewish and Arab scholastic traditions. Each age, each empire, each renaissance brings forth its proper *dharma-śāstra*, its own norm of the social order, the *Dharma* of Man and his group in the social hierarchy in adaptation to the changing conditions of living, and yet in conformity to the unchangeable rational order of the universe. Each renaissance sets before itself threefold aims; first, the improvement of the native population, immigrants, aboriginal or foreign ethnic groups to a higher level; second, the uplift of population in regions to which Indianism spread; and third, the improvement of human type, the depth of the human personality resting in the Indian conception of mind,

on the extensiveness of the human community overstepping the barriers of race, religion and creed. Each aim is prescribed by the injunctions of the *Dharma-śāstras* and enshrined in the myths and legends of *Purāṇa* and *Itihāsa*. Such in brief, is India's effort at civilization. There were many more bloodless Renaissances and Reformations in India than in Europe, while there were hardly any long-continued cultural eclipses or so-called 'dark ages', such as, we encounter in the latter continent from the end of the fifth to the middle of the eleventh century due to the barbarian invasions.

The Hinduization of Asia.

No renaissance nor reformation was, again, restricted to the Indian sub-continent, Buddhism, both *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna*, *Paurāṇic* Brahmanism, *Vaiṣṇavism*, *Śaivism*, and *Tāntrism* *Nāthism* and *Sabaja*, each in its own epoch, spread far beyond the frontiers of India. The entire Asian continent from *Balkh* to *Cambodia* and from *Japan* to *Java* bears the imprint of successive waves of Indian thought and art-currents. For about two millennia across the north-western land-routes through *Afghanistan* and through *Assam*, *Manipur*, and *Upper Burma*, or through the passes of the *Himalayas*, to *China* and *Tibet*, cultural influences regularly flowed to and fro, from India to the rest of Asia. For about a whole millennium, the entire north-western borderland of India, including *Balkh*, *Badakshan*, *Afghanistan*, *Seistan* and *Baluchistan*, came to be regarded as a division of India, the 'White India' of the Hellenistic people. 'White India' remained more Indian than Iranian, until the Arab-Muslim subjugation about 1000 A. D. *Al'Beruni*, writing about 1030 A. D, records that *Khorasan*, *Iran*, *Iraq*, *Mosul* and the country upto the frontiers of *Syria* were Buddhistic. Indian culture also crossed the *Hindu Kush* and *Pamir* and

spread to the basin of the Tarim, or Sita River. Formerly, Khotan was Kustana, Yarkand was Chokhuka, Kashgar was Śailadeśa, Kucha was Kuchar, Karashahr was Agnideśa and Turfan was Turapaṇṇi. These oasis-cities on the ancient middle Asian caravan-routes had Indian or Indianized settlements and worshipped Śiva, Gaṇeśa and the Buddha, while Buddhist *viḥāras* flourished there, as in India, till the beginning of the eleventh century. Even beyond the Tarim basin, in far-off Shan-shan and in the Tartar countries, Indian texts in Sanskrit language were widely read. Central Asia, the cock-pit of this continent, and the Gandhāra region from the valley of the Kabul to Balkh, the meeting place of the Asian trade-routes, the ante-chamber of India on the high road of migration of the restless and hardy races of Western Asia suffered many political vicissitudes. The Ephthalite Hūṇas conquered the valley of the Kabul in the second half of the fifth century A. D. and destroyed the Kushāṇa civilization. After a respite, covering the middle of the sixth to the middle of the seventh century, the Muslim-Arabs penetrated into the Gandhāra region, and their vandalism from 652 to 664 A. D., dealt the final death-blow to the efflorescent art and culture of the second Holy-land of Buddhism whence spread out the mighty currents of Mahāyāna Buddhism for centuries to Middle Asia and China. Such was the lure of Buddhism that when the Chinese pilgrim Yuan-chuang (630-643 A. D.) came to Kapiśa in the seventh century, he found the Turkish Rājā a very devout Mahāyāna Buddhist. Even under the Hūṇa, and the Turkish rule the Indo-Iranian borderlands remained Buddhist for centuries. In the Southern Ocean, *Dvī-śāntara*, embracing Further India and Indonesia, was regarded by the *Purāṇas* as "nine islands or territories (*nava-bheda*) of *Ehāravarika*, sanctified by the performance of sacrifices, war, trade and other diverse cultural activities". With

its vast temples, monasteries, schools of learning, hospitals and places of pilgrimage, *Dvīpāntara-Bhārata* was indeed a second India, like the valley of the Sita (Tarim) where China met India half-way by the land route. It is too often forgotten that the quick and spectacular Indianization of both Middle and South-Eastern Asia was possible due to Brahmanical, Buddhist and Tāntrika art, investing with supernatural loveliness and sensitiveness, the myths and doctrines of the new faiths preached among the less-advanced people, since the flight of the celebrated Udyāna image across the Pamir, that echoes another momentous flight, several centuries ago, of the portrait of the Buddha from Magadha to Sindu-Sauvira, as recorded in the *Divyāvadāna*. In human history, art is the fastest and most efficacious vehicle of the spread of culture in new lands. Not a few icons, paintings, drawings and models of temples went to East and South-East Asia, along with scriptures and literary works in the vast spread-out of Brahmanism and Buddhism.

The Age of Asian Unity Fashioned by Indian Culture.

Indianism accordingly fashioned a unity of Asian civilization, even as Christianity did for European. Asian unity passed through certain distinct phases across the centuries. The first age of Asian unity was associated with the march of Buddhism from Jalandhara, Kashmir and Gandhāra across the Tarim basin (60 B. C. 300 A. D). The second age of Asian unity was synchronous with the Golden Age of Gupta culture that extended from about the fourth to the eighth century and was comparable with the age of Pericles in Greece and of Elizabeth I in England. This was the privileged era which saw the spread of the Mahāyāna in Central Asia, the Indian cultural missions to China and Indonesia and the translations from

the Sanskrit texts, in to Chinese, the pilgrimages of the Chinese to the holy Ganges Valley, the glory of the Buddhist universities of Nālandā, Gomatī-vihāra, Nava-saṅghārāma, Śrīvijaya, Anurādhapura and Dvārāvātī, the rise of Hindu colonies and kingdoms in *Dvīpantara-Bhāṭa*, the development of Sanskrit literature and its spread throughout South-East Asia and the magnificent sculptures, at Mathura, Ajanta, Gandhāra. Miran, Yun kang, Tun-huang, Horiuzi, Sigiriya and Boro Bodur.

That unity lasted until the rise and expansion of the militant Arab Muslim culture which reached Sind and Spain in the same year (711 A. D.), after a whirlwind victorious march through vast regions. Both Asian and European unity succumbed to the devastating onslaught of Islam across the continents. European civilization recovered from the blow after the decisive victory at Tours (732 A. D.). The West Muslim or Moorish kingdom, however, lasted in Spain for another seven centuries until 1492. The unity of Europe accordingly received a rude shock that was repeated in the thirteenth century by the Mongol conquest of Eastern Europe and the establishment of the Golden Horde as a Mongol State. During the 7th century, the Turkish tribes swept into Central Asia and endangered for some time the caravan-routes from India to China. But the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A. D.), whose far-flung empire extended from Korea to the Caspian Sea, halted the triumphant eastward march of the Muslim-Arabs and gave peace for three centuries, and then monk-pilgrims, scriptures and commodities flowed freely between India and China. Towards the end of the 10th century, the Ghaznavids Subuktigin and Mahmud (962-1186 A. D.) came to this region. Mahmud, one of the great figures in the history of Central Asia, conquered Khorasan and invaded India several

times. It took, however, another five centuries for Buddhism to disappear from Central Asia, after it had transformed itself into Lamaist form in the 13th century, under the regime of the famous Kublai Khan (1214-1294 A. D.). Meanwhile, the ports in China's eastern coast replaced the oasis-cities of Inner Asia, as a string of gates, for the spread of Buddhism by the land-route from the Brahmaputra Valley through Burma to Ton-kin and by the Eastern Sino-Indian sea-route. From 8th to the 12th century, the Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna, Vaishṇava and Śakti-Śiva cults and ideas spread out from Eastern India and the Coromandal Coast, and moulded Asian culture from Nepal and Tibet to Malaya and Indonesia, and from Siam and Cambodia to China.

The Response and Challenge of India to Islam.

As in Europe so in India, Islam could not establish a stable foothold. While the Arab Muslims could easily establish their hegemony over Syria, Persia, Armenia, Egypt and the whole of Northern Africa up to Spain within eight decades, it took more than six centuries after the conquest of Sind and Kathiawar (712 A.D.) for the Muslim empire to consolidate itself in Hindusthan and conquer the Deccan. This was accomplished during the reign of Mohammad-bin-Tughluq (1325-1351 A.D.). Immediately after his death the empire however, quickly dwindled. The interchange between Hinduism and Islam on the Indian soil during these centuries of tension and conflict, released new spiritual energies and egalitarian movements in the bosom of both faiths. These combated Hindu sacerdotalism and exclusiveness on the one hand, and Semetic racialism and uncompromising monotheism on the other.

The *Bhakti* and Sufi movements through five centuries of eclectic idealism brought about a spiritual intimacy bet-

ween Hinduism and Islam, which, indeed, bore a rich harvest in the age of the Great Moghuls. The secular national State of Akbar united the different races, creeds and sects of India, made Persian her official language throughout the land and gave it the structure of village government and land revenue administration that the British Dominion inherited. The Moghul peace, the duration of which was about the same as that of the subsequent British peace, fostered a vast welling tide of spiritual devotionism, especially among the lower strata of society, and its associated social egalitarian movements. These were bringing about a profound religious and social synthesis that might have led to the absorption of Islam in the habitual Indian way, but for the bigotry and iconoclasm of Aurangzeb, who so strikingly diverged from the policy of Akbar and indeed from the Timurid tradition. The eighteenth century bout of anarchy in the country, could not, however, totally obscure the visions of loveliness, sweetness and tranquility of the art of Rajasthan and Himachala. Nor could it obstruct the extraordinary religious synthesis illustrated by the devotion of Hindu masses to the Hindu-Muslim cults of Pirs and the conversion of certain Muslims, as Vaishṇava saints, such as, Yavana Haridas in Bengal and Sheikh Mohamad, Shaikh Sultan and Shaha Muni in Maharashtra. The tough, unhappy age also witnessed a literary renaissance stemming from the *Padmāvatā*, the *Surasāgara*, the *Rāmacharita-mānasa*, the *Bhakti-māla*, the *Chaitanya-Charitāmṛita*, the *Kavikāṇṇa-Chandī* and the *Rāma-vijaya*, great books that gave solace to the Indian soul amidst confusion and misery. Yet the rapprochement between Hinduism and Islam and the evolution of casteless and priestless society received a tremendous setback as a result of the political and social chaos, the military channel taken by the Hindu resurgence among the Sikhs and Marathas largely,

as a reaction against Aurangzeb's illiberal policy and the establishment of the British Rāj.

Hinduism and Islam in South-East Asia.

Islam which established its foothold in Sind and Western Punjab in the second decade of the 8th century 712-743 A. D. could hardly touch India politically before the lapse of another six centuries—the conquests of Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316) and could not checkmate the vast movement of Hinduization of South-East Asia. The second age of Asian unity was introduced by the *Tāntrika* renaissance of culture and art in Eastern India, under the Pāla kings, which was directly responsible for the missionary activities in Nepal, Tibet, Farther India and Indonesia. Its influence lasted from the beginning of the eighth up to the end of the twelfth century, during which period it travelled to such widely separated towns in Bengal as Odantapurī, Jagaddala, Vikramapurī, Phulera, Devikōṭa and Paṇḍita, where subsequently Buddhist universities came to be built. Indian religion in the forms of Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna, Vaishṇavism and Tāntrika Śakti-Śaivite cult of the *Līṅgam* found new expressions and syntheses in South-East Asia, while Indian art and architecture reached glories in the splendid and colossal Brahmanical and Buddhist temples at Boro Bodur, Prambanam, Angkor Thom (Nagaradhāma) and Pagan (Arimardanapura) the same could not be reached on the Indian soil. In fact, the most magnificent temple-cities of the world, that are wonders of human engineering to-day, were built in the second phase of Asian unification by Indian culture contemporaneous with the vandalism of the Turko-Afghans, from Somnath to Kanauj, and the consolidation of the Muslim power in Northern India. It was only the Islamic incursion into Malay, starting from the port of

Malacca in the fifteenth century, and the subsequent conversion of the peoples into Islam, that eclipsed the fruitful trend in her South-East Asia towards a religious syncretion as represented by the assimilation of Śaivism and Buddhism under a unified *Śiva-Buddha* form of worship in Java, Sumatra and Bali. Of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism in the composite worship of *Śankara-nārāyaṇa* in Siam, and of Buddhist and *Paurāṇic Śaktism* in the Devarājā and other cults in Cambodia, apart from the Indian pattern of fusion of the Trinity, Brahmā Viṣṇu and Śiva, as recorded in a Kamboja inscription. By the same complex religious systems is also sanctified, the tree *Aśvattha*, as in India, which is believed to have Brahmā as its root, Śiva as its trunk, and Viṣṇu as its branches.

The Identification of Dharma and Bhārata.

Geographically speaking, conquest cannot be stable or permanent in a vast sub-continent like India which had never been a virgin or uninhabited land. Even before the Dravidian or Indo-Aryan advent, the country had a population and a civilization. With a mass of races and peoples of different stages of culture occupying the land, the first problem set before the Aryan invaders is the last and basic problem for Indian history—how to build up a unity amidst the natural diversity of regions, races and traditions. It is the identification of *patria* and *dharma* which was first envisaged in Ṛigvedic culture that represents the special genius of India. The identity of *Bhārata* and *Dharma* finds a magnificent expression in the dedication stressed by the national anthem of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* composed in the Gupta Age. "Bhārata is the best of the divisions of Jambudvīpa, because it is the land of virtuous deeds. Other countries seek only enjoyment. Happy are those who consign-

ing all the unheeded rewards of their deeds to the Supreme Spirit, the Universal Self, pass their lives in this land of virtuous deeds as means of their realization of Him. The gods themselves exclaim, 'Happy are those who are born, even from the condition of divinity, as men in *Bhāratavarsha*, as that is the way to the joys of paradise and the greater blessings of final liberation.'" Within two centuries after the composition of *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* written either in the 4th or the 5th century A.D., extolles *Bhāratavarsha* as the land hallowed by the sacred rivers, mountains and holy sites of pilgrimage and the lives of *avatāras*, ascetics and saintly kings, *bhaktas* and aspirants. Here God Himself in His grace is born as Man for obtaining the fervent, *bhakti* of sentient beings, so that they might obtain final salvation. Thus, the gods prefer to be born in this sacred land, to the enjoyment in heaven, won by so much sacrifice, penance and charity (*Bhāgavata*, V. xi. 19-23). *Bhāratavarsha* is not a geographical entity, but an object of worship and reverence – the symbol of the yearning for, and the realization of the Divine.

India is Samskriti or Civilization.

We cannot understand adequately this principle of fusion of *Bhārata* and *Samskriti* (moral and spiritual culture), if we permit the bias derived from European History to look for the impulsion of Indian development in war and politics. Neither the Graeco-Roman heritage nor Christianity, nor the ambitions of Charlemagne and Napoleon could give unity to Europe, the continent most harassed by lack of unity and prepared for wars in the world. While cultural synthesis is the natural key-note to history in a land characterized by a variety of races, languages, traditions and beliefs, how often is it forgotten that the period of Indian freedom covers thirty-seven, out of fifty centuries of her development, and

eclipses the period of our subjection for only six centuries and a half in medieval and modern times, when of course, powerful and autonomous Indian kingdoms, such as the Bahmani Kingdom, the Maratha Empire, and the Sikh Empire, also rose as centres of revival.

The role of India's civilizing humanitarian mission in the neighbouring lands from Africa to the Pacific and Iran to Korea, is equally ignored. The same principles of unification that she applied in assimilating different races or ethnic groups in her own soil, and that she grounded in the essentially metaphysical norms of Equality of Man and Solidarity of Life and Universal Salvation, provided the basis of a 'Pan-Indianism' in peaceful, evangelizing enterprises for two millenia of which there is no parallel in world history. Because Indian History is largely a history of myths, faiths and ethos, and because it is ideological and not political, it has a unique significance in the story of civilization. In a sense, the people of India have a true history which few peoples possess; and Indian culture has provided continually her various races and peoples, the common ideological basis of unity.

True History, the Movement of Mankind.

The obsession with politics or with the role of the State in the life of peoples, is an obstacle to the introduction and efficacy of an integrative sociological method that seeks by a multi-cultural approach to interpret the broad movement of history in terms of myths, religions, ethos and art-patterns, that bring order and continuity into Indian evolution. It is this logic that constitutes the unifying 'thread of history,' which holds together the beads of the various epochs and movements, that India has maintained, and also an essential unity of her land and

culture across the centuries, through the universality of her pattern of myth, art and *dharma*, and the metaphysical orientation of her social pattern. It is for the future to decide to what extent the significant cultural heritage, so strikingly different from the Jewish heritage of Christian-Muslim civilization, can yet cement the deeper unity and solidarity of Bhāratavarsha, and the high purpose obtained by history in the present world milieu.

The lapses of the former unity of Christendom in West and in the Muslim world, the rise of 'nationalities' within more or less homogeneous patterns of civilization, the stress of the forces and factors of economic stability and progress, combined with a wholesale decay of traditional bonds and allegiance of societies, derived from religion and metaphysics, have all contributed to wards the exaggeration of firstly, the theory of a supposed 'pure race' and secondly, the theory of the artificial and fragmentary unity of culture represented by a 'nation' through many vicissitudes in modern historiography. Thus, history is, in some measure, sectionalized and devoted to the rise and fall of separate peoples and cultures. True history reveals a world movement, broad march of mankind that rests on the pooling of common values and achievements. Modernism in history, the fruit of the nineteenth century European expansion and scramble for empire, is pre-occupied with the biases of race and nationalism. How essential it is to remember the wise remarks of Lord Acton: "We can found no philosophy on the observation of four hundred years, excluding three thousand. It would be an imperfect and fallacious induction".

The concentration of history on one nation at a time, is entirely congruent with and supported by the

Hegelian dialectic of the idea in history, from which both the materialistic conception of history and the Marxian School of Economic Determinism are directly derived—grand but misleading syntheses of human development. Human life and events are many-sided. Thus, history cannot but be multiple, dimensional, ideological, economic, political, military, and institutional at the same time.

Myths, the Units of History.

For a multi-dimensional approach, the basic units of human history, embodying the recurrent patterns in the development of a people, are its great myths or 'ideas-in-action', what Rickert calls 'value-structures', that multiply with passing generations and that underlie the continuity of its accumulated traditions and institutions, and indeed, provide the broad or long range constants, pervading civilization. All history is in a sense myth-making and all myths have wings. The characteristic of Indian myths is that these are anonymous, shedding the special dispositions and idiosyncracies of individuals. Here a new faith, metaphysics or creed discovered by the elite speaks to the common people whom those inspire and restrain by virtue of their imageries, their famous sages and devotees and their incidents. Myths are woven into daily rituals and sacraments, festivals and pilgrimages, and construct an invisible order of truth, goodness and justice in India related to the visible order of the cycle of the seasons. Often both cosmic and time-binding, these embody the consensus of the people through the generations and are truer than history. In India, among the myths which have historic significance may be included the Vedic myths of sacrifice and *Dharma*, *Varṇa* and *Āśrama*, the Buddhist myths of world-misery and the Eightfold Path, the Mahāyāna myths of universal compassion and universal *Nirvāṇa*,

the Paurāṇic myths of miscegenation (*Varṇa-saṅkara*), *Kali-yuga* and *Āpad-dharma*, the medieval myths of *Bhakti* and the casteless and priestless community, and the late medieval Tāntrika myths of the transformation of the phenomenal world and consecration of the senses, desires and emotions as fields and forms of *Śakti*, the dynamic aspect of the supernal essence of Indian Non-dualism. Such myths have governed with progressively greater effectiveness periods, and movements covering several centuries, and laid sound and deep the foundations of social institution to generations.

The Problem of Periodization.

The 'periodization' of Indian history is rendered easier by focussing attention to the dominant myths or 'threads of history', that determine or colour the life and the tempo of the people, and that after accomplishing a marked change or revolution contribute certain permanent elements to the cultural heritage as a whole, extending far beyond the centuries or events. Peoples, like individuals, have privileged hours or period in their career. The Vedic Age, the Age of Philosophies and Heresies, the Age of Aśoka the First Age of Asian Unity, the Age of the *Vedānta*, the Age of Tāntrism, and the Age of *Bhakti* stand out as the Golden Eras and beacon-lights in the general march of Indian civilization. Each Golden Era is associated with a constellation of myths, values and institutions, that have gone to the making of India. Empires and peoples come and go, but myth and culture go on for ever. It is the continuity of myths, faith, and culture that explains social stability in India, preventing that chaos which usually follows from foreign conquest, and the imposition of changes without reference to existing forms and patterns.

A partial or lop-sided approach to history, falls to recognise the great formative factors in ancient Indian and Chinese civilizations, the perpetuity and continuity of culture and the social order, embodying the application of the metaphysical macrocosmic myths of balance and harmony, which govern at the same time both the cosmic and the human spheres, in fact all modes of Existence. The appreciation that the unity of Indian civilization is different in kind from that of the present Western civilization, and rests on far deeper and more universal principles, may correct the present emphasis of the political and the economic principles, as the determining forces in the integration and stability of human culture and of the study of kings and dynasties, wars and conquests.

The Rhythm of Mind and Spirit in History.

It is essential to focus attention in the present Western Age of India's history to the norms and values that have given stability and permanence to her scheme of life and to her civilization, so that she may have orderly development in the face of the vast and antagonistic innovating tendencies coming from West. After five millenia of her history, India is again experiencing a fresh and fateful renaissance. In the perspective of world history, the progress of a nation depends not on its might in the realm of politics or economics, but on its capacity of appreciation and dissemination of certain universals of civilization that can build up a world community. *Jñāna* or Knowledge, for India, is not a detached speculation, it is skill in action: (*Yogah karmashu kauśalam* of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*) which is the goal equally for the Indian man and for the Indian society. The speculative Truth—the framework for the Way of Life is universal for the individual and society alike. The ceaseless flux and transformation of opposites in the Way of

Life or Becoming are presented as *Mahāmayā* and *Mahāśakti* in the synthesis of Brahmanical and Buddhist Tantrism — the last profound world-interpretation of Indian thought that is more than Vedic and governs the mind and heart, worship and rite of modern India. The *Tāntrika* worldview is psychological. It introduces into the perpetual dynamism of the transitory, contingent realms of Becoming and Dissolving the evolutions of nature and the panorama of history — a new audacious, Dionysian affirmation. Men, societies, epochs and histories are but myriad ceaselessly changing manifestations of the Supreme Mother. She is herself the Universe and *Samsāra*, the enticement and sorrow of Man (macro and micro-cosm) as his intelligence and release. From the viewpoint of the Spirit of Man *Śakti*, his feminine maternal aspect, is the supreme riddle and quest, and the final consciousness (*chit*) and consumption. Behind her un-ending sport, the panorama of Nature, life and civilization, which is her visible face there is her veiled face, her transcendent, primordial mystery. Thus, the Indian mind and heart move between the polarities of transcendence and immanence, find joy and serenity in the very confusion and tumult of history. Indian history is an illustration of the macrocosmic balance and rhythm of the human mind and forces of culture that have again and again asserted the supremacy and liberating power of universal and transcendental values over and above conflicts and discords, and the chequered course of life.

The Indian Philosophy of History.

The Indian philosophy of history conceives macrocosmic cycles (*yugas*) or collectivities and macrocosmic Men (mythical Manus or *Mānavas*) giving them their proper Laws, as reflections of the Universal Order, ceaselessly following

one another in the limitless Space and Time. Such cyclical undulations, the *Purāṇas* show, oscillate about certain norms posited by the *Dharmasāstras* and are as real as the norms. Into the ageless cyclical process of the world organism India imports a moral and cultural purpose through the conception of the procession of *Kṛita*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali* Ages of history, the moral order of *Dharma* gradually lapsing from purity and perfection into disorganisation and conflict and then beginning another cycle. *Kṛita* (literally. Perfect), *Tretā* (or Triad), *Dvāpara* (or Duad) and *Kali* (or Wretched) are names of four throws of the Indian dice-game. The Bull of *Dharma* or Ideal Righteousness stands firmly on its four legs in the *Kṛita-yuga*. But with the procession of the *Yugas*, *Dharma* suffers eclipse until in the age of degeneration. In *Kali-yuga*, *Dharma* precariously stands on the leg only, and man and culture show their lowest depths of degradation. *Kali* means also 'Strife' or 'War'. How true of the modern world is the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* as characterization of society in the *Kali* Age! "Society reaches a state where property confers rank, wealth becomes the only source of virtue, passion, the sole bond of union between husband and wife, falsehood, the way to success in life, sex, the only means of enjoyment and external trappings, take the place of inner religion." According to ancient myth, Vishṇu became incarnate as Rāmachandra in the *Tretā* and Kṛishṇa, in the *Dvāpara* to show to mankind the rule of *Dharma* or ideal justice or righteousness. Kalki, the Messiah of the *Kali* Age, is yet to come to rescue the modern world from war and unrighteousness. The complete cycle of the Four *Yugas* is called the *Mahā-yuga* [Great *Yuga*] or a single *Kalpa* is just a single day to the Progenitor (Brahmā). Over each *Kalpa* presides a mythical Manu, teacher or law-giver. As each *Kalpa* begins, the world is created afresh by Brahmā; during the *Kalpa* it is protected by Vishṇu,

and at its end, it is destroyed by Śiva. The Universe is not created, but there are pulsations of manifestation and withdrawal, evolution and involution of the Great Being of the Universe in the endless, bizarre stretches of time contemporaneous in the infinitudes of Space.

The Vast Vistas of Yugas.

Such breath-taking vistas of time do not enter into the thought of Western philosophy of history. The Great Being says of Himself in the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, "I am the Primeval Cosmic Man, Nārāyaṇa. I am the source of the Universe I have a thousand heads. I manifest myself at the holiest of holy sacrifices. I manifest myself as the sacred fire that carries the offerings of man on earth to the gods in heaven. Simultaneously, I am the king of gods, wearing the garb of Indra. I am the foremost of the immortals. I am the cycle of the year, which generates everything and dissolves it. I am the divine *yogī*, the cosmic juggler or magician, who works wonderful tricks of delusion. The magical deceptions of the cosmic *yogī* are the *Yugas*, the ages of the world. This display of the mirage of the phenomenal process of the universe is the work of my creative aspect, but at the same I am the whirlpool, the destructive vortex, that sucks back whatever has been displayed and puts an end to the procession of the *Yugas*. I put an end to everything that exists. My name is Death of Universe." (Translated by Zimmer).

The Great Being is the Absolute, and the Universe, empirical and derived, being limited in time and space, i. e., Magic. But what is transient and contingent is not non-existent nor illusory. For it is the creative aspect of Being, and, as such, real and Meaningful for Man. The *Bhakti* thought stemming from the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, later stressed the

play or sport of the Great Being, as the key to his unique power (*Māyā*) and as underlying the world order—the scene of his supra-sensible enjoyment. The doctrine of *Māyā*, or 'Magic', underlines the contrasts between knowledge and delusion, between mirage and reality, and between time and eternity. It does not ask Man to treat the procession, *Yugas*, or history as a phantom or an illusion or be indifferent to the rhythms of *Dharma* and *Adharma* in human society. Yet it does teach him to treat *Yugas* and their Indras, Manus and 'Great Men' as unreal, passing bubbles that will be broken in the onward endless flow of Time. Indian thought does not show the anti-historical attitude of Schopenhauer who finds no reality in history, but a mere mist of illusion on the basis of his subjective idealism. History, in the *Purāṇas* and the *Itihāsas* is not an illusion, even though it is not ultimately real.

The Human Meaning of Cycles of Righteousness.

The Indian philosophy of history does not treat the history of the world as the biography of mankind, still less of 'Great Men'. It speaks in terms not of Brahmās (Creators), Indras (Lords of the gods), and Manus (Teachers), unending as their series is, but of the age-less oscillation of *Dharma*, or Righteousness in the wheelings of Time. *Dharma*, the impersonal aspect of Eternity, endlessly pulsates through the aeons. Thus, the bleakness of the vast extensions of *Yugas* is replaced by the warmth of value and significance for the human species; for life, individuals, nations, and mankind can obtain a sense of direction in their world ages from such a symbolic treatment of Time and Eternity. In the limited sphere of short human history, where the strangest vicissitudes are encountered, the Indian myth of man's periodic relentless passage from ascent to descent,

from perfection to degradation and back again to ascent and perfection, blunts the edges of his ambition and aggressiveness, frustration and misery. The slowly recurring ups and downs of *Dharma* and *Adharma*, the goodness and evil in society, become saturated with the pious expectancy and calm resignation of a finite creature submitting to a grand, macro-cosmic pulsation. Indian civilization apprehends time in terms of mankind and the world-organism, and discards both optimism with stress on the need, and hopefulness of effort to make things better. Beyond and behind the procession of the world with its cycles of the good and the evil, is the Great Being Śiva (Goodness or Bliss) who sweeps away the multitude of creatures, men, gods and demons in Space and Time, destroying them within Himself. Time and *Māyā* comprise His primordial substance. To see cyclical alternations in history, ponder over the endless ups and downs, fulfilments and defeats of peoples and civilizations, and realise the Primordial *Purusha*, Śiva, who is Eternity and King of Dancers (*Mahākāla*, *Naṭarāja*) rhythmically dancing, dancing in the wheeling play of unending History, dancing in the heart of Humanity, is to gain comfort and serenity. To change the Hindu Paurāṇic myth, the Primordial *Purusha* is also Vishṇu. In the present era, termed *Boār* or *Varāha* Era, Vishṇu recurrently incarnates Himself as the Boar and rescues the goddess Earth or *Prithvī* from the depths of the deluge or dissolution. Earth, again and again, falls a victim to deluge and dissolution in the slow, relentless march of Space and Time. Again and again, the Supreme Spirit Vishṇu rescues her and casually remarks to her, "Every time will I carry you (on my arm) this way".

Such is the debunking and annihilating revelation of the cyclical view of history of the world organism. In Medi-

eval sculptures and South Indian Bronzes, we have the magnificent image of Naṭarāja, symbolising the continuous ascent and descent of human history, the irreversible creation-destruction of the cosmos as the wild, yet graceful steps of Śiva Naṭarāja's cosmic dance. In the cave of Udayagiri, near Bhilsa, we find, sculptured in the Gupta period, the Boar-*avatāra* of Viṣṇu, the Supreme Spirit eternally reappearing in the great crises of Earth. In the Paurāṇic accounts of Man, his history and his destiny, we find a complete discounting of conceptions of value, or sublime indifference, an adamant neutrality. The *Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa* says, "Life in the cycle of the countless rebirths, is like a vision in a dream. The gods on high, the mute trees and the stones are alike apparitions in this phantasy. But Death administers the Law of Time. Ordained by Time, Death is the master of all Perishable, as bubbles are the good and the evil of the beings of the dream. In unending cycles, the good and the evil alternate. Hence the wise are attached to neither : neither the evil nor the good. The Wise are not attached to anything at all." Indian History, like Indian Philosophy, teaches sovereign non-attachment.



THE CAMPAIGNS OF EMPEROR HARSHAVARDHANA AND THEIR PROBABLE DATES.

By Bireswar Nath Srivastava, M.A.

The oft-quoted remark of Hsuan-chuang that "Harsha waged incessant warfare until in six years he had brought the Five Indias under allegiance, and then reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon", has been a source of great controversy in deciding the chronology of Harsha's campaigns. On the basis of this information, Dr. R. K. Mookerji states that Harsha's conquests were over by about A. D. 612, and that he had become king six years earlier, in A. D. 606.¹ C. V. Vaidya has also fallen in line with that learned historian and observes that "Harsha conquered India during the course of six years".² But the statement of the Chinese pilgrim does not appear to be true to the letter. It has been now already established that he conquered Kañgoda sometime about 641 A. D. and defeated Śaśāṅka between 619-634. A. D. Therefore, Harsha could not have been the emperor of Northern India within a period of six years. In view of these facts, let us discuss the date of his different campaigns separately.

We know from Hsuan-chuang's itinerary, that in his determination to punish Śaśāṅka, Harsha first went towards the east. He was, however, unable to get hold of the Gauḍa King, for he appears to have left his kingdom and fled towards the south. Harsha, therefore, could not find

1. Mookerji, R.K., *Harṣa*, p. 36, n. 1.

2. Vaidya, C.V., *History of Medieval Hindu India*, i. p. 13.

exactly his whereabouts and remained satisfied by annexing the regions from the Ganges to the Brahmaputra to his kingdom and appointed his friend and companion Mādhavagupta as the viceroy of the newly acquired regions.³ This conquest of Harsha may have taken place before 612 A. D.; for, according to Hsuan-chuang, Harsha first "proceeded eastwards, invaded the States which had refused allegiance, and waged incessant warfare, until in six years, he had brought the Five Indias under his allegiance".⁴ But it is quite probable that his eastern conquest may have continued up to 618 A. D. for, according to Ma-twan-lin, the

1. Vaidya thinks that after conquering Śaśaṅka, Harsha pardoned him and married his daughter who had been offered to Rājyavardhana. *History of Medieval Hindu India*, i. p. 328.
2. What resulted from Harsha's campaign against Śaśaṅka, was that the latter had to eschew his ambition to become the master of the whole of Northern India. He fled from Kaṇauj, leaving the Maukhari territory to its fate, and remained content with some portions of his own kingdom in the southern part of Bengal and Orissa, where he was ruling before his conflict with Rājyavardhana. This part of his kingdom seems to have become subject to Harsha during his expedition to Kaṇgoda, in about 642 A. D.
3. This assumption seems probable, if the evidence of the *Harshacharita* and that of the Apsad Inscription are together taken into consideration. The former mentions Mādhavagupta as a youthful companion of Harsha at the Thaneshwar court, while from the latter, it is evident that he was ruling over the region of Magadha and is credited "with the desire to associate himself with the glorious Harshadeva". *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, iii. pp. 204 and 207 (Śrī—Harshadeva—nija—Sa (m) gama—Vāṇichayā). This appointment was perhaps made by Harsha either to reward his royal services rendered during the beginning of his career or to make him a bulwark against the aggression of the king of Gauḍa, who was in power in the south-western part of Bengal and the northern part of Orissa, at least up to 619 A. D.
4. Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, i. p. 343.

Chinese encyclopaedist, "in the year 618, there were great troubles in the kingdom"; and we know for certain, that in the year 619 A. D., Śaśāṅka was still in power in the coastal region of Orissa as evidenced by the Ganjam Copper-Plate Inscription of Mādhavarāja II, a feudatory of that king, published in that year.

After consolidating his position in the east, Harsha turned towards the west and conquered Valabhī and its dependencies. According to Smith, this event "seems to have occurred later than A. D. 633 and before Hsuan-chuang's visit to Western India, in 641 or 642".¹ But according to the same author, Harsha's war against Pulakeśin, took place in "about the year 620 A. D."²; while the Chinese pilgrim clearly states that he went against the Chālukya monarch, after subjugating the countries from East to West³. It is, therefore, highly probable that the conquest of Valabhī preceeded Harsha's attempt to conquer the Deccan, contrary to what has been stated by Smith⁴. Ma-twan-lin at this stage, however, comes to our rescue, for, according to a statement of his, that "In the years 618 and

1. Smith, V.A., *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 354.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 353.

3. Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, ii. p. 239.

4. The assumption that Harsha may have marched against Valabhī, after his attempt to defeat Pulakeśin II, proved of no avail, is very improbable. Such an endeavour, to remove an enemy in the flank, was essential for Harsha. Northern powers are usually seen consolidating their position in the north, up to Kathiawad, before launching an attack on the trans-Vindhyan regions. The Mauryas had conquered Kathiawad before attacking the Deccan. The Muslims attacked Devagiri only after they had conquered Gujrat and Kathiawad. It would, therefore, seem almost certain that Harsha's winning over of the Valabhī ruler, must have preceded his offensive against Pulakeśin II.

627 A.D, there were great troubles in the kingdom, since the King Śīlāditya made war and fought such battles as had never been before." From this, it appears that the war must have taken place about 627-28 A. D.

The date of Harsha's conflict with the Chālukya monarch has also been one of great controversy. As already stated, Smith fixes it to be about 620 A.D.¹; while Fleet and R. K. Mookerji, on the authority of the date of the Hyderabad Grant, opine that this conflict took place sometime before 612 A. D.². The date suggested by Smith is incorrect, while the suggestion of Fleet and Mookerji is no better. The Hyderabad Grant of 612 A.D. brings to our notice that Pulakeśin acquired the title *Paramēśvara* by "defeating the hostile kings who had applied themselves (or a hostile king who had applied himself) to the contest of a hundred battles"³. Although it does not mention Harshavardhana by name, Fleet, on the authority of some subsequent records which more specifically refer that he acquired that title, "by defeating the glorious Harshavardhana"⁴, wants us to believe that "by the title which was acquired by the victory over him (Harsha), that victory had then already been achieved"⁵. But it will not be safe to conclude only from this piece of epigraphic evidence that Pulakeśin had defeated Harsha earlier than 612 A. D. If the glorious achievement of Pulakeśin, viz., the defeat of

1. Smith, V.A., *Early History of India*, p. 353.

2. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanares: Districts*, p. 351; Mookerji, *Harsha*, p. 36, n. 1; Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, i. p. 13; *Proc., Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1939, pp. 584 and 604. K.C. Chattopadhyaya assigns it between 610-12 A.D..

3. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 351.

4. *Indian Antiquary*, xix. p. 306.

5. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 351.

Harsha, was acquired before 612 A. D., the earlier inscriptions of that Chālukya king would also have been eloquent over it. But as is the case, they do not even adumbrate the same. The title *Paramēśvara* has no doubt, been applied to Pulakeśin II in the Hyderabad Grant of 612 A. D.; but every student of epigraphy knows that the royal panegyrists were not usually accustomed to weigh their words very carefully, when they eulogized their patrons. Further more, that the title *Paramēśvara* had no connection whatsoever with the defeat of Harsha, is evident from the fact that Ravikīrti does not apply it to his patron in his famous composition, even though he therein refers to the defeat of Harsha euphemistically. Besides, the title *Paramēśvara* was in very common use in those days¹. Most probably it was assumed by Pulakeśin II, as referred to in the Hyderabad Grant of 612 A. D., after defeating some king (or kings) during the early part his career; but after successfully halting the huge army of Harsha on the bank of the Narmada, he must have felt proud and adopted it finally².

As Hsuan chuang states that Harsha proceeded against Pulakeśin, after subjugating the east and the west, it is probable that this conflict took place some time after 627 A. D. the date of war with Valabhī).

The lower limit of this campaign can be further pushed to about 630 A. D., on the evidence of the Lohanera Plate Inscription of Pulakeśin II, issued in that year. It describes his valour and exploits³, but is altogether silent about the

1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, iii. pp. 14 and 214-18; *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, x. p. 79.

2. *Epigraphia Indica*, vi. p. 10, (अपरनामध्येयः).

3. "विजयी साहसैकरतिः अनेकचतुर्दशसंभ्रामजनित प्राण.....तथा.....स्वभुजबललब्ध विक्रमाख्यः.....पूर्वापराम्बु(वि)नायः.....मसमाभिर्मृष्टाश्वराजधीः ।"

most notable achievement of Pulakeśin—the defeat of Harsha. Negative evidence is no doubt generally to be accepted with caution, but the composer was out to describe the valour of the donor. If the most significant achievement of Pulakeśin II, known to us, did not occur to him, the almost certain reason for it is that it was not yet an accomplished fact. The date of the Aihole Inscription (634 A. D.) has helped us already to determine the upper limit of that war. Thus it will be seen that we can fix the date of the war between the narrow limits of the years 630 and 634 A.D.

Our chronology finds unmistakable confirmation in the statement of Hsuan chuang that "after thirty years his arms reposed, and he governed everywhere in peace"¹. Without taking the words of the pilgrim in their literal sense, we really find that the campaigns of Harsha extended to a period of about thirty to thirty-five years. But Watters has construed the passage to mean that Harsha "reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon"². He argues that "it is against text and context to make him represent the king as fighting continuously for thirty or thirty-six years"³. But the argument becomes baseless, if we consider the task with which the Emperor was faced. The political affairs of Northern India in those days, were extremely complicated; and before taking any step to build up an empire, Harsha must have been extremely cautious. Besides, his campaigns were not continuous as stated by Watters, except in Northern India, as is evident from the statement of the pilgrim, who clearly says, "he went from East to West, subduing all who were not obedient; the

1. Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 213.

2. Watters, *Yuan-Chwang*, i. p. 343.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

elephants were not unharnessed, nor the soldiers unhelmeted"¹. His expeditions were launched separately in different directions; and there seems to be no doubt, in the rendering of Beal, another translator of Hsuan chuang's itinerary, that his campaigns were spread over a period of about thirty years. It will, thus, not be possible for us to support the statement of Fleet, noticed above, that Harsha's wars with Valabhī and Pulakeśin took place within 612 A.D. Besides, the fact stated by Hsuan chuang that Harsha conquered Kaṅgoda in 613 A.D., still more disproves the theory of Fleet, and renders the translation of Watters incorrect.

It is evident from what we have noticed above, that Emperor Harsha during the first thirty years of his career as a ruler, had to wage incessant wars against his political adversaries and even against those whom he considered to be potential danger. He sheathed his sword only when he felt that there would be no more trouble to his newly-founded empire, or obstruction to his peaceful administration. Circumstances forced him to appear in the role of a conqueror, despite his earnest love for peace as a true Buddhist and he played that part well, as testified to by literary and epigraphic evidence.

1. Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 213; Smith, V.A., *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 352.

LORD HASTINGS, COLONEL BAILLIE AND THE OUDH LOANS

By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,
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Colonel Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, is remembered in Oudh history as a masterful figure who dominated the local government in the early part of the 19th century. His power reached such limits that ultimately he was removed from Lucknow by the authorities at Calcutta. He avenged himself on Lord Hastings by bringing serious charges of extortion alleged to have been practised in Oudh. The charges are extremely interesting and they deserve some attention, for hitherto they have been ignored by the historians. The charges throw a lurid light on British interference in Oudh, and illustrate the extent to which Oudh was exploited by the Company's servants in India.

In his evidence¹ before the Committee of the House of Commons and before the India House, Baillie sought to make out the following charges against Lord Hastings :—

1. That Lord Hastings had falsely stated that the Nawab of Oudh had, during the Nepal War, voluntarily offered a loan of more than two crores of rupees as the price of his emancipation from the subjection in which he was held by the Resident.

2. That Lord Hastings had falsely stated that there was an understanding between the late and present Nawabs on this matter.

1. *Vide Oude Papers*, p. 1024 etc.

3. That Lord Hastings had falsely said that the present Nawab had made a spontaneous offer of a crore of rupees or any sum.

In order to evaluate these charges, it is necessary to consider the facts which show that Baillie was no less guilty than Hastings. Baillie tried to establish his innocence by means of the following arguments, even though they are not convincing.

Firstly,¹ Baillie said, that the Nawab was "reluctant" to give any loan.

Secondly,² he asserted that he was compelled by Lord Hastings to press for the loans.

Thirdly,³ the loans were at last given "*with reluctance*", and obtained "*by persuasion*", "*for voluntary it was not.*"

Fourthly,⁴ as Baillie alleged, "the financial difficulties of the Company's government were made known to me by the Governor General himself in person." Baillie further alleged that the Governor General himself took the initiative in suggesting the practicability of loans from the Nawab,

Fifthly,⁵ the Nawab knew nothing about the Nepal War. "*He could know nothing of them,*" claimed Baillie.

Sixthly,⁶ A muslim who can not charge interest will not, said Baillie, think of granting a loan.

1. Letter from Baillie Lucknow Jan. 10, 1815.

2. *Vide* Baillie's evidence before the Committee.

3. Baillie alleged that they were detained "at his earnest solicitation."

4. In October 1815, Baillie met Hastings at Kanpur.

5. *Vide* Oude Papers.

6. *Ibid.*

Seventhly,¹ the first loan may have been given willingly, but the second loan was "*forced*".

Eighthly,² Lord Hastings' Summary did not appear till 1823, and Baillie asserted that his evidence before the Committee had been given in 1822.

Ninthly,³ Baillie alleged that Lord Hastings had made gross misstatements in defence of the loans.

Lastly,⁴ all the negotiation with the Nawab was "in point of fact *most arduous and vexatious*".

The defence put up by Lord Hastings is no more than just plausible. He reported⁵ to the Court as follows:—

"His Excellency the Vizier, at a conference which I held with his excellency, tendered to me as a proof of his friendship, and of the cordial interest which he feels in the prosperity of the affairs of the honourable company, an accommodation of one crore of rupees in the way of loan, I deemed it to be my duty, in consideration of the actual state of the public finances, and the public demands, arising out of the prosecution of the hostilities with the Nepaulese, and the eventual necessity of supporting, by military preparation, our political views with relation to Saugor and Bhopaul, to accept the offer....."

This reasoning would have been cogent, if there had not been another loan from the Nawab. It was clear from the evidence of all concerned that the second loan was the

1. Baillie's evidence before the India House

2. *Ibid.*

3. Baillie cited a number of misstatements.

4. Proceedings of the Court of Proprietors, Feb. 8, 1826.

5. Letter to Court, August 15, 1815.

result of persuasion. Whether it was forced or not is immaterial, because the Nawab was too powerless to be in a position to oppose the demands. The Nawab, in fact, had to make a general offer in true Lucknow style that "his *Jan Mal* (life and property) were at his Lordship's command."¹ In short, there is no dearth of evidence to show that some amount of pressure was applied on the Nawab.

The Nawab himself wrote, "You mentioned yesterday the necessity of a supply of cash for the extraordinary charges of the Company. As for a crore of rupees, I shall certainly furnish, by way of loan, but beyond that sum is impossible .."²

The apologists of Lord Hastings sought to defend his action on various grounds. Sir J. Doyle made out the following points³ :—

1. Hastings's summary was written without the aid of original documents, and so it could not be looked upon as an official paper. It was also printed without his express sanction. But, it would be apparent that "as a statesman, a financier, or a soldier, no Governor General ever stood so deservedly high as that nobleman."

2. At the time of the Nepal war, the Company's finances were 'much embarrassed.' Serious fears were entertained that the drafts of the Company could not be satisfactorily met. While these embarrassments prevailed, it was suggested that help might be obtained from the Nawab Wazir of Oudh.

1. Letter from the Nawab (Oude Papers)

2. Letter from Baillie, Jan. 10, 1815 to Mr. Ricketts.

3. Proceedings of the Court of Proprietors.

3. The Nawab himself made an offer of a crore of rupees for the service of the company. At that time, "Col Baillie was not present." "The Nawab observed that he would most readily give the money, and he hoped the Company would receive it as a free gift." In other words, the gift was "free and voluntary".

4. The second loan was the result of negotiation, but no force was used in any manner. The Nawab gave the loan in a "*friendly and liberal spirit*," and the question of extortion never arose in this case.

5. Col. Baillie's own conduct was liable to criticism. Col Baillie made an elaborate defence of his own conduct in the Court of Proprietors, for he was also a Director of the Company. His speeches and papers deserve some attention in this connection. His arguments were as follows:—

1. Certain statements of Lord Hastings were not correct.

2. The demands for money were made through him.

3. Sums demanded were of "considerable magnitude."

4. Baillie said that he had himself informed the Nawab that the Company "desired no portion of his treasures"¹

5. At first a crore of rupees was mentioned, but Lord Hastings "intimated to me that he thought that a larger sum" was needed.

6. It was Lord Hastings' summary² which, Baillie said, obliged him to publicise his own charges.

1. Letters from Col. Baillie to the Wazir.

2. Baillie alleged that the Summary of Lord Hastings contained false charges against him.

7. The financial embarrassments were not so great as to have warranted or justified the demands on the Nawab.¹

8. "So far was the Vizier from coming spontaneously forward with an offer of this loan, that I make bold to say that he never even dreamt of such a demand being made upon him.

9 Even the first loan was obtained from the Nawab by the expressed desire of Lord Hastings, for it was not voluntary at all.²

10. There were difficulties in the negotiation for the second loan. The second loan was not the work of *three days* only, as the first was. "*More than a month was expended on it.*" At first, the Nawab could be prevailed upon to advance only Rs. 50 lakhs, and it was after a protracted negotiation that the offer was raised.

11. The Nawab³ had demanded that a bond should be given to him that "*no further demands should be made upon him.*" The Nawab had stated, "As I have now given a crore of rupees, and formerly gave a crore and eight lacs, it is impossible for me to give any more, and I trust that I shall be exempted from all future demands. Let me have satisfaction upon that point "

An objective study of the evidence on the subject would amply show that Lord Hastings' action in Oudh amounted to nothing less than extortion. All talk of the Wazir's "zeal for the interest and prosperity of the British power in India" is unconvincing! The fact is that the

1. This was only a personal opinion of Col. Baillie.

2. Oude Papers.

3. Letter from the Nawab to Col. Baillie.

Wazir was no free agent. Even when he was later recognised as the king of Oudh, he remained a puppet in the hands of the Company's authorities in India. His so-called voluntary offer was no better than a case of simple extortion, for the offer was made evidently under persuasion, pressure and earnest solicitation.

The oudh loans had no justification, moral, legal or otherwise. The ruler was not bound to relieve the distress of the Company. Under the existing subsidiary treaty, he was not required to offer financial assistance to the Company. If other allies of the Company were not called upon to pay, there was no reason why the Nawab at Lucknow was alone to grant crores of rupees to the British. The fact is that the Nawab was a weak and dependent prince, so it was deemed easy to exploit him in the interest of the Company. It was known that the Nawab was helpless against any kind of treatment. In addition to this, the culture of Lucknow made the Nawab more servile and polite than was strictly necessary otherwise. His willingness to part with his "*Jan*" and "*Mal*" for the sake of the Governor General is an illustration of his Lucknow humility which was fully exploited by the Resident and the Governor General.

Assuming that the financial situation was extremely unsatisfactory during the Nepal War, one can not justify a levy on the Nawab of Oudh. Either a costly war was a blunder, or money should have been found from legitimate sources like the money market or from taxation. Lord Hastings found it easier to get crores by way of forced loans which were not to be repaid in the foreseeable future, and whereof even interest was not to be paid on the plea that the Nawab could not act against the dictates of the Quran by accepting interest.

The evidence makes it clear that Baillie was directed to negotiate the loans by the Governor General. Whether Baillie was a willing party or not is immaterial, for he acted under instructions from Calcutta. What is most peculiar is that he made no objections or criticisms while he was still in office at Lucknow. He brought his charges against Hastings when the latter had already published his criticism of Baillie's conduct, and when Baillie had already been removed from his office of Resident. Thus, it is clear that Baillie's vendetta was entirely due to his desire for vengeance. His imputations were inspired by personal rancour and malice.

The question arises as to whether the Nawab had any ulterior motive in offering a free gift to the Company. There is no adequate proof of this, but the probability is that a secret motive was actually there. It appears that the Resident had made himself a nuisance to the Nawab by a 'system of reform' concealing under that specious title a system of usurpations and encroachments of the Resident on the power and authority of the Nawab. The Nawab, who stood in terror of the Resident, may not have been unwilling to secure the patronage of Lord Hastings as the only source of deliverance from the Resident's dictation. The loans gave an excellent opportunity of conferring a favour on the Governor General, which would give the Nawab confidence to appeal to him against the Resident's tyranny over him. Hence the Nawab was as willing to grant, as the Resident was unwilling to ask, the desired accommodation for the Company's government.

This is clear in a way from a letter¹ of Col. Baillie—The letter writes to Mr. Edmonstone: "shall I tell you any thing of my trip to Cawnpore to meet the governor General I had better not, I believe; for I have nothing pleasant to

1. Oude Papers, p. 1027.

communicate. I was desired to propose to the Nawab that his Excellency should propose to Lord Moira to make a voluntary loan to the Company of a crore of rupees : his Excellency did so accordingly, and his proposal was graciously received. To reconcile a proposal like this with all my original distinterestedness, was an effort of diplomatic effrontery, you must admit; but mark the sequel and admire. His Excellency has proposed in return that Lord Moira should propose to his Excellency to put a stop to the system of reform; . . . ' This amounts to a confession that the Nawab was making an offer of loans as a price for his emancipation from subjection to the Resident's "system of reform" which must have been irksome to the Nawab. This system of reform gave Baillie an immense range of patronage, and the immediate control over the civil, as he already had over the military, administration of Cudh.

The first loan was thus very probably given for a definite purpose. But, the Resident was not immediately removed, and it appears the Nawab was made to retract his charges against the Resident. So, it was natural that the second loan could not be willingly given. He complied reluctantly when he was told that the Company's need was supreme. The Nawab's consent was secured through the influence of a personal letter from Lord Hastings.

Can it be that the Governor General at last sought to placate the Nawab by dismissing Baillie from office with the sanction of the Council at Calcutta and the Court of Directors ? The point can not be proved, but the inference is natural under the circumstances. It may be that the Governor General who had in the beginning thought highly of the Resident later changed his mind after receiving information about his misuse of authority. In any case, dismissal was

something which the highhanded Resident could not have silently endured, and so he started his campaign against the forced loans.

The exasperation of the Resident was already great, because he saw that after the arrival of Lord Hastings in India he did not find himself so important a man at Lucknow as he had felt himself to be before. Long accustomed to absolute power, he was naturally angry at his abrupt removal from power. It is thus easy to understand the apparent tenderness which he suddenly developed for the Nawab even though he had himself behaved most highhandedly towards him before.

It is a fact that the Resident was the autocrat of Oudh. So it was hardly surprising that the Governor General removed him from his situation. But, it would be more correct to blame the system rather than the person holding the office of the Resident. Subsidiary system meant an unlimited control over the affairs of the dependent prince, and it was under this system that the Residents acted like the real rulers at the court to which they were sent, backed as they were by subsidiary troops, liable to be moved against the unfortunate prince who dared to dispute their wishes, or call in question their supreme power of interference in state affairs. The loans are only an index of the helpless position in which the prince of Lucknow found himself under the Company's control.

Lord Hastings' complicity in the so-called extortions was not censured by the Company. It was agreed that the loans were not tantamount to 'extortion,' even though they might have been obtained by persuasion. It was also agreed in the Court of Proprietors that the noble Marquis "came

out of the transaction free from blame" It was suggested that even if he had extorted the loans from the Wazir, he had done so "from patriotic motives, and for the advantage of his country."



THREE BODHISATTVA IMAGES FROM NALANDA

By Bhaskar Nath Misra, M. A.

The late Mr. R. D. Banerji was of the opinion that "... as late as the end of the seventh century, the artists of Eastern Bengal were followers of the decadent Gupta style of the School of Pāṭaliputra"¹, and maintained also that "Images discovered at Nalanda, both in stone and metal, definitely prove that the first distinctive feature of the Benaras School had permeated as far as Nalanda. This is noticeable both in early Gupta and later Gupta sculptures."² He was the first archaeologist to go deep into the question, and his conclusions, as cited above, show that Nalanda was a flourishing centre of plastic art like Sultanganj, Pāṭaliputra and other archaeological sites associated with Buddhism, during the Gupta period onwards. With this idea in view, the most representative sculptures discovered at Nalanda are being examined below. Side by side, it will also be shown that history of the figure-art at Nalanda, which was a branch of the all-pervading plastic experience of the Magadhan School of Art, can be traced from at least the Gupta period to the late Mediæval Age, on the lines suggested by the late Mr. R. P. Chanda, in connection with the Sarnath School of Art.³

The earliest and the most remarkable black-slaty stone

1. Banerji, R. D., *Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture*, p. 3.
2. Banerji, R. D., *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 168.
3. Chanda, R. P., *Mediæval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, p. 24.

sculpture, carved in high relief on an oval but elongated surface, amongst the three sculptures, is the image of a Bodhisattva, standing on an inverted lotus, about 5'-1" in height and numbered as 12-89. It exhibits *varadamudrā* with its outstretched right hand and holds lotus-stalk in its upraised left. The palm of the right hand shows a lotus symbol (*padma*). The lotus-stalk grows up from its root-scrolls and is accompanied by buds of delicate composition. The Bodhisattva's crest is a wonderfully planned matted tiara (*jaṭā-mukuta*) and is ornate with a miniature effigy of Dhyānibuddha Akshobhya who sits cross-legged and exhibits *bhūṣparśamudrā* with his right hand, which is seen placed on his right fore-leg. Ear-rings, necklace, pearl garland, armlets, waist-band, bangles, scarf and garment are all traceable on the person of the Bodhisattva.

The *sādhana* for the aforesaid Bodhisattva, as cited in the *Sādhana-mālā*¹, runs as follows :

“.....द्विभुज एकमुखः शुक्लो वज्रपर्यंकी दिव्यालंकारभूषितः पञ्चवीरक-
शेखरो नानारश्मिगहन उत्तिष्ठति । वामे नीलोत्पलधरो दक्षिणे वरदः.....।
ततश्च भगवतो मौली अक्षोभ्यं..... ॥”

The three features of the image, as recorded in this *sādhana* are (1) Akshobhya on the Bodhisattva's crest, (2) right hand showing *varadamudrā*, and (3) left hand holding a lotus (blue). In the light of these characteristics, the Bodhisattva may be identified with Siddhaikavīra a particular form of Mañjuśrī. A standing Bodhisattva image (No. B d-6), bearing the effigy of Akshobhya on its crest, in the Sarnath Museum has also been termed as Siddhaikavīra.²

Dr. Fabri has rightly dated this Nalanda Siddhaikavīra

1. Bhattacharya, B., *Sādhana-mālā*, i. p. 140.

2. Majumdar, B., *A Guide to Sarnath*, Pl., XI (a).



JOUR. OF THE U. P. HIST. SOCY.
* VOL. I (N. S.)

Siddhaikavira

BY COURTESY OF THE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT
OF INDIA



Lokanātha

image (No. 12-89) in the 5th cent. A. D.; but he takes that image to stand for Padmapāṇi, for, according to him, the Dhyānibuddha on the crest of the Bodhisattva, is Amitābha.¹ At present, this image is exhibited in the National Museum of India, New Delhi.

Second in date, is a reddish sand-stone image of a Bodhisattva of about 3' - 5½" in height and numbered as 8-15. It stands on a lotus, exhibiting *varadamudrā* with right hand and holding a lotus with long stalk in the up-raised left, and has a circular halo that shows a flaming border. In addition to his peculiar crown, large ear-pendants, armlets, bangles, anklets, waist-band and pearl garland, we note that his neck-jewel is simply remarkable. Two nails of a tiger (*vyāghra-nakha*) are tied to its string at intervals on either side of the rectangular amulet to which is attached below a decorated pendant (*kaustubhamāṇi*). The scarf resembles to that of Siddhaikavīra, but the waist-cloth (*dhōṭī*) has been changed into short drawers. A four-armed male dwarfish figure with a rosary in its lower outstretched right hand and a lotus with long stalk in its upper upraised right hand, and with its lower left hand placed on a club and the upper upraised left hand holding a brandishing sword, is seen standing to the right of this Bodhisattva. It has a round halo and appears to be Ekajaṭā or Hayagrīva (neck of the horse is absent in this case) who generally accompanies the Bodhisattva Lokanātha². This image of Lokanātha may be dated in the 7th cent. A.D. It has been published by the late Dr. Hiranand Sastri and identified by him as Padmapāṇi.³ It is now one of the finest sculptures exhibited in the National Museum of India, New Delhi.

1. A. S. I., A. R., 1930. 3, i. p. 134, n. 1.

2. Bhattacharya, B., *Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 39-40.

3. A. S. I., *Memoir*, No. 66, p. 117.

The third image, which has been dated in the 8th cent. A. D.,¹ is a Bodhisattva of about 6' - 7" in height and is made of hard blue stone. It was found at Nalanda, in the north-eastern corner of Site No. III, installed in a small shrine. It stands on a double-lotus with its tenon fixed in the mortice hole of its pedestal. The outstretched right hand of this Budhisattva is extended and is in *varadamudrā*, and the upraised left, holds a lotus with stalk. This lotus is seen springing up from its root-scrolls, just above the female companion on his left. His crest is an artistic matted tiara bearing the effigy of the Dhyānibuddha Vairochana. Ornaments seen on his person are like those of Siddhaikavīra. He is flanked by two female figures, one on either side. The figure on the right resembles that of Kuru-kullā Tārā, holding a lotus with stalk in the left hand, but the figure to his left, appears to be that of Bhṛikuṭī Tārā. These female divinities generally accompany Avalokiteśvara. It is not known if they accompany the Bodhisattva Sāmantabhadra also.

It has not been possible to find out any *sādhana* for this image in the *Sāadhanamālā*; but the figure of the Bodhisattva depicted on Pl. XI b) of the *Buddhist Iconography*, may be profitably compared with the one under discussion. In the case of the former, we also find the figure of the Buddha Vairochana, exhibiting *varadamudrā*² in his right hand, very much in the same way as in the case of the latter. This comparison enables us to identify the Nalanda Bodhisattava image in question (No. N. N. 1407) with that of Sāmantabhadra, the one portrayed in the aforesaid work. If this identification be correct, this Nalanda Bodhisattva image may be regarded as a valuable asset to the

1. Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 183, Pl. XXXII (81).

2. Bhattacharya, B., *Buddhist Iconography*,

Nalanda Museum, the reason being that the images of Sāmantabhadra are extremely rare in Northern India.

The aforesaid Bodhisattva image bears a Buddhist creed on its back in the northern Nāgarī characters of the 8th cent. in two lines, and, has been rightly assigned by Stella Kramrisch to that period. She has taken this Bodhisattva image to be that of Avalokiteśvara.¹ It has also been described as such by the late Dr. Hiranand Sastri².

These three images of Siddhaikavīra, Lokanātha and Sāmantabhadra, as they were conceived by the sculptors well-versed in *sādhana*s, cover about four hundred years, from the 5th to the 8th cent. A. D. Stylistically, each of them represents a particular age. As the finest products of the Magadhan Art they bear testimony to the influence of various Indian Schools of Art, particularly of the Sarnath School.

The image of Siddhaikavīra, being also the earliest of the group, is a stele which is carved in relief, on the face of an elongated back-slab. The Lokanātha and Sāmantabhadra images are carved in the round. The only support they get from behind is the portion exhibiting their companion and the root-scrolls of the lotus-stalks.

Like the image of Sāmantabhadra, those of Siddhaikavīra and Lokanātha also had their own pedestals, as is evident from the tenons noticed below their lotus-seats; but they are now missing. The seat of Siddhaikavīra is an inverted lotus, exhibiting petals of pentagonal shape with pointed tops and deeply incised circular marks on its surface. This type of petals is a characteristic of the Kushāṇa Age, as evidenced by the large red stone umbrella of the

1. Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 183.

2. *A. S. I., Memoir, No. 66*, p. 117.

Bodhisattva at Sarnath,¹ which was borrowed by the Gupta sculptors. Lokanātha has its lotus upverted, which shows several rows of petals. This second type is obviously an imitation of its Gupta archetype, as will be seen from the Lotus-seats of the dated Buddha images of the time of Kumāragupta II and Budhagupta (5th cent. A. D.), in the Sarnath Museum.² Tradition of a single upverted lotus as a seat or stand, whether for a deity or for an elephant, is as old as the 2nd cent. B. C. In the image of Sāmanta-bhadra, belonging to the 8th cent. A. D., double lotus-seat is observed, from the stem of which another lotus-seat emerges on either side of the central seat and is meant for the figure flanking the Bodhisattva. Similar lotus-seats are only upverted lotus flowers. A double lotus-seat for a Sarnath image of the Buddha belonging to the 4th cent. A. D. (now in the British Museum) is also known to us.³ The Nalanda sculptors perhaps followed this Gupta tradition of carving double lotus-seats. This evidence, singular though, it is, goes against the general belief that double lotus-seat was an innovation of the Mediaeval sculptors. That this stylistic feature was known in the 7th cent. A. D., is also borne out by the seat of the Sarnath image of Siddhaikavīra [No. B (d) 6]. From the post-Gupta period downwards, most of the images show their seats of double lotus.

The aureole of Siddhakavīra image is of the shape of an elongated horse-shoe which is joined with the pedestal and

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1. Sahni, D. R., *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology At Sarnath*, Pl. VIII.
 2. Majumdar, B., *A Guide to Sarnath*, Pl. IX (a)
 3. Chanda, R. P., *Mediaeval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, Pl. VI.

risers a few inches above the image. This horse-shoe shape is no less an earlier feature than the similar halo noticed on the dated Buddha images in the Sarnath Museum, which shows the flying figures,¹ the difference between the two being that the latter ones show scalloping reels of beads as their border, the feature of which betrays an influence of the Mathura School. The halo of this Bodhisattva image has a border of floral pattern.

Gupta sculptures at Mathura and Sarnath have round or elongated horse-shoe type of nimbus. The Lokanātha figure of Nalanda borrows the round type, but shows a tendency of becoming oval. Moreover, it shows a thin border of flames. It is not known, if an earlier example of a halo representing flames at its border has been brought to light so far. The halo behind the head of Sāmantabhadra assumes an oval form and shows miniature figures of the Dhyānī-buddhas. Stelæ depicting life-scenes of the Buddha of the Gupta period, show the Dhyānībuddhas surrounding him; but there is hardly any Gupta sculpture in which a Bodhisattva has been represented as surrounded by the Dhyānī-buddhas. Thus, the Sāmantabhadra figure marks a development, and hence is later in date than the other two Bodhisattva figures.

Like the Bodhisattva images of the Gupta period, the *ūrṇā* is altogether missing on the forehead of each one of these Nalanda Bodhisattva figures. But from the 9th to the 12th cent. A. D., the *ūrṇā* is invariably noticed in the Buddhistic divinities at Nalanda.

The eyebrows of Siddhaikavīra are very much similar

1. Majumdar, B., *A Guide to Sarnath*, Pl. IX (a).

to those of the Sultanganj copper image of the Buddha of the early 5th cent. A. D.¹ and of the Buddha images of the Gupta period the Sarnath Museum, appear to have been copied from the earlier Buddhist School either of Gandhāra or of Mathura. The eyebrows of Lokanātha (No. 8-15) are marked by heavy ridges, and this style owes its origin to the Gupta period.² The eyebrows of the image of Sāmantabhadra follow the Gupta trend, but after a considerable length of time there occurs in them a pointed curve making an obtuse angle. This stylistic variation was perhaps unknown to the Gupta and the late Gupta sculptors, and obviously marked a new era, i. e. 8th cent. A. D., in the history of Nalanda Art.

The image of Siddhaikavīra (No. 3734) has its eyes modelled on lines as suggested by the standing Buddha image (No. Bd/1) as above and other images of the 5th and the 6th cent. A. D. in the Sarnath Museum. Eyes in all these cases appear to be, as if concentrating on something visualized within and look compassionately downwards. This pose of contemplation is noted in most of the images in the Nalanda Museum. The eyes of Sāmantabhadra of the 8th cent. A. D. (No. 1407) also show the same influence. The Lokanātha image of the 7th cent. A. D. (No. 8-15) also follows the Gupta tradition in the same School; but its eyes are not much angular, though widely open.

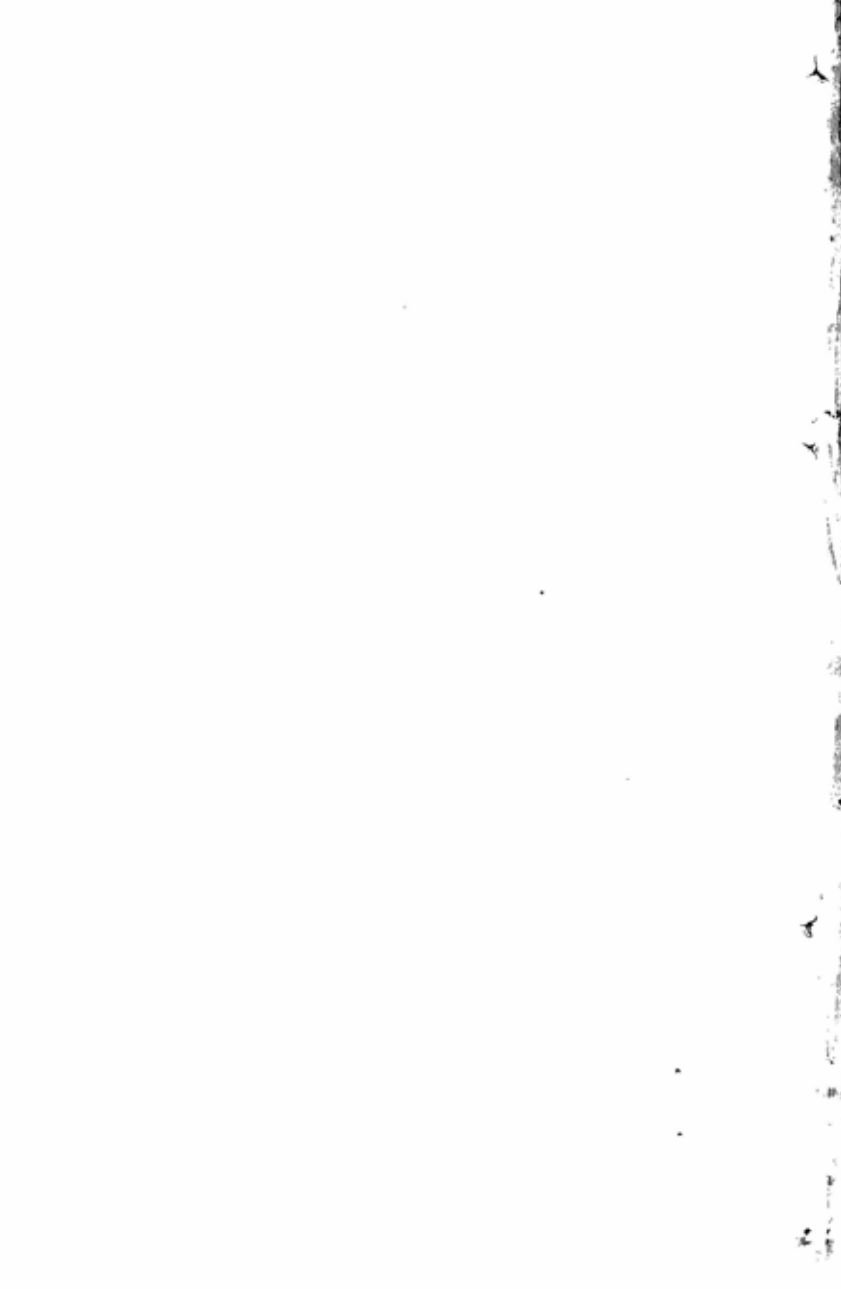
The torsos of the Siddhaikavīra and Sāmantabhadra images are more or less modelled alike. They are moderately bulky and hence weighty. Broad chest, round fleshy

1. Banerji, R. D., *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Pl. XXVI.

2. Compare also the Buddha image of the 5th cent. [No. B (b) 5], the Bodhisattva head of the 6th cent. [No. B37/1822], Siddhaikavīra of the 7th cent. A. D. [Bd/6] in the Sarnath Museum.



Sāmantabhadra



arms, deep navel and bulging-out waist part, are all modelled after the Sarnath and the Sultanganj images.

It is worth-noting here that the three middle fingers of the right hand which is in the *abhayamudrā* of the Sultanganj Buddha image are raised upwards and are parallel to one another. This pose appears to have been a common artistic feature of the Bodhisattva image of the 1st cent. A. D. (No. Ba/3), and the Buddha images of the 4th and the 5th cent. A. D., and the Buddha image of the 8th cent. A.D. (No. Bc/109), in the Sarnath Museum all exhibiting more particularly *abhayamudrā* in the right hand. Curiously enough, the four fingers of the right hand of the image of the Nalanda Siddhaikavīra are parallel to one another and droop downwards. This feature is invariably noticed in the Mediæval sculptures. Of course, the Lokanātha and Sāmantabhadra images are real successors of the Gupta and the late Gupta images of the Buddha of Sarnath and Sultanganj, which again were influenced by the Mathura School of the Kushāṇa Age.

Siddhaikavīra holds the stalk of a full-blown lotus in his left hand. The palm of his upraised left hand has been shown above his left shoulder, which is not the case with the Sarnath Lokanātha figure of the 5th cent. A. D. (No. Bd/1). But the latter has been followed in this respect by the Lokanātha and Sāmantabhadra images of Nalanda.

The thumb and the fore-fingers of Siddhaikavīra touching each other, hold a lotus-stalk. The middle finger also touches the stalk and is parallel to the fourth finger. The little finger, however, is missing. This pose of holding a stalk is seen in the Sarnath Lokanātha (No. Bd/1) and the two Nalanda Bodhisattva images. Elasticity of the tips of the fingers of Siddhaikavīra remarkably resembles that of Sultanganj and Sarnath Gupta images.

In the Buddhist images of the Gupta period of Mathura and Sarnath, knees of their legs project outwards and are slightly round in form. Similar is the case with the two Gupta images of Magadhan School of Art, viz., the Sultan-ganj Buddha and the Nalanda Siddhaikavīra. This feature is to be seen in the Lokanātha figure as well; but Sāmantabhadra image has its knees marked by deep-cut oval lines. This device at Sarnath appears as early as the 7th cent. A. D. and it may, therefore, be surmised that the marking of knees by means of deep-cut lines, has its beginning during the late Gupta period.

The hair of the Siddhaikavīra and Sāmantabhadra figures is combed back, tied with a fillet, and rises up forming a tiara, falls on shoulders in long wavy curls. The miniature effigy of the Dhyānībuddha in both the cases appears to be seated on the tuft of the hair against an ovalised background. The hair-dressing to be seen in this Siddhaikavīra image is similar to that of the Ekanukhalinga in a temple in the Nagod State, in Madhya Pradesh¹.

The peculiar crown of the Lokanātha image (No. 8-15) is of a pleasing pattern. His curls, peeping out of the ornamental fillet, are seen just above the forehead. Above the fillet is to be noticed a square gem, decked with precious stones, with big jewels on its either side. The crown rises in three stages, from which some curly hairs come out and float above both the shoulders. A similar crown is seen on the head of Lokanātha stucco figure of the 6th cent. A. D., seated in a niche in the north-eastern corner of the 5th level temple at the Nalanda Site No. III. A stone image of Lokanātha of about the 7th cent. A. D., now in the Bharat Kalabhavana Banaras, also shows a

1. Banerji, R. D., *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Pl. XXIV.

crown of similar type.¹ It is interesting to note that at Paharpur, the stone panels, Nos. 30 and 31 exhibit Kṛishṇa wearing an almost similar crown, while fighting with the demons.² Thus, it is to be seen that this type of head-dress was commonly depicted, since the Age of the Guptas down to the Early Mediæval period.

The neck-jewel represented together with an amulet in the image Lokanātha (No. 8-15) may be the same as described by late Mr. K.N. Dixit as a "torque, peculiar to young children,...which is still seen in several parts of India."³ History of its origin is the same as that of the Lokanātha's crown stated above. As a prince, as described by Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita*, Harsha used to wear similar neck-jewel of gold which was attached to a row of tiger's nails (*vyāghranakha*)⁴. The fragmentary stone image of Mañjuśrī (No. 106E) now in the Godown No. 1 of the Sarnath Museum, dated in the 10th cent. A. D. shows a similar neck-jewel.

The Lokanātha image (No. 8-15) has its garland crossing over the upper part of its thigh. It is said that the pearl-garland appears for the first time during the 3rd cent. A. D. in the Ikshvāku sculptures.⁵ A stucco figure of of Viṣṇu, decorating one of the niches of the cylindrical brick structure at Maniyar Matha, (Rajgir), dated in the early 4th cent. A. D., wears a thick pearl-garland.⁶ The Sarnath Lokanātha (No. Bd/1) shows a thin garland which appears

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1. Rai Krishnadas, *Bhāratīya Mūrtikalā*, p. 115, Pl. XVI. The author assigns this sculpture in the 5th cent. A. D.
 2. *A. S. I. Memoir No. 55*, Pl. XXVIII (a) and (b).
 3. *A. S. I. Memoir No. 55*, p. 47.
 4. Agrawala, V. S., *Harshacharita* (1953), p. 60, n. 2.
 5. *Ancient India No. 6*, p. 24.
 6. *Ibid*, Pl. XVIII (a).

to be inferior in composition and refinement to that of the Nalanda Siddhaikavīra image. Generally, the pearl-garland falls below upto the knees, as is the case with the Siddhaikavīra and Sāmantabhadra images of Nalanda.

The upper parts of the three Nalanda Bodhisattvas are moulded in a way so as not to suggest any kind of garment. If it is there, it must be clinging to the body so much so that the body and its cover become one.

The lower part of Siddhaikavīra image shows a sort of petticoat, one of its ends hanging below between his legs in a wavy triangular way. This style is also to be noticed in the Sarnath Lokanātha image (No. Bd/1), where the wavy curves between his legs are seemingly larger. It appears that the left part of the loin cloth covers the left leg, and its right part, passing over the right leg, covers also the left leg. The portion hanging between the legs, is nothing but the end of the left part of the waist. Parallel lines seen to the left of the left leg, present the end of the right part of the loin-cloth which is tucked at the back. This pattern has also been followed in the case of the Sāmantabhadra image. The parallel curves, suggesting delicate folds, between the legs of the Siddhaikavīra image are worth-noting. A close examination of the standing Buddha image at Sarnath (No. 630E) reveals similar curves, just below the left knee of the figure. Short drawers or *dhoti* of the Lokanātha image of Nalanda shows the end of the left part of the loin-cloth tucked at the back. The end of its right side is tucked at the waist, and fall in regular curves between its legs.

The scarf of the Siddhaikavīra and Lokanātha figures is modelled on the lines of the Sarnath Lokanātha image (No. Bd/1). In this respect also the image of the Siddhaikavīra

is quite nearer in date to this Sarnath image than the Lokanātha figure (No. 8-15), simply for the reason that the ends of the scarf, on the right side of the Siddhaikavīra image, fall below in a way as noticed in the Sarnath image. The scarf of the Sāmantabhadra image is flat and marks a new development in style, which is a characteristic of the 8th cent. A. D.

Thus, it may be concluded that on stylistic grounds the Nalanda image of Siddhaikavīra, Lokanātha and Sāmantabhadra may be dated in the 5th, the 7th and the 8th cent. A. D. respectively.



THE ANTIQUITIES OF CHAMBA STATE: AN ART-HISTORICAL OUTLINE

By Dr. H. Goetz, Ph.D.

Introductory Remarks.

"Chamba, sheltered by its snow-clad mountain barriers, has had the rare fortune of escaping the successive waves of Muslim invasions which, in the plains of the Punjab, have swept away all monuments of old-Indian civilization. The result is that in this petty hill-state ancient remains are more abundant and better preserved than in any other part of the province".¹

Of course, this claim has to be taken with some qualifications as the following catalogue will show: (A) *Climatic Damage*: Corrosion of all wooden and even stone monuments by rain and snow; of all wooden buildings the exterior shell had, therefore, to be rehewed repeatedly; in stone monuments many parts are badly worn off or replaced by later copies. (B) *Damage by Invasions*: Almost all monuments older than the late 7th cent. A. D. have disappeared. Original Śiva (Māñimabeśa), Viṣṇu (Nṛisimha) and Gaṇeśa Temples at Brahmor destroyed, that of Lakṣhaṇā Devī damaged by the Tibetans (later 8th cent. A. D.). Trimukh (Chamba) and Khajiar Temples destroyed, Vajreśvri Temple desecrated, all other temples damaged, probably in Muslim raids (early 13th cent. A. D.). Chāmuṇḍā Temple, Nalhora bridge and part of Chamba town

1. *Chamba State Gazetteer*. (Lahore 1910), p. 41.

burnt down during the Nurpur invasion (A.D. 1623-41). Umed Singh's palace and part of Chamba town, Rajnagar (Nada) palace and several other monuments in Churah ruined during invasion of Amritpal of Basohli (A.D. 1774-75), Chhattargarh (Padar) razed by Dogra general Zorawar Singh Kahluria (A.D. 1836). Chamba Town looted and partly burnt by a Sikh punitive expedition (A.D. 1844). (C) *Civil war and Anarchy*: Mediaeval art tradition effaced by a mass immigration of Rajputs and Brahmins after the Muslim conquest of Northern India. Chamba Town and Chāmunda Temple burnt down by the fleeing rājā Ugar Singh after his deposition and expulsion (A.D. 1735). (D) *Other Damage*: Khajiar, Mehla, and Triloknath and Markula-Udaipur in Lahul needed rebuilding several times for unknown reasons. All old fortresses, especially Taragarh, demolished by British government (A.D. 1871-72). A great part of Chamba palace pulled down by rājā Syam Singh about A.D. 1890; much of the town burnt down in an accidental fire A.D. 1937.

Nevertheless, the number of ancient monuments still preserved is remarkable. As in the rest of India, many of them have been repaired and restored repeatedly, so that their art-historical evaluation needs a most careful previous analysis. But in many cases, the greater part of the original structure still is intact, especially in the inaccessible Brahmor district. Moreover, the relative poverty of Chamba has permitted only of a limited number of monuments which can easily be checked-up one with the other; the isolation of the state has been favourable to a long survival of early traditions, and to a comparatively simple political history, two facts which immensely facilitate the interpretation of the past.

For these reasons the history of art in Chamba can be

reconstructed with a measure of exactness rarely possible elsewhere in India. It can, therefore, be accepted as a specimen of, and as a clue to the so sparse remnants of art in more accessible and, thus, more ravaged areas.

Of course, some reservations are necessary. For because of the isolation of Chamba new styles penetrated late, often when they were already disappearing in the plains. Often they became mixed with older local traditions or with styles introduced from other sides, the Eastern Punjab Himalaya, Kashmir and Tibet. Lastly, the artistic quality of the Chamba monuments is often enough, though not always, no more than provincial

But no strict rule can be set up for the evaluation of these factors. They have to be judged in the light of the known historical and cultural circumstances. For these latter, too, were liable to considerable variations. War and chaos in the Punjab, Kashmir or Central Asia would mean freedom and some measure of fulfilment to political ambitions, deflection of the lucrative international trade into the difficult, but safe valleys of the Hindu Himalaya, and immigration of trained and cultured refugees. Political consolidation in those neighbouring countries, on the other hand, would mean foreign control, political atomisation, economic exploitation and isolation from the international trade. But beyond these world-historical factors also the political relations between the many hill states, and the personalities of the individual rulers and of their leading countries, as the principal *maecenes* of art, have to be taken into account. For fundamentally all this art was *artistocratic*, though that of an aristocracy in close patriarchal relations with the people.

Geographical Survey.

Before going into a historical and art-critical analysis, it is desirable first to give a list of the

main monuments according to their geographical distribution, in which connection the map in Professor Dr. J. Ph. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State* vol. I, (Calcutta 1911), may be consulted. *Upper Ravi Valley (Trehta)* : State Kothi of Udai Singh, Dyol ; copperplate grant of Somavarman, Kulait ; Śivālaya at Ghumsal, Sutkar. *Budhal Valley (right tributary of Ravi)* : Śiva image, Harsar ; Brahmor : Chaurasi (Māṇimaheśa, Narsingh, Lakṣaṇā Devī and Gaṇeśa Temples), Sūrajmukh (Rāmeśvar) Liṅgam, shrines of the Eighty-four Siddhas, memorial and fountain stones ; Kothi (Palace) of Prithvi and Umed Singh ; image reliefs in Brahmāṇī Devī Nala ; early Tibetan inscriptions. *Ravi Valley to Chamba Town* : Chatrarhi : Śakti Devī Temple (murals), "Śakti Devī" bust, Umā-Maheśvara group, Yogiṇī bronzes, fountain stones, Dharmśālā ("Sunga" woodcarvings, folk art) ; Thakkika inscriptions, Tur ; Panali Nala inscriptions, Ashāḍhadeva inscription, Sūrya image, Gum ; Hiṣmā Temple Mehla ; Devī Temple at Bhatalkuan, Mangla. *Chamba Town* : Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa compound : Śikhara temples of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa (with maṇḍapa and Garuḍa pillar), vaikunṭhadvāra Gate, Dumukh, Hanumān Temple, number of small shrines, outhouses of various times (murals) ; royal palace (Khan-chaṇḍī palace, murals, Reghubīr) ; Rang Mahal (murals) ; fountainhouse (murals) and steps to Suhi-da Marh ; Nalhora bridge and Charhat Singh's suspension bridge (disappeared); Champāvati, Hari Rāi, Vamsīgopāl, Sītā Rām and many smaller temples in the town ; several old fountains ; Vajreśvari (Bhagvatī) Temple with subsidiary shrines and sculptures at entrance to Sarota Valley ; Chāmuṇḍā Temple and steps on hill shoulder south of town ; two temples beyond ; chabutra of Sundardas near Sala bridge. *Sala Valley (right tributary of Ravi)* : Chandraśekhara Temple, Sarahan praśasti and Nāga Temple of Cheragga near Sarahan, Saho ; Thundu Grant of Āṣaṭavarman and copper mines (no more used),

Hol; grant of Vidagdharman, Sungal. *Sarota Valley* (tributary of Sala): Sītā-Rām relief, sacred fountain of Suhi-ḍa Marh aqueduct, Shah-Madar shrine (on top of the hill). *Ravi Valley below Chamba*: Old royal garden, tank and temples, Khaji Nāg Temple, Khajiar (on road to Dalhousie); hunting box and memorial temple of Udai Singh, Udaipur; Rajnagar palace and temples, Nada (on Ravi bend). *Bhatti Wizarat* (southwest of Dhauladhar): Ganesgarh Fort and Taragarh Fort (near Bakloh). *Churah* (Syuhl Valley, northwestern tributary of Ravi): Temple ruins, Bhandal (disappeared); Prithvi Jor Fort; Mul-Kihar fountain, Kihar; Svām Devī image, Himgiri; Bahnota, Bhatkara, Siya, Loh-Tikri, Batrundi, Sukoi, Bharara, Mangalva fountain stones, Loh Tikri; Chāmunḍā Temple, Narāyaṇa image and fountain, Devi-ri-Kothi; fountain stone, Dadvar, Siya-Dudhar fountain stone, Barhnota-Basua fountain stone, Bagor; fountain stone, Naghai; fountain stone, Sai; Bhakund and Nal fountain stones, Tisa. *Lahul* (upper Chandrabhaga Valley): Fountain stone, Brahmanakothi; Triloknāth Temple; Markulā Devī Temple, Tibetan inscription, state Kothi, Narul (Mirkula Udaipur). *Pangi* (Chandrabhaga Valley): Mulāsan Devī Temple, fountain of Ugar Singh, Porthi; Chāmunḍā Temple, Mindhal; fountain stone, Salhi; Ugar Singh's Kothi, Sach; road inscription of Prithvi Singh, near Sach; Hundan, Bento-Puhali and Kilar fountain stones, Kilar; fountain stone, Luj. *Padar* (Chandrabhaga Valley, now under Jammu-Kashmir): Chhattargarh Fort (destroyed) and wooden temples, Gulabgarh-Atholi.

Art of the Pre-Muslim Period.

Vestiges of Early Art: Very little is known of the early history and art of the area. Probably Chamba formed part

of the Udumbara republic. Like the Kunindas (the present Kanets) of the Kangra valley and Simla Hills. and the Kirātas further east, the Audumbaras¹ were Mongoloid Khāṣas who had subjected the older primitive Koli tribes². Orthodox Hindus regarded them as degraded kshatriyas. They venerated snake deities (Nāgas) and demons (Yakshas and Rākshasas) and a cruel mother goddess demanding human sacrifices ; today the Nāgas³ are often identified with Rishis, the female demon, resp. goddess with Hiḍimbā of the Mahābhārata (Hiḍmā)⁴ or Chāmuṇḍā. In the cult, metal and wooden masks were used, which still are common in Kulu⁵ and Kumaon, and in Chamba known at least at Khajiar and Triloknath⁶. The coins⁷ show also monuments similar to the Buddhist art of the plains in Śūnga and early Indo-Scythian times, chaitya trees and railings, as well as Nāga and Devī temples. Their decoration has survived in the folk art [Plate IV (c)] lotus roundels decorated the Mediaeval fountain stones⁸ (memorials for deceased members of the local aristocracy, the ranas and thakurs) in Trehta, the Ravi and Chandrabhaga Valleys and Churah

1. Przyluski, J., "Un Ancien Peuple du Panjab: Les Udumbara", (*J. As.* 208, p. 1 ff. 1926).
2. Ibbetson-Maclagan-Rose, *Glossary of Tribes and Castes in the Panjab and N.W. Frontier Provinces*, (Lahore 1911); various *Genetters*.
3. Vogel, J. Ph., *Indian Serpent Lore*, (London 1926); etc.
4. E. g. at Mehla in Chamba and Manali in Kulu.
5. Sastri, Hirananda, "Historical Documents of Kulu", (*A. R. A. S. I.* 1907-08, p. 260 ff.); Shuttleworth, H. L. H., "Inscribed Mask discovered at Nirmand", (*Acta Or.* I, p. 22+ ff., 1929).
6. Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum*, (Calcutta 1909), p. 34.
7. Cunningham, A., *Coins of Ancient India*, (London 1891), pls. IV-V; Coomaraswamy, *History etc.* 1926, figs. 116 f.
8. Vogel, J. Ph., *Antiquities of Chamba State*, I. (Calcutta 1911), pls. 4, 27, 34, 37, figs. 11, 12, 14.

and adorn modern peasant houses in Brahmor. In the Brahmor district also lotus roundels enclosing figures, similar to those of the Bharhut, Sanchi (stūpa 3) Bodhgaya, and Mathura railing can be seen.

*Gupta Art*¹ : During the Gupta period the country east of the Ravi was successively controlled by the Imperial Guptas, Yaśodharman, the Maukharis, Pushyabhūti (Harshavardhana) and Yaśovarman of Kanauj. Vestiges of Gupta Art proper are only the temples with slab roofs at Jagesvar, Dvarabat and Baijnath in Kumaon where Karttipura had been the capital of the hills. However, the average wooden "hill temple", a cella surrounded by an open circumambulation gallery under a pyramidal roof, may also go back to a prototype of this time.

By the middle of the 6th cent. A. D. the Śūlikas, a people from Central Asia² associated with the Gūrjaras, overran Northwestern India, but were defeated by the Maukharis³ and founded the vassal kingdom Brahmapura⁴ which extended from Kumaon to the Chenab. Its first capital was at Talesvar⁵ in Kumaon which after the death of Harshavardhana was destroyed by the Tibetans under Sron-btsan-sgam-po⁶. There after Meruvarman the scion of another

1. For the detailed evidence on the history of the Brahmapura kingdom and its neighbours see my coming book on the subject. Here only the most important reference can be quoted.
2. Law, B.Ch., "Some Tribes of Ancient India", (*J. Ind. Hist.* 20, p. 65 ff., 1941); for a later branch in Orissa, Sircar, D. C., "Hindol Plate of Kulastambha", (*Ep. Ind.* 28, p. 107 ff, 1952), etc.
3. Pires, E. A., *The Maukharis*, (Madras 1934).
4. Mentioned by Yuan Chwang and Varāhamihira.
5. Gupta, Y. R., "Two Talesvara Copperplates", (*Ep. Indica* 13, p. 109 ff., 1915-16).
6. Majumdar, R.C., "Wang Hsiuan-Tso's Indian Campaign", (*J. As. Soc. Letters* 19, p. 37 ff., 1953); S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, II, p. 148, (1905-08).

Śūlika dynasty, founded Brahmapura-Brahmor¹ in Chamba which early in the 8th cent. A. D. became a vassal of Kashmir, lost its Śūlika-Gūrjara character because of considerable transfers of population by Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir² and was destroyed by a second Tibetan invasion under Khari-sron-'de-btsan in the later 8th cent. A. D.³.

The social remnants⁴ of this Śūlika-Gūrjara invasion are the Ranas, Rathis and part of the Thakurs, the local aristocracy of the Punjab Himalaya, older than the Rajputs who form only a diminutive minority. Though now mixed with the Khāśas and Rajputs, their anthropological type and costume reveal affinities to Kafiristan, Central Asia and even prehistoric Europe. Their linguistic remnant is the Western Pahāṛī dialect⁵, closely related to Gujarī and exactly covering the area of the old Brahmapura kingdom. Religious remnants⁶ had been the curious cults of Mediæval Churah (11th-12th cent. A. D.), of Varuṇa as god of heaven, of the river goddesses, and of Gūgā (Gūrjara godling much venerated also in Rajasthan, though later identified with two

1. Vogel, J Ph., *Antiquities of Chamba State*; Hutchison-Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, (Lahore 1933), (various locis).
2. Local tradition of immigration from "Delhi"; read in this context Kanauj. Lalitāditya deported also Yaśovarman of Kanauj (temporarily), Karka of Lāṭa, Jīvitagupta II of Gauḍa and Vīrasena, the ancestor of the Suket dynasty, to the Himalaya.
3. Some Tibetan inscriptions of this time still near Brahmor, see Vogel, *Antiquities*, Appendix; the Tibetan pilgrimage to Ravalsar in Mandi is another relic of this invasion.
4. See *Gazetteers*; costume relations with Europe observed already by Ibbetson-Maclagan-Rose.
5. Grierson, G. A., *Linguistic Survey of India*, IX, pt. 4.
6. Goetz, H., "Chamba Monuments", (*Indian Culture*, XIII, p. 122 ff., 1946).

Chaubān heroes), representing either survivals of early Hindu cults of the utmost West or a slight Hinduization of primitive Iranian deities (Ormuzd, the Anahits, Mithra). Other vestiges are the Sassanian Sūrya image of Gum, and the (lost) Kushāṇa Śiva-Śūlapāṇi statue of Brahmor (see below). An artistic remnant is the folk art of Kulu¹, Churah and Paig², which links up not only with the barbarian elements in Abbasid-Muslim decoration, but also with the Celtic, Visigothic, Ostrogothic and early Lombard ornament styles of Europe. A definitive explanation of all these particularities cannot yet be attempted. But a possible link may be sought in the Tokharians³, who seem to have been a Celtic people which migrated in prehistoric times to Eastern Turkistan and China and was later pushed back by the Hūns, at last settling with Yue-chi in the Oxus Valley. The Kushāṇas, and later again the Hephthalites, appear to have brought them also to India.

The oldest Gupta monuments (6th cent. A. D.) in Chamba are the platform of a brick temple in Chamba town (now in the Bhuri Singh Museum) and the Sūrya image of Gum⁴ (Indian Museum, Calcutta), squatting in Kushāṇa fashion and wearing Sassanian dress and hair style, but otherwise in pure Gupta taste.

1. A detailed study is in preparation.
2. Vogel, J. Ph., *Antiquities*, I; Goetz, H., *Chamba Monuments*.
3. Charpentier, J., "Die Ethnographische Stellung der Tocharer" (*Z. D. M. G.* 71, p. 347 ff., 1917; Heine-Geldern, R., *Das Tocharer-Problem und die Pontische Wanderung*, (*Saeculum* II, p. 225 ff., 1951); Kunst., J., *Kultur-historische Beziehungen zwischen dem Balkan und Indonesien*, (Amsterdam 1953).
4. Bhattacharya, B., *Indian Images*, I, (Calcutta-Simla 1921), pl. 18; Hackin-Carl, *Recherches archéologiques au Col de Khair-Khano*, (Paris-Brussels, 1936), p. 19, fig. H.

First under Harshavardhana of Thāneśvar Gupta Art was generally introduced. Its vestiges are rather numerous all over the Western Himalaya, at Lakhamandal in Kumaon, Bilaspur on the Sutlej Nirmand, Naggār and Manali in Kulu, Kangra Bhavan, Chaitru and Chari in Kangra, and especially at Brahmor in Chamba. Also the general type and decoration of the Kulu temples go back to prototypes of Harshavardhana's reign. But only the wooden temples of Brahmor and Chatrathi in Chamba¹ are genuine early remnants of this late—"Rococo," Gupta style. They were erected by rājā Meruvarman (c. a. A. D. 650/60-680) soon after the death of Harshavardhana. with the help of Gupta and Gupta-Gūjara artists, the most important of whom had been Gugga.

As a series of reliefs (ca. A. D. 700) in the Brahmāṇi Devī Nala between Brahmor and Khani reveals, Meruvarman's capital had the following temple and images: The Sūryaṁśa Liṅgam, Śiva Śūlapāṇi, Gaṇeśa and Lakṣhaṇā Devī. The Sūryaṁśa Liṅgam seems to be identical with the big Sūrajmukh (Rāmeśvar) liṅga, still standing at Brahmor on a big copper yoni once set with silver flower-rosettes. The Śiva statue, once probably ca. 8' high seems to have been very similar to a statue excavated at Avantipur in Kashmir². It stood in front of a standing bull, an iconographic peculiarity of Śaivism under the Kushāṇas, Sassano-Kushāṇas and Kidāra-Kushāṇas. A parallel case is that of Śiva and Pārvatī sitting on a standing bull or bull and lion found in Eastern Turkistan, but also in Mandi and now identified with Śiva Pañchavrakta³. The statue and the

1. Vogel, J. Ph., *Antiquities*, I; "Inscriptions of Chamba State" (A. R., A. S. I. 1902-03, p. 239 ff.; *Chamba State Gazetteer*, etc.
2. Kak, *Handbook Sri Pratap Singh Museum Srinagar*, p. 55.
3. Vogel, J. Ph., "Triloknath", (J. A. S. B. 71, pt. 1, p. 35 ff, 1902).

temple were destroyed in the Tibetan invasion of Khri-sron-lde-btsan, though the temple was rebuilt as Māñimaheśa, by king Sāhilavarman (ca. A. D. 920-940). Only the ashta-dhātu statue of Nandi survives, a curiously clumsy work signed by Gugga, looking as if the founder had never seen a real bull in all his life. Also the Gaṇeśa temple had disappeared, but the idol, 3' high, still stands in a modern shed. It is a very powerful and well-executed figure, Gupta type, but wearing a Gandhāra crown and sitting on a pedestal much more reminding of Chinese art; also the lions the-reon look more Chinese.

Only the Lakṣhaṇā Devī temple is still intact, i. e. its interior, facade and image at least. The present outer shell, with its gable roof, is modern, and also the facade is a late reconstruction from various pieces not belonging together. Originally it seems to have looked like many temples in Kulu and also Nepal, a gable-roofed maṇḍapa from the back of which there rises a pagoda-tower of several roofs above the shrine and its circumambulation passage. Only the door frame proper belongs to the original facade, similar to that of most Kulu temples, whereas the high pediment seems to have been part of the first pagoda-storey, and the gable comes from a later, likewise lost, Viṣṇu temple. The entrance consists of five frames receding towards the door proper, three merely ornamental ones, — the outermost with standing lions in the projecting topcorners, — the intermediate ones covered with figures of various deities whereas the corresponding lintels are decorated with flying Gandharva couples carrying sacrificial gifts. Because of the weathering of the deodar wood most deities can no more be identified; at the bottom are supporting yakshas, then the river goddesses, others seem to represent Śiva, Viṣṇu (three-headed) and Sūrya (?). The Gandharvas in the centre

carry a crown of Western type (as also at Chatrarhi, Bilaspur and Masrur). The arrangement is exactly like in older Gupta temples; however, the number of frames has been increased, the gods are more systematically arranged, the figures slimmer and in very high relief, almost detaching themselves from the background. the Gandharva groups more complicated and closely knit, i. e. all typical characteristics of a late style. The pediment consists of three storeys of arched niches slightly projecting one over the other. Its lowermost storey, with a series of Mithuna couples, remind of the cornice and balcony friezes of the Viśvakarmā cave at Ellora, the second shows, alternatingly, dancing figures standing on brackets and small sitting figures beneath diminutive pediments, the top storey, with squatting figures beneath depressed arches, lines up rather with Gandhāra friezes. Such an intermingling of late Gupta and late Gandhāra motives is characteristic for this period, e. g. the Fatehpur (Kangra) Buddha, or the Buddhist art of Eastern Turkistan. The gable relief, Kashmiri Vaishṇava of the 8th cent. we shall discuss in its own context.

In the interior there is a small maṇḍapa supported on four square columns with a rounded upper shaft ending in simple pot-and-foliage capitals and brackets on which a deity in an arched niche is carved between flying godlings, and, beyond, the sanctuary with an entrance similar to that outside, but decorated with only three scroll work and garland frames (like Bhumara and a circumambulation corridor. The four-armed octolley idol of Lakṣhṇā Devī is represented as Mahishamardīṇī, a trident. sword bell and the demon's tail in her hands, in the pose characteristic especially for early Chālukya images. However, her slim body, elegant jaṭāmukūṭa wig (: the fine folds of the skirt and shawl, the opulent jewelry and silver-inlaid eyes clearly

are late Gupta. Why just this temple survived we do not know, may be, because also the Tibetans venerate the Devī as Lha mo.

Another wooden temple, dedicated to Śakti Devī, was erected by Meruvarman at Chatrarhi on a high plain just outside the gorges which seclude the Brahmar Valley from the outside world. It is merely a cella surrounded by an open gallery under a pyramidal roof; however, the old gallery has in the 16th cent. been closed with painted rubble-and-plaster walls, and later wooden galleries with Rajput-Mughal columns, have been added on two sides. Otherwise its decoration is very similar, though of course, in this case the main entrance had to lead directly to the cella and therefore is much better preserved. Another entrance, similar to that in front of the Lakṣaṇā Devī cella, is mounted between the fine columns of the circumambulation gallery in a most unorganic manner. However, it seems originally to have belonged to another, since destroyed, temple. On the whole the decoration is the same as in the Lakṣaṇā Devī Temple, but the sculptures are richer and more fluent, yet their typology is less varied. The idol represents the goddess standing, on a lotus, a spear (śakti) in one of her four hands (lotus, bell and snake in the other). She wears the same rich late Gupta costume and a crown reminding of Nepalese types.

All these idols bear inscriptions of king Meruvarman and mention his master-artist Gugga; and the temples are attributed to him by the, on the whole, very reliable local tradition. He must have been the head of quite a workshop, for at least four different hands can be traced; Gugga himself, apparently a half barbarian but trained in the Harṣavardhana style (images proper and temple doors); a Central Indian



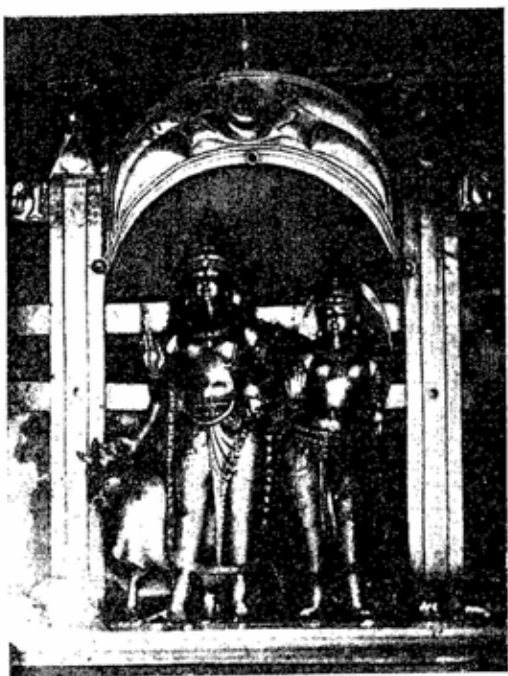
(a)



(b)



(c)



(a)



(b)

(Lakṣhaṇā Devī pediment); an assistant from the frontier area, with late Gāndhāra and Central Asian experience (Nandi, Gaṇeśa socle), and a local trainee (brackets). But whereas the Brahmor temples and idols represent an import art, the Chatrarhi temple which tradition claims as Gugga's last work, has all the characteristics of a genuine local creation developed from the first.

The last phase of Gupta Art under Yaśovarman of Kanauj has left no monuments in Chamba, only in the adjoining areas, e. g. the Bisheshvar Mahādeo at Bajaura (Kulu)¹, the Thākurdwāra at Masrur (Kangra Dstt.)², at Bhavan, Naggar and Manali in Kulu or Maylang in Lahul. But it has been one of the principal sources of Mediaeval Kashmir art as it developed under Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa (A.D. 725-56)³.

Kashmiri Influence: In the reign of Ājyavārman, Lalitāditya settled exiles from Kanauj in Brahmor, the ancestors of the present local brāhmins and Rajputs. In this connection a Viṣṇu temple seems to have been founded of which only two fragments survive, i. e. the Nṛsiṃha idol⁴ (now in a śikhara temple of the 10th cent. A. D.) and the gable of the Lakṣhaṇā Devī Temple. The first is a powerful, almost demoniac figure with a Kashmiri crown, sitting on a queer throne decorated with a stylized mountain

1. Vogel, J. Ph., "The Temple of Mahādeva at Bajaura Kulu" (A. R., A. S. I., 1909-10, p. 18 ff.).
2. Hargreaves, H., "The Monolithic Temples of Masrur", (A. R., A. S. I., 1915-16, II, p. 39 ff.).
3. Goetz, H., "The Sun Temple of Mārtāṇḍ and the Art of Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa", (Art and Letters, 27, no. 1, p. 1 ff., 1953; "The Beginnings of Mediaeval Art in Kashmir", (J. Bombay Univ. 21, pt. 2, p. 63 ff., 1952).
4. Vogel, Antiquities, I, pl. 8b; *Inscriptions of Chamba State*, fig. 4.

scenery such as we know only from the cave temples of Ming-Oi and Kirish in Eastern Turkistan¹, and with lions of an early Chinese type. The gable triangle, resting on a Navagraha (? frieze. represents Vishṇu in his Kashmiri aspect as highest godhead three-headed and fourteen armed, in a trifoliated arch in the best style of Martand and Avantipur. Other Kashmiri works of the same time are a "Śakti Devī" (actually Śiva) bust at Chatrarhi,—possibly the prototype of the 16th cent. Śiva bust at Harsar²,—the original temple or Triloknath in Lahul³, with pillar bases like Parihasapura (Divar-Paraspor) and Malot, and probably also the first temple of Sūrya at Markula-Udaipur (Marul) in Lahul⁴, though only 11th and 16th century copies of some of its reliefs (Gandharvas [Plate IV (a)] Nagas, Trivikrama, possibly also Śiva Naṭarājā) have been preserved.

After Lalitāditya's death the Kashmir Empire collapsed, but was twice revived, first by the Utpala dynasty in the late 9th-early 10th cent. A.D., then under the Lohara dynasty (middle 11th cent. A.D.) The first revival has left vestiges west of the Ravi⁵, at Babbor-Thalora (Kālī Temple), Mulkihar, etc., but not at Brahmor, as the Brahmapura kingdom was wiped out late in the 8th cent. A.D. by the Tibetans. and as the dynasty survived merely as obscure vassals of Sukhet state. However, the

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1. Grunwedel, A., "*Alt buddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan*" (Berlin, 1912).
 2. Vogel, *Antiquities*, I, p. 251 ff., pls. 39b, 40.
 3. Probably of Śiva Pañchavrakta. See Vogel, "Triloknath".
 4. *Chamba State Gazetteer*.
 5. Kak, R. Ch., "Antiquities of Basohli and Ramnagar", (*Ind. Art and Letters* VII, pt. 2, p. 65 ff., 1933),

various three-headed Vishṇu images¹ found in Churah² and Chamba³ west of Brahmor may have been introduced in this time. For the type with lion, human and boar-face, though known in the 7th cent. (Bajaura, Brahmor, Chatrarbi) and at Martand (8th cent. A.D.), became standardized first in the Avantisvamin Temple of Vantipur⁴. Much more interesting is the reconstruction of the Markula-Udaipur temple, probably by queen Sūryamatī of Trigarta, queen of Ananta Deva of Kashmir (A.D. 1028-63), or her minister Keśava. For it is the sole surviving monument of later Kashmiri wood architecture and sculpture, in the days when this latter was introduced in Tibet by Atiśa (Tholing, Tsaparang, Alchi). For at that time Chamba State had become a vassal of Kashmir, and Lahul seems to have been detached from it. Fundamentally the tradition of the 8th and the 9th cent. A.D. has been preserved, but everything has become very rich, involved and over decorated, mannered, elegant and restless. To this reconstruction the beautiful facade of the shrine proper, and most of the ceiling⁵ [Plate IV (a)] belong, whereas one of the big window panels (Churning of the Ocean) is a 16th cent. free copy from an original of this time. When the Lohara dynasty, in its turn, began to degenerate, king Lha-chen Utpala of Ladakh annexed Lahul; probably in his reign the temple was converted into a shrine of Mārīchī-Vajravārāhī, the

1. Goetz, H., "A Masterpiece of Mediaeval Kashmiri Metal Art". (*J. As. Soc. Letters*, 19, p. 45 ff., 1953), where other references quoted.
2. E. g. Svālmī, see Vogel, *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum* 1909, A 35.
3. E. g. at the Vajreśvarī Temple, Chamba.
4. Sahni, D. R., "Excavations at Avantipur", (*A.R., A.S.I.* 1913-14, II).
5. Centre piece in Goetz, H., "Een Wereld van Oude Indische Cultuur diep in den Himalaya", (*Elsevier's Maandschrift*, XLVIII, no. 8, Amsterdam 1938, p. 73 ff.) pl. XV.

Buddhist goddess of light, and a relief of the "Temptation of Buddha" was inserted in to the ceiling, apparently during a repair of avalanche damages.

Āyudha and Pāla Influence : East of the Ravi Yaśovarman of Kanauj, and thereafter his descendants, residing at Gwalior, continued to rule as vassals of Kashmir untill Ca. A. D. 770. Then the Āyudha kings of Kanauj took over, as vassals of the Pālas of Bengal. Their hold over the Punjab Himalaya must have been precarious because of the Tibetan pressure, and the expeditions of Devapāla thither may have had the purpose of keeping the Tibetans at bay. Monuments of this period are the Saṇḍhyā Devī Temple at Jagatsukh in Kulu, the Momal Mahadeo Temple (?) in Suket, some ruins at and near Bilaspur, and the Pāla bronze images from Kulu. In Chamba only two bronze idols of "Śakti Devī". can be attributed to this time [Plate IV (b)]. They represent a very degenerated stage of the last Gupta style, already with many characteristics of the early Pāla taste.

Pratihāra Art : In the 10th cent. A.D. the fortunes of the fallen Brahmar dynasty were restored by Sāhilavarman (ca. A.D. 920-940), the founder of Chamba State¹. He seems to have risen as a general of the Pratihāras who became military governor of the mountain frontier against the encroachments of Kashmir under Śaṃkaravarman (A.D 883-922) and, thereafter, of the Hindu Śāhīs of Kabul who, first vassals of Kashmir soon became independent rulers of the Punjab. The sack of Kanauj by Indra III Rāshtrakūṭa resulted in a disintegration of the Pratihāra Empire which incited the Kashmiris and Śāhīs to invade the Kangra Valley. Sāhilavarman succeeded in beting off this invasion and

1. Hutchison-Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, I, p. 283 ff. Vogel, *Antiquities*, I, p. 98 ff., 180 ff.

protected Kangra and Kulu. Later he became a virtually independent ruler over those very districts, suppressing some revolts of the local princelings. Advised by the Kāṇphaṭa saint Charpaṭa, probably a successor or the Siddhāchārya Charpaṭi nātha, guru of Meruvarman (?), and his eighty-four yogīs, he introduced Pratihāra civilization and art.

As his capital he selected Chamba, on a well-protected plateau above the junction of the Sala and Ravi from where he could easily control the passes along the Kashmir frontier, Lahul and the Kangra Valley. He provided it with drinking water by the Suhi-da-Marh aqueduct from the Sarota Valley (his own rānī being sacrificed to the spirits). He erected four great temples near the palace, the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇ as the chief temple of his kingdom, on two adjoining terraces the Trimukh and the Chandragupta¹ [Pl. V (b)] and in the town the Champāvatī; at Brahmor he rebuilt Meruvarman's Śiva temple as the Māṇimaheśa², and at Saho his feudatory rāṇā Sātyaki (author of the moving Sarahan praśasti) built the Chandraśekhara temple³; probably also the wooden Chāmuṇḍā temple, on a hill shoulder above the town, had already been in existence. All these new stone temples are of the heavy śikhara type of the high Pratihāra period, decorated only by means of wall recessions, reduplicated miniature śikhara-shrines in relief and very few, rather clumsy reliefs. But they are the mightiest and most nume-

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1. Goetz, H., *En Wereld van Oude Indische Cultuur diep in den Himalaya* pl. XVI.
 2. Vogel, *Antiquities*, I, fig. 16.
 3. *Ibid.*, fig. 24, pl. 14.

rous group of Mediaeval temples in the whole Himalaya¹, with the sole exception of Jagesvar in Kumaon

The Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇ, the highest of them, once had a wooden maṇḍapa (similar to those of the - later—Varṇi-gopāl and Sitā-Rām in Chamba, or the Hiṣmā shrine at Mehla) which was renewed by Pratāpsinghvarman in A. D. 1582 and replaced by an ugly stone structure in the late 19th cent. A. D. Other repairs were undertaken by Pandit Durugu and Gyana, barber to the king, in A. D. 1579. The idol, of white marble brought under tremendous sacrifices from the "Vindhyas" (Northern Rajasthan?), is a stiff figure in a conventional frame. The other temples have merely a two-pillared, shallow porch with a trifoliated pediment decorated with a "Bhadra-mukha" (a three-faced Śiva head, last echo of the Elephanta "Trimūrti"), dwārapāla figures at the entrance, and a few, irregularly distributed, small and clumsy figural reliefs (some sunk), otherwise merely architectural ornaments, especially diamond lozenges, in a structureless, spongy style very much reminding of the disintegration of Hindu motives in the early indigenous art of the Java and Cambodia. The Chandragupta encloses a marble liṅgam. Of the Trimukh only the four-headed idol of Trinetra Mahādeva, attended by the goddesses, the foundations and doorjambs remain; the present temple is a reconstruction of ca. A. D. 1573/5 in a much latter style. The Champavatī, said to have been dedicated to Sāhilavarman's vanished daughter Champā Devī, has an image showing her as an incarnation of the Devī, three eyed and six-

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1. Other Himalayan temples and sculptures in the Pratihāra style are at Jagesvar, Dvarahat, Baijnath and Katarmal in Kumaon, Lakhamandal Bilaspur and Nirmand on the Sutlej, Bajaura Naggar, Jagatsukh and Manali in Kulu, Kangra. Fort and Bhavan, and at Balor, Gurial and Babbaur-Thalora in Jammu.

armed, on a tiger (black stone). It is the only monument with a better relief decoration, pilasters reminding of late Gupta prototypes, and erotic reliefs. The Māṇimaheśa at Brahmor is a replica of the Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇ, however without māṇḍapa. Of the Chandraśekhara only the foundations and dwārapāla reliefs, in the same grotesque, spongy and over-ornamented style, survive; the rest goes back to modern repairs. In Churah the only monument of the same time and style is the Chaṇḍī image¹ of rājanaka Bhogata at Svaim (Himgiri).

Yugākaravarman (ca. A. D. 940-960) seems to have had a peaceful reign. Art in Chamba became less vigorous and more refined. He built the Gaurī-Śaṅkara Temple between the Chandragupta and Trimukh Temples, in Chamba Town; and his queen Tribhuvanarekhā erected the Narsingh Temple at Brahmor² for Ājyavarman's Nṛsiṃha statue. Both temples repeat the type introduced by Sāhilavarman, but are smaller, more elegant and more richly decorated with much better sculptures; and the Gaurī-Śaṅkara has one of the finest "bronze" groups [Plate V (a)] not only in the Himalaya, but in the whole of Northern India. evidently the work of an artist from outside. The god and goddess, slim, daintily dressed, and wearing a multiple crown around their mukuṭas, stand side by side in front of Nandi, the right hand raised in *Abhaya mudrā*, Śaṅkara laying his third hand on Nandi's neck, and embracing Gaurī with his fourth arm. It is a characteristic product of the elegant late Pratihāra style, like, e. g. the Harshanātha sculptures of Sikar. Other works of this same period are the Viṣṇu image at Saho³

1. Vogel, *Antiquities*, I, p. 150, pl. 13.

2. Vogel, *Antiquities*, I, fig. 17.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 248 f., pl. 39a.

and the Umā-Maheśvara group near the Śakti Devī Temple at Chatrathi, also fragments of a Śiva temple at Devi-ri-Kothi in Churah (pinnacle with 16-faced Śiva head, 12 faces below, 4 on top).

Then the Chamba kingdom quickly declined. Kangra was lost to the Śāhis; Brahmor was overrun by the mass immigration of the Gaddīs fleeing from the advance of Mahmud of Ghazni; Churah, Pangi, and Lahul became independent. Of Vidagdharman (ca. A. D. 960-980), Dodakavarman (ca. A. D. 980-?) and Mṛityuñjavarman (end 10th cent. A. D. ?) only a few small monuments¹, mainly inscriptions have been discovered, where as of the following two reigns no more than the names of the rulers are preserved.

The Folk Art of Churah and Pangi: Churah, Pangi and Lahul became independent. Since at least A. D. 1028/9 Churah came under the suzerainty of Trailokyapāla and then of Kalaśapāla of Vallapura, but was recovered by Chamba probably under Somavarman (A. D. ca. 1060-80) or Āsaṭavarman (A. D. ca. 1080-1105); about A. D. 1161 Raṇapāla of Vallapura again conquered Churah, and after A. D. 1170 Ajayapāla also Pangi. As a result, the hold both of Chamba and Vallapura over these two districts was rather weak, and the local rāṇās enjoyed considerable power. This they expressed by setting up funeral monuments of their own, richly carved fountain stone slabs. In most of them the local Śūlika-Gūrjara style² probably handed down in wood-

1. Vidagdharman : Suṅgal and Sai grants, Tur Viṣṇu image-pedestal Bhagvatī image (*ibid.*, p. 164, 169, 172, 174 ff., pls. 17-19); Dodakavarman : Kārttikeya image (*ibid.* p. 174, pl. 19h); Mṛityuñjavarman : Prolī-ra-Gala rock inscription (*ibid.*, p. 148 f., pl. 11). See also Vogel, *Catalogue Bhuri Singh Museum*, A2-4.
2. Vogel, *Antiquities*, I, figs. 11, 15, 27, pls. 27, 34, 37.

carving, like in Kulu, was used. Its characteristics are: Plaitwork bands exactly like those found in ancient Celtic, Ostrogothic, Visigothic and Langobard art, spirals and hammer-shaped double-volutes, likewise found in Celtic and Muslim (later Abbasid) art, the "tree of life," "soul birds," palmettes recurring in Sassanian art, occasionally also some Saljuq-Muslim ornaments, primitive figures of gods, horsemen and women in a costume traceable on Scythian donor-reliefs at Mathura, but also in modern Kulu, Churah and Pangl. On some (Nagai¹ and Siya²) fountain stones at least some Hindu ornament borders have been introduced, in the Sai fountain stone³ orthodox Hindu gods in local costume are represented and only the Salhi⁴ fountain stone is executed in pure Hindu style (a curiously archaic echo of Pratihāra art). These last monuments all belong to rajas of exceptional political influence, in contact with the leading royal court. Elsewhere, however, the old Śūṅga-Audumbara lotus roundels were still used⁵.

The Trigarta Style: First Sālākaravarman (Salavāhana, A. D. ca. 1040-1059/60) tried to restore the former of power of Chamba, but was defeated and slain by Anantadeva (A. D. 1028-63) of Kashmir. Although now a vassal of Kashmir, the kingdom, however, expanded and flourished from Somavarman (ca. A. D. 1060-80) to Lalitavarman (A. D. 1143-ca. 1175) when the decline set in, to collapse, after a temporary expansion, under Vijayavarman (A. D. 1175-?). The reign of Āsaṭavarman (A. D. 1080-1105)

1. *Ibid.*, p. 178 ff., pl. 21, 34.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 200 ff., pl. 27.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 232 ff., pl. 34.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 216 ff., pl. 31.

5. *Ibid.*, fig. 12, 14, pl. 4; Vogel, *Catalogue Bhuri Singh Museum*, A. 19-21;

seems to have the Golden Age of high Mediæval art in Chamba. Though in Lahul queen Sūryamatī had rebuilt the Sūrya (Kālī) temple of Mārkula-Udaipur, in Chamba proper the Trigarta style¹ was introduced. This latter had evolved in the Kangra Valley mainly from the Pratihāra tradition, with an admixture of late Gupta and Kashmiri motives, all transformed into a rather barbarian, very rich, but structureless and spongy decoration, with grotesque figures and lot of ornaments.

The modest, but very richly decorated Hari Rāi Temple at the Chaugan Gate was erected in the reign of Āsaṭa by prince Lakshmanavarman, son of king Sālākaravarman, according to the joint copperplate grant of Somavarman and Āsaṭa². The same grant mentions a Śiva temple built by queen Raḍdhā Devī for her deceased husband Sālākaravarman. This can be only the Vajreśvarī (Bhagvatī) Temple³, just outside the town at the entrance into the Sarota Valley. For this temple, long abandoned, was dedicated to Vajreśvarī first by Prātāpsinghvarman ca. A. D. 1580; its original sculptures are not Śākta, its floor reveals vestiges of the former presence of a big liṅga (generally used for funeral shrines), and there are not the least traces of any other old monument which might be identified with Raḍdhā Devī's temple. It is indeed the finest Mediæval monument in Chamba, with many excellent, though slightly unfinished reliefs (once covered with plaster ?). The present images in the Pārśvadevatā niches were added by Balabhadravarman (A. D. 1589-1641),

1. Vogel, J. Ph., *Monuments in Kangra*, (A. R., A. S. I. 1905-06, p. 10 ff.); Cunningham, A., *Arch Survey Report V*; Jas. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910, I, p. 297 ff.; etc.
2. Vogel, *Antiquities*, I, p. 187 ff., pl. 25.
3. Goetz, H., *Ein Werd von Oude Indische Cultuur diep in den Himalaya*, pl. XIV.

Prithvī Singh (A.D. 1641-64) and Umed Singh (A.D. 1748-64); other repairs were undertaken under Udai Singh A.D. 1716. The Vamsīgopāl Temple, built A. D. 1595, is a slavish copy of an original (mentioned in an inscription A. D. 1582), evidently erected in the later 11th cent. The only monument outside Chamba town in the same style is the Nārāyaṇa image¹ dedicated by rājāṇaka Nāgapāla at Devī-ri-Kothi in Churah.

In the 12th cent. A. D. the style degenerated quickly. Its chief monument is the Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa compound at Chamba town, very monumental and richly decorated though less than the Vajreśvarī. But its shape is clumsy, its idol as well as its reliefs (some erotic) are poor, with too big heads, too short legs, no stance, no expression. Possibly the two Garuḍa pillars in front of this temple and of the Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa go also back to this time, and also the earliest temple at Khajiar (on the road to Dalhousie). Of that latter, however, only two wooden pillars with pot-and-foliage capitals, surrounded by entwisted snakes, and the idol, showing Khaji Nāga, crowned, sword and club in hand between two Chāmara-bearers, in a rich frame (like those of the Saho Vishṇu and Chatrarhi Umā-Maheśvara) remain. The idol has all the same weaknesses as the sculptures of the Lakshmī-Dāmodar Temple; and the wooden pillars go back to a type very common in the art of the Chāhamānas (who penetrated into the East Punjab Himalaya late in the 12th cent. A. D.) and also on Kangra Fort.

1, Vogel, *Antiquities*, I, p. 207 f., pl. 29; *Catalogue Bhuri Singh Museum*, A. 9.

EDITORIAL NOTES

Dr. V. S. Agrawala, the former Editor of the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, having tendered his resignation from the editorship, the General Body of the U. P. Historical Society, at its Annual Meeting held on the 14th of Feb. 1954, by a resolution which was unanimously passed, recommended the appointment of the undersigned in that vacant place. The President having given his consent to the appointment, the undersigned took charge of the publication of the Society's *Journal* on the following day.

* * *

When the present Editor took his charge, the difficulties that he had to encounter in the matter of the publication of the *Journal*, were of no mean magnitude. The former Editor after bringing out the issues for 1951 and 1952 (a combined volume), had resigned. Thus, so late as Feb. 14, 1954, the issue for the year 1953 had not been published; nor was any progress made towards the publication of the same, even by sending a few articles to the press. What was still worse, he had not returned the unpublished articles to the Hon'y. Secretary at the time of laying down his charge.

* * *

It was thus a problem for the present Editor, as to how the arrears in the publication of the *Journal* were to be made up and when, since no material was before him to start with. To his rescue, first came Dr. Sampurnanand, the Hon'ble Home Minister (now the Hon'ble Chief Minister) of Uttar

Pradesh and President of the U. P. Historical Society, and next to him, Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee, Director, J. K. Institute of the Lucknow University (now the Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University), both of whom placed at his disposal their learned papers for publication in the society's *Journal*. The present Editor will be failing in his duty, if he does not gratefully acknowledge that timely help, so kindly extended to him. The former Editor sent the unpublished articles early in September, 1954, but since the present Editor had already collected a few more articles, those which were sent to him could not be utilized for publication in the issue for the year 1953, with the exception of only one which has been published at the end of the present volume. Arrangements are, however, being made to publish them as early as possible.

* * *

Although the first article published in this volume was sent to the press towards the end of April, 1954, it could not be printed till the middle of September, owing to the absence of the Editor from the station and the slackness of the press authorities. Editorial works connected with the present volume were, however, completed in the third week of February, 1955, instead of in December, 1954, as was originally expected, for the reasons stated above. With the exception of one proofs of all the other articles had to be read by the Editor, to expedite the work of publication.

* * *

Since the U. P. Historical Society had already published twenty-five volumes of its *Journal*, it was decided by the General Body, at the last Annual Meeting, to start a new series of the same and to number the issue for the year 1953

as Volume I (New Series). This decision of the General Body has been carried out in the present volume.

Our readers would be glad to learn that the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. II (New Series), Part I, which is the first number of the issue for the year 1954, has also been published and will be sent to them as early as possible. The Editor got it printed separately at a different press, the time taken for its publication being only two months. He will be sending material for Vol. II (New Series), Part II, to the press towards the middle of the next month. The arrears left by the former Editor will thus be partly made up.

It was decided at the last Annual Meeting of the General Body to bring out the *Index* of the twenty-five volumes of the Society's *Journal* already published. The Editor is glad to inform the readers that the *Index Volume* has been prepared and that a portion of it is already in the press.

Arrangements are now being made by the Editor to publish certain important Sanskrit works, the Mss. of which are now in the custody of the U. P. Historical Society. With a little more financial help from the Government of Uttar Pradesh, it will be possible to carry out the scheme satisfactorily. The Editor also intends to place at the hands of Indologists, a "Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the U. P. Historical Society", when he will be a little free from the stress and strain of editing and proof-reading, for making the publication of the *Journal* up-to-date.

The original seal of the U. P. Historical Society, depicting the famous Lion-capital of the Sarnath Pillar of Emperor Aśoka, has become the seal of the Government of India, since 1947. At the last Annual Meeting of the General Body of the Society, it was therefore decided to change the device of the seal for another, and the task of executing it, was assigned to the present Editor. Judging by its exact significance, we can only say that the Lion-capital, whether of the Sarnath or of the Sanchi Pillar of Aśoka, as a seal-device, is more suitable for a sovereign State than for a literary or historical association. The capitals in question as we know, represent four lions sitting back to back on the same plane, with open mouth. What is signified by those two masterpieces of Indian Art, is primarily: "Emboldened by the consciousness of his spiritual superiority over all sentient Beings, Gautama Buddha, the Lion of the Sages, (*Munisimha*) is roaring, facing undauntedly the four quarters of the earth, north, south, east, and west, and striking terror in the heart of the deer of the ascetic-leaders and the ascetic-philosophers—the *saṃghis*, the *gaṇis*, the *gaṇāc-hāryas*, the *tīrthikas*, and the *parivrājakas*, who are all mute and trembling before him, thus giving him the fullest opportunity to preach the True Doctrine (*Saddharma*), professed by him for the highest benefit of the humanity," as mentioned in the *Majjhima-Nikāya* of Pali Canon, and secondarily: "The Messages of *Maitrī* and *Karuṇā*, Universal Love and Compassion, of the Śākyan Sage, (*Śākyamuni*), Gautama Buddha, are resounding in all directions, like the roar of a lion, instilling hope and confidence in the mind of the self-tortured humanity, for achieving what is *hita* (welfare) and *sukha* (happiness), or in other words, *kalyāṇa* (beneficial) for all. The device that symbolizes such noble conceptions, as a seal or crest, may be suitable for the Government of India, of which the avowed foreign policy is to make all nations, not only of

Asia but of the whole world, live in an atmosphere of peace and harmony, sympathy and goodwill, co-operation and cordiality, as revealed by the Doctrine of Co-existence propounded by our Prime Minister, but not of an academic body or of a research society as ours, except for its artistic value. Our new seal, however, has been devised on the basis of other conceptions equally noble—conceptions from which we derive inspiration for all our honest and sincere efforts for the promotion of literary and historical research. Crowned by the lofty and majestic *Himachala*, washed by the sacred *Gaṅgā* and the *Yamunā* along with their tributaries, and adorned with relics and sanctuaries of different religious systems of which the *Akshayaṇa* and the *Bharadvāja-śrama* at Prayāga, and the *Dharmarājikā* and the *Dharma-stambha* at Rishipatana, in the suburbs of the sanctum sanctorum *Vārāṇasī*, are only a few typical examples, Uttar Pradesh has kept the *Jñānapradīpa*, Lamp of Knowledge, burning for nearly three millenia and contributed lavishly to that treasury of Learning and Wisdom for which this sub-continent of ours has come to be distinguished, ever since the dawn of civilization in Old Hemisphere. For it was in Uttar Pradesh, as defined by her present limits, that a major portion of the three later *Vedas*, viz, the *Sāma*, the *Yajur*, and the *Atharva*, and most of the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas*, and the *Upanishads*, all running into the composition of the vast Vedic literature, were composed, and so also a large number of *Sūtra* texts of different categories, such as, the *Śrauta*, the *Sulva*, the *Grihya* and the *Dharma*, that came in the wake of the Aryan migration to the east. Such was the glorious dawn of Sanskrit studies in this part of India, of which the dusk is as yet not in sight. And the architects who had contributed so generously their labour and intellect to the construction of that superb edifice of Sanskrit literature of which the foundation was laid in

the Land of Five Rivers (Punjab), were the Brahmins, both ascetics and lay-men, who, through the ages, had spared no pains to raise it higher and higher and to make its super-structure most attractive, by devising numerous patterns and motifs which clearly manifest their profound knowledge and wisdom, talent and creative power, genuine love for Sanskrit and earnestness for its growth. Thus, in their relentless zeal to add to the grandeur of that colossal structure more and more, through expansion and embellishment, they invented and introduced many new branches of study within the domain of Sanskrit literature, and, with the co-operation of some of their non-Brahmin comrades in learning, succeeded in making each of them, a speciality by itself. It was this enthusiasm and sincerity of purpose that had led to the origination, within that literature, of epics and chronicles, poetry and poetics, drama and dramaturgy, fables and didactic tales, grammar and lexicography, law and polity, logic and metaphysics, art and architecture, iconography and iconometry, chemistry and botany, toxicology and medicine, astronomy and astrology, geography and geometry, even if we leave aside other subjects of minor importance. Generous were indeed the contributions of Uttar Pradesh towards the construction of that magnificent edifice of Sanskrit literature, where in had appeared such literary architects as, Vālmīki and Vyāsa, Bhāsa and Harsha, Bāṇa and Rājaśekhara, and many others named or unnamed in history. Again, being the birth-place of Buddhism, which claims even to this day one-third of the population of Asia as its votary, and being intimately connected with the life and missionary career of the Śākyamuni Buddha, this part of the Ganges Valley has become the holy land to millions of Buddhists of all ages and climes. Not infrequently do they come here in batches, as they did in the past, to pay their homage to the Samyak-sambuddha,

through his relics, corporeal or symbolical, and touch the soil of the spots sanctified by the dust of his feet, with their forehead. It was at Rishipatana (Sarnath) that the Supreme Enlightened One laid the foundation of the *Saddharma*, the True Doctrine, and established the Domain of Righteousness on the earth as the *Dharma-chakravartin*, or the Lord Paramount of Religion, by delivering the *Dhammachakkapavattana-Sutta*, where in is to be found the nucleus of his religion and the truth about the human life and the means of putting an end to its miseries. That world-famous discourse and those which the Lord had delivered here in different seats of learning, centres of trade, and headquarters of different States, such as, Pañchāla and Kośala, Kāśi and Vatsa, Śākya and Malla, are now incorporated in Pali Canon. The sermons that were delivered by him in all those places, whether they relate to the *Dhamma* or to the *Vinaya*, speak eloquently of the standard of religion and philosophy reached by the ascetic-leaders and the ascetic-philosophers of this part of India in the pre-Christian period. A major portion of the five *Nikāyas* of the *Sutta-piṭaka* and the same of the four main divisions of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* had their origin in this holy land of the Buddhists, through those discourses. But it is not merely the Buddhist Canon in Pali, but also the one in Sanskrit that can justly claim Uttar Pradesh to be the place of its origin. Residing in Naṭabhaṭika-vihāra at Mathurā, Rishipatana-mahāvihāra at Vārāṇasī, Ghoshitārāma at Kauśāmbī, and Jetavanārāma at Śrāvastī, the Sarvāstivādins, the Lokottaravādins, the Mahīśāsakas, and the Dharmaguptakas set themselves to the laborious task of compiling their respective Sanskrit Canons; and their fruitful works were later taken up by the followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It was the literary contributions of the Mahāyānist that had spread far and wide beyond the physical boundaries of India owing to the lack of com-

plexities in the new form of Buddhism and Buddhist Philosophy evolved by them. Because of their immense popularity, those Sanskrit Buddhist texts came to be translated in to different foreign languages like Chinese, Japanese, Khotanese, Kuchean and Tibetan. In translated forms, those Buddhist scriptures still exist in different parts of Asia, while their originals, unfortunately, in most cases are completely lost to this country. It is the inspiring messages of Mahāyāna Buddhism contained in them, that had captivated the heart of millions of Asian peoples and made them look upon India as their sole spiritual guide. The literary activities of the Jains had their fullest manifestation in Western India, where a large number of works, bearing on their religion and philosophy, came to be written in Sanskrit and Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit. Nevertheless, the works composed by their co-religionists in Uttar Pradesh, in Śauraseni Prakrit, though fewer in number, are important in many respects.

Such was the richness and variety of the contributions made by Uttar Pradesh in the spheres of classical literature, religion, and philosophy, which far exceed in quality as well as in quantity, those made individually by other parts of India. In our new seal, an attempt has been made to represent, however imperfectly, through certain devices, those unique achievements of the followers of Brahmanism, Buddhism, and their ramifications: Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaktism, Tāntrism, Hīnayānism, and Mahāyānism, in this *pūnyakṣhetra*, inseparably linked up with the hallowed memory of Rāma, Kṛishṇa, and the Buddha. The seal-devices have been so prepared as to suggest only those two principal religious systems and the literature, religion, and philosophy associated with them. Those systems, flourishing side by side in Uttar Pradesh, with their different sections,

have tended to make her the most important part of India, historically, culturally, and spiritually.

The thoughts of the present Editor relating to this holy land, as set forth in the foregoing pages, have received a definite shape and form at the hands of Sri Hiraballabh Tripathi, a distinguished local artist. His ingenuity skill, and sympathy for our cause, and also the meticulous care with which he has performed his self-imposed task demand indeed a word of recognition.

The U. P. Historical Society had hitherto no motto of its own. The one devised for it by the present Editor, which has been approved by the President and the Executive Committee, is : "जलतु अमरं ज्ञानप्रदीपः अस्मिन् पृथ्व्येत्रे," "Let the Lamp of Knowledge burn eternally in this Holy Land." May this pious hope of ours be fulfilled for all time to come !

The present Editor is indeed grateful to Dr. K. M. Munshi, Mahamanya Sri Rajyapal of Uttar Pradesh, as also to Dr. Sampurnanand, our beloved Chief Minister, who are Patron and President respectively of the U. P. Historical Society, for the inspiring Messages which they have so kindly sent at his request, for the First Volume in the New Series of the Society's *Journal*.

In conclusion, the present Editor thanks most cordially Sri Jagatpati Joshi, M.A., LL.B., his former pupil and now a Research Scholar in the Department of History, Lucknow University, for the manifold help and assistance received from him in seeing the present volume of the *Journal* through the press.

C. D. Chatterjee,

Editor.

Feb. 28, 1955.

Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society, for 1952 and 1953, held on Sunday, the 14th February, 1954, at 10-30 a. m. in the State Museum (Lal Baradari), Lucknow.

Present

Hon'ble Dr. Sri Sampurnanand Ji, D. Litt., Minister for Home & Labour, U. P.	<i>President</i>
Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt., Lucknow University, Lucknow.	<i>Editor</i>
Sri G. S. Dikshit, Kanyakubja College, Lucknow.	<i>Member</i>
Sri S. C. Kala, M. A., Curator, Municipal Museum, Allahabad.	"
Dr. Shyam Lal Pande, M. A., Ph. D. Aryanagar, Lucknow.	"
Sri Virendra Nath Srivastava, M. A., Custodian, Archaeological Section, State Museum, Lko.	"
Kumari Vidya Dixit, Research Scholar, Lucknow University.	"
Kumari C. K. Sachdeva, Research Scholar, Lucknow University.	"
Dr. R. K. Dikshit, M. A., Ph. D., Lucknow University.	"
Sri B. N. Srivastava, M. A., Lucknow University.	"
Sri M. M. Nagar, M. A., U. P. E. S., F. M. A: (Lond.) Director, State Museum, Lucknow.	<i>Hony. Treasurer</i>
Rai Bahadur Sri Prayag Dayal, 80, Latouche Road, Lucknow.	<i>Hony. Secretary</i>

1. *Read and adopted* Secretary's Report on the working of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society for the years 1952 and 1953.

2. *Considered* letter dated 19th May, 1952, from the present President resigning his office of President.

The President was requested to withdraw his resignation and he kindly did so in deference to the unanimous wish of the members.

3. *Passed* the accounts, duly audited, for the years 1952 & 1953, and *approved* the budget estimates for the year 1954.

4. *Read consolidated* Audit Report for the years 1947 to 1952, and the Report for 1953.

Resolved that thanks of the Society be conveyed to the Honorary Auditor for auditing the accounts of the Society.

Resolved further that the suggestions made by him be carried out.

5. *Read & recorded* G. O. No. A-6117/XV-3007-11/52, dated October 6, 1952, rejecting the request to increase the annual grant of the Society.

6. *Considered* the proposal for payment of the editorial charge of Rs. 200/- for the year 1952 to the present Editor, Dr. V. S. Agrawala, for editing the combined volume of the Journal for 1951-1952.

Resolved that the amount of Rs. 200/- already paid to him for the year 1951 should be taken to cover the combined volume for 1951-52, and that no further payment is called for.

7. *Considered* the proposal to discontinue the payment of remuneration to contributors as resolved in Resolution No. 8 of the Society's annual meeting held on 10th May, 1950, owing to financial stringency.

Resolved that remuneration should continue to be paid for original articles only, but not for contributions like reviews, catalogues, reports, etc.

Resolved further that Dr. V. S. Agrawala should be asked if he has obtained U. P. Government's permission for publishing in the Society's Journal the Catalogue of Mathura Museum. Having been given a remuneration for the Catalogue, it becomes the Society's property. He should further be asked under what authority he is selling copies thereof for himself.

8. *Considered* the desirability of getting the Society registered under the Charitable Societies' Registration Act, 1860.

Resolved that a Constitution containing Rules, Regulations, Memorandum etc. be framed and approved by the *ad hoc* Executive Committee which is being formed under para 11 of these Proceedings. The Constitution should then be ratified by the Society at its general meeting and the Society be registered thereafter. Every effort should be made to have the Constitution passed by March 31, 1954.

9. *Resolved* that the following members be deputed to represent the U. P. Historical Society at the Sessions of the Associations mentioned below :—

(a) *For the Indian History Congress*—Dr. S. L. Pande, Lucknow, and Sri K. D. Bajpai, Mathura.

(b) *For All-India Oriental Conference*—Sri M. M. Nagar, Lucknow.

(c) *For Indian Historical Records Commission*—Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, Lucknow.

(d) *For Museums Association of India*—Sri M. M. Nagar, Lucknow, & Sri S. C. Kala, Allahabad.

(e) *For Numismatic Society of India*—Rai Bahadur Sri Prayag Dayal, Lucknow.

10. The proposal to appoint some distinguished scholars as honorary members of the Society was *postponed*.

11. *Resolved* that the following members be elected as office-bearers of the Society for the year 1954, and to form an *ad hoc* Executive Committee to frame the Constitution of the Society.

President

Hon'ble Dr. Sri Sampurnanand Ji, D. Litt.,
Minister for Home & Labour, U. P. Government, Lucknow.

Vice President

Rai Bahadur Sri Prayag Dayal,
80, Latouche Road, Lucknow.

Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt.,
Lucknow University.

Hony. Secretary

Dr. Ram Kumar Dikshit, M. A., Ph. D.,
Lucknow University.

Hony. Treasurer

Sri M. M. Nagar, M. A., U. P. E. S., F. M. A. (Lond.)
 Director, State Museum, Lucknow.

Editorial Board

Sri C. D. Chatterjee, Editor-in-chief.
 Dr. Nandalal Chatterji.
 Sri M. M. Nagar.

Ad hoc Executive Committee

Hon'ble Sri Sampurnanand ji.
 Rai Bahadur Sri Prayag Dayal.
 Dr. Nandalal Chatterji.
 Dr. Ram Kumar Dikshit.
 Sri M. M. Nagar.
 Sri C. D. Chatterji.
 Sri Bireswar Nath Srivastava.
 Sri S. C. Kala.
 Dr. Shyam Lal Pande.

President

Secretary

12. *Resolved* that Sri R. S. Pandey, Honorary Auditor, who audited the accounts of the Society for the last year, be requested to continue as auditor for this year also.

13. *Resolved* that there should be periodical meetings of the Society at which scholars should be invited to read papers, followed by discussions. Eminent scholars may also be invited to address such meetings.

14. *Resolved* that a sum upto Rs. 200/- be placed at the disposal of the Editor-in-chief for necessary expenses on editing the Journal. The details of this expenditure will form part of the Society's accounts.

The meeting terminated with a vote of cordial thanks to the chair.

Prayag Dayal

Hony. Secretary,

U. P. Historical Society,
 Lucknow.

February 14, 1954.

Sampurnanand

President

Report on the Working of the U. P. Historical Society for 1952 and 1953.

I am pained to stand before you with an apology and explanation for the unprecedented and unavoidable delay in holding the Annual Meeting of the Society. This was mainly due to abnormal economic conditions which also affected the timely publication of our Journal and resulted in the fall of income from subscriptions. The printing charges have increased considerably and thus presented a problem for balancing the budget.

But with all these draw-backs, Vol. XXIII of the Journal for the year 1950, covering about 200 pages, was published in 1953, under the able editorship of Dr. V. S. Agrawala. It contained some valuable original contributions and has maintained its high standard. An article entitled "Technique and Theory of Mughal Painting" by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, our late-lamented master of Art and an old friend of the Society, is unique and deals with the material in an outstanding way. Five other articles of absorbing interest are from the pen of Dr. V. S. Agrawala himself. Other distinguished scholars who have contributed to the same volume are :—

Dr. Ram Kumar Dikshit,
Dr. M. R. Majumdar,
Dr. S. C. Upadhyaya,
Sri Lalit Mohan Garg,
Sri Parmeshwari Lal Gupta,
Sri Adris Banerji.

Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, one of our able Editors, was appointed to represent the Society at the sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commission for five years with effect from 1st April, 1952. He attended the sessions held at Ahmedabad in October, 1953. Sri M. M. Nagar, our Hon. Treasurer, as a representative of our Society, attended the sessions of the Indian History Congress held at Gwalior in December 1952, and at Waltair in December 1953.

On account of their outstanding learning and position in the field of Indology, the following scholars were appointed as Hony Members of the Society :—

1. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Ph. D., Director, Kern Institute, Leyden (Holland),
2. Professor Louis Renou, Paris University, Paris,
3. Dr. G. Tuchi, Rome (Italy),
4. Dr. R. L. Turner, London University, London,
5. Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta University, Calcutta,
6. Dr. Nilkanth Sastri, Madras University, Madras,
7. Dr. G. Sardesai, Kamshet Bombay.

The Society furnished a brief note on its history, aims, objects and working to the Government of India for inclusion in the revised edition of the Directory of Educational and Allied Organizations in India.

To expedite the sale of the Society's publications the members were allowed to purchase them at a discount of 25% over the usual price.

The accounts of the Society for the years 1947 to 1952 were audited and except for a few minor irregularities in procedure, were found in order. The accounts for the years 1953 have also been audited and found in perfect order.

The combined issue of the Journal for 1951—52, as our Editor Dr. Agrawala says, has been printed and copies are expected to be in our hands shortly.

I must admit that the affairs of the Society during the years under review have not been happy and bright at all, partly owing to our financial instability and partly owing to delay in the publication of the Journal. Strenuous efforts are, however, being made to overcome these and I hope that with the active cooperation of all of us these things will surely improve.

State Museum,
Lucknow.
February 14, 1954,

Prayag Dayal
Honorary Secretary
U. P. Historical Society

Statement Showing Income and Expenditure of the U. P. Hist. Soc. during the year 1952.

INCOME		EXPENDITURE	
	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
Balance in Allahabad Bank, Current Account, on 1-1-1952.	... 846 13 2	Printing Journal for 1948 (Full payment)	... 900 0 0
Balance in Allahabad Bank, Savings Bank Account, on 1-1-1952	... 1,253 7 1	Printing Journal for 1960 (Part payment)	... 2,133 13 0
Cash with Honorary Treasurer on 1-1-52	... 121 5 3	Printing Journal for 1931-52 (Part payment) ...	939 8 3
Government Grant-in-aid, Recurring	... 2,000 0 0	Remuneration to Contributors of the Journal for 1950	... 632 4 0
Government Grant-in-aid, Non-recurring	... 1,000 0 0	Remuneration to office clerk	... 480 0 0
Subscriptions	... 306 0 0	Postage	... 10 0 0
Sale proceeds of Journals	... 79 13 0	Miscellaneous charges	... 51 12 9
Sale Proceeds of Memoirs :-		Bank Commission	... 8 10 0
(i) Dr. Moti Chandra's Geographical & Economic studies. Rs. 20/-	... 28 12 0	Cash with Hony. Treasurer on 31-12-1952	... 55 14 6
(ii) Dr. V. S. Agrawal's Gupta Art. Rs. 8/12/-	...	Balance in Allahabad Bank, Current Account, on 31-12-1952	... 1,168 0 11
Interest on Savings Bank Account	... 7 13 7	Balance in Allahabad Bank, Savings Bank Account, on 31-12-1952	... 81 4 8
Interest on Loans	... 937 4 0		
TOTAL	... 6,551 4 1	TOTAL	... 6,551 4 1

M. M. Nagar,
Honorary Treasurer,
J. P. Historical Society.

Statement of Accounts (Income and Expenditure) of the U. P. Hist. Soc. from Jan. to Dec. 1953.

INCOME		EXPENDITURE	
	Ra. a. p.		Ra. a. p.
Balance in Allahabad Bank, Ltd., Current Account on 1-1-1953	1,168 0 11	Printing charges of the U. P. Historical Society's Journal for 1951-52 (combined volume). Paid in part payment	1,019 11 0
Balance in Allahabad Bank, Ltd., Savings Bank Account on 1-1-1953	81 4 8	Remuneration to Office Clerk	480 0 0
Cash with Honorary Treasurer on 1-1-53	65 14 6	Stationary purchased for office	28 7 6
Govt. Grant-in-aid, Recurring Subscription from Members	2,000 0 0	Miscellaneous expenditures	27 12 0
Sale Proceeds of Memoirs :—	78 0 0	Bank Commission charged by Allahabad Bank Ltd.	8 8 0
(a) Dr. Moti Chandra's Geog. & Economic Studies in Mahabharata (10 Copies)	47 0 0	Postage expenditure	40 8 0
(b) Dr. V. S. Agrawala's Gupta Art. (7 Copies)	35 8 0	Postage stamps in hand carried over next year	11 14 0
(c) Dr. Moti Chandra's Technique of Mughal Paintings (7 Copies)	72 2 0	Cash with Hon. Treasurer on 31-12-1953.	158 15 0
	156 10 0	Balance in Allahabad Bank Ltd., Current Account on 31-12-1953	2,938 9 11
		Balance in Allahabad Bank Ltd., Savings Bank Account on 31-12-1953	82 7 9
Sale Proceeds of Journals Interest in Securities deposited in Allahabad Bank Ltd., Lucknow.	158 2 0		
Interest on Savings Bank Account with Allahabad Bank Ltd., Lucknow.	306 4 0		
Balance of Postage stamps carried over from last year	1 3 1		
	52 6 0		
TOTAL	4,116 13 2	TOTAL	4,115 13 2

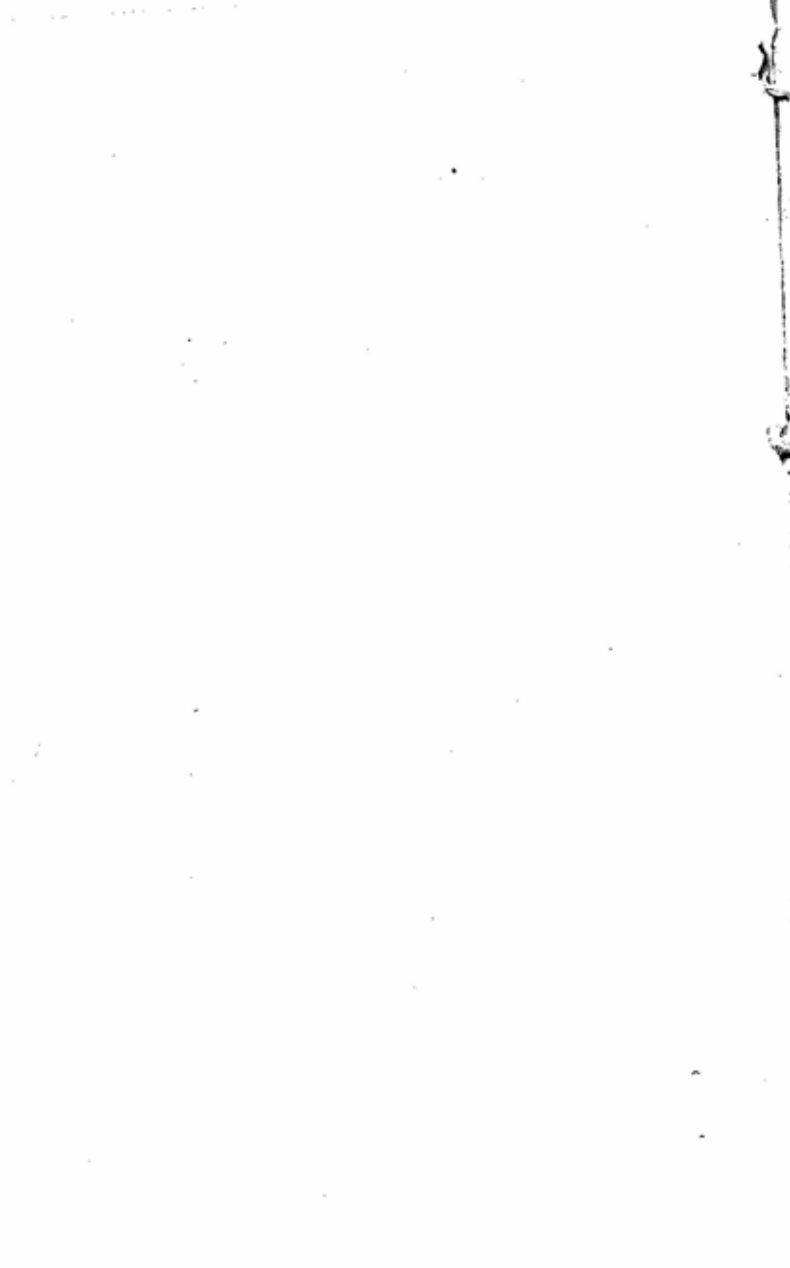
M. M. Nagat,
Honorary Treasurer,
U. P. Historical Society.

State Museum,
Lucknow.
January 20, 1954.

Budget Estimates for the year 1954.

INCOME		EXPENDITURE	
	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
Balance in Allahabad Bank in Current Account	... 2,258 9 11	Printing Journal for the years 1951-52 (In full payment)	... 1,000 0 0
Balance in Allahabad Bank in Savings Bank Account	... 82 7 9	Printing Journal for the years 1953 & 1954	... 2,500 0 0
Cash in hand	... 158 15 0	Remuneration to Contributors	... 1,000 0 0
Government Grants	... 2,000 0 0	Remuneration to Clerk	... 370 0 0
Sale Proceeds of Memoirs	... 100 0 0	Postage	... 100 0 0
Subscription	... 300 0 0	Stationery	... 50 0 0
Sale proceeds of Journals	... 100 0 0	Miscellaneous	... 150 0 0
Interest on Loans	... 400 0 0	Upkeep of Library	... 100 0 0
Interest on Society's Account	... 1 15 4	Bank Commission	... 7 0 0
TOTAL	... 5,402 0 0	Racks for keeping Journals	... 125 0 0
		TOTAL	... 5,402 0 0

M. M. Nagar,
Honorary Treasurer,
 U. P. Historical Society.



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VIII	I	Rs. 3/-	XXII	I & II	Rs. 6/-
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