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NEW KUSHĀNA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA

By

V. N. Srivastava, M.A.
Curator, Archaeological Museum, Mathura.

While checking the antiquities stored in the godowns of the Archaeological Museum, Mathura, I came across two broken pedestals of seated Buddhist images, containing inscriptions of the Kushāna period, unnoticed so far. They may be described as follows:—

I. Lower part of a red sandstone seated image of Bodhisattva (M. M. No. 4329 ; measuring 1’-9"×6½"×11"), as apparent from the ornamented girdle, which is very similar in style to its famous Śrāvasti counterpart, now in Lucknow Museum. The left portion of the pedestal, including the shin, is broken and along with it, has gone practically 1/3 of the inscription which is beautifully incised on it, in two lines, in Brāhmī script of the 1st cent. A.D. The language of the inscription is mixed Sanskrit, so commonly found in Kushāna records. The inscription refers to the year 4 of Kaṇishka’s reign (i.e., 82 A.D.) and may be read as follows:—

Text

1. Mahārājasya Kaṇī(ṣka)sya sam 4 va l di 1 etasya purv-vāye bhikshu Dharmmanandasya Dharmmarathakasya Saddhya-vihārisya Bha....................

2. pratishṭhāpayati mahādaṇḍanāyaka Hummiyaka Ladysak-kavihāre aṇenam eya dharmaṃparītyagentā mātāpitraṇāṁ....
Translation

Line 1. In the year 4 of (the reign of) Mahārāja Kaṇiṣṭha, in the first (month of) rainy season, on the first day, on that (date specified as) above, of Monk Dharmmananda, the protector of Dharma (and resident) of the Saddhya Vihāra......

Line 2. Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Hummiyaka sets up (this image) in the Ladysakka Vihāra. By doing this, (he) disowns the result of this pious deed in favour of mother, father......

The year 4 in the reckoning of Kushāṇa era of 78 A.D., coincides with 82 A.D. The inscription is important for more reasons than one; for, besides being one of the earliest records of the greatest Kushāṇa monarch, it brings to light the names of two new Buddhist monasteries, viz., Saddhya and Ladysakka vihāras in Mathura, which are not known to us from any other source. We also hear the name of Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Hummiyaka for the first time, and we can add his name to the existing list of foreigners who have left records in this country.

(2) Red sand-stone fragment (M. M. No. 4328, 11½ × 9½ × 8½,) is from the lower part of a seated Buddha image. Only a portion of the left foot and an equal part of the pedestal now remain. The broken pedestal bears the last few letters of a two-line epigraph, written in Brāhma script which on palaeographic grounds can be placed in or about the 1st. cent. A.D. It can be read as follows:—

Text

(1) .................................. Saddhe Vihāre.

(2) .................................. vihāre pra
                               (tisṭṭhāśitaḥ)

Translation

........................................... In Saddha Vihāra
........................................... is set up in.......Vihāra.

The inscription being very fragmentary, we do not know, to which king it refers to. Nor can we know the name of the donee, donor, or even the vihāra where the image was set up. Yet the
inscription is not without any significance, for it suggests the existence of at least one new monastery named ‘Saddha’ in Mathura.

[N.B. Compare ‘Saddha’ of this record with ‘Saddhya’ of the previous epigraph. The two may be identical. There can be no doubt that there existed in Mathura, a monastery of this name also during the Kushāṇa age. This assumption, however, is not baseless. But the word ‘vihārisya’ after ‘Saddhya’ in the first epigraph, is grammatically wrong. It should have been ‘vihāre’ or ‘vihārasya’ meaning thereby ‘in’ or ‘of Saddhya-vihāra.’

Again, the word ‘Saddhya’ may be the corrupt form of ‘Sadyah’ in Sanskrit, meaning ‘newly-constructed’, but then it should have a visarga after ‘ya’, instead of ‘dha’ which has been inserted between ‘da’ and ‘ya’. If we take these to be mistakes of the scribe and the word ‘Saddha’ of the second inscription, to be standing for ‘Sadyah’, the translation in both cases would be ‘of the newly-constructed vihāra’. I, however, leave it to scholars to throw more light on these two important epigraphs.]

*These two inscriptions were originally published by Sri K. D. Bajpal, formerly Curator of the Archaeological Museum, Mathura. See Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, XXth Session (1957), pp. 68-69. —Editor
PRĀYOPAVEŚA IN ANCIENT KĀŚMIRA

A Study of Rājatarāṅgini

By

B. S. SHUKLA, M.A.

Prāyopaveśa, which literally means 'to sit down for a solemn fast', was a weapon of the weak against the strong, for redress of grievances in ancient Kāśmira. The chief source of our information is Rājatarāṅgini of Kalhana which enumerates many prāyopaveśa cases. The current equivalent of prāyopaveśa is 'anaśana' which is inadequately translated into English as 'hunger-strike'. The philosophy of hunger-strike is controversial, and political thinkers often differ from one another in this regard. Certain leading men of the world, both in the east and the west, take hunger-strike as a coercive method, adopted by the aggrieved to get their demands conceded; and as such, according to them, its use can never be justified. There are other persons also who treat hunger-strike as an attempt at suicide. However, Mahatma Gandhi gave its ideal exposition. In his opinion, it is a method to purify oneself. It seeks the change of heart of the tyrant or the strong. But Gandhiji made it clear that this weapon cannot, and should not, be used by every man. The views of Mahatma Gandhi are generally accepted by Indian thinkers. Gandhiji himself resorted to fast many a time and proved the efficiency of this weapon. But it is still open to question whether hunger-strike really changes the heart of the oppressor, or whether the latter is compelled to take notice of it because of political and similar other reasons, not necessarily moral ones. However, the testimony of various cases of prāyopaveśa enumerated in the Rājatarāṅgini generally favours Gandhiji's views.

It appears that prāyopaveśa in Kāśmira was very common in olden days. The government were also susceptible to these hunger-strikes. The rulers often had to recognise the evil activities of their administration, against which prāyopaveśa was resorted to by the people from all walks of life. Prāyopaveśa was sometimes held on mass scale also. On a certain occasion, even a king named Chandrāpiḍa undertook solemn fast to purify himself for he had
failed to do justice (Rājat. IV. 99). It was not, as it would seem, a counter hunger-strike to dissuade a person already on prāyopaveśa, but it was the genuine feeling of the king. The story runs thus: Once a Brāhmaṇa woman whose husband was murdered by some unknown person during the reign of king Chandrāpiḍa sat on hunger-strike (ibid, IV, 82). From what she told the law officers of the king Chandrāpiḍa, it is evident that prāyopaveśa by the aforesaid woman was done in protest of the king’s bad rule, in which the life of the subject was very insecure. ‘This indeed’, she said, ‘is a great humiliation for a king of noble conduct that premature death should touch his subjects (ibid, IV, 84)’. It is also clear that to seek justice and stand triumphantly was preferred to being a ‘satī’ and let the crimes go unchallenged. She further told the king that: “Four nights have been worn out......since I have been starving. I did not follow in death the husband because of the yearning for retaliation against the murderer; in the event of punishment not being meted out to this one (the murderer), in this matter I am to give up life by fasting (ibid, IV, 87-98),”

In the sixth book of Rājatarangini, Kalhaṇa informs us of a man who also had undertaken a voluntary starvation to get certain of his rights recognised by the government. Here a merchant had badly exploited the hunger-striker. Having failed to obtain justice from lower courts, the aggrieved resorted to prāyopaveśa (Rājat., VI, 14-25).

Prāyopaveśa was generally held in the form of ‘dharana’. We are told of a Brāhmaṇa who stood outside the palace of the king and threatened to commit suicide by hunger-strike, if he failed to see the king for some important work (ibid, VI, 43).

However, justified the cause of prāyopaveśa might be, Kalhaṇa condemns the groups of Brāhmaṇas who sit on hunger-strike every now and then, without much justification. He calls them ‘professional fast-mongers’. The reason of Kalhaṇa’s indignation towards professional hunger-strikers may be well appreciated, specially in our own times, when the valuable weapon of aanśana is exploited and is definitely used as a coercive method, at least in certain cases, and where it serves as a stimulant to mass fury in
political agitations. How corrupt some of the Brāhmaṇas were in the 10th. and 11th centuries A. D. is evident from the fact that they were induced 'to enter upon a solemn fast (prāyopaveśa) in order to cause disturbance in the kingdom of Queen Diddā (980-81 to 1003 A. D.) by Vigrahārāja. But the Brāhmaṇas were won over by Queen Diddā with the gift of gold, and consequently they abandoned fasting. They, however, restarted their fast.2

It is believed that the Brāhmaṇas again undertook a solemn fast in the reign of king Ananta (1028-1063 A. D.), who was greatly troubled by their fasts (Rājat., VII, 1777). They went on hunger-strike against his son Kalaśa also, to stop hostilities of royal family which caused ruin to the country. The king and his son were ever in dispute, and, naturally, the administration had become most inefficient. Here Kālhaṇa does not disapprove of the action taken by Brāhmaṇas. Similarly, hunger-strike was resorted to by the members of a priest’s corporation to get compensation and exemption from forced carriage of loads. The king had to yield to their demands. It is worthy of note that forced labour was a characteristic feature of Kāśmira’s administration in olden times. Dr. A. Stein says that ‘the nature of the country and the absence of proper roads, renders it necessary to use load-carriers in preference to all other means of transport.’3 Thus the system of forced labour (begār) was well organised in Kāśmira specially during the reign of Śaṅkaravarman. No one was exempted from load-carrying, and, on the contrary, one had to carry one’s allotted loads. In case a villager did not turn up, he was badly fined. It was this kind of begār which the aforesaid purohitas resented.3

There are at least two other illustrations where the military went on hunger-strike. In the first case prāyopaveśa was held during the reign of king Harshadeva. King Harshadeva was corrupt and

1. "Vigrahārāja, whose hostility had been waxing, by despatching secret emissaries, induced the Brāhmaṇas once more to seek death by fasting. In the hope of receiving bribes the Brāhmaṇas who had once more commenced a hunger-strike were attacked by Tunga, who had acquired stability, and driven out" (Rājat. VI, 342-43—Trans. by R. S. Pandit).

2. Rājat.—translated by M.A: Stein.

3. Ibid.
was notoriously known for his immoral character. On one occasion he planned an attack of Rājapūri. But before the conquest of Rājapūri was actually accomplished, he was tempted to capture the fortress of Prīthvīgiri. Consequently, he encamped for this purpose at the foot of the fortress. During the course of stay the garrison was almost exhausted of food and other such resources. The officers wanted to withdraw, but the king would not. Thereupon they 'who were mostly from the ranks... started a hunger-strike with ironical speeches (ibid., VII, 1157)'. In the second case the soldiers 'having blocked the entrances in front of the royal palace with drawn swords, held hunger-strikes at every step clamouring for the allowance for the campaign which had accrued due.'

The cases of prāyopavēta were so frequent in Kāśmīra that the officials were also probably appointed to take immediate notice of them (VI, 14). It appears that these officials first interrogated the hunger-strikers and then reported the facts to the king. The latter generally redressed the grievance because of the great force of public opinion.

Śrī R. S. Pandit believes that 'the hunger-strike in Kāśmīra grew out of the Buddhist ideals of self-sacrifice and non-violence'. He supports his statement by the Jātaka stories. But the variety of circumstances under which prāyopavēta was held does not necessarily prove that it was held in the spirit of self-sacrifice and non-violence. On the contrary, sometimes the element of coercion becomes apparent. However, the sacred use of prāyopavēta was definitely abused on a few occasions. It is quite likely that origin of this effective weapon lies in the most non-violent effort to stir the conscience of the oppressor. But later it assumed the form of a political and tactical method to influence others. A truly non-violent application of this weapon was made by Yuan Chwang while he sojourned for a short period in a small kingdom situated between India and China in the course of his journey to the land of the Buddha—India. The ruler of that kingdom did not want, out of sheer love and respect for Yuan Chwang, that the latter should leave his country, though he was determined to depart. When the king failed to persuade him, the biographer Hui-li tells us, he threatened to detain the traveller by force. Yuan Chwang tried his
best to explain his position but in vain; and ultimately having no other way left he sat on hunger-strike (anāśana). He did not take either his meals or even water continuously for three days and three nights. This act certainly moved the heart of the king who apologised and saw Yuan Chwang off most respectfully. With a similar view Mahatma Gandhi also explained and justified anāśana (fasting). He says: 'Those who have to bring about the radical changes in the human conditions and surroundings cannot do it except by raising a ferment in society. There are only two methods of doing this, violent and non-violent. Voilent pressure is felt on the physical being and it degrades him who uses it as it depresses the victim, but non-violent pressure exerted through self-suffering by fasting works in an entirely different way. It touches not the physical body but it touches and strengthens the moral fibre of those against whom it is directed'.

---

1. The statement of Gandhiji issued from Yeravada prison on the 4th Decem., 1932, Quoted in Rājat, translated by R. S. Pandit.
A LINGUISTIC STUDY OF INDIAN PLACE-NAMES

By

V. K. Mathur, M.A.,

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The vast extent of India from the point of view of geography makes a study of her place-names a formidable task. Her history goes back to the dawn of human civilisation and her geographical boundaries have covered, for all practical purposes, the entire area of the sub-Himalayan continent. As a matter of fact, her cultural influence has often in history overstepped her natural boundaries on all sides and reached the neighbouring lands known as Greater India. A critical study therefore, of the names of the cities, towns, villages, rivers and mountains in their various aspects, viz., historical, literary and legendary, presents a difficult problem, for it has, of necessity, to cover a vast field spread over many centuries and many countries. In the present paper, we are, however, mainly concerned with a linguistic study of some of those names as such. Recently, while collecting material for my comprehensive Hindi work on India's ancient places as mentioned in Indian history, legend and literature, I have met with a mass of valuable information bearing on this particular aspect, and in order to discuss it here, I would divide the subject matter under several heads, for the sake of convenience and brevity:—

1. In the first place, in India of the present time, we have a set of Sanskrit tatsama names which are almost identical with those found in ancient literature. These present no difficulty in the matter of identification, as they have remained unchanged since ancient times. A few examples are given below:—

काशी (first mentioned in the वैदिकतंत्रिक of the ध्रुववैद्य and subsequently in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki, the Mahābhārata and the later works, both Sanskrit and Pali), बाराणसी (a later name of Kāši often occurring in the Mb. and works of later literature), प्रताप (Rām. and Mb.), अधीश्वर (Rām.) मधुर (Rām. Mb. etc.), उत्तरापुर (Mb. and Buddhist literature), द्वारका (Mb.), गया (Rām. Mb., Buddhist literature),
कन्तल (Mb., Kālidāsa's Meghadūta), लक्ष्मी (Rām., Mb.), मानस (Rām., Mb.), हिमचल (Kālidāsā) केलक (Rām., Mb.), सत्याग्री (Rām, Mb.), विस्मय (Mb.), गंगा**, बुद्ध (earliest reference is in Rigveda), सर्वदा (Mb., Rām.), रामदास (Mb.), चन्द्र, कामी (Mb.) etc.

2. A large number of place—names consist of अङ्कन or तद्वृत्त forms of ancient names which can be traced back, perhaps with a little effort, to their originals. A study of the changes in the names of ancient cities from Sanskrit to Prakrit and modern languages during the course of time, enables us to formulate a few general rules which in a number of cases have governed these changes. Taking the case of suffixes in city-names, we find that at the end of the names has sometimes changed into दर, वृद्ध, वृद्ध as in साहिर from काहुर, कुम्भ from कुम्भ, विजूर्ण from श्रंगबिरुर (Allahabad District), नसिरार from हिजल or एज़ुर ; into दर as in वेसावर from पुस्पुर, नारार from नलपुर (in Gwalior), संवावर from मारथुर (District Bijnor, U.P., mentioned by Yuan-Chwang, the Chinese Pilgrim in 7th century), बरार from शल्लुर; पुर has also changed into बौद्ध as in एड़ोव from एड़ोव (Bombay State) and बार as in सुन्दरार from कुम्भ मुर or पार्थिवपुर. पुरी similarly has changed into बौद्ध or बौद्ध श्री as in श्रीमोत्ती श्री मोत्ती (near Mathura) and रामजी रामजी (in Kashmir). नारार has changed into नार or नारा as in गिरिनार from गिरिनार (Kathiyawad) and कृष्णार or कुड़ी नार from कुड़ी नार and नार as in सान्तावर from सांतावर (Jaipur), बौद्धावर from सांतावर etc. प्रथम has usually changed into चत as in पानीपत from पार्वतीप, सोनपत from सुर्वार्य, बागपत from बृहस्पतिव व बायाब्स्य (in district Meerut, mentioned in the Mb., कप्स्यां, बुद्धल भागबार्यादितम, उद्धोग 31. 19) and इंद्रवत from इंद्रस्य. रान्त्रु has changed into रत्र as in सोरंत्र from सोरान्त्र and मेरत्र from मेवरान्त्र and स्यान्त्र into धान और तान और धान as in मुजतान from मूलमान and पैदलान from प्रतिस्थान. स्वल्प has similarly become धन as in कृित्र from कपिस्यां, बन becomes धन as in तुम्ह from तुम्ब्य (in district Guna, M.P.) where an inscription of Gupta era 116=435 A.D. was found and बृहत्त from बृहत्त (Bihar). बन becomes बौद्ध as in लक्ष्मीतो from लक्ष्मणगारती (Gaur in Bengal) अमरीतो from अमरारतो and

**There is no reference to the River Ganga is the Rigvedic mantras. Rigveda proper does not constitute bhilakhya where, of course, a reference to Ganga is to be found. The Aryans did not advance as far as that river in the Rigvedic period.—Editor.
sometimes ओई as in बन्दी from बन्दीति. पदन or पदन has sometimes changed into पद्म as in श्रीरंगपद्म from श्रीरंगपद्म and निप्पानपद्म from निप्पानपद्म, हुआ into र्द्द as in सिंहद्वत्स from श्रीहींत्त्र, गिरत into गेड़े as in मृगेड़े from मृगेड़ेगिरि or मृगेड़ेगिरि (Its name मृगेड़ेगिरि is mentioned in the Mb. ‘अय मृगेड़ेगिरि एक राजानं द्रव्यक्षारं, पांढरीबो बाहुरीयसं निजधानं महामुष्यं) or into ओर or ओर as in श्वालिप्यर from गोपनिरि, र्कित has become हु as in नित्रुत्तं from तौरमुक्तित or होत as in ज्योति from ज्योतिकुम्बित. Apart from these common suffixes in city names, the names of many towns, rivers etc., have changed into forms which can be easily recognised, e.g., कमोज is काम्यक्षुम, गोदतार कैलिपाल्ये; हसनीदेय, लूपदीनी (birth place of the Buddha, in Nepal); कास्स, कुस्सीति; कोस्स, कोशानम्बी; नियालकोट, शाकाल; राजगोर, राजगृह; नवाय, नवरी; राजी, रहराजी; राजी is रहराजी; बेहद (current in Kashmir) is बिसंतर or शेराल; सतीज, शृंगुद्र; बियाल, बियाला; बिनाय, बिख्राना; बेदाय, बेदारवती; बंबल, बंबारवती; रोन, हो; and दीक्षा, दीनका (mentioned in Rām, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti etc.).

The Prakrit stage of some of the old Sanskrit names is typified by such names as साधारण for भास्मारि (District Gonda, U.P.), लृक्षिणी for लृक्षिणी (in Asoka’s inscription), मुक्तिनारा for मुक्तिनारा, महास्तिरा for महास्तिरा (M.P.), रजगृह for रजगृह (in सोनकालिक) मद्र for मद्र (in Punjab, mentioned in कुस्सालिक), तथापतित for तथापतित, (मल-पुष्पकलिक), पुष्करालिक for पुष्करालिक i.e. चारालिक in Dist. Peshawar, पुष्पि for पुष्पि-पारिक (Mahāvarman 18, 8) पुष्पाभरत्ति for पुष्पाभरत्ति (occurring in मायबालनकाळ्या), a Prakrit work composed by Kuśalalābha in 1620 A.D., it is modern पुष्प, Dist. Bulandshahr, U.P.).

3. An interesting category is formed by the Sanskritized or Indianised forms of certain foreign place-names. चीन which occurs in the Mb. (सीनागद्रशतवं चीनालू बवरतज्जवालितम्; तथा 52, 23; यवनाषीनकाल्लो दासान क्षेष्णजातम्; भीष्म 9, 65; तथापि रमणाश्रवणा स्त्रयुहव्य;... भीष्म 9, 66 and in कालिकास (चीनालू-कालिकास्; प्रतिवं भीमानालय, अभित्तान शाकिकस, Act I, 30) and several Purāṇas and Kautālyya’s Arthasastra, is such a word. In the following verse from the Mb., तथा 31.72—वं अंताषी एक रोमां च यवनानं पुरे तथा, तुलिएव बलो चाँगे कर्षं चात्मनावपायतु, अंताषी is Antiochus, a town in ancient Syria, रोमां is Rome, यवनानं is identified with Alexandria in Egypt. Again in the same epic, we have some other strange names—दुव्याका दुव्याका ललाटालानुः नामप्रियम्:
It appears that some place-names in Sanskrit were either adopted from local dialects of India unchanged or, in slightly Sanskritised forms. Dr. K.P. Jayaswal thus pointed out that the name तामिलित्व (a port in ancient Bengal) occurring in the Mb. and later literature (cf. सनुगुरपं गहितवं च गचितवं, तामिलित्वं च राजानं कविष्टाचिनित्वं तथा; समाः) was the Sanskritised form of तामिल or तामिल च meaning Dravidian. As a matter of fact, बालू in his वस्तुक्षेत्र-चरित writes this word as तामिलित्व which is nearer to तामिल. It seems that the well-known names in the Rām. किन्निवय, पंग, लंका etc. were adopted from local dialects prevalent in Southern India in the time of this epic. केलास्क स्वयं मया युद्ध ग्रहणं विश्वर्य राम. किन्निवय 43, 20).
Now we come to an important topic in the study of our place-names and it is a probe into their real or probable origins. I may classify the results of such an enquiry as follows:

(i) We know, in the first place, of a large number of ancient janapadas which became famous after the names of their first inhabitants. As a matter of fact, this was a common characteristic of most of the janapadas of ancient India, which owing to this fact, were often referred to in the plural form, e.g. कृष्ण, पांचाल: (Delhi and U.P.), मगध: (Bihar), मल्ल: (East U.P.), बस्मातः (Dist. Allahabad, U.P.) अंशः (Bihar) etc. etc. I quote at random a few passages—‘अग्नेय नरसाहुः स रोजा सीता सप्तमित’ (Mb. शारित 5, 7), समयस्य अश्विनिविविन दिव्यं हुसा दशरावः: (भेय 1, 25), विस्मयशत्रुक्षमेदव मातुकाशिविराय तसस्यं खु च चकमति; किररातवनः नीयवः, 1, 17; Cf. also the well-known Puranic verse ‘अनुरागव प्राप्ताद्य मातुरार्थ, मातुराय अनुरागव भोजश्च मुरार्श्च’.

The famous sixteen janapadas of north India mentioned in the Buddhist text अनुतरानिकाय were mostly also the names of their earliest inhabitants. The fact that places were usually known after the people who were associated with them, is also clear from the reference to the गंभारी in the Rigveda and Atharvaveda (see above) who gave their name to the जनपद known as गंभार in later times.

In comparatively recent times too, we have similar examples, कुर्देल खंड known after the Bundela Rajputs, being one of the more prominent ones. The close connection between a place and its people is often clear by many names current even now. Thus माधुर is a resident of Mathura, भरुखर is one who lives across the river Saryū, and in Urdu usage too we have such surnames as बलांचीनो, लोहवाड़ी, लबंवी, बनारसी etc. But here the process may be said to have been reversed, as residents are known after the places they belong to and not vice versa, as in the examples from ancient literature above.

(ii) Many towns of ancient India became famous after the names of their founders. The following are some of the examples: चंद्रा capital of बंग (Bihar) was named after चंद्रा (सच्चन्तचुरी बंगा या मालिन्यमन्त्र पुरा, Mb. शारित, 5), बंग itself being known after अंगवेशराम as is indicated by ऐंतरेय शास्त्र, 8, 22, and confirmed by the Mb., निविला (Bihar) was named after निवी, son of निम्र (Ram.
1, 71, 3), कपिलबत्ति (Nepal) after the sage कपिल (cf. सीद्धतंत्रe by-अहनमोय, 1, 57, कपिलक्ष्य च तथाये लतिनामानाथ्यु बास्तु,यस्मात्तत्सलुक्तमस्मात
कपिलबत्तुलतात), लश्चित्ता और गुण्ठलाब्जी (Western Pakistan) after तरा और
gुण्ठ हस्तिनारु (District Meerut, UP) after महाराज हस्तिनु (Mb.), गृह (Bihar) after राजविषय
(राजविषय गुण्ठस्ता मयादानविहार, Mb. 95, 9) जनकपुर (Bihar) after जनक
(Ram.). देवषादन (Nepal) was similarly named after देवपालसत्रिय by his
devoted wife चारमती, daughter of Asoka Maurya, in about 250 B.C.
From the विष्णु पुराण 4, 1, 64, we learn that रेवकट or Mt. Girnar in
Kathiawad, became so known because of association with रेवत
the King of कुशारी or ब्रारका and father of रेवती, wife of बलराम.
He was the son of आनंद after whose name the country of आनंद or
Kathiawad became famous (‘आनंदस्यरेवत नासा पुणं जले, विष्णु 4, 1-64). In
historical times too we know of such names as फिरोजपुर, उध्यपुर, फिरोज़ा-
बाद,अकबरपुर, महांगोराबद, साहिबपुर famous after their founders. भागवत
(the original city of Hyderabad) was founded by Sultan Kutubshah
of Golkunda in 1591 in the memory of his beloved queen भागमती who
belonged to this place.

Sometimes, cities were named to commemorate certain impor-
tant events. An ancient example is भोजकट in विवर्म or बरार
about which the Mb. (उध्य 158, 14, 16) says that it was
founded by भोज, father of रुक्मिणि, at the place where श्री
क्रिष्णनाथ had encountered the forces of रुक्मिणि, his son, at the time
of रुक्मिणि’s abduction—and where his armies (कट or कटक) had
camped ‘यथा रुक्मन रजनिनिषित: पर वीरहु, तत्रभोजकट नाम इति नगरमुति मम्।
संभेल महता तेन प्रसृत गद्यानिजन; पुरु तदानव विश्वासं नामना भोजकट-नूप।
In much later times, Babar, the Mughal king founded the city of
फतहपुर सीकरी near Agra to commemorate his victory over
Maharana Sanga.

(iii) Mythological stories account for the origin of a number
of place-names. Such was अद्वैतप्रथं near. कान्यकुब्जा (Kannauj
in U.P.) where the sage अद्वैत had produced one thousand horses by
a miracle, in order to satisfy विश्वामित्र, (अद्वैतकुञ्जया गान्यास्तिर-गुलशम्, अद्वैतोऽव तदानव पा
वारं: परिचाप्येत, Mb. अनुशासन 4, 17). The river
विपासा or the Beas is said to have been so known by its having
removed the fetters (पाला) from the body of बस्सस्त्र who wanted to
drown himself—‘तथा रावण भूमित् ब्रह्मण बस्सस्त्रः सन्न कुष्ठा, आरामयं
महाबले भीमान्ति विष्णुस्वातः पुष्करिणिः। ततो युज्यति पुष्करं हि विष्णुस्वातः नमः, विष्णुस्वातं
कर्मण तन स्त्रिक्ष्यम् महात्मनः (महाभारत अनुस्मरणं ३, १२, १३)। Similarly the
river ओषध्वती near कुष्ठेष्ट was believed to have been named after
queen ओषध्वती, wife of भृगुन, who through her virtuous deeds,
assumed the form of the stream (‘पावनार्थ व लोकस्य सरिष्ठे करिति, अवे
नीर्वती नाम स्वास्ये नानुयात्यति - महाभारत अनुस्मरणं २, ८३, ८४)। यमुना is known
in another such legend to have been the sister of यम and hence
its name. The name कदम्ब or कर्कम्ब according to a story
in the Rājatarāṅgiṇi, is said to have been given to this fairest of
lands, because of the miraculous exploits of the sage कदम्ब who
drained off a large lake (पार or पीर) and rendered it fit for
human habitation. The name of अलका is the main stream of
the Ganga in the Himalayas probably suggests the Puranic story
about the heavenly river descending into the locks (अलक) of
Lord Śiva.

Popular legends were also connected with the names of a num-
ber of ancient places—गरमसान a place near Mathura was so
known because the गा or mace hurled by Jarasandha from
गिरिव्रज in Magadha, (Bihar), fell at the other end—अवस्थन at this
place—at a distance of 99 yojanas—‘बुधाण वोरेति वह समयं गा चंद
निवेष्टितः, गदावासात् तत्रा ययाति मदुरायः: समीपत्:। महाभारत, सम्भाविताधिकृतं
(District, Bareilly, U.P.), according to the Chinese pilgrim Yuan-
chwang who visited India in 7th century A.D. was the abode of
a certain serpent (अत्ि) chief, who had built a pavilion or छत
here after his conversion to Buddhism. वरा or modern Meerut
was the home of मयादानव mentioned in the Mb., (आदिको २३३
and in सम्भाविताधिकृतं). चाम्बल्वती or the river Chambal is said to have
acquired its name from its having emerged from skin-heaps
stored on its bank as a result of thousands of sacrifices performed
by King Rantideva, ‘महाबले चाम्बल्वतीगमित् सत्त्वे यतः, तत्रभियोक्तिष्ठं
विष्णुस्वात तस्मानव, (महाभारत अनुस्मरणं २९, १२३), which legend is also referred to
in the मेघदूत १, ४७ thus ‘लोकोपदेश्यं भूमिविशिष्टम् रंगदिवससु गौरितम्। कात्यकुला or
modern कर्कट according to a popular story probably first mentioned
in आदिको of Rām. was known after the hunchback (कुम्भ) daughters
According to the well-known hypothesis of the Purāṇas as well as the Mb., Rāmāyana, Mahabharata, etc., were famous after the घन, चाक and षड्ष गीता trees growing respectively in these lands.

(iv) A very large number of places in ancient India were given names descriptive of their geographical or topographical features. Among the more important examples the following can be cited as being typical, हिमालय (abode of snow), विस्त्र (the piercing one), अपरांत (the western अपर, coast अंत, cf. सतवराल्लता: सीरा, नवलीलक्ष्मिनाथ, विधि-पुराण, 2, 3, 16, Mb, Raghuvamśa etc.): पाटलपुरुर, पुष्पनुर or कुलमुपुर (the city of Patili flowers which abounded here) दोहरा (the gateway, indicating its situation on sea-side), त्रिवेणि (the land of three त्रि, valleys गाँठ, an apt name of the land comprised by the three river-valleys formed by the Ravi, Beas and Sutlej), अतर्यिन (land situated between two banks, the Doaba of Ganga and Yamuna, in U.P. mentioned in a Gupta inscription found near Bulandshahar), देशां (land of ten देश streams अर्थ in Malwa, cf. 'सम्पत्तिये कतिपय विन-स्वायि हुसा देशां: (Meghadūta I, 25). देशां still lives in the name of the river धनांजाल flowing in the Bundelkhand area. An interesting example of a place known by its topographical features is that of एकोखल or एकौझलावर: an old name of Warangal, in Andhra. This name is in reference to a very huge bounder of stone which has been lying near the town, since times immemorial.

Under this head we may also discuss some of the river names which in a large number of cases are quite significant and describe sometimes in a poetical fashion the qualities of the particular rivers. चिन्द्र thus means simply a goer or specially a racing river from the root चिन्द्र to go, to run; विश्वला is from the root to pour out or the word may be connected with विद्वलित, a span (Hindi बीता ) which obviously refers to its large expanse; चन्द्रभर or the Chenab is one coming from the Chandrabhāga mountain in the Himalayas, दरवली or the Ravi, as also the राधा (U.P.) means a river full of sweet or refreshing water इरा; तात्रेश or the Sutlej is the hundred (शत )-branched ( त्र श ) river; गंगा is the swift goer as the repetition or चौतार of the root गु, to go, signifies. सस्त्रंति means the
river having many सरस or lakes, दृढ्वाती 'having boulders' or the stony river is the modern घास्त्र in the Punjab, तमसा the modern टौंस near Ayodhya in U.P., is the river of darkish' (तमस) water. सरस means a river with deep lakes, which refers to its deep waters. Its another name पर्वरा (Hindi पावरा) signifies the rumbling one. तमसा the modern तामस (Bundelkhand and Bihar) is the 'scarlet one' and so is the सीतावर or जलदुरा in Assam meaning the red river. नरसा is the river of नार refreshment or comfort, and its other name रेखा 'the leaping one' from रेखा to spring, aptly suggests the up and down course of the river through high mountains and deep valleys. नरसा is also known as (नकल रक्ष्मय) which refers to its source in the मेकल- mountain in the Vindhayas (near Amarkantaka, M.P.). ताप्ती or सापी is the river of warm water. मंदाकिनी, the stream flowing near विनश्वुर (southern U.P.) is the one flowing (अंत्र) placidly (मंद). Its placid flow (सत्सर्वभव) has actually been described by Kālidāsa in Rāghuvaṃśa, 13, 48 where he says—

एव अवसर्वभवत: सरिरहर्यात्तभाव: तामसा ताराम्यर: कालांकिनी भावति नागसंगु: मुक्तायति कंगपल्ल भूमिः:

(The names of the English rivers Thames and Tay are derived from the Celtish word 'Tam' meaning, 'still', 'smooth', which may be related to the Sanskrit root तम् and the word सत्सर्व having the same meaning). The वेन्द्रावर्त or वेष्या (in M.P.) a tributary of the यमुना, is the 'one abounding in वेष्य or the cane plants'. This is very true of this river, which is one of the most beautiful in India. मंदवरा or the modern गंगा is appropriately the deep one (described by Kālidāsa in Meghdūta I, 42, 'गंगार या: पतिः सरिरत्ववेचीतसिंव-सताने', गोवायबो is the 'giver of kine', an epithet probably referring to the abundance of forest land near its banks. This river has been beautifully described by Vālmiki, Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti who were enraptured by the picturesque scenery of its banks (see रमू 13, 35, अरविन्दोऽ श्यान्या निधनत्त्वसहो विनाशी ब्रह्म, रहस्यवदुराय निदिभाय महाराश्वा भावित यो गुणेषु धुमः).

महानदी is the 'big river' as it falls by several months into the Bay of Bengal. दुग्धावर is the river formed by the junction of two streams, viz., दुग्ध (i.e. 'lofty' from the high hilly region through which it flows) and भार which has its source in the भार mountains. The कृष्णा and the करबीरी the famous rivers of South India mean the dark and the turmeric (yellow) coloured ones, res-
pectively (both these have been mentioned in the Mb., सन्न 9, 20, गोवारी कृष्णविष बाबेरी च लिहिंदुरा). Incidentialy, the common Sanskrit name for a river, i.e. सतिता is derived from the root छ तो flow. Its collateral root Ri (from which is formed रेण्न) is found in the names of European rivers as Rhine, Rhone, Rye, Wrey, Roe etc.

(v) A noteworthy feature of some of the ancient place-names is the existence of their duplicates and sometimes even triplicates. I quote below some examples:—गोवारी (the river mentioned in the रिक्वेदा 10, 75, 6 त्वसिते कृष्णविष कृष्णि करु मेयहऽ वर्णे या निन्दिते) is the modern गोमत ए a Western tributary of the Indus. गोवारी is also the well-known river of U.P. near Lucknow, which flowed beyond the boundary of the Kosala janapada in the time of the रामायण. It was crossed by Śrī Rāma, Lakṣmana and Sītā leaving Ayodhya—'गतव तु सुचिरं सत: शैलवहिनः गोवारी नामूताववासतरसतार गमाव' (Rām. Ayodhya, 47, 10.) A third river गोमती flows near Dwārakā in Kathiawad and has been considered to be a holy river since ancient times. Similarly हरावती of the post-Vedic literature is the Rāvi of the Punjab. The same name applied to the Rapti flowing in the districts of Basti and Gorakhpur, U.P. and later to the famous Irrawadi, near Rangoon, Burma. Sarasvati, was the common name of a number of rivers, flowing in East Punjab, near Prayāg, U.P. and in Gujrat. Sarayū, the famous river flowing by Ayodhyā in U.P. had its namesake in Siam, flowing near its ancient capital, also known as Ayodhyā. The Indian cities बाराणसी, पुरासरती, वेशाली, शशुरी, कुमुसुर, निविता, अर्थी, चंपारुंडी, कोयोज all had their counterparts bearing the same names in Burma, Siam and Cambodia where Indians had established their colonies in the early centuries of the Christian era. भारत रात्त्र a peak of the Himalayas is mentioned in the Mb. सन्न 28, 'तत्त्वाय भारतं शैलेनाय समजितम् ग्रांत्यं, भद्रदश प्रविशसावच वयं स्वायमम्' as existing in भारत वयं a part of नूरीसी near the शैलेन्द्र or Khotan river, in S.W. China. It is also a mountain near विशालिं िनतिया mentioned in the Rām. तिष्ठि 27, 1, 'तत्सदा स विशालिं हस्ता गुप्तकरमितिविच च बसतः महावसः पृथक्क रामोऽस्मिनयमविद्यत्' and also रघुरं 13, 26, 'प्रत्येकं महावसं पुरस्तदानिः प्रविण्यां माहात्म्यां च शंकृ नवं वायुधन धर्मं नात्तिव खं स्निविनजीवकम् समं विद्यमानं'. Similarly, the mountain मन्तक was originally in the Himalayas near Kailāsa, and Krośchagiri—कृष्णिनिमित्रिराय मन्तकोऽपि प्रवत्तः, Rām. तिष्ठि 43, 29; इत्युत्तराः सीतानुरः
Later it gave its name to another mountain lying submerged in the sea, between India and Ceylon—‘इति कुष्ठा मति सात्वर्र समुद्रˊङ्क्षणंस्य, निरन्तरम् मेणाक मुवाच निरस्तवतम्’, Rām. सुम्बर 1, 90. An interesting case of duplicates in pairs, is the name of निरस्त्र which in the time of the Rām. was the capital town of the केकडा देव-‘निरस्त्र मुरुरवर् सोधमार-सेदुरंजना’ Rām., अयोध्या 68 22. It was also known as राजगुप्त ‘जूजे राजगुप्ते रथये मातामहे निवेशम्’, Rām. अयोध्या 76, 7. Now, the capital of Magadha in the time of the Buddha was राजगुप्त the modern राजगीर. Its former name, before Bimbisāra, was also निरस्त्र ‘गदा किस्ता बलवता मायेन निरस्त्राः’, महातो समाया 19 23. In order to avoid confusion between the two निरस्त्र the latter was known as the निरस्त्र of Maghadha in the Buddhist times (see Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 13, page 150). The निरस्त्र of केकडा was identified by Cunningham with the modern निरस्ट्रक or Jalalpur on river Jhelum, Pakistan.

Another well-known case of duplicate place-names is the town of मथुरा or मथुरा which first finds mention in the Rām. उत्तरो 70, 5, ‘द्वार्य मथुरीरी रस्या मथुरा देव निमित्ता’. The southern city of मथुरा the capital of the ancient पाञ्जाब country is traditionally believed to have been named after the मथुरा of the North, probably by the राजद्वार्य in the Mahābhārata times.

This phenomenon of the double place-names can be explained by the fact of the migration of peoples from their original homes to the different parts of the country as well as to distant lands where they settled and called their new abodes and surroundings by the names of the old places to which they had been emotionally attached. A parallel example may be witnessed in some of the names given by emigrants from England to places of their settlement in America and Australia, etc. like New York, London, Portland and Newcastle.

(vi) Another interesting feature, which we note regarding the names of some of the places, is that owing to the peculiar characteristics of their inhabitants, names of those places became common adjectives denoting those peculiarities, e.g. बाहर in Sanskrit means a ‘barbarian’. But originally just like the English word, it simply meant an inhabitant of Barbary in Africa, cf. बाहरी विसमात्त यथानाम्
बर्बरस्तवा Mb., भ. 254, 18. At first the Romans used the word 'barbarian' to mean an uncivilised man. That the same sense of the word developed in Sanskrit also, owing to Roman contacts, may be safely presumed. Another similar word in Sanskrit language, viz., परचवर or परचवर originally was the name of a country situated near अपरमस्त्र, or between Mathura and Jaipur—तथा अपरमस्त्रयांच्याक्षाखले स परचवराणि, Mb., समा 31, 4. In later usage परचवर came to mean a thief, probably owing to the thievish propensities of some of the aboriginal tribes inhabiting this part of the country. To cite another instance of a similar nature, the word वर्द्र occurring in the Mb., (cf. वर्द्वान् कहकांवासेरजय्यः पाकामानि:, समा, 27, 23) is the name of the rugged land, a part of वर्दितान in north-west of Kashmir, inhabited by a number of beggarly tribal peoples, from whose name is probably derived the Sanskrit word वर्द्र. In Hindi too, some such words are quite common; e.g. बंगड़, a dolt, meant originally a man from the बंगड़ tract, in S. Punjab, बंगकानो a ‘rustic’ meant originally one belonging to बंगकान in Tajikistan, Southern Russia, उजख ‘an idiot’, was in reality an inhabitant of Ujbegistan also in Southern Russia. These last two words became current in Muslim times, when contacts with these foreign lands were established. In the English language, the parallel examples are Barbarian, Bedlam, Bohemian etc.

(vii) Names of some places, specially port towns, came to be associated with certain commodities exported or associated with them. Thus मरिचपत्तन or मुरचपत्तन the ancient name of कोंकणीर in Kerala, became known by this name because मरिच or black pepper was the chief commodity of export from this port, the name of which was pronounced as Muzarius by the Romans who carried on active trade with this town. Sometimes, a commodity itself became known after the place associated with it, as is the case with the Hindi word बूटी or chewing tobacco which first came to India through the port of Surat, in the time of Jehangir. The Arab traders, in medieval times, first gave the name of बूटारी to betelnut, which went to their country by export from the ancient port of बूटारिक or बूटारा on the western sea coast. Similarly, the fruit of the Carambola tree, the Sanskrit कामरंग, Hindi, कमरा, was first brought to India from the ancient Malayan State of कमर् न. 
(viii) In our ancient literature, there existed the usual practice of calling a well-known place by an equivalent or synonymous name, by translating the word—e.g. गणसाहु by and नागपुर for हृस्तहनुर गज and नाग meaning an elephant, हृस्तिन्द्र for एकीलिखा or एकाहृतदित्र the ancient name of Warangal, in Andhra; पुष्पपुर in Kālidāsa’s Rāghuvamśa, 6, 24, (प्रासद बालाजी संविताना ने गांव के गुप्तपुर संयुक्तानाम) for हृस्तपुर or पंजिपुर, modern Patna. Sometimes the names became slightly altered by a process of metathesis or interchange of vowel sounds, e.g. तारासहो became तारासह and विभाला or वेसाली modern वि.साह in Bihar. विभाला finds a mention in the Rām. Bālakāṇḍa, and वेसाली is the later form found in Buddhist literature. An interesting example of what probably was a clerical error, is the name of चन्द्र a river, mentioned in the विघु. 2. 2. 36 (चन्द्रब विषभविन्दा पतानायत्वः परिचयं केलु महालवययं पवित्रत सागरस्त्र) and also referred to in the सिद्धांत. शिरोमणि. It has also been listed as a river-name by Wilson in his Sanskrit Dictionary. Now, Professor Pathak, in the Indian Antiquary, 1912, p. 226, has proved that चन्द्र is only a scribe’s error for वसु or वंद्र which is mentioned in the Mb. समाय. 50, 20—प्रमाणारसपत्यसनाव बंदुरी नाग भगवान, वल्लव्य वदततस्य विरुः रजतं वंद्र and according to a reading in Rāghuvamśa 4, 67-विनोलाधिव अभासारम वस्त्ती विशेषणे: दुधुधुवानिन: संबाल्मन हुँकामेत्तराम.

(ix) Some of the prominent rivers and cities in ancient India have one or more synonyms which arose for mythological, historical or geographical reasons. Thus गंगा was also known as भागीरथी and बहुवन्द्र for its association with भगीरथ and वंद्र, राजगुह as रणगुह and बाहुरुयु for association with जरासंध, son of वृहदर्व and King of Magadh, उज्जवलिनी as अवंति after the mythical King अवंति, यमुना as कालिभी (from its source in the Kālinda mountain), नर्मदा as मेकलमया (from its having emerged from the Mekala hills) and बहु मुत्र as लोहित्य or लोहित गंगा from its source in the lake लोहित near मानसरोवर (see कालिभीयय—बह वंधुन्तु सुत: सोम काले, लोहिताभुवये, कालिभीयययाया: तु सप्ततस्त ब्रह्मण: सुत:; तस्यनम बिभिष्कायें स्वयं लोहितगंगकम्).

(x) Even a casual glance at the beautiful names of Indian rivers, reveals to us the wonderful aesthetic sense of our great ancestors who first named them. It seems certain that the majestic
rivers and lovely streams of this beautiful land made an emotional and imaginative appeal to them. The significance as well as the sheer beauty and sonorous quality of the following names are self-evident—\(\text{तिगु, तिलता, तिरावती, सरस्वती, गंगा, कलिदास्या, मंदालिनी, पर्यारा, श्श्श्ना, झेयाङ, रेवा, सवानीरा} \) (= \(\text{गंगा} \) in Bihar), \(\text{कावरी, मंत्रीरा} \) (tributary of the Godavari on the bank of which the modern town of Bidar is situated), \(\text{मंगोरा, गुलामेश्वरा} \) (= \(\text{प्रकृति} \)), \(\text{रेतु} \) (= \(\text{रेतु} \), District Mirzapur, U.P.) \(\text{स्वरेश्वर} \) (Bihar), \(\text{चित्राकुल} \), \(\text{भोध} \), \(9,17\) and \(\text{चित्रोपला} \) (Orissa) and \(\text{अक्कन्ताक} \). I believe the aesthetic quality of our river-names is of an exceptionally high order and may form the subject of a separate paper.

(xi) There are a number of places mentioned in ancient literature, the exact meaning of whose names has so far remained unexplained or only unsatisfactorily explained. Some of these might have been borrowed in Sanskrit from some of the local dialects as may be the case with \(\text{किरिंवी, पंपा, लंका, कैलास, तलवुड़ा} \) and \(\text{अर्जो} \). But some are apparently Sanskrit names but without a definite meaning—e.g., \(\text{पारियाज or पारियात्र} \) (Western Vindhyas) \(\text{कैलास, नालेद्रा} \) (the popular explanation \(\text{नालेद्रा} \) इल्ति is not quite satisfactory), \(\text{मालवान, गस्सा} \) (A part of the eastern Vindhyas), \(\text{वसीर देघ} \) (\(\text{उत्तरबंध} \) मेनाका विरियान्तिव च 'भारते' \(\text{Mb. वन} 139\)), \(\text{यूंगवर} \) (\(\text{यूंगवर} \) विवर्धाव कृतिबा राष्ट्रस्यव भवति \(\text{Mb. वन} 129,9\), \(\text{कृतलोभ अंतरेण कृतलोभान हृदयेण हिति पांडवा, लुभा व्रताणा मल्लकर विचर्य प्रविषान्तु बनालु, Mb. विराट 5,4\)). However, a few such names are capable of being explained although with some effort. \(\text{भेत्तल} \) for instance is the part of the Vindhyāchala, near \(\text{महरोंटक} \) from where the \(\text{नर्मा} \) takes its rise. The word seems to be a slightly changed form of \(\text{भेत्तल} \) which is actually used by the Sanskrit poet \(\text{रामचरिक} \) in his panegyric on the exploits of King \(\text{सुर्य} \) of \(\text{कानू} \) (10th century A.D.). \(\text{भेत्तल} \) or \(\text{भेत्तला} \) means a girdle and this mountain lying between the Vindhyas and the Satpuras, girdles them together, as it were. Similarly the name of the mount \(\text{मेनाका} \) in the Himalayas mentioned both in the \(\text{Rām} \) as well as the \(\text{Mb.} \) in association with \(\text{महर्षिन्द्र} \) may be explained by breaking the word into \(\text{माय} \) and \(\text{नाक} \) i.e. the heaven or the lofty place of Maya.
(xii) Some places, on grounds of similarity in names, have been wrongly indentified in local traditions. An example in point is विराटनागर the capital of मस्स्येश्वर in the time of the Mb. It is in reality the modern town of वराट in district Jaipur, Rajasthan, which was included in the ancient मस्स्येश्वर. But there are other places known as वराट, one in district Almora, U.P., another in Orissa for which the honour of being the capital of King Virāṭ is wrongly claimed by the local tradition. Similar is the case of कुंडनपुर the city of Rukmini, the fair princess of विद्मश and the favourite spouse of क्रिष्णa. This in fact is the modern कुंडन near Amraoti, in Maharashtra, an area comprised in the ancient विद्मश, कुंडनपुर or कुंडनपुर in district Bijnor, U.P. and another in dist. Etah (U.P.) is erroneously referred to in the local tradition as the city of दरमणी simply because the names have similar sound. Another example is लड़ागिरि in district Allahabad, which is wrongly said to be the site of काश्यप्पुर mentioned in the Mb. This in fact was near हस्तिनाघुर and should be identified with बरना or वारणावत because वारणावत is mentioned in the Mb. as the place where the Lac-house was built and it was quite close to हस्तिनाघुर. बरना and हस्तिनाघुर are both in the district of Meerut.

(xiii) We come across in our ancient literature, such as the Rām., किंविक्षिकाकौड़, Mb., समा, भौत्तक etc., विद्मश पुराण and other Purāṇas as also in Buddhist texts such as the सुपारकात्तक a host of names of countries, rivers, mountains and oceans, as हुरिवर्म, पश्चिम, वैश्वानर, पुरुराण विविधसार, अद्वितीय-उस्म (in the सुपारकात्तक Jataka), which are clear in meaning but their exact geographical significance is not known. In most such cases the descriptions are deeply coloured by imagination and poetic fancy. But in a very few cases the names and descriptions may be found to accord with geographical facts. The great Vālmiki, for instance, says in the Rām., किंविक्षिकाकौड़ that at the end of the Northern Region, beyond the mountain Meru, there is eternal darkness, because of the absence of Sun, but the सोमविवर or the ‘Moon mountain’ emits a light which serves the purpose of the sun-‘तम्तिष्ठम् सूक्त्रस्तरः पद्मात्मिक्षः, तत् सोम गिरिन्तिस्, मध्ये हेम मयो महान्, स न देशो विषुं देविः सत्यं भासा प्रकाशते’; विद्मश पुराण, 2, 8, 22 also refers to it as a land of perpetual day or night (तत्समाहेयवर्गस्य वैविवाराधिः स्ववेषु, वर्गाः हृष्य वर्गाः मेवविवर्तति. यतः, सभा विवर्ततो रात्रिभर्तो गद्धिति भास्करे, विवर्ततिः मतो रात्रिभर्ति नमु रात्रिभास्करे).
These descriptions certainly refer to the phenomenon of Northern Lights or the Aurora Borealis seen in the regions near the North Pole. This of course reveals the wonderful knowledge of the geography of such remote lands, possessed by the Indians of an age as early as that of the Rāmāyaṇa. But this forms a subject of independent study which is outside the scope of the present discussion.
HISTORY OF CHĀTSŪ

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Chātsū is about 26 miles south of Jaipur. It was originally called Tāmbāvatī-nagara. The place was next called Paohpavati and is said to have been so named after Rājā Paohpa. No epigraphical and literary information is available about these names but they are known to us only from the local traditions. The third name which the place received was Champāvatī. From it, the town Chātsū derived its name. It was in existence even in the sixth century A.D. The antiquity of the city is clear from the ancient wall which is practically desolate. There are clear signs of a reconstruction of this wall in about the 14th century A.D. but there are no means of ascertaining when the original wall was built.

Chātsū was ruled by Guhilotas from the sixth century A.D. They were originally Brāhmaṇas. This dynasty was founded by Bhartṛipaṭṭa who has been described as Paraśurāma endowed with both priestly and martial qualities. Thus, the founder of this dynasty was a Brāhmaṇa by caste but performed the feats of Kṣatriya. This dynasty seems to have been named after its ruler Guhila, third in succession from Bhartṛipaṭṭa. His son Dhanika constructed a step well at Nāgara near Uniyārā in 684 A.D. for the use of his subjects for performing the abhisheka of Śankara and for acquiring religious merit. This locality is about 50 miles south of Chātsū. This Dhanika seems to be different from Guhilaputra Dhanika mentioned in the record found at Dabok in Udaipur State. Dhanika of Dabok inscription is said to have ruled in Dhavagarta (the present town of Dhor in the Jahazpur district of the Udaipur State) as a feudatory of Dhavalappadeva who is probably Maurya ruler named Dhavala. But the record of Dhanika found at Nāgara contains no reference to any overlord. Both Nāgara

and Dhod are situated at a long distance from each other. Besides, the date of the inscription of Dabok is confusing. Dr. Bhandarkar read the date as 407 G. E. (725 A. D.) but Mr. R. R. Haldar reads it as 207 H. E. (—813 A.D.). Even if we suppose the reading of the date of Dr. Bhandarkara, Dhanika of the record of Dabok seems to be different from Dhanika found in the Nāgara inscription in time. Dhanika was succeeded by his son Auka.

The later Guhila rulers were the feudatories of the Pratihāras and fought on behalf of their masters. After Auka, his son kṛishṇa became the ruler. Kṛishṇa who flourished in the last quarter of the eighth century, seems to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Pratihāra Vatsarāja whose kingdom extended from Malwa to Jodhpur. Kṛishṇa's son and successor was Śankaragaṇa who defeated a general of the Gauḍa king and presented the latter's kingdom to his overlord. The Gauḍa king was Dharmapāla and the king who was Śankaragaṇa's overlord was apparently the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II. Śankaragaṇa obviously helped Nāgabhaṭa II in wresting the kingdom of Kanauj from Dharmapāla. Śankaragaṇa was succeeded by his son Harsha who was a feudatory of the Pratihāra Bhoja. Harsha claims to have conquered the kings of the north and presented to Bhoja horses which were expert in traversing the Sindhu. This seems to refer to Harsha rendering assistance to Bhoja in conquering the Eastern Punjab. Harsha was succeeded by his son Guhila II who is said to have conquered the king of Gauḍa and levied tribute from the princes of the east. He seems to have joined Bhoja or helped Mahendrapāla in conquering the Gauḍa country by defeting king Nārāyaṇapāla of the Pāla dynasty. Some silver coins discovered at Agra bearing the elgent Śrī Guhila are ascribed to him. He married a Paramāra princess who gave birth to a son named Bhaṭṭa. Bhaṭṭa who succeeded his father, seems to have been a contemporary of the Pratihāra Mahipāla I. He defeated the king of the Deccan at the behest of his master. He apparently joined hands with the Chandellā Harsha to help Mahipāla in his war against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III. Bhaṭṭa's son and successor was Bālāditya who married a Chāhamāna princess, the daughter of king Śivarāja. Bālāditya erected the temple of Murāri (Vishṇu) in commemoration of his wife who died there.¹

The rule of the Guhilas over this place is also inferred from the name of the tank Golerāva here. It appears to be the corruption of Guhilarāja.

After the Guhilas, this place seems to have come under the possession of Chauhānas. Hammīradeva, the famous ruler of Ranthambhor who became the ruler in 1283, after his digvijaya returned home while passing through Champā. After that, it was seized by Muslims. A Persian inscription of 1381 A.D. contains the name of the old Pararānā of Chātsū and the name of the king is missing. It was also ruled by the Khaljis of Malwa. An inscription of the reign of Ghiyāsa Shah in 1481 A.D. has been found engraved in the temple of this place. Even Siddhachakra Tantra was installed here in the Jaina temple in 1491 A.D. in his reign through Muni Ratnakirtī, the pupil of Prabhā Chandra by Tīlā and Mādhava with the members of the family. This indicates that Ghiyāsuddin though Muslim, was tolerant in the matters of religion. He was religious minded and devoted much of his time to prayers. He loved peace. In his time, the religious activities both among Hindus and Jainas continued.

But soon, Chātsū was taken by the Sisodiyas of Mewar. Mahāraṇā Kumbhakarṇa, the most powerful ruler of this dynasty who ascended the throne in about 1433 A.D. conquered this place. In the time of Mahāraṇā Saṅgrāmasimha (1509 A.D. - 27 A.D.), Rāvala Rāmachandra Solankī was ruling here from Todāraisimha as his feudatory. After that, it came under the control of Rāṭhioḍa.

3. Ibid.
4. Inscription on Siddhā-chakra-pantra in the Jaina temple of Śāvalaḷī at Āmev or Amber Sāatra 1944, वरेभ ब्रह्म्स वर वर    वर रो तुवनइच्छामध्ये वलास्तक मण्डी वर हन्दक्ष्म वर बाघीविष्णु म. और पद्मरंजित मध्ये म. और माधववर देवा तर्केन्द्र शिवान्तू शरियान्तर कोटि क्षुद्रदेवाः, शूरिताणां गययादि राज्ये चंपातो नगरे राज परिवार विद्यामध्ये खंडेलवालानांने अजमेरा गोजे वरेभतो माण्ये सुदाह तद्भव संवाहो पदार्थ सभावर साह बड़व, साह आया, साह नाथ, साह सूरी, सं पदार्थ भार्यों सं गृहर तद्भव दीला माण्यते एते ब्रह्मांति सिद्ध चक ब्रह्म निर्माणमतः।
Viramade, the ruler of Merta as it is known from prāasti of the Shatapāhuḍa written in 1537 A.D.1 and the Kalpasūtra of 1538 A.D.2 But soon, the great Rāṭhoḍa Rājā Māladeva of Jodhpur defeated him and took possession of this place. He appointed his vassal Sūrata Siṅha to rule over this principality.3 Finally, Bhāramala, the king of Āmer began to rule here because a copy of the Upāsakādhyaṇa was written during his reign in 1566 A.D.4

Chāṭuḷī also remained a seat of religious activities. Buddhism seems to have been in existence in very early times but not in flourishing condition. Only, the head of Buddha was discovered.5 In the 10th century, Bālāditya, the Guhila ruler constructed the temple of Murārī in the memory of his wife.6 The name of Śiva Dūṅgari here indicates that at one time, some temples of Śiva were on it. In the eastern extension of the city is a temple of the 10th or 11th century A.D. Its doorway is decorated with a figure of dancing Śiva and the extant portion of its mandapa is supported on well carved pillars of stone. Over this temple, a later temple known as Chaturbhujajī kā Mandira was constructed in the reign of Mahārājā Mānasīṇha of Āmer.7

Jainism may be traced here from the very early times. The temple which crowning the hill known as Śiva Dūṅgari was originally a Jaina temple but now appropriated to Śiva worship. The shrine door is doubtless old perhaps as old as the eighth century A.D.8 This definitely proves that in the eighth century A.D., there were Jainas who worshipped this temple. Even in the reign of the Muslim ruler Ghiyāsuddin, the religious activities of the

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1. Prāasti-saṅgraha, p. 94.
2. Prāasti of a copy of the manuscript named Kalpasūtra in the Abhayagranthālaya, Bikaner.
3. सन १५३७ वर्ष त्याकै प्रबलाणां श्री क्षेम मोढे। श्री जोश्वेदेशा शाखामध्ये कोठारी जगतुर्फ गुप्त चाहहुँदे—गुप्त शाहवं शुल्क श्री कल्य गुरु नवक भगवान भारतम्। श्री सिद्धसेनसुरिंद्रि.
4. दूल्हण न श्री—श्री महानु श्री वर्षाबारी स्नात मधे राजि श्री वीरसंदे विजय राजवे।
5. Elliot and Dowsoms, History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. 4, p. 533.
6. Prāasti-saṅgraha, p. 94.
Jainism continued. Under the Solanki ruler Rāmachandra, the feudatory ruler of Sangrāma Siṁha, Jainism flourished exceedingly. He was the patron of Jainism. Several copies of the manuscripts were prepared and the installation ceremony of the images took place.

Even Jainism continued to develop here during the reign of the Kachachhāvā rulers. They were tolerant in the matters of religion. In about 1575 A.D., Bhāṭṭāraka Chandrakīrti of Mūlasaṅgha seems to have removed his seat from Chitor and established it at this place as is known from the inscription of 1604 A.D. that he was residing at Chātsū.¹ The reason was that Mewar at this time from the political point of view was unsafe and insecure. On the other hand, Chātsū was under the rulers of Āmer who were on friendly relations with the Mughal emperors and were patron of Jainism. This was the time of Akbar who followed the policy of religious toleration. It was, therefore, natural that the activities of Jainism progressed. In 1604 A.D., the pillar of the Jaina temple was erected by Chandrakīrti.² Some copies of the manuscripts were also written by his inspiration. His successors Devendrakīrti, Narendra Kīrti, Surendra Kīrti and Jagata Kīrti kept their seat here.

The discovery of so many copies of the manuscripts written at Chātsū points out that it was a great centre of learning in the medieval times. Tḥākura, the noteworthy poet of the Apabhraṃśa language lived at this place in the 16th century. He composed some works such as Kṛipānacchārita, Meghamālā Vāyakahā, Panchendraiavela, Nemirājamativela and Pārvavānathaśravanasattāsī.³ These works indirectly throw some light on the codition of Jainism in the 16th century at this place. The Meghamālāvāyakahā was written in the temple of Pārvavānātha at the preaching of the Pontiff Prabhāchandra who came here from Chitor. He mentions the name of a scholar named Toshaka. The names of the important Śrāvakas are also mentioned. The ruler Rāvala Rāmachandra was ruling here. From the Pārvavānāthaśravanasattāsī, it is known that Ibrāhim Lodi attacked Ranthambhor ruled at this time by Rāṇā Sāṅgā.⁴ People of

2. Ibid.
3. Anekānta, year 10, No. 1.
Chātsū began to flee in panic. The poets Ṭhākura and Mallinātha prayed to the Jaina Tirthaṅkara Pārśvanātha for help. Soon this danger disappeared by he defeat of Ibrahim Lodi at the hands of Rāṇā Sāṅgā. The poet Mallinātha, son of Malhā is known to have composed the Kohibela.

A small Muhammadan tomb constructed with the spoils of temples records the martyrdom in a holy war of a certain Gurg Ali Shah at Chātsū in 1572 A.D.¹ It is more probable that the destruction of early Hindu and Jaina temples was the work of the Muslims. In this way, this place also came under Muslim influence for some time.

THE YŪPA PHASE IN INDIA AND INDONESIA

By

Dr. Baij Nath Puri

The finds of Yūpas—now numbering 19—mostly in Rajputana, and at Kutei in Borneo, shed new light on the politico—religious history of Northern India and Indonesia from the second to the sixth centuries A.D. The view expressed by R.G. Bhandarkar¹ that there was no Brahmanical revival and renovation before the advent of the Guptas to power, or by R.D. Banerjee,² that the principal work of the Brahmans in the fifth and sixth century A.D. was to reform Hinduism or the orthodox Brahmanical religion from the state of torpor into which it had fallen during the long rule of the barbarians, have to be revised. There was hardly any period of inactivity for the Brahmans and their sacrifices, except during the time of Aśoka, and actually the revival of Vedic sacrifices took place in the time of Pushyamitra Śuṅga.³ Since then these continued to be performed from time to time, and at different places. Brahmanism never decayed during the time of the Kushāṇas, anticipating its vigorous revival and renovation at the hands of the Guptas.

The performance of Vedic sacrifices dates back to the time of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, who performed two horse sacrifices, as is evident from the Ayodhya inscriptions of Dhanadeva, and the Mālavīkāgnimitram of Kālidāsa.⁴ Patañjali, the famous commentator, also refers to the sacrifices performed for Pushyamitra (iha Pushyamitrāṃ Tājayāmaḥ III. 2. 123 p. 123 ll 3-4). He also notices Yūpas in a number of references, and mentions the material of their make (Yūpāyadāru vaibhitako Yūpaḥ). It is interesting to learn that despite Vasishṭha, Baudhāyana, Vishṇu and Āśvalāyana’s injunctions⁵ against the setting up of the Yūpas which had a polluting touch as that of a funeral pyre, or of a woman in her courses, these were set

2. The Age of the Imperial Guptas. p 112.
4. See, my ‘India in the time of Patañjali’ p. 27ff.
5. Ibid p. 171
up at different places. In a recent study Dr. B.C. Chhabra has drawn our attention\(^1\) to the area in which these sacrificial posts were set up—Isapur (Mathura), Kosam (Allahabad), Nandasa (Udipur), Barnala (Jaipur), Badhwa (Kotah), Nagara (Jaipur), and Bijoygarh (Bharatpur) in Chronological order from 102 A.D. (computing from the Śaka era), to 371 A.D. (the last inscription being dated in the year 428 of the Kṛita era). The Kutei-Borneo inscriptions—numbering seven, of Mūlavarman, of which the first four were edited by Vogel\(^2\), and the last three by Dr. Chhabra\(^3\), can be dated round about 400 A.D. These suggest that Vedic sacrifices, which were very costly, were performed on a grand scale by rulers and local chiefs who paid handsome dakshiṇas to the Brahmins.

The sacrifices noticed in these records are: *Dvādaśarātra* (Isapur), *Saptasomasanistha* (Kosam) comprising *Agnishtoma, Atyāgnishtoma, Ukthya, Shoḍasin, Vājapeya, Atirātra* and *Āptoryāma, Šaṣṭhirātra* (Nandasa), *Triirātra* (Three Maukhari Yūpas, Badhwa)—an amalgam of *Agnishtoma, Ukthya* and *Atirātra; Āptoryāma* (A new Yūpa from Badhwa) and *Punḍarika* (Bijoygarh). In two cases (Barnala 284; and Nagar (Jaipur) 321) the name of the sacrifice is not mentioned. The term *Sattra* is employed to suggest the setting up of the Yūpa as a commemorative pillar. The inscriptions of Mūlavarman do not mention the names of sacrifices, but record only the donations given by the King to the Brahmins, while the crude stone pillars symbolize the performance of sacrifices for which they were set up.

The sacrificial fee is also mentioned in a few records only. The entire village originally given by the king to Śivadatta, a trusted minister, was given as *dakshiṇā* (Kosam), but a portion of the donation was reserved for a temple of Śiva which had a *sattra* attached to it. The Maukhari chiefs were equally liberal, and gave the same amount of *dakshiṇā* as prescribed by the sacred texts (*Sahasra dakshiṇā triratrā*)—of a thousand cows, 333 were to be given every day in groups of ten, the remaining three were to be given on the last day.

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1. *India Antiqua*. pp. ff. All the inscriptions are noticed in this paper.
2. *Bijdrage* etc. LXXIV. 167-237.
The inscriptions of Mūlavarmman present a different picture. One Yūpa inscription mentions the performance of a Vahuswarpika sacrifice; another Yūpa is connected with a gift of 20,000 (or 1,020) kine; and the third with certain donations called bāhudāna, jīvadāna, Kalpavrikshadāna and bhūmīdāna. The fourth probably recorded a similar act of munificence of the king. This ruler Mūlavarmman was the son of Aśvavarman, and grandson of Kundunāga,—rather an unusual name,—who was the founder of the line (Vaṃśa-kaṭri). It is suggested by Dr. Chhabra that he was a merchant from Southern India who had settled down in Borneo and became a king, rather than a native of that place whose son embraced Hinduism, as was proposed by Kern. Here we might draw the attention of scholars to the fact that the Yūpas were not confined to Northern India alone. These were set up in other parts of India as well. At Kiraṁ in the Bilaspur district, was found a wooden pillar—a solitary instance—containing a long record in Brāhmi character of about the 2nd century A.D. It has a special feature of not being bent at the top and is surmounted by what appears to be a Kalaśa. A Yūpa Stambha was also brought to our notice in Mysore, near the Kodadarana temple at the village of Hirimangular. About a mile and a half from Lalbhagah is Dumapur, a hamlet of Tipatia, in the Dehrapur Tehsil of the Kanpur district, where, under a tree, one octagonal fragment of the shaft of a pillar was found. Near its existing upper end is the rope wound twice round the shaft with one knot only. The pillar resembles in some respects the two sacrificial Yūpas at Isapur.

These Yūpas from other parts of India, unfortunately escaped earlier attention of scholars, though they are noticed in the Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India. These do not bear dates; but the evidence furnished by Sanskrit works suggest that sacrifices with the setting up of the Yūpas were not an unusual feature, despite the stress on Bhakti and devotion. The References in the Raghunāma (vi. 38) and the Mricchakaṭīka (Act. 9 p. 220) are clear on this point. Chārudatta had adorned the city of Ujjāyiynī with the setting up of the Yūpas.

2. Ibid. 1922-23. p. 128.
3. Ibid. 1929-30. 133-34.
From the above account it appears that the Yūpas, symbolising Vedic sacrifices, were regularly set up in India, and also abroad in Borneo, as suggested by the solitary instance of Mūlavarmman. As the Borneo ruler does not mention the nature of the sacrifices performed by him, but he gave donations to the Brahmins, and Jīvadāna to those defeated by him, it is quite likely that some of the crude Yūpas set up by him, were Jāyastambhas or 'column of victory' which is mentioned in the Śabdakalpadrum. Probably the spirit in raising these columns was different. It was materialistic rather than spiritual, and the donor, despite his benefactions, was more interested in blowing his praśasti-his conquest over the rulers defeated and released by him, rather than in performing sacrifices for gaining religious merit—of which there is no reference.
ZAMINDARS IN THE CEDED AND CONQUERED PROVINCES UNDER EARLY BRITISH RULE.

By

R. N. Nagar, M.A., Ph.D.

The modern zamindari tenure is known to be a creation of British policy. It was Cornwallis who first gave it a new legal status and established it on a firm footing. Zamindars, as a class, had existed long before the advent of the British in India. In fact, they have a hoary history; though what exactly were the privileges attached to their office is often disputed. But even under the later Mughal rule, despite a sharp divergence between theory and practice, it was the system of administration as laid down by Akbar that was acknowledged as the measuring yard of all constitutional propriety. According to this system a zamindar was regarded as a mere middleman between the Government and the ryot. He collected the revenue from the ryot, and, for his labour, was entitled to a certain commission thereon. If he possessed land, he engaged for it like any other land-holder. His title, no doubt, tended to become hereditary, just as titles under indigenous system were prone to become hereditary. That did not, however, alter the basic concept. To quote a parallel example, the Kanungho had some specific duties to perform. His office also tended to run in the family. He also came to acquire land; but he did not engage for it in the capacity of being an office holder.

It is true, however, that when political convulsions occurred and the seat of government was weakened, the powerful and influential among the zamindars arrogated to themselves the privileges of sovereignty. The local inhabitants acquiesced in them either for fear of reprisals, or for the protection of life and property extended to

1. The Ceded territories were acquired by the East India Company in 1801 from the Nawab Wazir of Oudh; and the Conquered territories from the Marathas in 1803.
2. Cornwallis in Bengal by Aspinall p. 172.
3. Ain-i-Akbari; Abul Fazl.
them against possible aggression. More powerful the zamindar, greater the powers thus usurped. This was equally true of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces immediately before the British set their foot on this soil.

The various land tenures in India grew through the passage of centuries achieving variations under caste and class distinctions and local traditions. They fostered under the strong and abiding ties of the common usages of the village community. These communities became the most stable feature of Indian rural fabric. Their existence remained materially unaffected despite political fermentations and dynastic changes. Hence their long ingrained usages held a powerful sway over the agrarian populace. The most significant of such usages, respected and acknowledged by the Government, guaranteed the inviolability of the rights of the ryots. That this was so in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces as well, becomes apparent by the testimony of contemporary British officers themselves. Newnham, for instance, while tendering evidence before the Joint Select Committee of the House of Commons, observed, "I believe that the right of the ryot is the greatest right in the country. This right never seems to die". Holt Mackenzie, Secretary to the Central Government, also wrote, "Neither the furthest exile, nor the longest absence, dissolved the tie that bound them to the field of their ancestors, nor destroyed their right to resume possession when they returned."

Before the British occupation, the two widely prevalent tenures of a superior variety in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces respectively were the pattidari and the Bhaiyachara tenures. A hold-

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1. For instance, the Acting Collector of Etawah wrote to the Board of Revenue, "When Rajah Gope Singh was in full power and authority, he generally turned out the original zamindars of the country, and at his own free will and pleasure was in the habit of transferring lands actually belonging to Nawab Vizier and annexing them to those he rented from the Maratha Government, and vice versa of including in the Nawab's territories land, which, in fact, formed part of the Maratha dominions. . . . ." Proceeding of the Board of Revenue, 18th March 1803.


3. The Government Revenue Records of the North Western Provinces (1818-20) p. 121.
ing of land, a village, or a group of villages was occupied and cultivated, not under the claims of a single individual, but was held jointly under a somewhat complicated but commonly acknowledged and clearly understood pattern. Each person of the family, or of the group, held a specified share in the field. But when the British entered these territories, they were apparently still imbued with the Cornwallisian notion of individual landlordism. So, they introduced here also the same measure, as they had established earlier in Bengal, of vesting zamindars with proprietorial rights in the soil at the expense of all other tenure holders. They began by farming the entire land on a three years’ lease to the highest bidder. The original land-holders were to have the option of farming their own land provided they offered as high as others and found an adequate security for the fulfilment of their engagements. If they declined, they were to be given the benefit of nankar allowance. Subsequently, the revenue settlement was to be formulated as outlined in the Governor-General’s proclamation dated 14th July 1802. Accordingly, (a) a settlement was to be made in the first year “... in all practical cases with zamindars or other actual proprietors of the soil (unless when disqualified by notoriously bad character or other good and sufficient cause) for a period of three years at a fixed equal annual jumma”. (b) At the expiry of the first settlement, a second triennial settlement was to be made on an increased revenue “with the same persons (if willing to engage... )”, (c) The second triennial settlement was to be followed by a quarternal settlement on a still higher revenue, and was to be concluded “with the same persons (if willing to engage)”. (d) Finally, at the end of ten years, a permanent settlement was to be concluded “with the same persons (if willing to engage, and if no others who have a better claim shall come forward) for such lands as may be in a sufficiently

1. For details, see the Land Systems of British India by B.D.H. Baden Powell.
3. Ibid.
improved state of cultivation to warrant the measure on such terms as Government may deem fit and equitable.\(^1\)

When zamindars were thus vested with proprietary rights, the rights of ryots were submerged almost beyond redemption. A zamindar could now legally dispossess his under-tenant at his will and pleasure. The only measure which afforded some security to the ryot against the excesses of their over-lords was the bestowal by the latter to the former of a patta, which was a written agreement between the two, specifying the amount of rent leivable, beyond which the land-lord could not go\(^2\). But the rule was obviously, observed more in its breach than in its observance. The Court of Directors had an occasion to write to the Governor-General-in-Council, "......it has happened......much to the discredit of the executive authorities abroad that the Pottah Regulation has been suffered to become a dead letter"\(^3\). This led to a permanent compromise or destruction of the rights of many an under-tenant.

In the process of vesting zamindars with proprietary rights, the claims of their co-sharing land-holders (the pattidari and bhaiyachara tenure-holders) were also over-looked. Baden Powell explained it thus, "When the co-shared villages of Benares and the Upper Provinces came to the notice of officers accustomed to the Bengal system of individual landlords, they were, at first, quite puzzled. There must be, so they thought, some one person who is the landlord with whom the settlement of the village estate ought to be made...... What they could not understand was that the title should reside, not in some village head, but in a joint body, under more or less, a complicated system"\(^4\). But it was strange that it should have so happened in the Ceded and Conquered territories. Apparently, the new administrators had refused to profit from their experience in the district of Benares which they had occupied

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1. The quotations occurring in the Regulation XXV, 1803, cited in the paragraph, are of particular significance in the context of what followed subsequently.
3. The Proceedings of the Board of Revenue 24th November 1813.
some years earlier, and where similar conditions had prevailed as in the Ceded territory. Holt Mackenzie commented on this lapse in his Memorandum: “It was certainly a singular oversight that they contain no specific regulations for the settlement of estates held by village zemindars, themselves the cultivators of the soil, a class of persons so specifically provided for in Benares”\(^1\). He further stated that they were only “incidentally mentioned”\(^2\) in the rules regarding sales of land. Was this omission deliberate? The conclusion is inescapable that it was at least partly so. The Government also showed a marked disinclination in demarcating boundaries between different holdings of land, which alone could have clearly specified the claims held by the co-sharers. For instance, the Board of Commissioners advised the Governor-General-in-Council, “We are far from wishing to propose an argument of expediency to bar the admission of a right, but the minute sub-division of landed property ought, we think, to be guarded against as much as possible; for it is not only calculated to occasion great inconvenience and loss of revenue to Government, but it is the source of endless disputes amongst the inferior land-holders”\(^3\). Holt Mackenzie also confessed; “......in those districts where the admission of parties was more extended, it was still limited to as small a number as possible”\(^4\). The result was that not only were the interests of numerous co-sharing zamindars compromised, sometimes irretrievably; but, also, a considerable element of confusion was introduced regarding the maintenance of the revenue records. This in itself provided later on a fertile ground for much future litigation and even violent disputes.

The provision of giving the land to the highest bidder had paved the way for another grave evil. It opened the doors to adventurers and fortune hunters. The Collector of Allahabad, for instance, wrote, “Both these evils (decrease in Jumma and extensive permutations of land) originated in the same source, and

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2. Ibid p. 123.
3. The Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 30th Nov. 1807.
are no more than the natural consequences of the principles on
which the settlement was founded in 1210 F....the general in-
flux of adventurers and speculators, and the desperate fortunes of
many amongst the needy adventurers, equally tended to make
them indifferent to the consequences of out-bidding each other”1.
How this unhealthy competition fostered corruption was described
in the same letter, “An assessment thus carried into unnatural
heights could not have possibly continued beyond the period of
engagement, had not the same wealthy speculators, who in the
name of some of their followers or in fictitious names, taken a large
portion of the district in farm, become also the tehseldars of it—
some avowedly in their own names, and some virtually in the
name of their dependents”2. He further explained, “The claims
of Government were made good, because the Tehseldars were
personally responsible for it, and the latter re-embursed themselves
by taking from some farm holders private transfers of estate, and
by procuring the estates of others to be sold at public auction in
satisfaction of the balances”3. In this manner, alongside the
original zamindars or in their place, a new class of zamindars,
who were so different in character, temperament, and capabilities
as compared to the former, was ushered into being. The original
zamindar had a genuine attachment.with his land, for the pros-
sperity of which he and his ancestors had employed their life’s
labour, wealth and blood. His interests were closely knit for gen-
erations at a stretch with those of his co-sharers and his under-tenants.
The newcomer, however, who was naturally, regarded as an in-
truder by the ryot, had only a grabbing interest in the field. Thus,
the newly generated atmosphere was conducive of maladjustment
and discord, and even of armed conflict.

The revenue regulations of the Government also proved de-
fective, hence confusing. For example, the words ‘actual propri-
tors’ occurring in these regulations were not carefully and clearly
defined. The regulations did not clarify whether these words indica-
ted persons in actual possession or those who had a right to pos-
sess. The Board of Commissioners wrote to the Governor-General-

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
in-Council, "...in instances where a talookdar, upon whatever grounds, may claim the proprietary rights in the land, while the village zamindars may claim the right of being separated and of paying the revenue immediately to Government, the Regulations do not appear to us to provide any specific rule for determining the question between them..... As the nature of the possession, which the Regulations may have had in view, is not described, as the term 'actual proprietors' is not defined; and as the period of years which it was intended to denote by the words 'length of time' has not been expressed, we find ourselves at a loss to understand with whom the settlement ought to be entered upon'? The reply of the Governor-General-in-Council hardly answered the query. So they wrote again observing that their question remained unanswered as to what action was to be taken when the contending parties claimed occupancy at the same time on the same piece of land? The element of confusion was further heightened when different collectors gave different interpretation of the relevant clauses contained in the regulations.

The use of English equivalents for Indian terms presented yet another problem. For British civilians the English equivalents held a meaning different to what the indigenous terms carried. That was how the word 'zamindar' translated into 'landholder' came to mean landlord. Thus, again, the term 'sudder malgoozar' came to be misinterpreted. Holt Mackenzie pointed out, "The use of the word zamindar to designate sudder malgoozar has obviously been extremely prejudicial; it having been applied to many who possessed no zamindary rights, and still more frequently to persons holding as zamindars a very little portion of the estate for which they engage". But considerable injury was already inflicted, part of which proved irredeemable, before the consequences of such mistaken notions began to dawn on the Government.

The Collector of revenue—always an Englishman, imperfectly acquainted with the languages, tenures and traditions of the people,

1. The Proceedings of the Board of Revenue 30th Nov. 1807.
3. Ibid.
and being very few in number, either in ignorance or with cool deliberation allowed many a right to be infringed, compromised or even destroyed. Holt Mackenzie stated, "In almost all the reports of the collectors the words ‘possession’ and ‘property’ are used without a definition of the nature of the possession or of the property meant; so that when the long possession of the superior land-holders is urged against the rights of the village zamindars, it is difficult to discover whether the property consisted merely in the heritable interest in certain emoluments of office connected with the collection of the Government rent, or was attached to the office itself."\(^1\) The Board of Commissioners themselves acknowledged that, in 1808, when a ‘general admission’ of the claims of co-sharing zamindars took place, ‘sufficient inquiry’ could not be made; and that only those persons were admitted as zamindars whose rights were acknowledged by the parties who were already under engagements, or those, in the case of farmed lands, who were pointed out by Kanungos, as descendants of the original landholders\(^2\). There was yet another aspect of the problem, as the Governor-General observed in his minute dated 21st Sept. 1815, that some persons were let in farm, not because the proprietors were not forthcoming, but because they could not readily agree among themselves in the choice of a representative or a manager for the whole partnership\(^3\). He pointed out, “In these cases as the Collector, during the hurry of a general settlement, had neither the leisure to investigate the allotment of each putteedar’s proportion of the aggregate assessment, nor sufficient information in regard to the nature of their tenures, the readiest mode which suggested itself for the security of the public revenue \ldots \ldots \text{was to lease the whole village to a farmer}”\(^4\). Under such conditions it was inevitable that numerous rights were compromised or lost beyond rescue.

Then again, there were no adequate or efficient means at the disposal of the Government to have made the various regulations known and understood to the people, a large majority of whom

\(^1\) Ibid p. 90
\(^2\) Ibid p. 120.
\(^3\) Ibid.
\(^4\) Ibid.
were either illeterate or insufficiently educated. The problem assumed serious proportions in the context of the prevailing conditions, and even more so because of the very confused state in which the revenue records were maintained. Consequently, "infinite mischief" was perpetrated. Parties were entered on record books as proprietors, while real owners were left in possession of the field, only to be divested of their rights at a convenient opportunity by fraudulent means.

Even when a zamindar was secure in his tenure, he was often compelled to face a difficult situation which sometimes became precarious. There were, amongst others, two factors particularly responsible. One was, which became the root of all subsequent troubles, that an excessive and iniquitous revenue was levied at the very start. And it continued to increase at the end of every settlement. This excessive demand strained the coffers of the zamindars to the limit, and quite often even beyond their resources and endurance. To quote only one from multiple such examples, the former Board of Commissioners reported about the district of Kanpur. "Much too great an anxiety was manifested, suddenly, to draw the utmost revenue; large deductions became necessary as a consequence; but even after these concessions were made, assessment in particular mohals was far from moderate." Left to face such a situation, a zamindar was compelled to use forceful methods against his co-sharers and under-tenants; or, in the alternative he was forced to quit his land. It often landed him in awful predicaments.

The second factor was the dreaded law of distraint. If a landholder failed to pay his revenue within the specified time,

1. Ibid p. 102.
3. Henry Newnham, while giving evidence before the Joint Select Committee of the House of Commons, observed, "Throughout the territory of Almas Alla Khan it was as high as it well could be with any sort of justice......and our great mistake was that we levied an increase upon his settlement......a considerable increase ...." Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Joint Select Committee of the House of Commons in the Affairs of the East India Company Vol. III p 320.
his land became liable to be sold or auctioned in lieu of the outstanding balances. This law allowed even a zamindar to distraint the property of his co-sharer. Since the revenue demanded was excessive, even exorbitant, recourse to such sales became much too frequent. Further, under cover of confusion that had widely prevailed during the first few years of British occupation in these territories, this law was fraudulently applied on an extensive scale and on every available pretext by corrupt subordinate officers of the Government. These extraordinarily large number of sales not only added greatly to the confusion, but also proved ruinous to numerous land-holders, co-sharers, and under-tenants. They congested the law-courts, and even promoted violent internecine disputes.

In this manner, through the vicissitudes of circumstances an extensive upheaval was brought about in the rural fabric of these provinces. Zamindars were vested with proprietorial rights in the soil, which had not belonged to them before. And, in the process, the rights of the ryot were compromised or damaged beyond repair. Original zamindars were widely dispossessed of their fields. Numerous co-sharers and under-tenants were rack rented. A few people were placed in the position of vantage at the expense of multitudes, who were either relegated to an inferior position, or were beggared, or else, as a desperate alternative, took to crime. It was in the late twenties that the situation could be brought, more or less, under control. But, it was only after the promulgation of the Regulation IX of 1833, and following in its wake, the new revenue settlement begun in 1835 under the supervision of R.M. Bird, that a new era of quiet and content began to dawn on these provinces.

1. Ibid. p. 661.

2. Charles Raikes, a contemporary British officer observed, "A war of landholders and decree holders began, which has left indelible marks on the history and cedit of people at-large—open affrays, nightly assassinations, endless and bloody feuds spread over the land."

Notes on the North-Western Provinces by Charles Raikes.
THE ORIGIN OF "HARTAL" IN INDIA.

By

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"Hartal" as a mode of popular demonstration against the government is well-known in modern India, but its exact origin is shrouded in obscurity. Recently when I inspected the District Records of the Uttar Pradesh Government, I chanced to notice among Banaras records a very interesting reference to a "Hartal" as a public demonstration resorted to on 24th August, 1790 by the merchants and citizens of Banaras. It is clear that this is perhaps the first known case of "Hartal" resorted to by the people against the government in the British period.

It appears from the records that this "Hartal" was a protest against the regulations issued by the Government for the enforcement of a better sanitation in the city. As these regulations adversely affected the lower classes they indulged in demonstration and rioting. The merchants were compelled to close their shops and stop all business by the angry rioters. The "Hartal", however, was short-lived and the shops were opened after a few hours in the afteroon through the efforts of the Magistrate, Ali Ibrahim Khan.

The description as given in the records is as follows. (Banaras Records, 24th August, 1790, page 451) :

"This day from the morning till about 4 in the afternoon a vast multitude of the lower classes of the Natives assembled in the outskirts of the Town, with a view of procuring a repeal of the late "Regulations for keeping the Town clean, by having public necessaries. Having previously concerted their plan, they had given notice to all the trades people and shop-keepers (many of whom did indeed make part of their body) to shut up their shops and effect what is known in this country under the name of Hurtal or a complete stoppage to business of every kind; threatening to plunder and rob those who should dare to act otherwise. In several parts of the Town, however, thro' the vigilance of the Magistrate (Ali Ibrahim Khan) and with the residents aid, opened by noon;"
and altho' the rioters occasionally threatened they committed no serious mischief, but kept for the most part in one large body which was altogether unarmed and amounted according to the best computation to the number of several thousands; till on some intercourse taking place between them and the residents, 2 or 3 of their head-men at length made their appearance and presented the following petition."
The Temple - A view from the front.
A BENGAL TEMPLE

By

Amaredra Nath Roy

The Palpara temple at Chakdaha (Dist. Nadia, West Bengal) was noticed by Sir John Marshall in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, year 1920-21 and undoubtedly the temple deserves the praise bestowed by him. It is a brick-built cabin like structure with sloping roof and curved eaves, a type so common in Bengal from later mediaeval times. It has, however, no second surmounting tower and is smaller in dimensions and simpler in design than most of the well-known examples at Vishnupur (Dist. Bankura), Kantnagar (Dist. Dinajpur) and at charbangala and other sites in the District of Murshidabad. The temple measures only 22 ft. square at the outside with a single inner chamber. The entrance is by a doorway facing South with the characteristic pointed arch and there is a small subsidiary doorway opening to the East. Only the Southern side, as usual, is decorated, all the other sides being bare except for sparsely applied full-blown lotuses. The corners are broken by a number of parallel bands which enrich the decorative effect and relieve the abrupt transition from the decorated to the bare sides. The simplicity of design and the chaste and elegant decorations applied by moulded bricks make this one of the finest examples of this unusual Bengal type of temple.

The type except for the curved cornice is, however, one of great antiquity as is proved by sporadic examples found in ancient reliefs and is apparently derived from bamboo or thatched hut constructions. The nearest examples found in early Art are as under:

1. BHARHUT (Indian Museum No. 343-4-5; Allahabad Museum Railing Pillar, illustrated in Dr. Kramrisch’s Art of India, Plate 15; Barua, Bharhut, Plate LXXXVI).

2. SARNATH RAILING PILLAR (D [a] II of Sarnath Museum) referable to Śuṅgā age.
This appears to be a double storeyed structure like the Bengal Shivalayas and has close affinity with a type of structure represented in two detached Gandhara pieces in the Indian Museum Nos. 5480 and 5075 (Brown, Indian Architecture, Vol. I, Pl. XIV, Fig. 4).

3. The Karori Koti of the Jetavana purchase scene at Sanchi (Marshall and Foucher, Plate XXXIV).

4. Katra mound torana architrave referable to Kushan times (MI in Mathura Museum; Vogel, plate XXV).

5. AMARAVATI (Sivarama Murti, Amaravati Sculptures in Madras Museum, plate XI).

The Draupadi Ratha at Mahabalipuram however, is the earliest extant temple of this type to which the temple under discussion has in many respects close affinities and although the Palpara temple does not share the sophistication of the rock-cut ratha but for all that is equally an attractive composition and deserves more attention than it has so far received. The distinctive characteristic of all Bengal examples are however the curved eaves which are commonly regarded a being derived from the shape of bamboo thatched huts of this region. The facade of the Lomasha Rishi cave already presents a similar shape which persists in such comparatively modern examples as the Chaturdaśa Devatā temple, Udaipur (Tripura), (Indian Archaeology, 1956-57, Plate LXV).

This type of temple is widely distributed over Bengal and the immediate neighbourhood and examples are found as far East as Sibsagar in Assam (Indian Archaeology, 1957-58, Plate CIII).

The emergence of this type as the dominant style of temple architecture in this particular region and at a time coinciding with the rise of popular religious movements and of vernacular literature are facts of great sociological importance.

At present the temple is not in use. Very little moreover can be confidently said about the date of this Palpara temple or the deity to which it was dedicated. The earliest notice of this is found in the list of Monuments, Presidency Division (Bengal).
It is mentioned there that there were two stone tablets with inscriptions which were removed by the Sub-Divisional Officer but now seem to be irrevocably lost. It is further mentioned rather vaguely that the temple was about five hundred years old and that there was a "śingam". The style of the terracotta reliefs with which the entrance is decorated appears to support an early date in view of their affinity with the style of some of the earliest temples of this class. But a systematic study of the development of the terracotta art of Bengal temples is still incomplete and stylistic evidence cannot therefore be relied on to arrive at a definite chronology.
SURVEY OF RUSSIAN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY AND
SOVIET STUDIES ON ECONOMIC HISTORY OF
INDIA IN MODERN TIME

By

E. N. Komarov

By Modern Time Soviet historians usually mean the period from the English Revolution in the middle of the 17th century down to the World War I and the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia. In other words it is the period of rise and development of capitalism in most countries of our world. In the subsequent period described as the contemporary or recent period by the Soviet historians, the general crisis of capitalism develops and socialism rises in a number of countries where socialist Revolution has been or is being accomplished.

An interest in the economic situation in India more or less systematic was displayed in Russia as early as the late 18th and early 19th century and it grew in course of time. In the first half

1. E. N. Komarov, born 1927, candidate of historical science, senior research worker, Institute of Oriental Studies, the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, is now attached to the Embassy of the USSR in India.


Iz istorii natrio-nalno—osvoboditel-nogo dvizheniya i obochehest vennoy mysli v Bengali v Kontse XIX—nachale XX vekev. (National Liberation movement and Social Thought in Bengal in the Late 19th and Early 20th century, 1958).

Angliyskaya kolonialnaya politika v Indii I ee sosialno-ekonomicheskie posledstviya (Konets XVIII—Pervy polovina XIX veka) (British colonial policy and its Socio-Economic Consequences in India in the late 18th—First Half of the 19th Century; 1957).

Bengalskaya derevnya I krestyanское khozyaistvo vo vtoroy polovine XVIII veka. (Bengal Village and Peasant Economy in the Second Half of the 18th Century, 1957).

K voprosu ob ustanovlenii postayannogo oblozheniya po sisteme zamindari v Bengali (On the introduction of the permanent settlement in Bengal; 1955).

Materialnoe poslojenie promyshlennogo proletariata Bengalii i nekotorye voprosy ego formirovaniya (Economic Conditions of Industrial Proletariat in Bengal and some problems of its Formation, 1953).
The Right Corner (showing the parallel bands)
of the 19th century there appeared in Russia a number of books and articles on the economic situation and commercial prospects in India. In these publications including notes by Russian travellers mainly the problems of trade between Russia and India were considered. It was in this connection that the historical source materials on the trade relations between Russia and India from Afanasi Nikitin's travel down to the commercial activities of Indian merchants settled in Astrakhan were studied and published. The researches in Russo-Indian trade relations of the 15th-18th centuries done by A.F. Malinovsky and A. Pavlov in the '30's-'40's of the 19th century still retain their importance for a historian. While considering the possibilities of Russian trade with India Russian authors also paid their attention to the economic changes in India effected by colonial exploitation of the country. Thus known Russian publicists A.D. Saltykov and A.G. Rotchev who visited India in the 40's of the 19th century each in his own way presented an impressive picture of the ruin of handicraft industry and decay of old cities in India owing to her transformation into a market for British goods and colonial rule. They also described the revenue plunder to which Indian peasantry was subjected as well as the ruin and poverty of the mass of the population ruthlessly exploited in different ways by the foreign rulers.

In the second half of the 19th century the Socio-economic development as such in India began to draw attention of Russians authors. In connection with the Popular Rebellion of 1857-59 there appeared in Russia a number of works in which attempts were made to investigate the causes of the Rebellion including its socio-economic prerequisites. The most important among these works was that by the Russian revolutionary democrat N. A. Dobrolubov's Vzglyad na istoriyu i sovremennoe Sostoyanie Ost—India (A Review of the History and Present State of East India). In a clearcut and convincing way N.A. Dobrolubov described the disastrous consequences of colonial plunder and analysed the nature of the Rebellion of 1857-59 as a just war. He also noticed the perspective of the development of new socio-economic relations in India.

In connection with the struggle and discussion on the agrarian problems and, as the future of Russian village community which
were going on in the late 19th century Russia, Russian scholars paid great attention to the study of agrarian relations in various countries including India. In India as well as in Russia the disintegration of feudal relations and of the village community in particular was going on while strong feudal survivals still remained. The partial similarity between Russian and Indian villagers of the period existing despite considerable differences in general conditions evoked the interest of Russian scholars in the Indian village. The study of the agrarian structure, village community and British land-revenue policy in modern India was allotted an important place in the works of the outstanding historian of agrarian relations, M.M. Kovalevsky—*Obshchinnoe zemlevedenie, prichiny khod i posledstviya yego razlocheniya* (Village community, causes, course and consequences of its disintegration (1879), *Rodovoy byt v nastoyashchem nedavnem i otdalennom Proshlom* (Tribal Government at Present and in the Recent and Remote Past. 1905), *Pervobytnoe pravo* (Primitive Law, 1886), *Ocherk proiskhozhdeniya semyi i sobstvennosti* (An Essay on the Origin of Family and Property). As is well-known, Marx, while studying India, used some of the works by M.M. Kovalevsky. An attention to the economic and particularly agrarian relations in modern India, was also paid by the well-known Russian Indologist, philologist and Buddhist scholar—I.P. Minaev. This was reflected in his following works: *Ocherki Tseylona I Indii* (Essays on Ceylon and India, 1878, *Rodovoy Byt v Sovremennoy Indii* (Tribal Government in modern India 1883), *Lemlevladenie v sovremennoy Indii* (Land holding in Modern India, 1883), and also in his *Dnevnikи—Diaries of the travels to India and Burma in 1880 and 1885-86, recently published in the USSR. It is worth-while noting that I.P. Minaev as a scholar with exceptionally wide interests brought from India along with old manuscripts also a good lot of material on contemporary economic and political life in that country which facilitates our present day studies. By the end of the 19th century there appeared a number of Russian works on the agricultural crisis and famine in India, among them important are the following works: *Indiya O neurozhayakh v Indii* (India, On Scarcity in India) by E. Zemansky (1883), *Selskokhozayastvennyi Krizis i Indisky golod* (Agricultural Crisis and Indian Famine) by T.Z. Brokhovich (1898) and *Irrigatsionnye Sistemy Indii* (Irrigation Systems in India) by Ostrovsky (1914). Along with the scholarly studies, works of an informa-
tive type on Indian agriculture, plantations, industry, transport, trade and finance were also being published especially by the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Thus between 1894 and 1914, 40 informative publications (mostly articles) on Indian trade alone appeared in Russia.

The interest in Indian economic life which was displayed by contemporaries in pre-revolutionary Russia considerably facilitated the later studies on economic history of India by Soviet scholars. M.M. Kovalevsky, I.P. Minaev and other contemporary Russian scholars left to us their valuable observations. In our libraries there was accumulated source material which enables one to do original research on India's economic history of the modern period namely land revenue settlement reports, voluminous district gazetteers, district manuals, monographs on various districts, annual reports on provincial administration, records of presidency governments, reports by various parliamentary commissions on Indian affairs and commissions appointed by the Indian Government, periodicals as well as various other sources, material and literature.

Regular study on modern Indian history by Soviet Indologists and its teaching in Soviet higher educational institutions began in the late '20s. This study was stimulated on one hand by the scholarly interest in the peculiarities of the historical process under colonial conditions as India was a "classical colony" and by the deep sympathy for the Indian people waging their freedom struggle on the other.

The most important contribution to the study of Indian history in the modern period as well as to its teaching in the Soviet Union was made by the late Prof. I.M. Reisner, (1899-1958). From the beginning of the '30s, Prof. I.M. Reisner taught history of modern and contemporary India and Afghanistan in the Historical Faculty of the Moscow State University. He wrote a number of works on the entire modern period in India as well as particular historical problems. He also trained a group of research students and thus laid the foundation for the Soviet school on Indian history now in the process of development.

In his last years Prof. I.M. Reisner concentrated on the period of the 17-18th centuries and especially was interested in the problem of the level of India's socio-economic development reached
by the beginning of modern times. Among the last works by Prof. I.M. Reisner are the following studies: *Narodnye doizheniya v Indii XVII-XVIII vekov i, raspad derzhavy Velikogo Mogola* (Popular Movements in India in the 17-18th Centuries and Fall of the Mughal Empire. Manuscript now in press), *Nekotorye dannye O razlozhenii selskoy obshchiny u Marathov v XVII-XIX vekakh* (Data on the Disintegration of the Village Community in Maharashtra in the 17-19th centuries, 1953), *Vosstanija jatov v oblasty Agra-Deli v Kantse XVII—nachale XVIII vekov* (Jat Risings in Agra—Delhi area in the Late 17th—Early 18th century, 1957), chapters on Indian History in collective works *Novaya istoriya Stran Zarubezhnog Vostoka* (Modern History of Foreign Oriental Countries, 1952) and *Vsemirnaya istoriya* (World History; a voluminous publication partly out of press). Problems of Socio-Economic Structure in India in the late middle ages and early modern period have also been studied by doctor of historical science, K.A. Antonova¹ as a candidate of historical science,² and candidates of historical science N.I. Semycenova,³ Z.L. Alayev⁴ and others.

The main conclusions of these works may be summed up as follows. On the eve of the British colonial conquest, India as a whole was at the stage of developed feudalism. Though India still remained a feudal country there was no stagnation and important changes in

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1. *Osobennosti obshchestva i Politicheskogo stroya mogol'skogo Indii vremena Akhbara* (Essays on the Social Relations and Political structure of Mughal India in the days of Akbar; 1952);
   *Angliyskoe zavesenie Indii.* (British conquest of India : 1958);

2. Candidate of Sciences is an academic pre-doctorate degree in the U.S.S.R. awarded for a dissertation (thesis) which must be an original and published research. This degree may be considered more or less equal to the Ph.D.


4. *Selskaya obshchina v Tuzhny Indii v XVII-XVIII vekakh.* (Village community in Southern India in the 17th-18th Centuries—ms. prepared for the press):

By "manufacture", Soviet Scholars following Marx mean a certain historical form of economic organisation of production, in which there was already a division of labour between labourers hired by a master, but machinery man proved that the development of such manufacture reflects the rise of capitalist relations within the frame work of Feudal Society—vide Marx, *The Capital*, Vol. I.
her socio-economic structure were taking place e.g. further development of private feudal landholding and weakening of feudal state property in land, partial undermining of the self-sufficiency of the village community and weakening of occupancy rights of the majority of peasants at least in a number of regions, the further development of commodity production and merchant capital as well as the subjugation of craftsmen by the latter. According to the observations of I.M. Reinsner and some of his pupils germs of the manufacture were appearing in Indian handicraft industry even before the British conquest. According to Dr. Antonova, the appearance of the germs of manufacture before the British conquest has not yet been proved since the definite accounts at our disposal of such a form of economic organization relate to the early days of British rule. She also doubts the existence of any widespread subjugation of craftsmen by merchant moneylenders before the European penetration. It is quite obvious that the problems of socio-economic development in India by the beginning of the modern time still need much more detailed study.

The general and specific features of the disintegration of feudalism and development of capitalism under colonial conditions as well as the formation of socio-economic prerequisites of national liberation movement constitute the main problems of study of the economic history of India in the modern period by Sovietologists. In this connection considerable importance is also attributed to the studies on the development of colonial exploitation of India in the course of the development of capitalism in England.

The problems of India’s economy from the late 18th century till the middle of the 19th century are dealt with in the collection of articles entitled Navodnoye vosstanie v Indii 1857-1859 godov (Popular Rebellion in India in 1857-59) as well as in some other works by Soviet scholars, candidate of historical science A.M. Osipov, Dr. Antonova, (cand.) Semyonova and others. These

problems are also paid attention to in the general works on India’s economic history which will be spoken of below. These works may be summed up in the following way. In colonial India of the first half of the 19th century of feudal relations were still predominant. The British conquest and the colonial exploitation, the main method of which in the late 18th and early 19th century was the revenue plunder, lead not only to great destruction of productive forces but also to a drastic increase of essentially feudal exploitation of Indian toiling people effected by the British colonial state in India immediately or through subjugated local feudals. Later, and especially in the 2nd half of the 19th century in the course of country’s transformation into a market for British goods and source of raw material and her consequent involvement in the capitalistic world trade the disintegration of feudal relations and formation of certain internal prerequisites for the rise of capitalism under colonial conditions started.

Economic development in, and colonial exploitation of, India in the second half of the 19th and early 20th century have been analysed in a number of works by Soviit Indologists-candidate of historical science, V.I. Pavlov¹, candidate of economic science, A.I. Levkovsky², Doctor of economic science, N.D. Grodkov, candidate

1. *Formirovanie Indiyskoy burjuzii*. (The Formation of Indian Bourgeoisie : 1958);

2. *Osherk dezertel’stva i rastvoshchikov v kolonialnoy indii*. (An essay on the Activities of Merchants and Moneylenders in Colonial India : 1954);


4. *Ekonomicheskii izmenneniya v gorodakh Maharasthy vo vtoroy polovine XIX veka.* (Economic changes in the cities in Maharashtra in the Second Half of the 19th century : 1958);

5. *Nekotorye osobennosti razvitiya Kapitalizma v Indii do 1947.* (Some Specific Features of the Development of Capitalism in India Before 1947 : 1956);

6. *Sistema Upravleniya usshchik agentov orudie pererabotcheniya i eksplotatsii Indii angliyskim imperializmom.* (Managing Agency System—A Tool of Enslavement and Exploitation of India by the British Imperialism : 1954);

7. *Osobennosti razvitiya Krapnogo Kapitalisticheskogo predprinimatelstva v Indii.* (Specific Features of the Development of the Big Capitalistic enterprise in India : 1954);

8. *Vozniknoenie i Kharakter dezertel’stva angliyskikh bankov v Kolonialnoy Indii.* (The Rise and Nature of English and Indian Banks in Colonial India : 1956);

of historical science G.G. Kotovsky, Candidate of economic science, T.K. Shirokov, candidate of economic science V. Kuzmin, research worker L.A. Gordon and others¹.

In the above—mentioned studies the authors analyse forms of economic subjugation and methods of exploitation of India by the British capital coming to its monopolistic stage and show the specific features of the process of formation and economic conditions of Indian working class and bourgeoisie, their national and other composition, relationship to other sections of population, as well as the socio-economic background of political attitudes at different periods within the modern time. Attention is also being paid to the analysis of further disintegration of feudal system and preservation of feudal survival in the village, the main problems under consideration being evolution of landlord and tenant relations including growth of three-cropping and the part played by the tenancy legislation, commodity production, position and role of the money-lender, as well as nature of so called agriculturists’ relief and land alienation acts, growth of property differentiation among the peasantry, economic position of each peasant and rise of agriculture labourers, survivals of village community etc. The socio-economic development is being analysed in the context of national freedom and class struggle constituting a great force of progress. The works under review lead to the conclusion that the beginning of the development of capitalism—the rise of capitalist system in the economy of colonial India—dates from the second half of the 19th century. Owing to colonial subjection the capitalist relations developed slowly in a deformed and especially excruciating way. The colonial rule constituted the main deterrent for the development of the country rested on and supported various survivals of the old. In the course of the disintegration of feudalism and growth of capitalism the objective necessity of independent development was strengthening; new social classes, able to lead conscious and organized mass struggle against foreign domination were rising and at the same time new contradictions appeared.

¹. Besides those mentioned above, numerous other Soviet Scholars and researchers, numerous others also have contributed valuable papers and dissertations on Indian currency and credit, Agrarian problems, Tea-Garden, Economic conditions of working classes and other allied topics.
The results of the study of India’s modern economic and political history by Soviet scholars will be reflected in a comprehensive work entitled *Istoriiya Indii v novoe vremya* (History of India in the modern time). This work is being prepared collectively by the research workers in the Indian department of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It is expected to appear in 1960.

The Soviet Indologists are watching with great interest the studies carried on by their Indian colleagues particularly in the field of economic history. One may notice with satisfaction the appearance of a number of new works on India’s economic history including special studies on particular areas of the country. Such type of research now appears very necessary for the deeper study of the history of the great Indian people.
KAUTILYA ON PAY RULES

By

Dr. S. L. Pande, M.A., Ph.D.

Necessity of Pay Rules: Kautilya, popularly known as Chanakya, is, perhaps, the greatest political thinker and states-man of the Mauryan period. He was the Prime Minister and Rajaguru (राजगुरु) of Chandra Gupta Maurya, the first historical King of India. He was the chief man who inspired, encouraged and assisted Chandra Gupta Maurya to uproot the Nanda dynasty and seize the throne of Magadha for him (Chandra Gupta Maurya) and, thus, establish a vast Empire. The Arthasastra, the reputed book on Political Economy, is the product of his fertile brain and a testimony to his wonderful genius. He wrote this book for his disciple, Chandra Gupta Maurya, whom he loved dearly and tried to train him for an ideal ruler. Placing before his disciple, Chandra Gupta Maurya, a plan regarding an ideal system of administration to be worked out in the State under him Kautilya in his Arthaasastra has laid emphasis on the organization and maintenance of public service, too. Dealing with this topic he has given an account regarding the fixation of pay as well. The principles underlying the theory as regards the fixation of pay to the public servants advocated by Kautilya are of great significance. These principles, permitting a few changes here-and-there, may easily be adopted even today in this sphere of administration.

It is a well-known fact that no government can run by a handful of men or women. To run a government successfully and efficiently a number of men and women, sufficiently large, varying in taste and talent and gifted with qualities of mind and heart, soul and body will be required. Every state, therefore, has to employ such persons according to her need. These employees and their dependents solely depend on the government, that employs them, for their sustenance. Their government has to provide them with as much amount of money as may be sufficient to meet their legitimate necessities of life. In order to follow a uniform policy for making payments to the employees in return of the services they render, rules are framed and followed strictly. Thus, in order to avoid misunderstanding and complications in future payments to
the employees are made according to these rules. Kautilya also realised and recognized the importance and necessity of framing rules for the fixation of pay based on certain fundamental principles. They are still to be found in his Arthasastra, though not in detail.

Pay: The word for pay commonly used in the Sanskrit literature is Vetana (वेतन). Kautilya also uses the same term for pay. Manu and Sukra also use the word Vetana for pay. Sukra is very explicit on this point. He defines the term pay in his reputed work, the Sukraniti. According to this, definition what is given for the sustenance of an employee and his dependents is known as his pay.

Pay Fixation principles: The first principle that guided the fixation of pay, according to Kautilya, is the proper consideration of the nature and the amount of the work done by the employee. Manu, too, recognizes the principle. He lays down the principle that pay (वेतन) be fixed after giving due consideration of the nature and the amount of work done by the employee. Sukra, too, supports Kautilya on this issue. He suggests that the pay to the employee be fixed according to ‘he worth of the work done by him. Keeping this very principle in his mind he even goes further and classifies them into three grades—the slow, the average, and the quick. “The slow, the average, and the quick.” Says Sukra, “are the three classes of the employees. Their pay, too, be fixed accordingly”.

Thus the first principle regarding the fixation of pay laid down by Kautilya and supported by other political thinkers of Ancient India is to give proper and due consideration of the nature and the

1. भक्ति वेतन लम्बरतः ॥
   भक्तिवेतन विशेषेण कुपर्यात् ॥
2. प्राणे विषये कथक्कथन वेतनम् ॥
   संवर्त वेतनं स्वत्रास्तिः ॥
3. प्रृति कुते च संवर्त वेतनम् विशेषेषेष्य च कुपर्यात् ॥
4. विषया कर्मम्यां भक्तिवेतनं विशेषेष्य च कुपर्यात् ॥
5. कर्मन्तः वृत्ति लं कर्मस्तुः ॥
6. सत्यमयस्यादि यथास्त्रिविविधोभूतयो उच्चरते ।
   समोमय्या व भेष्ठा च प्रृतित्तेषां कमात्स्वेतः ॥

29. 3.5. Arthasastra.
36. 3. 5. Arthasastra.
26 7. Manava Dharmasastra
333.2 Sukraniti.
333. 2 Sukraniti.
36. 3. 5. Arthasastra.
125. 7. Manava Dharmasastra.
396. 2. Sukraniti.
amount of the work done by the employee. A quick and good worker naturally be more paid than what the slow or the average worker gets. Here the pay was to be fixed according to the worth of the work done by the employee.

The second principle as regards the fixation of pay laid down by Kautilya is the recognition of learning or technical qualifications of a worker. Here is an attempt to assess the worth of a man's learning for the work done by him. Kautilya, thus, adds learning or special qualifications to the assessment of the work discussed above. "Pay and allowances to an employee" says Kautilya, "be determined and fixed after giving due consideration to his learning or technical qualifications and the nature and the amount of the work done by him. Such an employee deserves special pay and allowance". These views of Kautilya have been supported by Sukra. "Employees" says Sukra, "be always paid according to their merits".

The next principle, regarding payments to the employees, laid down by Kautilya is that of sufficiency in sustenance of the employee and his dependents. According to this principle pay of an employee be so much that he may be free from the anxieties of sustenance for himself and his dependents. Paying less than what the employee really deserves turns him into an enemy to his employer. Such an employee is a constant enemy to his master and creates a great nuisance in the daily Working of the office where he is engaged to work. He takes little interest in the work entrusted to him. He is found indifferent and shirks his duty. He tries to create an atmosphere of dissatisfaction among his co-workers, nay, even among the people he comes in contact with. This injures the interest of the employer and results in upsetting the whole thing.

Sukra also supports Kautilya on this issue. "A King" says Sukra, "makes his own employees his enemies by paying them less than what they deserve". Such employees assist the enemy of their

1. विशालकर्मां भवतेनतनविशेषं च कुर्यात्। 36. 3. 5. Arthasastra.
2. यवायां च गुणविन्यासं भूततः।। 391. 2. Sukraniti.
3. एतकते भरणे जनाग्राहधिकां मृत्योः जनां भवति।। 5. 3. 5. Arthasastra.
4. ये भूत्याहृतनभूताः शत्रुवस्ते स्वयम् कुतः।। 392. 2. Sukraniti.
employer by disclosing the secrets of their own master and try to make money by unfair means; which causes unnecessary harassment to the innocent people and a great loss to the income of the State".  

Kantilya, thus, prescribes that pay to an employee be fixed after giving due consideration of what he really deserves and whether it is sufficient for the sustenance of the employee and his dependents.

The next principle, in this sphere, laid down by Kantilya is that no work should go unpaid, the extra work done by an employee be paid accordingly. Kantilya would like to pay an employee who is called to work on some public holiday. According to him, as a general rule, work should not be taken from an employee on public holidays. If some emergency arises the employee may be called to work even on some public holiday. But in such cases extra payment be made to the employee for the extra work done by him on the holiday.

The next and, perhaps, the most important principle for the fixation of pay according to Kantilya is based on the capability of the State income. He would never like to over-load the people of the capital (पीर) and those of the country (जानपद) by imposing heavy taxes merely to make payments to the employees in a State. He, therefore, prescribes that only one fourth of the State income be spent on the public servants. The number of employees in a State should in no case be more than what is really needed. Their number and their pay should be so adjusted that the capital and the country may be able to bear the burden easily and comfortably. This suggestion of Kantilya is at once wise and practical. He is inclined to evolve a system, as regards the employment of public servants and their payment, which is not much expensive rather it is based on the principle of self-sufficiency. According to Kantilya too much expenditure on the employees of the State would ruin its ruler and ruled both alike.

1. परस्य सायकाते तु छिद्रकोषं प्रजाहृतः। । 393. 2. Sukraniti.
2. निघिथुः प्रतिपवन्त मानेरव कर्मकारपितत्वाः। । 6. 23. 5. Arthasastra.
3. दुर्गाण्तपवशस्या भूतकर्मम् समुदपयाभ्वन स्थापयत्। । 1. 3. 5. Arthasastra.
Rules for the payment of allowances:—Besides the regular pay, payment of allowances to a certain class of employees has also been recognised by Kautilya. The Sanskrit term for allowances used by him is Bhakta (भक्ततः). To what class of employees allowances be paid is not clear from the account given by Kautilya in his Arthasastra. Therefore, nothing can be definitely said on this important issue. As regards the rate of the allowance he has laid down a general rule. According to this the rate of allowance should vary. It would rise along with the rise of the pay. It means a low paid men would receive less allowance while a highly paid employee shall receive higher rate of allowance.

Kautilya gives an specific example regarding the rate of allowance. According to this an employee whose pay is sixty Panas (पन) be paid an allowance of one Adhaka (अधक) of grain.

Modes of payments:—From the account given in the Arthasastra it is evident that Kautilya is favourably inclined to pay the employees of the State in cash rather than in kind. However, in some cases he recommends the payments in the shape of land grants. But in such cases he does not give them right to sell or mortgage the land so granted to them. Thus, as a general rule, payments were to be made in cash and not in kind.

As regards the payment of allowances to the employees of the State it is clear that Kautilya is in favour of paying them in kind. Wherever he speaks of these allowances he prescribes that they should be paid in kind.

The other important fact regarding the mode of payment is the due regard for the punctuality in the disbursement of the amount of pay. Kautilya strongly recommends that all payments due in favour of the employ be made in time. He proposes, punishment to the officer-in-charge who makes delay in payment.

1. भक्त वेतन  36. 3. 5; 37. 3. 5. Arthasastra.
2. हिरण्यानुसं भक्त कुर्यात् ॥ 37. 3. 5. Arthasastra.
3. यष्ठि वेतनस्यादकं हुता ॥ 37. 3. 5. Arthasastra.
Non-socialistic grades of pay:—The gap between the pay of the lowest paid employee of the State and that of the highest paid one, proposed by Kautilya, is very large. According to him the difference is eighty times the pay of the lowest paid employee. The pay of the lowest paid employee of the State prescribed by Kautilya is sixty Panas, while that of the highest paid one is forty eight thousand Panas. A socialistic State of our times would strongly condemn such a system of payment to the State employees. Kautilya, therefore, would be regarded conservative in this sphere of administration.

Deductions in pay:—While Kautilya has every regard of the payment for the amount of work done by an employee, he is equally strict on the other side also. He is intolerant towards the non-workers and the shirkers. He does not hesitate in suggesting punishments to such workers. He has laid down that the lazy, the non-workers, the shirkers, the careless and such other workers should not be by-passed. Deductions from their pay be made and punishments both monetry and physical, as the case may be, be imposed upon them. “An employee’s pay”, lays down Kautilya, “be forfeited if the thread spun by him in the Sutra-sala (sutra-bhavana) is of rough and bad quality”. He proposes a punishment equal to four times the cost of the thread in loss caused by the carelessness of the employee. Kautilya prescribes corporal punishment to the worker who draws pay in advance but does not turn up to work.

Pension and gratuity:—Kautilya does not give definite rules as regards pension and gratuity to the employees. It is, therefore, wise to be silent on this point.

Thus Kautilya has given a valuable account in his Arthasastra as regards pay fixation rules. They have their great utility even today. This is really an important contribution to the modern world made by Kautilya.

1. यथिवेतनाः 11
2. आस्तिचतवारिविसाहस्त्राः 11
3. शून्यहृदा: वेतनहृदाः श्रव्यासारात् 11
4. कार्यविनायकर्मां वेतननासातस्तु हिन्दूण्डव वण्डः 11
5. पूर्वीत्वा: वेतन कामकुचिर्वाः: अंगुठ्ठे संवदसं दापयेत् 11

19. 3. 5. Arthasastra.
4. 3. 5. Arthasastra.
7. 23. 2. Arthasastra.
18. 23. 2. Arthasastra.
CITY-ARCHITECTURE AS DEPICTED IN THE APARĀJITAPRĪCHCHHĀ OF BHUVANADEVA

By

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From various records, we gather authentic and valuable information about cities and city-life in ancient India. They bear testimony to the fact that from Takshaśilā in the north to Madurā in the south and from Ujjainī in the west to Tāmrālapīti in the east, there were found to exist numerous important cities, the notices of which have frequently been made in the contemporary evidences. In the early Indian literature, we come across ample references, which mention cities as distinct from the villages. As early as the fifth century B.C., Pāṇini speaks of “Grāma” and “Nagara” separately; which may be used as an evidence to prove that the two were different types of habitations. While drawing distinction between them, the earlier works on Indian architecture define city as a populous centre, noted for strong fortification and inhabited mostly by traders (जने: परिवृत्त कपविकायकाविभि:) and industrial workers (कर्मारिके: समतितम:)². According to them, it consisted of four impressive city-gates in the four directions (विश्व चतुदरिवषयम:) and splendid buildings furnished with the adequate amenities of life (सालाधपम:)³. The village, on the other hand,

1. “प्रत्य प्रामनगरणाम्” Ashtadhyayi, 7, 3, 14.
was marked for its simple appearance and in most of the cases, it lacked the protection rendered by moats and walls, the provision of which was absolutely necessary in the planning of the cities.

The city-bred man has been spoken of by Vātsyāyana as the true representative of an advanced culture in his celebrated work (Kāmasūtra) which is an important source for the study of urban civilization of India in the early times. According to him, he is excellent in fine conversation and always dignified in his behaviour. He says that city is pre-eminently a noted centre of the noble persons, whose lofty mind could assert a claim to an excellence of a high degree. He condemns the manners of the village-folk and expresses his great hatred for the rural lady by calling her as a great simpleton. In Śākuntalam of Kālidāsa, we read the expression “Nāgarika-Vṛitti”, which signifies the cleverness of a person living in the city. The hero of the play asks his friend to appease his angry beloved by the dexterous art, which is chiefly found amongst those, who are well-acquainted with the polished way of urban life. Yuan Chwang says that the citizens of Kānyakubja could speak with great cleverness and discuss problems with great subtlety.

The city was considered to be a bond of affection and source of excessive gratification. That is why it was extremely disliked by those who were living in the forest for the sake of spiritual attainments. Baudhāyana expresses his hatred for city-life by saying that the person whose mind is defiled and the senses are rendered impure due to the dust of the town, is incapable of achieving release from the corporal existence. In Śākuntalam, we find an anchorite highly lost and confused, when he found himself in the tumultuary atmosphere of the city of Hastināpura. In the drama, he is reported to have said in great surprise:—“It is true that the King Dushyanta, who had never transgressed social limits was supremely gifted and that not even the meanest of any

2. Ibid, page 254, Sūtra 32.
3. “सले दण्ड, नागरिक वृत्त्या सास्त्रवैभवम्” Śākuntalam, Act V.
4a. Watters, I, 341.
4b. “पुराणायुगुरु दीघारूर्वति, भक्तिरूप नेत्रबर्तनेश्वर। नगरे वसन्त सिद्धभाष्यस्य तत्तात्त्वित।” Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra, 2, 3, 53.
of the classes follow an evil course; yet with mind ever accustomed to solitude, I deem this place, teeming with men, like a house enveloped in flames"¹. In this work, another recluse also makes a similar statement. He says, "I too deem the pleasure—seeking people of this city, as the bathed deem the anointed, the pure deem the impure, the awake deem the sleep and one with free motion deems the fettered"². In Swapnavāsavadattam, which is an earlier work, we are informed of hermits, who had left the clamorous atmosphere of the city and resorted to a lonely place; where alone a serious contemplation or meditative discourse could have been possible³.

The most notable feature of the cities in ancient India was the architectural technique, which determined their planning in a most systematic manner. In Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta⁴ of Dīgha-Nikāya, city-architecture is technically known as "Nagara-Māṇḍapa". It also occurs in Mahā-ummaga Jātaka⁵, Mahābhārata⁶ and Milindapaṇihī⁷. In Rāmāyaṇa⁸ and Hathigumpha inscription of King Khāravela it has been mentioned as "Nagara-Nīveśana". In Yuga-Puruṣa of Gārgī Samhitā, it is known as "Nagara-Sthāpana";

¹ "mahāsāgaḥ kāmaṁ tattvaratihināpāravattirnai
na khalvam varṇānamaptyamapadeśāpi bhatē ।
tattvasiddham āvāne pravāpayivacitā
janakīnām mante huktvahoparāṁ nītirāmā"
Śākuntalam, Act V,

² "abhāstvinām śanātma bhūviraśvinām pravārī ṣaṃjñī ।
vaṁśvinām svērāṇājānvinām guṇāṇājānvinām "
Ibid, Act V, 1

³ "nagarayorājanām vīroṣṭotvase bagoniṣṭidām yadāṣṭi" Swapnavāsavadattam, Act I.

⁴ "gūnīyo—vatsakāra māṇḍapa-amāla padaśirīram bhūr manetitē"
Dīgha-Nikāya, 2, 16, 1, 26.

⁵ "nagarī ḍavēlaṁ gūnārhitam" Jātaka, 6, 448.

⁶ "nagarī mahāvīranām" Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, Chapter 199.

⁷ "nagarī mahāvīranām" Milindapaṇihī, page 32.

⁸ "nīveśaṁ pūrṇasāvitaṁ bhūtō rājyaḥ" Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara-Kāṇḍa, Canto 101, line 31.


¹⁰ "svāyapārānām rūmāṃ śyāyāramajjanaśālam" Yuga-Puruṣa, page 31
whereas Mayamata, which is a comprehensive treatise on architecture and which is copiously quoted as an authority by subsequent writers, acknowledges it as "Nagara-Vinayāsa".

The word "Nagara-Niveśana" also occurs in Aparājitapričchā, which is an exhaustive composition on the theory and practice of the science of architecture. Scholars are inclined to believe that it was composed in the 12th century A.D. and deserves to be ranked with Mānasāra or any architectural treatise of a high order. This work throws light on various aspects of city-planning, e.g. the method of fortification, construction of the roads and selection of the site for the erection of the palace and other important buildings.

Aparājitapričchā informs us that cities in ancient India were laid out in accordance with a scheme under the supervision of an able architect known as Śūtradhāra. He was required to be thoroughly acquainted with the science of architecture (वास्तुविद्वा विद्वा:). This is also clear from the expressions like "Vāstuvidyāvibodhakah", "Vāstuvidyādikausalah", "Vāstumārmādibodhakah" and "Vāstusāstrādibodhanam"; which have been used to describe his technical qualifications. He was also required to be expert in the examination of site (मूर्तीका); fixation of the nails for measuring the ground (कौनिकारोपणाविकम्) and the character of the ground on the basis of its colour, smell, taste and slanting direction (वर्णांच्छिंचांतसत्वाब्धवाधि भूमिलक्षणम्). He was also well-versed in the measurement of plot with the help of the tape (रेखानी विविधाकार:;) and the construction of huge buildings of various types (प्रातासा विविधाकार:) 6. He was to have a familiar knowledge of ascertainment of the extent of the ground by comparison with a standard (मामोन्तप्रायचं जायते सूत्रकर्मणा) and skilful in the art of joinery (संचि... कः लम्ब)7. He was

3. Ibid, page 118.
4. Ibid, page 118.
an esplimit in the construction of the moat, rampart, gates, roads, buildings and palaces. He was also expected to be wise, erudite, and fully conversant with draftsmanship.

The Sūtradhāra of Aparājitapṛichchhā is to be compared with Sthapati of Mayamata, Silparatna, Vāstuvidyā and Mānushyālayachandrikā. According to Mayamata, Sthapati should be eminently skilled in designing the buildings, competent in the layout of the cities, skilful in drawing sketches, and thoroughly acquainted with surface-reading. He is also to be compared with Vāstuvidyāchārya (Vatthuvijjāchariya) of the Jātakas. In his work, the Sūtradhāra was helped by other architects. All these architects were to be richly honoured for the merit of their work by the founder of the city. The employment of the chief architect and his assistants have been referred to in the earlier works also. In Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa, their group is mentioned as “Silpi-Saṅgha”. It was proficient in the work of remodelling and the enlargement of the cities.

(The most important problem which confronted the Sūtradhāra was the selection of the site, where the city was to be laid out. The examination of site by Sūtradhāra is known as “Bhoo-parikshā” in Aparājitapṛichchhā. This word occurs in Mānasāra.

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1. “पुरुषार्थिर्विभाषितोऽवस्थामणें गोपुरम्। वूहं च राजवेदमणेऽसयते सुग्रामणः॥” Ibid, page 118.
   Also Compare: —
   “पुरुषार्थिर्विभाषितोऽवस्थामणें गोपुरम्। वेदाणि राजवेदाणि सर्वो शाला राजक्षयोः॥” Ibid, page 6.
4. Jātaka, 1, 297.
7. “तां विषयसंधा: प्रभुणा नियतात्सत्तपालाः संभूतात्सत्तवात्।नौं नवीकृत्यं विसंगतं चेष्यं: नियोजनपिपिठात्मकेः॥” Raghuvamśa, 16, 38.
8. Aparājitapṛichchhā, page 120.
and Mayamata¹, which also recommend the basis of the choice of the ground. In Aparājita-prīchchhā, the confluence of two rivers has been regarded as the most suitable site for the construction of a town (नवीन संगमेशु)². In case such a site was not available, the city was to be laid out either in some alluring place or near a forest or a hill³. Its situation near a hill or a forest was desirable, because a natural source of defence of the city was available in this case. It should be mentioned at this place that according to Mahābhārata⁴ and the testimony of the Chinese traveller, Fahien⁵, the ancient city of Girivrajā was protected by five hills, namely Vārāha, Vairāha, Vrīshabha, Rishigiri and Chaityagiri. According to Rāmāyaṇa, the city of Ayodhyā was defended by a forest of Śāla trees.⁶

For the selection of the site, Aparājita-prīchchhā makes another recommendation, which is extremely orthodox in nature. It says that the ground should be chosen in view of its colour, smell, taste and obliquity by the different castes⁷. If the ground is white in colour, it is suitable for a Brāhmaṇa. Similarly, red, yellow and black surfaces of the earth are becoming for Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras respectively⁸. The sites, which emitted a smell of blood, salt and refuse, were to be preferred by Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras respectively⁹. The soil, which had the sweet flavour

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1. Mayamata, chapter 3.
4. "वेराहो स्वपलो शेलो बाराहो वृक्षसंत्वतः। अविनिर्रस्तात् शुभास्वतेयथ पंचमा।" एते पंचा: मदाहूऽपि: वर्षता: शौलसुमा:। रसांत्वाभिसंहन्त्वांत्ब संहतांगः: विरिमागिनु।" Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva, Ch. 21, 2—3.
5. Giles, Fahien, page 49.
7. "परीश्वय्येच्छ भूमाध्य वर्णांसेवन स्वयं।" Aparājita-prīchchhā, page 120.
8. "द्वेषा च राज्यसिंहि भूमि रत्ना व लक्ष्मिणा। पीतवर्णा भवेदेयाः सूढः च कृष्णायिनी।" Ibid, page 123.
9. "पुराणमो भविष्यी राजी रत्नानुपलिनी। शारणया भवेदेयाः सूढः विपृतानुपलिनी।" Ibid, page 123.
of honey, was fit for a Brāhmaṇa. The earth, which relished savour, was to be picked out by the Kshatriyas. The saltish and unwholesome soil was fit for the Vaiśyas and Śūdras respectively. When the ground was selected on this basis, it was to be besmeared by cowdung for freedom from the mixture of the possible defilements and the ritual uncleanliness. It should be mentioned at this place that such orthodox recommendations are also available in Mayamata (chapter 3) and Vāstuvidyā (chapter 2). So far as the obliqueness of the ground is concerned, the author of Aparājitapṛichchhā is in favour of the eastern slope. According to him, it is excellent in all respects, conducive to health and possessed of the great merit of longevity. The choice of the surface, sloping to the east is significant from the scientific point of view. This would enable the availability of the morning rays of the sun; which creates sound bodily conditions.

The selection of the site was followed by a ceremony for its purification. In Aparājitapṛichchhā, it is known as “Bali-Vidhāna”. This nomenclature also occurs in Mānasāra and Mayamata, where an eloquent description of this ceremony has been given by their authors.) This ceremony was done by the Śūtradhāra himself with the help of a learned Āchārya (आचार्य चारणमण्डकेन) on an auspicious occasion. The labourers were employed in order to fill the holes in the earth and make the ground smooth by razing the mounds. The Śūtradhāra, who was clothed in white garments and had carried on his neck a garland of the same colour, offered worship to important gods like Brahmā, Vishnu and

1. “श्राहु मणि मधुरस्वावा कथाया क्षत्रियां तथा।
शास्त्रस्वावा भवेईश्वरा घृते स्थाप्तहुन्ता तथा।” Ibid, page 123.
3. “नीरोग्य यासांस्थाया च विशिष्ठजन चेतित”।
पूर्वस्वावा यु या भुमि: शोभनता स उक्तिलित:।” Ibid, page 123.
5. Mānasāra, Chapter 8.
7. “शुमेन विवे शुभेन चात्रं शुम्भवेन सुमुद्रेन” Aparājitapṛichchhā, page 113.
8. Aparājitapṛichchhā, page 120.
9. Ibid, page 120.
Rudra and goddesses like Yogini, Kumari, and others. He took great care of the fact that adoration was paid to all the divine beings, presiding deities of the fields (क्षेत्रवाल) and guardians of the boundaries (विष्णवाल) properly. This worship was followed by a gift of land, cow, horse, buffalo, gold, cloth and some other valuables. If it was considered that due to this ceremony, the ground was bestowed with a merit, which would always remove all the hinderances and bring complete happiness to all the persons dwelling there permanently.

The purification of the ground was followed by the actual work of planning. The Sutrarahara brought nails usually built of metal and fixed them on all sides in accordance with the scheme of the construction of the proposed town. The nails were joined together by means of threads and with the guidance of these threads the whole site was marked out. This is known as "Nagara-chinhani" (नगर-चिन्हानि) in Aparajitaprichchha. The various portions of the surface, where the work of the construction of the moat, rampart, roads, palace and other buildings was to be taken, were thus clearly indicated by the Silpis.

The work of the fortification of the town was undertaken at the first instance. Aparajitaprichchha proposes the construction of three moats in case the town was much bigger in size. The portion of the soil where the moat was to be constructed has been known as "Parikheyi-Bhumi" (परिक्रयः भूमि) in Ashhtadhayyi of Panini. This appears to be a mere repetition of the recommendation of three moats, made by Arthastra and Samaranga-sutra-dhara. The three moats of Aparajitaprichchha seems to suggest the three types of moat known in ancient India, namely, (1) the moat full of water, (2) the moat full of mud and (3) the moat

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1. Ibid, 113-114.
4. "अन्याय क्रिस्तक सूत्र रोपयेच्छ चतुर्विस्क" Ibid, page 123.
7. Panini—kālīna—Bharatavarsha; page 142.
8. Arthastra, page 51 (Sāstrī).
which had nothing within. The moat which was filled with water is mentioned as "Toyapūrā-Parikhā"\(^1\) in Arthaśāstra and "Udaka-Parikhā"\(^2\) in the Jātakas. The second and third types of the moat have been known in the Buddhist literature as "Kaddama-Parikhā"\(^3\) and "Sukkha-Parikhā"\(^4\) respectively.

(The earth which was laid bare by digging the moat, was amassed by its side at some distance and thus a huge mound was built. This mound has been known as "Vapra" in the Aparājitapṛchchhā\(^5\). The city-wall known as "Prākāra" was constructed on this mound. Aparājitapṛchchhā says that the city-wall should be elevated to a height of nine hastas (18 feet) for increasing its defensive value\(^6\). The city-wall was set with towers which have been known as "Afālaka"\(^7\) and "Mahāśrīnga"\(^8\) in this work. It was also to be possessed of main (Gopura) and subsidiary gates (Pratolf). These entrances were closed and opened by thick planks (कपट: सर्वारेषु \(^9\)). On the top of the city-wall, were to be accumulated destructive weapons (Mahāyantra), such as the Bhairavayatantra, Bhāskarayatantra, Mahishāsura-vyantra and Vārāhyantra\(^10\). The author of this work says that due to these weapons, the city-wall becomes impregnable\(^11\). Arthaśāstra\(^12\) and Mahābhārata\(^13\) enumerate several weapons which were to be piled up on the upper surface of the city-wall.

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1. Arthaśāstra, page 51 (Śāstri).
3. Ibid, page 144.
4. Ibid, page 144.
11. "तातु पायाणकुकुलकुलीकाण्डकपनतः मुखिर्बुधुगरथ लक्ष्मण: तत्पन्यः II" Arthaśāstra (Jolly), I, p. 33.
12. "विविधकिरचिस्तिनिपटेरुः मुस्तंशः। शक्तिमहिष्वर्यमेव विष्टिविविमधि पतंगः।। तल्पेत्रक्षस्तीमिनियुक्तं शुषुम्ये योधशरस्तम्।। तीर्थानु हुशाततनीसप्तम्या जीर्णस शोभितस्म॥ बायालक्षम महाचन्द्र शुषुमे पत्तुरोतमम॥॥" Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, Ch. 227, V 63—641-2.
The construction of the moat and the wall determined the shape of the city. Aparājitapṛichchhā recommends six shapes of the town, namely, (1) Vṛtta (circular), (2) Vṛttāyata (figure resembling with ellipse), (3) Swastika, (4) Yavākriti, (looking like a drum), (5) Dīrga (rectangular) and (6) Chaturasra (having the shape of equilateral rectangle). According to this work, the cities, which have these figures, bring great prosperity to the people and made them fearless. These shapes have been recommended by some other works also, e.g. in Yuktikalpataru, which was composed only a century earlier, the "Chaturasra" town has been looked with great favour.

Aparājitapṛichchhā rejects the following shapes of the town:—(1) Vajra (figure resembling with octagon), (2) Trīśūlākṛiti (trident) and (3) Trikoṇākhyā (triangular). According to this work, the octagonal city brings about an enormous loss to the citizens and in the trident town, there was a constant fear of war. In Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtra-dhāra also, which was composed a little earlier, the octagonal city is condemned on the ground that it causes famine, disease and great distress amongst the citizens.

Inside the city, several roads were constructed in order to avoid congestion over them. The author of Aparājitapṛichchhā recommends the construction of nine roads in the town. The houses of the members of the four castes, were to be allocated in the different parts of the city. In this work, the houses of the Brāhmaṇas have been located in the east and those of the Kshatriyas in the south. The houses of the Śudras, according to this work, should be appr tioned in the north and those of the Vaiśyas in the centre.

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2. "वृद्धिवेद्यवेद्य व ब्रोपव त्रिगुरु तथा। रिपुवेद्यवेद्यस्तां हवामयमस्मृत।" Ibid, page 181.
3. "विशुरयत त्रिगुरयं (१) फलय पुरुषीपते।" Yuktikalpa taru, page 23.
4a. Aparājitapṛichchhā, page 182.
5. "विसूले च वपुरे चेत तता पुरुष समुक्षभवेत।" Ibid, page 182.
6. "वज्ञित्वाद्विभोत्तवं नाग्मण्डलयां गृहिणियोः।" Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtra-dhāra, p. 44.
7. "नधमरं हतं संहिस्या निर्मिता विद्वभक्षत।" Aparājitapṛichchhā, page 172.
The different industrialists like goldsmiths, perfume-dealers and ivory-workers were to be placed in the different localities. This seems to bear a relation to the localization of industries, which is emphasized in all the works, where the subject of site-distribution is also undertaken. Aparajitapṛichchhā favours the inhabitation of the members of all the four castes because it is conducive to the happiness of the citizens in general. Like Arthaśāstra and Śukranīti-Sāra, it also advises the construction of the royal palace in the centre. It places the sellers of the betel, fruits, flowers and garlands either in the vicinity of the palace or in the populous localities for the benefit of their sale. The temples of the gods were to be built near the squares of the city.

From the above it is clear that Aparajitapṛichchhā of Bhuvanadeva is helpful to a large extent, in understanding the various aspects of city-architecture as practised in ancient India. It bears testimony to the fact that the cities which thrived in this land, were not a result of an accidental or irregular growth, but erected in accordance with a well-considered scheme. This work, undoubtedly, reflects the engineering skill and the architectural technique of the ancient builders and also agrees on several points with Yukti-kalpataru and Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtra-dhāra which supply to us numerous informations about the planning of the cities in ancient India.

1. Ibid, page 179.
2. "चतुर्वर्णाच्च प्रजातरंकेषु पुरुषे च।
   सत्वेऽत्र वासवेत्वा नागारं भवेऽत्वहार्।"
Ibid, page 179.
4. Śukranītiśāra, Ch. 1, p. 434.
5. "ताम्बूलवल्संकीर्यः गुप्तसाहित्य संहृतम्।
   राज्यार्पणसत्रश्च यतं स्वात्त्व जनसहृतम्॥"
Aparajitapṛichchhā, page 179.
NON-RUSTING OF THE MEHRAULI IRON PILLAR

By

V. G. Pandey

The craftsmanship in iron work of the Mehrauli iron pillar of king 'Chandra' is simply superb. It is a single piece of iron, which does not show any sign of decay by rusting or getting corroded for centuries and has retained the inscription very clearly. The identification of king 'Chandra' of this inscription with Chandra Gupta II of the Gupta dynasty, has been generally accepted to be the best and as such, it has been favoured by majority of the scholars. Therefore an explanation of the non-rusting character of this iron pillar must be sought, from the sources of the Gupta period only.

The various explanations so far suggested for the non-rusting and non-decaying characters of the iron of this pillar are as under:

1. the pillar might have been painted or white-washed with the lime, to protect it from rusting;
2. probably in the Gupta period, the metallurgy was advanced to such an extent that it was possible, then, to make a pillar of pure iron;
3. probably the pillar was prepared with stainless steel.

We agree with Dr. Urmila Agarwal when she remarks that, these various explanations have been altogether misguiding and to some extent unbelievable. About the last probable explanation, Dr. Urmila Agarwal very aptly remarks that from all the modern methods known so far the manufacture of stainless steel, we know that, it should be an alloy of iron with Chromium, Nickel, Vanadium, Molybdenum etc. Rare metals like Vanadium and Molybdenum, have only very recently been discovered and no traces of them are available in the ancient relics. Hence, it shall be too

1 Hoernle: 'Ind. Ant.', XXI, pp. 43—44.
   Altekar 'A New History of the Indian People', VI, pp. 3, 23.
rash to think of all that. Thus after discarding the views of other scholars, she puts forward her own explanation, which runs thus: “The only appealing and tangible explanation seems to be, that, for giving the pillar a proper shape, the masons of ancient times must have poured water on the red-hot iron, would at once be converted into steam, which would further affect the rest of the red-hot iron in forming on it an adherent layer of ferro-sferric oxide according to Barff process. It is a well-known fact that this process is even adopted for protecting iron from rusting and for treating cans for fruits etc. instead of tinning, because—ferro-sferric resists the action of even acids and chlorine. Ferro-sferric being a black substance, the adherent layer thus formed would be black throughout. It is for this reason that the Meharauli iron pillar is black in appearance, and not a white shining one, which would have been the case, had it been of pure iron.”

Though her explanation is intelligent and ingenuous, we are reluctant to state that she has not attested any authority in support of her claim.

On this non-rusting character of this iron, we come across a section in Varaha Mihira’s Bhrihatasamhita wherein it is possible to find the only tangible, correct and scientific explanation. It has been accepted that this author lived and flourished during the Gupta period. And hence his authority will be an appropriate source relevant to our enquiry.

Varaha Mihira has mentioned the following six kinds of ‘Lepas’ in his Bhrihatasamhita. He advises to apply these Lepas on iron etc. to preserve the objects from decay and rust:

**First Lepa**:

The paste of the horns of a male sheep or a ram should be kneaded well with the viscid ooze or the sap of Gigantic Swallowwort. In this mixture, the secretion of a blue pigeon or Columba and rat should be added. After kneading well,

1. Ibid. p. 37.
2. Ibid. P. 38.
it should be applied to the object (here ‘Tailmathitaśastra’—‘Khadga’). Then the object should be given a temper as required and then sharpened if required.

**Second Lepa** — The salt (Kshāra) of the plantain should be kneaded well with the curd. This preparation should be preserved for a few days and then it should be applied to iron. After applying this Lepa, the iron should be given temper as required. Varāha Mihira claims that such a piece of iron will neither break on the stone, nor on the ordinary iron, when hammered.

**Third Lepa** — Raw fruits of a Diospyros glutinosa, of the Feronia elephantum or of the Crataeva valanga or of the Woodapple tree, flowers of Ravari (?), seed of the Porcupine, skin of the Screw tree (or Helicteres ixora, Orris-root or *Orris pseudacorus*, or sweet flag or *Acorus calamus*). All these ingredients should be kneaded well in one ‘Droṇa’ quantity of water. This whole mixture should be boiled to 1/8th of its quantity. The following ingredients should then be added to the mixture:—a whitish kind of benzoin or olibanum, viscid or sap of the ‘Deodāru’ tree, viscid or sap of the Shorea robusta, linseed, aegle marmelos or *Crataeva religiosa*, aloes or gum-myrrh, bdellium or amyris—agallocha, *Semeacarpus anacardium* and the viscid or sap of the ‘Śrī-Vāsaka’ tree (a kind of long grass, with a pink flower). This preparation should again be boiled in the same way—indicated above. This is called the ‘Vajra Lepa’.

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1. Ibid. Ad. L, v. 26;

2. Ibid. Ad. LVII, v. 1-3 :

3. 5 Guṇja = 1 Māsā; 16 Māsā = 1 Tolā; 4 Tolā = 1 Pala; 4 Prasthas = 1 Aghaka.
Varāha Mihira informs us that this kind of 'Vajra-lepa', when applied, lasts for about ten thousand years. This claim may appear to be an exaggeration, but when we look at the Mehrauli iron pillar at Delhi, which is standing there for the last one thousand years or more, we are compelled to believe the so-called tall claim of Varāha Mihira (Of course in this place he does not mention iron as one of the objects, still we can reasonably think that the application of this lepa on iron could have the same effects).

**Fourth Lepa**:— Ingredients :— Lac, viscid ooze or sap of the 'Devadāra', *Bdellium* or *Amyris agallocha*, 'Grihadhāma' (?),— fruits of the *Feronia elephantum* or of the *Crataeva valanga* or of the wood-apple tree, yolk of the fruit of *aegle marmelos* or *Crataeva religiosa*, 'Nāgabalaśala' (?), fruit of the *Diospyros glutinosa*, thorn apple or *Rubia manjith*, viscid ooze or sap of the *Shorea robusta*, aloes or gum-myrrh and the crystallized sulphur. These ingredients are to be boiled to the 1/8 th of its quantity. It should be applied hot. The effect of the fourth 'lepa' is the same as that of the third.

**Fifth Lepa**:— Ingredients :— Horns of the cow, she-buffalo and a male-sheep or a ram, hair of donkey, skins of the cow and she-buffalo, fruits of the 'Neem' tree and *Feronia elephantum* or of the *Crataeva valanga* or of the wood-apple tree and aloes. These ingredients are to be boiled in the way mentioned in the third and fourth 'lepas'. Varāha Mihira calls this 'lepa' as 'Vajratara-lepa' indicating thereby its superiority over all others.

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1. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* : *Ād. LVII* v. 4 :

   प्रासादवाद्यवल्लोपलिपुहारसतिमारकुखीनेरेपुः
   संतप्तीवत्तमो वर्य सहलायुतवायिः

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid v. 5—6 :

   लक्षणाजगुहपूर्वपुंजसुरवमकर्पितकांबलवाम्यानि
   नागवालसातिृपुरसमवतन्तवस्माकसंज्ञायः
   सर्वसरससामालकानिष्यतितकः कुलोद्वसीयोऽयः
   कवयावः प्रसमगुणेणयंमपितेववेकाः

4. Ibid. v. 7 :

   मोहविज्ञाणाविषयः संरोपणातिम्यवम महायोयः
   निवक्षपित्यरसः सहजयतरोनामककोऽयः

11411

11511

11611

11711
Sixth Lepa1:— Ingredients:— Iron filings, bell metal (also queen’s metal or any amalgamation of zinc and copper) and brass or peter puffed out like a sponge by exposure to heat, and the lead. They should be taken in the following proportion; 1: 2: 8, respectively, and mixed up. This ‘lepa’ is known by the name of ‘Vajra-Saṅghāta’ and has been borrowed by Varāha Mihira from an architect called ‘Maya’.

From the above preparation of the ‘lepas’, and its effects mentioned by the author, we are convinced that, in the construction of the iron pillar at Delhi any one of the above ‘lepas’ must have been used. Varāha Mihira has insisted throughout on the process of giving the tempers to the objects, and therefore it seems possible that this very process of giving tempers may have been worked out on this pillar which probably made the pillar black. This seems to us the only correct and scientific explanation based on the contemporary source.

1. *Bid. v. 8* :

अष्टि सौतन्त्रभाग: कांतस्वयम्भूरैरितिकाभागः

मयकपितोयोगोपियितोपि संपत्तः ॥ ॥ ॥
ANTiquities from Domingar\textdegree h
Adris Banerji, Patna.

Domingarh is the site of an ancient fortress, 1\frac{1}{2} miles to the north-west of Gorakhpur City. It was a large circular mound, 30' to 40' in height, from the level of the river water and was surrounded by low plains on all sides. It was located almost at the junction of the rivers Rapti and Rohini. A bend of Rohini protected the fortress on the north-west, west and south-west sides, while Rapti protected the south side. The north-east and south-east sides were guarded by two irrigation \textit{nālās}, known as Ajwāniyā and Kakhrahwā. It would be worth while to investigate whether these canals are natural, or were excavated to strengthen the defences of the city. The place was first noticed by A.C.L. Carlyle in 1878-79.

Topography

Generally the country is low, broad and sufficiently depressed to cause inundations. The environs of Gorakhpur have the appearance of a vast sheet of water in monsoon. What is more, both the Rapti and Rohini carry enormous quantities of silt, with the result that in their meanderings, these rivers leave behind huge \textit{chars} and change their courses often. The whole country-side is dotted with large \textit{tāls}, like those around Sarnath, representing the discarded courses of these rivers. The fort was strategically located to guard a natural ford of Rohini. Rāpti possibly then flowed by another course, now represented by the Rāmgarh fāl. It guarded the route from Nepal, as well as that of any invading army from the western districts of North Kosāla, to its eastern districts and Mithilā. That the whole area was regarded as very important, is also proved by the existence of other fortified strongholds, like Rāmgarh, Baitālgarh, Bheriyāgarh etc., which are met with in this riverine region, within few miles of each other. Trial explorations at these sites are likely to furnish very valuable material for reconstructing the early history of Gorakhpur region about which our knowledge is very meagre. I was engaged in

\footnote{Cunningham—\textit{A.S.R.}, Vol. XXII, pp. 64 ff.}
doing the second best thing to do, in absence of excavations; that
is to make surface exploration to arrive at an approximate estimate
of the possible contents, so that they might act as a yard-stick
in evaluating the ceramic sequence of eastern U.P.

**History**

Early history of the area, inspite of monumental labours of
my friend Dr. Rājabalī Pandey, is imperfectly known. The tri-
butė paid to the former glories of Kuśinagar by Lord Buddha,
as contained in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttānta*, has yet to be proved.
Stray inscriptions like that of Bhagalpur in Deoria District, and
Kahaon inscription of Skanda Gupta prove inclusion of the tract
in the various empires of Northern India, while the Kasia ins-
cription, Kahla, Sahet-Mahet and Dighwa Dubauli Copper plates
testify to the extension of the Kalachuri and Gāhaḍavāla dominions.
Except these processions of names, we have very little solid ground
to stand upon.

Domingarh in particular has nothing to claim, as far as his-
torical evidences are concerned. Folk-tales and legends are the
only sources which have given us ideas about its origin. Accord-
ing to the local tradition, it was the capital of a powerful people
called ‘Domkāṭārs’, the ruling race of the Doms (?), a people
supposed to be *aborigine*, and who established themselves in Gorakh-
pur at the expense of a local Rāṭhor dynasty. This occupation has
been assigned by Nevill to 12th to 16th Century A.D.\(^1\). But the
finds described below establish that the place has undoubtedly
higher antiquity. The ‘Domkāṭārs’ were alleged to have been
replaced by the ancestors of Rajas of Satāsī, who are supposed to
be ‘Śrīnet Rajputs’ from the Punjab. Chandrasena, the founder of
the family, seems to have secured admission into Domingarh by
treachery; and massacred the occupants like Farid Khan at Rohtas
in the district of Shahabad, Bihar\(^2\). Nevill was right in thinking
that nothing further is heard of the Domkāṭārs. Possibly, the high-
handedness of the immigrants did not permit them to survive\(^3\).
Then came Mukund Singh, the Chāhamāna (?), who founded the

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house of Butwâl\textsuperscript{1}. The subsequent history of Gorakhpur as well as the neighbouring districts, is filled with the internecine warfare of these Mediaeval feudal lords, whom terrain gave absolute security against Muslim inroads till Akbar’s time. It was in his reign that a military garrison was established at Gorakhpur.

**Destruction**

The accumulated occupational debris of Domingarh suffered devastation during the early days of British rule, like Brâmhanâbâd and Harappa in West Pakistan; and Mathurâ, Lakhîsarai and Uren in Bihar. The opening of the railway line by the former B.N.W. Rly. Co. (now N.E. Rly.), sealed its fate. The layers and layers of material culture at one of the most well preserved and strategic sites in north Kosâla were utilised, first to make a raised embankment for the line to Uskâ and Basti; and secondly as ballast, a function which it is still serving. The next factor was the erection of an embanked road to enable the people to use it during the monsoon. It is situated just behind the railway line. This devastation has generally taken place on the southern side of the railway line, while the northern side, having been in private possession, is better preserved. Here vertical digging is likely to yield a rich harvest in recovering the story of the site. This chronology then may be utilised as the nucleus for a comparative study of similar data from other sites in eastern U.P. The establishment of a well-authenticated cultural sequence for this area is a need which cannot be overemphasised.

The digging is still going on by villagers, who have established a small hamlet above the flood level and my collections were made from them as well as from some pits recently made by them. The spoliation of the site has however yielded one good result,—the disappearance of all evidences of later days upto C. 5\textsuperscript{th} century of the Christian era.

**Clay figurines**

1. The hollow torso of a female figure (Ht. 16.08 mm.) with nipples of the breast indicated by slight depressions. A solid cylindrical base with a mortice hole inside the spread-out base. Red wash.

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid. p. 244.
2. The solid torso of a female figure (Ht. 13.05 mm.) with cylindrical base and the remains of a torque at the neck. Light orange wash. Left breast damaged.

3. Torso of a female figure (Ht. 6 mm.) with a necklace and torque, pointed small breasts with the traces of an orhni running between them. The base was hollow and cylindrical. Light red wash; probably traces of a child (?) on her left waist.

4. Torso of a female figure (Ht. 15 mm.) only a portion of the lehagā or sārī comes over her right breast. A child on her left waist.

5. Torsō upto waist of a female figure (Ht. 8 mm.) wearing torque on the neck. A suckling child on her left waist. Right arm has chūris. It rests on hip. Light red wash.

6. Solid cylinder with remnants of a scarf.

Heads with round pupils

7. Female head (Ht. 11.05 mm.) with big pupils indicated by grooves made with a circular blunt tool on soft clay. The eyes are goatlike and arched eyebrows almost meet at the centre of the forehead. Slit mouth. Hair arranged in a top-knot indicated by tangential rows of ridges. Long elongated ears. Tenon badly fired below the neck to fit on the torso.

8. Female head (Ht. 6.05 mm.) only a fillet below the hair line has survived.

9. A female head (Ht. 10.05 mm.) with goatlike eyes and grooves for eye-balls. Arched eyebrows meet at the centre of the forehead. Elongated hair and long pointed chin. Torque on the headline. Light red wash.

10. Large badly damaged head (13 mm.) with goatlike eyes and pierced circular hole for eye balls. Arched eyebrows meeting above the ridge of the nose. Hair arranged in a top-knot shown by parallel rows of ridges.

Mongoloid type

11. Female head of Mongoloid type (Ht. 11 mm.) with tenon below neck. Hairs made by pressure of fingers. The left ear has disappeared. Small suppressed lip. Eyes indicated by two parallel depressions with a small nose between. Hair arranged in
a top-knot bound by a fillet. There is a rectangular depression behind the head. Light red wash. It appears that the top-knot was added separately.

Miscellaneous

12. Fragment, representing the lower arm, palm and fingers of a female figure, (Ht. 8 mm.), wearing Chūrī. Light red wash.
13. Left arm with palm and fingers (Ht. 8 mm.).
14. A leg without feet of a clay figurine (Length 10 mm.).
15. Clay rubber with parallel rows of striations and orange wash (5.2 mm.).
16. A sherd with a lug having a button-shaped depression without wash.
17. Do. With a lug having a pin-pointed depression with orange wash.
18. Clay brick with grey core.

It should be remembered that the antiquities collected were mostly surface-collections from a disturbed part of the site and are not objects on which hypotheses can be built with any certainty. Nevertheless, they supply interesting data about the condition of material culture in this remote corner of Uttara Kośala which large scale excavation in some other neighbouring site can only prove or disprove.

Technique

The technique is no doubt crude to a degree and consists of moulded figures of burnt clay. Ornaments were added with extra layers of clay and punched with a sharp blunted tool probably of wood when still soft. Then they were fired, which in all cases are very badly done. Both interiors and exteriors observed in damaged specimens, have grey cores and sometimes surfaces too. The material for firing—probably was leaves. This method is even now followed in making of clay pots in Monghyr district of Bihar, where dried leaves are put inside and outside and then all the pots are fired after they have been covered by a clay envelope
with holes to allow the gas and smoke to escape. Otherwise, the grey surface inside the cylindrical portion cannot be explained. Finally, they were dipped in wash.

The clay figurines etc., of Domingarh bear strong affinities with their counterparts at Ahichhatrā, in the Āonlā tahsil, of the Bareilly district. Their ethnic, aesthetic and cultural contents are identical, suggesting a fundamental unity underlying aesthetic perception of the people of all classes and strataums in those bygone ages, notwithstanding the admitted fact that the cultural and racial context of the Gorakhpur region were totally different from Uttara Pāñchāla. Parenthetically, it might be remembered that the collected specimens are also not the examples of the classic art of the country, but are objects of folk-art, nonetheless, they surprise us by common idioms of plastic expression, aesthetic conception and conservative tradition. Clay is a material which came in service of man very early in his history. The art of the clay figurines is one of the most archaic forms of aesthetic expression. It has by its very nature, graphic power of depiction. One does not meet with the formal perfection of classic plastic activity, but novel and original verbs and syntax of communication. Baked clay, therefore, has been utilised to endow the national plastic activity with richness of expression, with its incised contour lines and sharpest linear integrity.

The figures with hollow cylindrical bases are similar to those found in AC III, Strata III a-b, ascribed to C. 550-750 A.D.; being sub-type (vi) of Type 21, Group VIII; Foreign types of Ahichhatrā. They have also been met with in other ancient sites in Allahabad, Azamgarh and Vārāṇasī districts. But, how far the occurrence of such cylindrical figures, whatever the material, on Hepthalite coins justify their description as foreign types, is open to question. As far as Domingarh is concerned it does not share the advantages of North Pāñchāla’s capital city. Diffusion of Hunic influence in this remote corner is a moot point. To my mind some of them seem to be parts of a large lasembles which were fixed on clay or wooden pegs.

The same is the case with the heads. The eye-balls made by circular grooves with the aid of a blunt tool have been found

1. Ancient India, No. 4, p. 155.
at Domingarh as well as Ahichhatrā; being Type 22, Stratum IIIc—IIIa, belonging to a period 450-750 A.D., Sub-type (ii) and (iii) of that place. Only one head being No. 11 of our list has a slit eye. While the mongolid type might have been very familiar to the image and doll-makers of Domingarh, which was in the neighbourhood of the Himalayas, how far they were acquainted with Huns and Persians are points on which a mass of evidences require to be garnered. Nevertheless, the hypotheses should not be discarded hastily; but excavations undertaken at other sites to prove or disprove them. Lastly, it should be remembered that the possibility of influence through specimens brought from Ahichhatrā cannot be ruled out.

The very few potteries collected, confirm the above conclusion. The specimens described by me were collected by Shri N. C. Burman Roy and Sri N. N. Bose. These are examples of a buff ware containing two distinct types; shallow bowls with lugs which have button-like depressions. The second is a round bottomed decorated jar. The decoration consists of incised cross hatchings. Such cooking vessels with lug ears were also recovered from the last two stages of stratum III at Ahichhatrā. This stratum has been referred to a period of C. 450-750 A.D.

Therefore, the clay figurines and sherds from Domingarh make it perfectly clear that, this city, the predecessor of modern Gorakhpur, was a flourishing place from the middle of the 5th Century A.D., to that of the 8th Century A.D. Its material culture was on the same level as that of the famous metropolises of Northern India. It was not merely a fort of Domkāṭārs from 12th Century A.D., as the local tradition believes¹.

¹ Unless otherwise stated, copyright of all photographs belong to the Department of Archaeology.
FRONTIERS OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE HISTORY OF
VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

By
Sri. B. V. Srinivasa Rao, M.A.

(I)

Epigraphy means a clear cut-door to an authentic area of historical thought; and whenever historians feel doubt of some historical facts, which are clouded in mystery, they would be helped by inscriptions which come under an Archaeological technical name, 'Epigraphy'. Epigraphic evidences in general remain eternal, on successful grounds, undaunted by failures, undismayed by critics. The unpublished grants, if published, or re-editing the inscriptions, mark always the wide open door of opportunity to the house of eternal foundation of history. For publishing the unpublished grant or re-editing the inscription 'Brahmajānānam' is essential or 'Pūrva Janma Saṁskāra' is essential. Sanskrit knowledge is also essential. Scholars must be backed up by the active influences of the benefic stars of their horoscopes such as Moon, Mercury, Venus and Jupiter. The duty of the archaeologists is to find out an inscription, edit it and publish, as it is in the Archaeological reports. In other words, the Archaeologists are divine grammarians to record the original inscription. The duty of a research student is to verify or amplify or commentate over the grammar of the inscription published in the archaeological reports. So Archaeologists are the divine grammarians of epigraphy, research students or research scholars are the divine commentators or amplifiers of Epigraphy. Archaeologists mean inborn intelligence to record the original inscription, whereas the research student should require the inborn memory to amplify it. Real Epigraphy teaches us that an ounce of facts is worth a ton of guesses. The duty of Epigraphists is two-fold:

(a) to make inscriptions possible to read;

(b) to make inscriptions profitable for historians.

A real epigraphist is the embodiment of a shining example of honesty and purity in his profession and he must be possessed of indivinable magnetism of a divine Grammarian, by which he would dominate every historian around him. To sum up—the
research student means the embodiment of the initiation and the flowering of the epigraphical evidences to record detailed history. The real epigraphist means the embodiment of the beginning or ripening to record inscriptions in his report.

Regarding the value of our Kannada inscriptions of Vijayanagar Empire published in the Mysore Archaeological Department (Epigraphia Carnatica Volumes), readers are advised by me to go through my following points:—

(1) Professor Kielhorn, states that the name of (Śālivāhana) as that of a personage, famous in South India, was prefixed in the ordinary course to Śaka Varsha or the Śaka Year simply in imitation of the name of Vikramāditya in the Vikrama dates. With this conclusion, we agree (Vide page 810, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1916).

(2) As per J.F. Fleet, the date of 1354 A.D. in a record of King Bukkaraya the I, of the Saṅgam Dynasty, is the earliest known instance of the use of the name ‘Śālivāhana’ in a date, and it may be noted that the given year is Vijaya Śālivāhana Śaka 1276 (current)—1353-54 A.D and the given ‘tithi’ is Māgha—Śukla 15, falling in February 1354 A.D. (Vide p. 814, the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1910).

(3) Among 93 records of the Vijayanagar Dynasty included by Professor Kielhorn, in Southern list of inscriptions, No. 454 to 546, ranging from 1340 A.D. to 1693 A.D., are dated in Śālivāhana Śaka Years—(vide page 815, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1916).

To sum up, for the first time in the history of the India the name of Śālivāhana Śaka was made use of in the Kanarese inscriptions of South India. Here, J.F. Fleet comes to the conclusion that the origin of the Śālivāhana Era must be only in South India. Anyhow the chief contribution of our Kannada Epigraphy is only by means of introducing a name of Śālivāhana Śaka in inscriptions, which are the greatest assets in Indian History.

Regarding the chief contribution of Tamil Nad epigraphy of Vijayanagar period, so far as my experience is concerned, almost all Tamil inscriptions of Vijayanagar Period in total depict and exhibit the native intelligence or the timely intelligence of Tamilians.
In other words, the Tamil Epigraphy places Tamilians on the bedrock of native intelligence and as worshippers of Lord Krishṇa in the whole world.

(II)

Let us go through the Administration Report of the Archaeological Department of Travancore (1122 M.E. (1946-47 A.D.). Here the Director of Archaeology of Travancore State, while examining the coins of Saṅgam rulers of Vijayanagar Empire, collected by Rao Bahadur Srinivasa Gopalachari of Madras, records one coin of Virūpāksha. Who is this Virūpāksha? This is my research, and my research answer for this is as follows:

Just to identify the Ruler of any coin, the following qualities of the Ruler are to be seen into:

(a) Independent status
(b) Extreme mutual intimacy
(c) Renowned confidence
(d) Very good affection

For example, during the period of British Rule in India only the Nizam of Hyderabad who had extreme mutual intimacy with the British Government was given an independent status to mint coins after his name. So, Independent status is the essential qualification for any person to mint coins after his name.

Among Saṅgam rulers of Vijayanagar Empire, Devaraya II (1419 A. D. to 1446 A. D.), because of his mutual intimacy and renowned confidence towards his Commander-in-Chief, Lakkanna Daṇḍeṣa gave independent status to the same Lakkanna Daṇḍeṣa to mint coins after his name. This is a rare example in Saṅgam period. So far as my research experience at the Mysore Archaeological Department is concerned, I have not found any other ordinary person, other than Lakkanna Daṇḍeṣa who was given an independent status to mint his coins.

Now the question of identification of Virūpāksha comes. Only the rulers had independent status for minting their coins. As this is true to my knowledge, this king Virūpāksha recorded in Travancore Archaeological Administration Report 194-47.
must be the King Virūpāksha III, the successor of the king Mallikārjuna of the Saṅgam Dynasty of Vijayanagar Empire, because in Vijayanagar Period excepting rulers no one had independent status to mint coins after their names. So this research paper is of great numismatic value to the scholars interested in historical research.

Regarding the Malayalam Epigraphy of Vijayanagar period almost all inscriptions refer to innumerable titles of their Kings. My conclusion is that the Malayalam epigraphy records the Malaya-lese inborn faith and fear towards their Kings.

The Telugu Epigraphy records the courageous private grants and donations. So the Telugu Epigraphy of Vijayanagar Period records greatest faith in temple and Brahmans for the majority of them pertain to the Reddis of Andhra (the grass-root culturists of India).

The history of Śrī Vaishṇavism is shrouded in clouds in our printed books on Vijayanagara. To be frank with you, according to my microscopic research knowledge at the Mysore Archaeological department, I come to conclusion that the Śrī Vaishṇavism had a great role in Vijayanagar Empire. As there was a growing popularity of Śrī Vaishṇavism in Saṅgam Period, Bukka I of Saṅgam clan, in order to give recognition to Śrī Vaishṇavism, extended a renowned Rāmānujāchārya Edict (Śāsana) dated 15th August, 1368 A.D. Perhaps this Edict must be in honour of the “world’s greatest, silent, intelligent and independent philosopher of the world,” Bhagavān Rāmānujāchārya. If the history of Vijayanagar is re-written, I am sure, the inscriptional evidences like the above would come into prominence and as a result scholars can come to an understanding regarding Śrī Vaishṇavism which is now silently existing amidst other religions. Anyhow epigraphy is always the nearest evidence for any religion or politics for final conclusion.

Scholars should be very careful in deciphering or examining the Colophons of Kannada Inscriptions of Vijayanagar Period. For example, the Royal Grants are started with the Colophon-Śrī Virūpāksha. The majority of the private grants are begun with the Colophon ‘Namasthuṅga’. According to my researches, there is
only one inscription which deserves, with 'Vīrasaiva' Epigraphy. In those days the Vīrasaivas used to inscribe their inscriptions with their religious Colophon (Srī Guruliṅgāyānamah). For examples, readers should go through E.C. Vol. IX No. 8, pp. 260-261.

To sum up, even in Vijayanagar times, the Lingāyats had maintained a separate method of recording their epigraphic evidences and this is one of the primary virtues of Kannada Epigraphy.

To conclude, we the research students rise by thoughts, stand or go; all destiny is wrought by the epigraphy’s swift potency and the research scholar always stands master of thought and his desires command willing and weaving thoughts of unerring light.

(III)

The following evidences prove that Tumkur which is now in Karnataka State, is really fit for re-integration with Andhra State.

Epigraphic Evidence No. 1: The meaning of TUMKUR.

As per the inscription of the year 955 A.D. found on the wall of the Someśwara Temple of Tumkur, belonging to Gangaraja Immadi Butuga, who ruled from 925-960 A.D., Tumkur was originally known as ‘Tummegūru’ which in turn means a thick forest of Hedddumbe Gidagalalu (Heddambe Plants).

Epigraphic Evidence No. 2: The Lakshmīkānta Temple of our Tumkur was built even prior to the year 1560 A.D. as per the Telugu Inscription found on the wall right to Navaraṇa Dwāra of the above-noted temple. The part of the full-text of the Telugu Inscription is as follows:—


Note:—The above inscription mentions the name of the Vijayanagar King Sadāśivarāya. The word "Aanebidda Jari Raajyaamulu":
was the original name of Tumkur controlled by Vijayanagar
governor Jagannatha Deviah (Telugu Satrap) son of Devappa
Desigaraja of Āsvālāyana Sūtra.

Literary Evidence:—

There is a local Kannada literary source (Karigiri Mahatme)
by which we can come to know the real meaning on the history of
the word ‘Aanebidda Jari Raajyamulu’. This Karigiri Mahatme
is interlocked with a legend to extend a valuable information on
“Aanebidda Jari Raajyamulu”. The legend is as follows:—

“In Lord Brahmā’s Assembly, the Sage Bhṛigu requested the
already singing two Gandharvas by names Dhananţjaya and
Devadatta, to repeat their songs once more. But, while refusing his
request, they jeered and ridiculed his old and white-stricken beard,
rugged dress, old-age and profession. In other words, they ill-
treated him with disrespect, and mocked at his learning and
prestige. As a result, the wrath-stricken sage extended his curse
upon them to take birth in this earthly world (Bhūloka) as Elephant
and Mountain respectively. But as a result of their repeated
requests and apology this Sage lowered the strength of his curse
upon them by telling ‘Oh! Dhananţjaya, you must remain as an
eternal mountain (KARIGIRI or DEVARAYANA DURGA); oh! Devadatta,
while remaining for sometime as elephant, roaming over this mountain (Karigiri) you must die stepping down from
the rock of the mountain’. As a result, Dhananţjaya became
Kusumāchala (yet another name of Karigiri). Devadatta after
roaming for some time upon this hill slipped down from there
and attained Veeraswarga. From this time onwards this place
and its surroundings including our present TUMKUR was titled
as “Aane Bidda Jari Raajyamulu”, which is supported by the
above Telugu Epigraphic Evidence No. 2.

Modern Historic Evidence:—

During the period of the later rulers of Sańgam Dynasty of
Vijayanagar Empire, Tumkur was a part and parcel of Andhra,
for it was under the control of a Telugu speaking tribe, by name
‘Morasu Vokkaligaru’, of Telugu origin belonging to Yelahaśaka
Nadu. To be frank with you, the major forts of our Tumkur
were built by the members of the above clan. For example:—
Byregowda fortified Koratagere; Nidugal was the chief centre of Tumkur. It was under Telugu Speaking Naiks who were known as Palyagars. Nidagal is a Taluk of Pavagada of Tumkur District (Vide—pp. 164-165, Mysore Gazetteer by L. Rice). Sanna Byregowda founded Koratagere (Tumkur District, Vide—Mysore Gazetteer, Volume V page 41, by Rao Sahib Hayavadana Rao). So, Tumkur was for a long time a part and parcel of Andhra Rayalaseema.

**Conclusion :—**

Thus, our Tumkur which contains majority of Telugu Inscriptions is proved as a great asset, not of Karnataka but of Andhra. Hence the integration of Tumkur with Andhra State is found appropriate.

(IV)

1. **Epigraphic Evidence :—**

   The inscription of Devanahalli No. 81 dated in 1425 A.D. refers to the grant of a village in the Sivanasamudra Seeme of Yelahaṅkanad. So, our Bangalore in Vijayanagar period was known as ‘Sivanasamudra Seeme’ under the control of Yelahaṅkanad (Vide page 41—Mysore Gazetteer Volume V, by Shri C. Hayavadana Rao).

2. **Who were the Rulers of Yelahaṅkanadu?**

   Jaya Gowda who had the title like—‘Yelahaṅkanadu Prabhudu’ or the Lord of the Yelahaṅkanad was a subordinate to Devaraya II, the King of Vijayanagar. He ruled Sivanasamudra Seeme, or Bangalore from 1418 to 1433 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Gidde Gowda, whose rule lasted from 1433 to 1443 A.D. Afterwards Kempanaṅja Gowda ruled Bangalore for seventy years (1443-1513 A.D.). These above Gowdas formerly belonged to Morasu Vokkalu Clan of Telugu Origin (Vide—pp. 20-21, Lewis Rice, Gazetteer VOL. II).

3. **Who Built Bangalore?**

   Andhra Morasu Vokkaligars built Bangalore. Aṅkana Gowda was the chief of Magadi. Devanahalli and Avati of Bangalore Dt. were controlled by Viregowda. The famous founder of Bangalore, Magadi Kempegowda, was of the same Morasu Vokkalu Clan.
His mother tongue was Telugu and Telugu was his ancestral heritage—(Vide—Lewis Rice Gazetteer Vol. II pp. 20-21).

Sivanasamudra Seeone is 10 miles South of Yelahaњka and three miles south of Bangalooru. This was ‘Hale’ (old Bangalooruru). Avati was founded by Rana Byregowda of Morasu Vokkalu. Doddaballapur was founded by his son. Thimmegowda founded Hosakote. His successor, by name Hayagowda. founded Anekal—(Vide page 40-41, Mysore Gazetteer, by Sri C. Hayavadana Rao, Volume V).

Conclusion :

The above evidences prove that for a long time our Bangalore was a part of Andhra State. So it is but natural for us to conclude that our Bangalore for its prosperity and peaceful rule, should be integrated with Andhra State.

The above evidences prove that Bangalore which is now the capital of Karnataka State, is really fit for re-integration with Andhra State.

(V)

The following evidences prove that Kolar which is now in Karnataka State is really fit for re-integration with Andhra State :

Towards the close of the 14th Century A.D., a band of travellers, composed of seven ryots, hailed from Rayalaseema and took shelter near the hill by name RAMASWAMI HILL, which is to the East of Nandi Durga. They were Telugus by origin and were gradually titled as ‘Morasu Vokkaligaru’. Rana Byre Gowda, of the above clan founded Chikkaballapur. Thimmegowda became the ruler of Kolar. He repaired the Fort of Kolar, ruled Kolar and added the Hoblis of Vemgal, Sugatur, Kaivara, Burudagunte and Budikote (Vide page 40-41 and 264—Hayavadana Rao’s Gazetteer, Volume V) to his dominions.

Conclusion :

My suggestion due to the above considerations goes to prove that our Kolar is nothing but a part and parcel of original Andhra State, the reservoir of Karnataka music. Scholars interested in Andhra historical researches can understand my above research points and fight for the cause of re-integration of Tumkur, Kolar and Bangalore with Andhra State for prosperity and fine democratic rule.
According to historians, the founders and the rulers of the Saṅgam Dynasty were all Kurubas (shepherds), and they were Śaivas by religion. But as per my researches, the later rulers of the Saṅgam Dynasty such as Deva Raya II, Mallikārjuana and Virūpāksha III (1419- to 1487 A.D.) were all Veeraśaivas (Liṅgāyats). In other words, these Kuruba rulers, embraced Veeraśaivism, according to the following sources:—

Epigraphic Source:—

Let us examine the Kannaḍa inscriptions, edited by late R. Shama Sastry, Director of Archaeological Department (Mysore Government) in 1923 and recorded in Mysore Archaeological Report, 1923, (Page 91, Inscription No. 92).

This inscription is on a stone lying in the enclosure of the Veerabhadra Temple at the village Kengigapura in Anantapura, Hubli, Sorab Taluk, Shimoga District. It is dated Sunday, the 15th Lunar Day of the light half of Pausha of the Year Vilambi Śaka 1340 corresponding to Sunday, the 31st December, 1419 A.D. This inscription was again reviewed by Dr. S. Sreekanta Shastry and as a result, Deva Raya II had a title like "Veeraśaivagama Sara Samapanna" which is contained in the 6th sentence of the inscription No. 92. So Deva Raya II was a Veeraśaiva by religion (Vide Dr. Sreekanta Shastry's Article on Deva Raya II in Indian Antiquary, Vol. 57, 1839, pp. 77-85, May, 1928).

The year of this inscription 1340 (Śaka) is equivalent to the following different years, as per the Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar by Robert Sewell:—

1. Kali Year ........ 4520
2. Śaka Year ........ 1340-41
3. Chaitrādi Vikrama year ........ 1476
4. Meshādi (Solar year in Bengal) ........ 825
5. Kollam Year ........ 593-594
6. A.D. ........ 1418-1419
7. According to Jovian Saṁvatsara, the year 1340 is referred to Vilambi of Southern System and Viśvavasu of Northern System.
2. Two Kannada Inscriptions recorded in Epigraphia Carnatica XV, (Arsikere) No. 238 and No. 239, mention the names of Nanjappa and Mururaya Basava Šaṅkara Šetti Nāyaka; as the sons of Deva Raya II. These names are Veeraśaiva names.

Purāṇic Source :

3. Devaraya II, as per Chennabāsava Purāṇa of Virūpāksha Pandit, married his daughter Veeranna Wodeya of Karasthala of Veeraśaivism, vide Channabāsava Purāṇa-Kālagaṇanā Sandhi, verses 19 and 21, Pages 758 and 759.

Historical Source :


Numismatic Source :

5. Deva Raya II’s coins record the figures of Nandi, Nilakanṭha, Bull, etc. which, in turn assures us his faith in Veeraśaivism because, these symbols, represent Veeraśaiva Symbols (Vide Indian Antiquary, Vol. 57, May 1839 p. 77-85; Indian Antiquary, Volume XXIII 1894 p. 24 to 25; Indian Antiquary No. XX. 1891 p. 301—302; The coins of Vijayanagar Kings by E. Hultsch.)

Conclusion :

By the above sources, we have to come to the conclusion that Devaraya II was Veeraśaiva, it is but natural to derive that his successors, such as Mallikārujuana and Virūpāksha III, were also of the same faith i.e. Veeraśaivism. Besides, to support this idea, the Prapanāṁpitam of Anantāchāryya records Virūpāksha III as Veeraśaiva (vide Literary Sources or Vijayananganagar by S. K. Iyengar). To sum up, Vijayanagar Empire for nearly 68 years was ruled by the Veeraśaiva rulers, such as Deva Raya II, Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha III. Furthermore, this article clarifies the religion of the rulers of the Saṅgam Dynasty of Vijayanagar Empire. So, this is of immense use to the students of further historical research.
As a result of my researches in the Mysore Archaeological Department, Lakshmipuram, Mysore, I was able to come closer to the scientific reasons for the downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire. They are as follows:—

Shri C.R. Krishnamacharlu in Indian Antiquary Vol. LII, Jan. 1923, page 10, while recording in an article on Saṅgam Period states that the main political idea of the Saṅgam rulers was to become all-India sovereigns. Having this view in their head, heart and hands, they prayed for God’s help by extending their great religious faith upon Brahmins and moral faith upon temples and as a result they became successful in consolidating and expanding their empire irrespective of certain internal difficulties. But the later rulers of the Aravidu Dynasty in general and particularly Aliya Rama Raya of the same Dynasty lost faith in Brahmins and temples and lost his spirit of Brahmajñāna to protect their Empire, even though he continued the main traditions of Saṅgam rulers’ idea of all India sovereignty. In other words, Aliya Rama Raya was not able to keep up his faith in Brahmins and temples.

If Hindus of Saṅgam period had a great veneration towards king, Brahmins and temples, the Hindus of Aravaidu period who became the peculiar psychologists possessed no political fear of king, no religious fears of Brahmins and no moral faith in the temple. To prove this the Royal Grants of Aravidu Dynasty towards the temples and Brahmins recorded in Madras Epigraphical Reports, Topographical lists of Travancore and the reports of other states, are very small in number in comparison to those of Saṅgam or Salva or Tuluva period. To conclude gradually, the Vijayanagar rulers forgot God and extended no faith and no belief among themselves. If Saṅgam period was known for consolidation and expansion, the Aravidu period was known for internal commotion and destruction.

Bhagawad Gītā States that he is a man in perfect balance, who has the supreme qualities of the idealist and the realist. But Aliya Rama Raya was not a man in true sense for he was neither idealist nor realist. In the long run he was not at all a doer; but a fine dreamer. This was the psychological reason for the downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire.
The Saṅgam rulers were the believers of the following doctrine of ‘Svetāsvatataropanishad’, though the Aravidu Rulers lost faith in this (God who is concealed in all beings is One; He pervades everything. He is the inner Soul of every being and Overseer of All activities. He dwells in all life).

Lord Kṛishṇa says in Bhagawad Gītā ‘O! Arjuna, he who controls the senses in his mind and does actions without motives or attachment is said to be a Karma Yogi’. But Aliya Rama Raya was not able to control his senses in his mind and acted with great personal motive. This placed him as a Karma Rōgi or Karma Bhrāshṭā.

The Portuguese Francisean Friars, at Madras, Mylapore and St. Thome, near Madras, destroyed some temples and thereby roused the indignations of Brahmans; Aliya Rama Raya went in person to St. Thome and held an enquiry, but finding that the foreign priests were very poor, he let them alone. As a result, the wrath-stricken Brahmans cursed Aliya Rama Raya who made a great disgrace upon Brahmans (Vide Tamil inscription of the year 1558 A.D.; the Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S.K. Iyengar).

(VIII)

Evidence No. 1:

The ruling Gaṅga Dynasty of Orissa had reached the stage of inanition with the death of Narasiṁha Rao Langora. He was followed in succession by two lines called Gaṅga or Narasiṁha and Banu. The last Banu had been over-thrown by the Muslims of Bengal who carried with them as prisoner, the minister Kapileśwara, Bhowarbar. When the ruler died, Kapileśwara came to the throne. His reign, which extended upto 1369-70 A.D., was one of constant wars in the course of which he lays claim to having made various conquests—among them Vijayanagar. In an inscription (Epigraphic Evidence No. 1) at a temple to Jagannatha, in Cuttack District, he is referred to as ‘Karaṇṭājahāsasiṁha, and Kalavarāgarāja’ the yawning lion to the sheep the Karaṇṭa King, and the Victor over Kulberga.

This above para is drawn from the famous article on a “A little known chapter of Vijayanagar History (1450-1509 A.D.)” in Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture-Volume II, written by Professor S.K. Iyengar.
Evidence No. 2:—

Kapileśwara, the Raja of Orissa, won Kulabarga. An inscription at Jagannatha Temple, speaks of Kapila as a Lion to the sheep of the Karnatak King and as being 'Victorious' over Kalabaraga.

This para is drawn from the Report of the Indian History Congress at Allahabad; 1938.

Evidence No. 3:—

The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Volume XIX Part I; pp. 173-190 records the detailed information regarding the Orissan King of Vijayanagar who was the Victor over Kalavaraga (Vide page 41, Poona Oriental Series No. 74. Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture by Sri. S.K. Iyengar Volume II).

Evidence No. 4:—

The word Kalbarga or Gulburga means a 'stony land' in Kannada Language—vide p. 182 the Bahmanis of the Deccan by Sri H.K. Sherwani. The word 'Gulburga' is the Urdu interpretation.

Evidence No. 5:—

Gangasalar or Harihara II of Saṅgam Dynasty of Vijayanagar Empire was the Turuka of Kulburga (page 69 Poona Oriental Series No. 71; Ancient India by Sri S. K. Iyengar Volume II)—(Here the word 'Kulburga' is the Turkish interpretation for our present-day Gulburga).

When I was a History Lecturer at S.B. College, Gulburga, I came in contact with the above five evidences with the above special reference to the Epigraphic evidence (the inscription at Jagannath temple at Cuttock which mentions the word 'Karṇāṭājahāsasimha' and Kalavaragarāja. The word Karṇāṭa means Karnataka (Kannada Deśa); for example, the Kannada Inscription (E.I. Volume III No. 11 pages 28, 29, 30; 12th sentence records the word 'Karṇāṭa' as being the Karnataka. This inscription is a royal Grant to Śree Raṅga Patam Temple of Karṇāṭa Deśa meaning Kannada or Karnataka).

Late Professor S.K. Iyengar was not able to decipher the meaning of the Karṇāṭājahāsasimha or the meaning of the word Kalavaragarāja. The word 'Varga' means in Kannada 'Samooha', in English 'group'. The word 'Kala' means in Kannada 'Kallu'.
In other words Kalavarga means ‘Kalbarga’ (Muslim interpretation having urdu influence). It became later on Gulburga (The stony land). So the Epigraphic Evidence of Karṇaṭa and Kalavarga holds good to Gulburga of our present day Karantaka. Scholars should not be confused to understand the meaning of Kulberga; Kalavarga or Kalbarga as recorded in my above five evidences. Owing to the pronunciation of many rulers of the different communities of that area these names appeared so, yet my final conclusion is that all the above names such as Kulberga; Kalavarga, etc. represent our ‘present Gulbarga’ of our Karnatak State).

(IX)

The inscription of 1368 A.D. (Page 7), edited by Professor S.K. Iyengar in his “The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India”, States Bukka I of Saṅgam period reigning in East Mysore as supreme (E.C. IX. Ma. 18), and in South Mysore, his minister being a Brahmin by name Basavayya. In any period of Indian history, no Brahmin is found by name Basavayya, excepting in this period. In fact, generally the name like ‘Basavayya’ is not adopted by Brahmins of Aryan Blood. There are Brahmins in Liṅgāyat community. The Brahmins of Liṅgāyat community are Jaṅgamas, who are known as ‘Iyys or Iyyanavaru’. Bukka I just like other Saṅgam rulers, even though he was a Śaiva kuruba (as per Mysore Gazeteer by Rao Sahib Hayavadana Rao), had Ravan-nasiddeswara of Veeraśaivism as his personal God (Mane Devaru). To conclude, even though he was Śaiva, he had a leaning towards Veeraśaivism giving great respect to Veeraśaiva faith. To come to a final conclusion, Basavayya was a Jaṅgama or a Brahmin of the Veeraśaiva community. He was a Minister to Bukka who was a Śaiva by religion having Ravan-nasiddeswara of Veeraśaivism as his Mane Devaru. This records a glorious and mutual relationship between Kurubas and Liṅgāyats. I think this is the earliest record of Jaṅgama being a minister to a great ruler and I advise Liṅgāyats of our present day generation to make a greater respect towards the present day Jaṅgamas who form the poorest group in Liṅgāyat community.

Even though in the inscription the name is Basavayya, the Chief Minister was a Brahmin. I cannot admit that he was a Brahmin of Aryan Blood. He must be a Brahmin of Dravidian blood.
As a result of my researches in the Mysore Archaeological Department, Lakshmipuram, Mysore, for several years I am now able to bring before the readers the scientific differences between Vijayanagara rulers and our rulers.

The Vijayanagar rulers had great fear and faith whereas our rulers have no fear and faith at all. For example, the Vijayanagar rulers, whenever and wherever they used to go in conquests, were not forgetting their ancient tradition of donations and grants to temples and Brahmans. The Madras epigraphical reports are full of grants and donations to temples and Brahmans. As a result even today if we make an archaeological tour of Tamil Nadu we can come to an understanding that Tamilnad (the Pandyan Empire) of Vijayanagar period was full of temples and Brahmīn Agrahāras for Brahmans. There are certain inscriptions of Mallikārjuna of Saṅgam Dynasty of Vijayanagar empire to show that the Tamil Bhrahmins (by name Brihacharanam Brahmans) were receiving a great patronage by Vijayanagar rulers. This indicates that Vijayanagar rulers had great fear towards temple and great faith towards Brahmans. For example, the Saṅgam rulers had a great respect towards the Brahmīn family of Mādhavāchārya the celebrated minister of the first Vijayanagar kings (Vide Page 6, 1356 A.D., The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S.K. Iyengar). The document known as Rāmānujāchārya’s Śāsana dated 15th August 1368 states King Bukka I’s respect towards Śree Vaishṇava Guru and Śree Vaishṇava Brahmīn Bhagawān Rāmānujāchārya, the silent, intelligent, and independent philosopher of the world—(Vide page 7, 1368 A.D.; The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S.K. Iyengar).

After capturing Kṛishṇa fortresses, Kṛishṇadevarāya visited Śrīśailam and Ahobalam where he gave gifts to temples on 25th July, 1515 A.D.—(Vide V.R. ii Karnool 454, 455 vide page 18, 1515 A.D.; The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.)

Kṛishṇadevarāya of Tuluva Dynasty honoured the famous Mādhva Brahmīn, poet Vyāsateertha—(vide page 26, 1523 A.D. The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S.K. Iyengar). Nowadays there are a good number of temples bereft of royal grants
and a great section of Brahmin community bereft of royal help. Brahmins who are considered as native intelligence of India should have been helped and respected by the respective Governments for they make use of their timely intelligence in times of danger and save the lives of country. This is visible in all times, and every one knows it. Even knowing this our rulers extend no faith upon temples and no regard upon Brahmins.

(XI)

As a result of my researches in the Mysore Archaeological department, Mysore, for several years, I was also able to record a research paper and at the same time the scientific inferences and conclusions regarding the character and significance of Vijayanagar culture. Only the scholars who have gone through the entire reports, books, Magazines, and periodicals can claim ability to come to a conclusion on the significance of Vijayanagar culture. As a result of my thorough knowledge of Vijayanagar Empire (my optional subject in M.A. was Vijayanagar Empire), I am able to bring before the readers an interesting and valuable research paper on Vijayanagar culture and its significance.

*King, Brahmin and Temple formed Vijayanagar Culture.*

This is the greatest significance of Vijayanagar culture. Besides, to come out successful, the Vijayanagar rulers had great religious fear and their inner idea was to save Hindu Sanātana Dharmaśāstras and Varṇāśrama Dharma. There are a good many inscriptions in Kannada pertaining to Vijayanagar period recorded in Epigraphia Carantica Volumes which deal with the names of the Vijayanagar emperors who upheld not only the principles of King, Brahmin and Temple as Three Pillars of Vijayanagar culture but also protected the Hindu Sanātana Dharma Śāstras and Varṇāśrama Dharma. In the long run, the cultural idea of Vijayanagar emperors was to expand upon South India the ideals of a welfare-state on democratic lines. The following four dynasties of Vijayanagar empire mark the several grades of Vijayanagar culture:—

(1) Saṅgam Dynasty:—The Rulers of Saṅgam Dynasty were known for the consolidation and expansion of King, Brahmin and Temple as ideals of Vijayanagar culture.
(2) Śālva Dynasty:—The Rulers of this dynasty were not able to strengthen the idea of King, Brahmin and Temple as the bed-rock of Vijayanagar culture due to external aggression and internal commotion. But still they protected with greatest difficulty the banner of Vijayanagar culture (King, Brahmin and Temple).

(3) Tuluva Dynasty:—The Rulers of this Dynasty gave room for King, Brahmin and Temple, the so-called ideals of Vijayanagar empire to undergo the profound reformation and renaissance. In other words, the idea of King, Brahmin and Temple was reformed and came under the field of greatest revival of learning.

(4) Aravidu Dynasty:—The rulers of this dynasty became unfortunately subjected to external aggression. They were not able to keep up their will-power just like other dynasties and as a result the great Vijayanagar cultural ideal (King, Brahmin and Temple), underwent the worst period of disintegration and destruction. This was the main reason for the downfall of the Vijayanagar empire.

The above mark the four successive stages of the great ideal of Vijayanagar culture:—King, Brahmin and Temple.

Let us go through some of the evidences of the Vijayanagar rulers in relation to their donation of grants to Brahmins, the bed-rock of will-power. Harihara Raya, the eldest of the five brothers, son of Saṅgam, gave a village in Nellore District as an Agrahāra to a Brahmin. (Vide V. R. ii. Nell 189; and V.C.C.P. No. 15 i. 109) 1336 A.D.—(vide— The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S.K. Iyengar).

The five Vijayanagar brothers of Saṅgam clan jointly gave a grant of villages to Brahmins at Śrīṅgeri in Kadur District on 9th March 1346 A.D. It is called ‘Harihara’ (E.C. VI Sg. 1,—Vide page 4, 1346 A.D. The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S.K. Iyengar).

In general, throughout the Vijayanagar Empire there are larger numbers of inscriptions or royal grants which are ended in (Brahmanananu Konda Paapadali Hoharu, Śree, Śree, Śree) and even the private grants and inscriptions record the above sentence
marking a great respect towards Brahmins. In general, we can conclude that the Vijayanagar rulers who had the ideals of catholic kingship gave international respect to Brahmins. This in turn encouraged the spirit of Vijayanagar culture which is still existing today.

Let us examine the evidences of Vijayanagar emperors in relation to temples. Usually, King was essential for people to undergo political fear, Brahmin was essential for people to undergo religious fear, and Temple was essential for the people to undergo moral fear. To sum up, in Vijayanagar the idea of the King, Brahmin and the Temple was existing and it reached its climax because people were known for their political fear towards the King, religious fear towards the Brahmin and moral fear towards the Temple.

The Gopura of Viṭṭhalasvāmī Temple at Hāmpī was built in 1513 A.D. by Kṛishṇadevarāya who in a larger measure upheld the tradition of the King, Brahmin and Temple as the greatest landmark of Vijayanagar culture. (Vide page 16, 1513 A.D., the Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S.K. Iyengar.)

Several inscriptions in general record Kṛishṇadevarāya’s interest in rejuvenating temples of Śree Śailam, Tirupathi, and Ahobalam. Kṛishṇadevarāya was known for his abundant gifts for the temple affairs. To sum up, almost all Vijayanagar rulers were treating temples as a mark of their great moral fear. In other words, temples of Vijayanagar were the bed-rock of moral fear in Vijayanagar. In the long run the Vijayanagar rulers used to follow the following doctrine of ‘Īśāvāsyopanishad’ : ‘All that we do belongs to God’. The Vijayanagar rulers were of the opinion that culture without faith is barren; faith without culture is blind. Here faith means ‘Bhakti’. To go further, Vijayanagar emperors encouraged people to extend their Bhakti upon King, Brahmin and Temple, in order to surrender theirselves to God. Bhakti is the crowning gem of individual’s faith and almost all kings and subjects of Vijayanagar empire developed this Bhakti culture.

Thus the Vijayanagra Bhakti culture marks a great history of divine dialogue between the results of yesterday and the needs of today in relations to hopes of tomorrow.
There is a general saying in the public that Bhuvanēśwari established by Vidyāraṇya at Hāmpī is the ‘Man-Devate’ or the mother Goddess of the Saṅgam rulers. As a research student of Osmania University, I must prove Bhuvanēśwari as the real ‘Man-Devate’ of Saṅgam rulers, taking the epigraphic and numismatic evidences. Unfortunately, to be frank with the readers there is no strong epigraphic or numismatic evidence to prove that Bhuvanēśwari was the ‘Man-Devate’ of the Saṅgam rulers. Even in their Royal grants to temples the Saṅgam rulers did not mention their ‘Man-Devate’ at all. The good number of inscriptions in Kannada recorded in Epigraphia Carnatica, in the Mysore Archaeological Department, end with Śree Virūpāksha or begin with Śree Virūpāksha (The ‘Mane Devaru’ of the Saṅgam rulers).

To suggest Bhuvanēśwari as ‘Man-Devate’ of Saṅgam rulers, there are no epigraphic or numismatic evidences so far as my microscopic research experience in the Mysore Archaeological Department, Lakshmipuram at Mysore, is concerned. Even though Bhuvanēśwari was the ‘Man-Devate’ of Vidyāraṇya or Kula Devī of Vidyāraṇya and even though the Saṅgam rulers worshipped it, we cannot draw the conclusion by stating that Bhuvanēśwari was the ‘Man-Devate’ of Saṅgam rulers. Every ruler must have his own ‘Man-Devate’. Mysore Wodeyars consider ‘Chamundēśwari’ as their ‘Man-Davate’. Just like them, even the Saṅgam rulers must also possess some ‘Man-Davate’ whose name I have to make clear now.

Even to day no eminent scholar is able to decipher the significance of Bhuvanēśwari. On seeing some female idol of revolutionary type at Hāmpī scholars assumed that it must be Bhuvanēśwari. For example, assuming it as Bhuvanēśwari, late Gopinatha Rao flattered it in endearing terms in his Iconography. Afterwards, Sreeman Niranjanaguna Shiva Yogigalu while supporting this Iconography of Vidyāraṇya—started appreciating Bhuvanēśwari as a sort of spirit for the foundation of Vijayanagar empire in his Paramārtha Geethe. Sri Siddanathi Subramanya Sastry hascommentated this Pramārtha Geethe. The famous Kannada
novelist, Sri D.R. Bendre, also appreciates Bhuveneśwari in all possible ways in his article in Pradeep of Dharwar (Vide issue, Nov. 1956 pp. 165-168).

But the important thing I want to note is that if Bhuveneśwari was the Man-Devate of Saṅgamas, why is it that her name is not at all appearing in any inscription, or coins of kings or in royal grants. Do we mean to say that the Saṅgam rulers gradually forgot Bhuveneśwari, or had a separate ‘Man-Devate’? Now I must feel for the inability of scholars to come to a final conclusion upon this. Just to get themselves some popularity and honour from the innocent public, scholars must have named Bhuveneśwari as the ‘Man-Devate’ of Saṅgam rulers. If historians have failed to come to an understanding regarding this problem, I suggest to solve this problem by taking the evidences of a fine and princely article on ‘The Brahma Sūtra Vṛitti of Praudhā Devarāya’, recorded in the sixth-centinery commemoration volume pages (378 and 379). In this article, the matter is like the following:—‘In a verse of an inscription, on the basement of the Mukhamañḍapa, of the Hazara Ramaswami Temple, the name of Devarāya the II and the name of the Goddess, ‘Pampā’, is mentioned (vide pp. 378-379). Dr. V. Raghavan’s Article on Brahma Sūtra Vṛitti of Praudhā Devarāya—Madras University, recorded in Sixth Centinery Vijayanagar Commemoration Volume.

According to my inferences, Pampā must be the name of a Lake or Sarovara at Hāmpī. Now do you mean to say hat the Devarāya II (Praudhā Devarāya) worshipped this Pampā, a sacred lake at Hāmpī, as his mother Goddess? Furthermore, Dr. Raghavan writes like the following:—

“Pampā was the name of the Goddess in the City of Vijayanagar whom Devarāya the II specially worshipped. It is natural that Devarāya II should have named his work after his patron Goddess” (Vide pp. 378-379—Sixth Centinery Vijayanagar Commemoration volume).

Here the words ‘specially worshipped’ and ‘patron Goddess’ of Dr. V. Raghavan hold good for discussion. Here he means, that Devarāya II regarded Pampā as patron Goddess (Āṣraya Devate) and in order to show extreme and devout affection
towards her he specially worshipped here. Dr. V. Raghavan’s word ‘specially’ means ‘strange’. If this is true authorities should examine the strangeness of Pampā. If Devarāya II had ‘Bhuvaneśvari’ as his ‘Man-Devate’ as per our usual public notion, he could have mentioned in his Brahma Sūtra Vṛitti (a fine Sanskrit work) or in his royal grants. Anyhow, it is a strange Pampā which is a strange problem to discuss and come to a final conclusion.

We must be anyhow grateful to Dr. V. Raghavan for his fine scholarship in extending this fine article on ‘Brahma Sūtra Vṛitti’ of Prouḍha Devarāya and I particularly pray for his blessings upon my further researches.

Pampā of this great Sanskrit Scripture ‘Bramhasūtra Vṛitti’ must be the ‘Man-Devate’ of not only Devaraya the II but also of the entire Saṅgam rulers for all Saṅgam rulers used to follow their ancestral and predecessors’ tradition of worshipping one and the same Mother Goddess, Pampā. Kannadigas usually call Hāmpī as Pampā Kshetra that is to say sacred place of Pampā, the ‘Man-Devate’ of Saṅgam rulers. According to Sri O. N. Lingannah’s fine Kannada book on Śree Vidyāranyam, Śree Vidyāranyāya demise in 1386 A.D. According to my conclusion, upto this time i.e. to say 1386 A.D., there must be a great fame and constant worship for Bhuvaneśwarī. After 1386 A.D. there is no strong evidence to prove the constant and the famous worship of Bhuvaneśvarī to any great extent. And as a result the name of Pampā as the ‘Man Devate’ became popular in Saṅgam rule.

As per legendary evidence Pampā, the daughter of Lord Brahmadeśvari married Śree Virūpāksha. So Virūpāksha was known as ‘Pampā Pathi’ and Hāmpī was known as ‘Pampā Kshetra’.

Now, I must come to a final conclusion, judging my above evidences that Śri Virūpāksha was the ‘Man-Devate’ or ‘Mane Devaru’ of Saṅgam rulers and his divine consort Pampā was the ‘Man-Devate’ of Saṅgam rulers. This derivation is logical, perfect and quite clear. If Bhuvandeśvari was the personal Man-Devate of Śree Vidyāranyāya, Pampā was the Official ‘Man Devate’ of Saṅgam rulers. Readers should not be confused with Bhuvaneśvarī and Pampā as one and the same.

1. The Editor does not subscribe to some of the views and opinions of the learned scholar.
आवस्ती

राजेन्द्र विहारी राजमंत्री पाण्डेय एम.से.पू

सावल्लो (आवस्ती) का नगर वाचवै उत्तर कोलकाता राज्य से तीसरो एवं चौथाइम राजबारो तथा तत्कालिन छः मुख नगरों में से एक था। समयानुसार उदम ने अपने साथ-जोधस का अवधारणा (२४ वर्षावली)² इसी नगर में व्यतीत किया। उपायक वनस्प के उपरांत ग्रामपंचायत वैलामिक ने सावल्लो में प्रथम बार मित्र-निधि सहित उदम की, वर्षावली करने के लिए आमंत्रित किया। और उनके स्वागत-समानार्थ आयोग नामक एक विवाद विहार का विमोचन कराया। वरीयालों में से ८०० मुर्दों का श्रवण भी यहीं हुआ। उदम के मुलाक़ात साथयादानों में से ग्रामपंचायत, विसंस्प, मुर्दावसा और पोलेग्रंज इसी नगर के थे। ग्रामपंचायत (सुदर्शन) यहाँ का बहुत बड़ा घट था और मिमांसातात्विक विवाद। यही अद्वानीतिवाद की थी। उन दिनों के नगर यहा ही विभिन्न मोर्दवालों एवं मुर्दा था। उदम के समय उसकी जन संख्या सात हजार की थी।³

बौद्ध एवं जैन साहित्य में “सावल्लो” श्रवणा सावल्लोपुर में यह नगर का वर्णन हुआ है। पालतींकारों में सावल्लो नगरों के नाम के संबंध में कहा गया है कि जहाँ पर धरम सांवित्तिकों द्वारा ही बड़ा नगर सावल्लो है।⁴ सावल्लो का विषय यह “सहेत” व्यक्ति है, जो कही-कहीं “सहेत” या “सहेत” के नामों से मिलकर व्यक्ति है। एक जनुषैति के अनुसार सावल्लो के मृदुलिके दुर्ग के नाम पर वर्तका नाम सहेत महेंद्र पार।⁵ दूसरी वेदभूषण के अनुसार यहीं एक वास्तविक था। उसमें जब लोग एक दूसरे की मिलते थे तो पूछते थे ‘किस मुहुँ, अलविन्स? ’ अलविन्स कहा सब ठीक है! उत्तर मिलता था “सम्बल्मु, अलविन्स”; अलविन्स सब ठीक है।⁶ इसी प्रस्तावना के प्राप्तर पर नगर का नाम ( वास्तव-अलविन्स ) सावल्लो पड़ा। सावल्लो संस्कृत आवस्ती का पालती अवर्गाचा-स्वतः है। सावल्लो से सहेत हो जाना सहज ही मान्य है।

| विभिन्न गाथाओं में सावल्लो का वर्णन:---------- |
| सावल्लो संस्कृत श्रवणालाला का पालती एवं काँडामागारी रूप है। यह सावल्लो |

1. भगवद्गीता कथा १४।
2. पालती के नामों का कोस-मलाकिरण भाग २; पृ ११२७।
3. परंपर सुदर्शन १; पृ४४४ में ‘सावल्लो नाम की व्याख्या इस प्रकार हुई है:—
“सं संिनि सुदागार द्वारा भरी एवं वास्तवित सावल्लो। सरय समानके व द्वारा अलविन्स” पुष्टि की सरय साब्तानि वाचनमुदादुख सावल्लो” हृदि।
4. ‘उत्तर प्रदेश में दूसर धर्म का विकास’ पृ २५१।
5. शुद्धिमिश्र तौरा माग १ पृ २०० (पी १०१ एल)।
ब्रज का निवास स्थान था। इसीलिए इसका नाम सावधान पड़ा। जिस प्रकार ब्रज
उनके भरोसे, रामन ले आकर तथा कौशम से कौशम। उसी प्रकार सावधान से ब्रज
की उत्तरतित होने का अर्थ है।

ब्रजवान भर अन्य भागों से मोह ब्रजवानी के सम्बन्ध में प्रजातिक उपलब्धि
महाभारत एवं पुराणों में आवस्तो का वर्णन वही स्थानों पर आया है। इन खंडों
में आवस्तो की नींव ढालने वाले का नाम आवस्त अथवा अवस्तक ही विवरणित मिलता
है। दोनों महाकाव्य इस पर एक मत है कि इन्हीं छप्पियों ने आवस्तो (सावधानी)
अवस्तक है। २ आवस्त इत्यादि के पुत्र विकृति द्वारा यो तथा उसके पिता का नाम ब्रज
था। एक वृण स्थूल के अनुसार आवस्त युग्मावली का दुय था जिससे आवस्त की
नींव ढाली। एक वृण स्थूल के अनुसार यह ब्रज (अर्थात्) का पीछा था।

प्रथम वर्णक नाम से अनुसार अवस्तक भाषा का पुत्र तथा ग्रामावली का पीछा था।
हरिदर्श के अनुसार अवस्तक ने जो आवस्त की नींव वाले बनाई। इसके अन्तिक अनेक
संश्लेषण खंडों में भी आवस्तो का उल्लेख तथा वर्णन हुआ है। एक ब्रज स्थूल के अनुसार
भूतवाणियाँ आवस्त का जन्म था। ११ जन्मदिन है कि उसके मंत्रों में भ्रमण प्रथम
जानकर राज्य की नींव प्रथम कर बनाया। कथा सारत, समग्र में आवस्त के राजा राज्य
का तथा दश कुंड राज्य वर्णन नाम का वर्णन हुआ है।

सावधान की स्थिति:

यद्यपि इसकी स्थिति के सम्बन्ध में पुराणवेदाणियों में मलरिद है विन्यस प्राचीन
सावधान का ही वर्णन प्राप्त होता है। इसके अनुसार सावधान के वर्ण
रेखा के ब्रजवाल्य स्थान वर्णक से प्राप्त है।

1. ‘पाणी के नामों का कोइ’ माग २, पृ० ११२६।
2. पर्यय सुदर्श: माग १ पृ० ४६-६०।
3. ‘आवस्तो इन दिव्यन लिटेलर’-लोग पृ० २।
4. बाही-पृ० ६।
5. बाही-पृ० ६।
6. बायू पुराण प्रकरण ६४ रोल कृ २४-२६ तथा
बिप्पुराण प्रकरण ७ रोल २, १२।
7. सरस्वत पुराण, प्रकरण १, २ रोल २६-३० तथा महा ३० प्रकरण ७ रोल ३।
8. महाभारत पृ० ६४ प्रकरण १, २ रोल कृ ६, २७ नंबर (बायू के अनुसार आवस्त
तथा महाभारत पृ० के अनुसार बायू)।
9. महाभारत वन परी-२०१, ३-४।
10. हरिदर्श ११, २३, २३।
11. हरि चरित-काणे का संकलन-पृ० ४।
12. कथासारिकमार-१४, ६३-६४।
13. ‘आवस्तो इन दिव्यन लिटेलर’-लोग पृ० ६।
14. आक्षयालोकित सबे ब्रह्म देवादया (रिपोर्ट-१५६२-६४) माग १, पृ० ३३।
(वर्तमान राष्ट्रीय) नदी के दक्षिण दिशा दिशा है। यात्रा की हब्ब से सथैत महेंद्र बलरामपुर होकर जाना ही सुलभ है; क्योंकि सथैत महेंद्र इतनी थी कि मो.ल एवं बलरामपुर से २२ मील की दूरी पर हिल्लियत है। यात्रा के लिए अच्छी शहर से निकलने पर ही है और इसे की हलियाल लगाने बांट गीत है, जिसका मुख-द्वारा राजस्थान की ओर उत्तर-पूर्व में पक्ता है। नगर की चारों ओर से बसित करने वाले वर्ग (प्रावीर) की ठीक से वेदित थी और अनुमान- : पश्चिमी भाग में २० फुट एवं दक्षिण-पूर्वी भाग में २० फुट रही होगी। इस बासितित नगर के चारों ओर एक परिक्रमा गुरुधर की बहार पायी थी। वर्ग के उपर के भाग में छठों के दक्षिण का भी प्रयोग हुआ था; ओर समस्त वर्ग की हलियाल लगभग ३१ मील के अनुमान में रही। होगा। ये यात्रा साथियों अनेक साथियों के हुमें से प्रस्तुत था। दक्षिण-पूर्वी उत्तर अंश एवं दक्षिण-पूर्व देशांतर पर बलरामपुर से हीना जाने वाली सड़क के निकट तथा रानी नदी के कुल पर लिखा है।

सथैत महेंद्र के इन विद्वान धर्मसाहिबों का साथ के पहचान करते का भेंट स्त्रियां अनेक एवं होलियाल की श्रीमति कश्यपनाथ ३। कश्यप के अनुसार राजस्थान नदी के दक्षिण की ओर सथैत महेंद्र नामक श्रीमती में जो विख्यात विश्वेषक वर्ग में, वही साथियों की रेखा और एवं प्रावीर नगर। है। सथैत महेंद्र भाग्या के २५ मील उत्तर की ओर स्थित है, परन्तु चौथों वाली दूरी। के अनुसार भाग्या के उत्तर-पूर्व लगभग ३३ मील की दूरी पर था। किंतु इसके विपरीत पालियान के अनेकों से बाद्य और साथियों के बीच की दूरी = ७ बजोन अंश लगभग ५६ मील हो गई। चौथे सुदूर के अनुसार साथियों एवं भाग्याएं के बीच की दूरी एवं राजस्थान के बीच की दूरी बात: ६ बजोन थी।

चौथे बाद्यों वालियों ने साथियों की स्वतंत्र भिन्नता करते हुए कपिलस्वर की हों केदार नाम कर उसकी बांतवक बंदी का विवरण करते हैं। पालियान के अनुसार कयुक्तिन हुदू के नगर से दक्षिण-पूर्व का अंश १२ बजोन, वो कामन बुद्ध के नगर से उत्तर की ओर ११ बजोन तथा कपिलस्वर से १० बजोन दूर है। ६म तालय यह है कि साथियों की भूमि बुद्ध के लगभग १३ बजोन दूर दक्षिण-पश्चिम की ओर है। हुदूबनम ने साथियों के निकट करर्क हुदू की मूर्ति तहियत स्तर का बचन करते हुए कहा है कि वहाँ से ५०० शी उत्तर-पूर्व जाने पर कपिलस्वर पहुंचते हैं।

1. अनेक पुरातत्त्व और इतिहासों ने इस गोदा जिले में बताया है परन्तु सम्पूर्ण संगति बहुराजश्र कित्ते में हैं। केवल गोदा जिले की सीमा के निकट अत्यंत है (मैं प्राकृतिक संग्रह इतिहास नो ६३, १/२) और बहुराज, इसकी मुद्दत करता है।
2. उमेशदार प्राकृतिक विभाग विभाग-भाग १, पृ. १०५
3. स्त्रियालोकितक विभाग-भाग भाग १ पृ. १३०
4. विभाग महास्थ (७ कालिन संबन्ध)
5. ज० र० प० १०० (१२६८ और १५००)
6. ज० र० १०० प० १०० (१२६८ और १२००)
इस प्रकार यदि देखा जाये तो फाहियान का १२ योजन हुएभरमांग के ५०० ली के 
बराबर हैं। दोनों यात्रियों ने सातलो की कपिल वर्ग से दर्शित-परिचयं दिया 
को ओर ३२ से ४० मील की दूरी पर बनाया है। परस्तु सहेज महेत दशिलमधु दे 
दर्शित-परिचयं को ओर ४२ मील दूर है। अतः रिवाज महेदव में चीनी यात्रियों 
के कथन को सत्य मान कर यह दलील कहीं कि क्योंकि कैनियम महेदव 
द्वारा निर्धारित सहेज महेत कनिष्ठमधु 
से पहले शेष कर देता है। इस कारण मानती है नहीं हो सकता।

इस प्रकार मूल सातलो के अवस्थित स्थान निर्धारित के सम्बन्ध में दो मत हो सकते हैं। एक तो कैनियम महेदव के अनुसार सहेज महेत ही सातलो है और दूसरा 
मत भी रिवाज महेदव का है, जिन्होंने कनियम महेदव का मत रूढ़ित करते हुए मौलाना 
की तरह में रिवाज खड़ा जितने से चीनी सातलो की अनुमानित परिचयं की है। बाझी 
के मननायश बालाजुर से शीती ही ६२ बाल तर की ओर और मौलानाजुर से दसार-पुर्यार की 
बोर और कांदी दूरी पर है। परस्तु अभी भी तो सफलता पूर्वक इन मननायशों 
की सातलो दर्शित परिचयं ही हो सकते हैं; और न डाल रिवाज ने ही ऐसा कोई ठीक 
परिचयं प्रस्तुत किया है जिसके अभावार द्वारे उनके कथन को शेष दिया जा सके। फिर भी यह प्रवर्त 
है कि उक्त स्थान में संबंध मधु तथा दीलो का मौलाना है।

कि कस्तुर सहेज महेत ही की सातलो मानना अधिक उपयुक्त होगा, क्योंकि पुरातात्विक 
योजन के वहाँ ऐतिहासिक खाती ही हुई है, जो इन दूसरों से प्राचीन सातलो हीने 
को पुष्ट करती है। यह विचार सहेज ही की भौगोलिक स्थिति चीनी यात्रियों के विवरण 
वितर्क चेताओं के विवाद से स्वयं में उज्जवल रह गया है। उदाहरणार्थ हुएभरमांग 
के अनुसार सातलो के राजप्रायस के दीवारों की नाप २० ली थी, जब लक्ष्य 
के प्राचीर कायम बनता है। दर्शितमधु के दुरी कमार चरित के 
अनुसार कांदी नगरी नवरी दूरी के पूरे पर स्थित थी। जरूर अनुसहित हो। 
कान्तरी दूरी दीवार के दिनराइये है; और वर्तमान अवस्था में भी बाल बन गया है। 
दोनों चीनी यात्रियों ने जेतवन की स्थिति की सातलो नगरी के दृश्य की 
बोर बताया है। अन्य सूत्रों से इसका पुष्ट भी होता है। फाहियान के 
प्रवर्तन जेतवन सातलो के दृश्य की दूरी १२०० मील के पूरे पर स्थित था। 
फाहियान के अनुसार सहेज के दृश्य के नाम से विलुर्धात है, जो महेत 
(नगर) के दृश्य की ओर दिशा है और सहेज से नगर 
के भावास्थित काहँ के दृश्य (जो दृश्य का मूल्य दृश्य था) की दूरी निर्धारित है १२०० 
मील के प्रवर्तक है, जैसा कि मननायशों के प्राचीन द्वारे दृश्य से स्पष्ट है। रहस्यों 
सह वातस्य भी जेतवन १२०० वर्ष हस्तों के ध्वनि फल में दिख रहा है।

1—बाणी।
2—बाणी।
3—‘अभासते’ इन उद्यमित विदेशियों लों बृहस्पति पूर्व १०।
4—पूर्ण-दूरीन, दिनियम पाटका (प्राचीन खंडों बेदान) 
भाग १ पृ० ५५७।
5—मोह-‘कर्श्चिन् राज्याः’ भाग १, पृ० XLIV।
6—‘पूर्णम्ब भाषा तुलियम्’-हारें-पृ० २२।
भक्तिवदिनियों के अरुणक गुणमोहित कारणी भी जो इन स्थानों में प्राप्त हुई है वर्तमान मत की पुष्टि करती है। बल नामक भिक्षु के द्वारा बनवाई गई एक विशालकाय बौद्ध शिलालेख, प्रतिमा महत्व में प्राप्त हुई है। प्रतिमा महत्व के कलाकारों द्वारा निर्मित हुई और वहाँ से साविकी भेदी गई। इस कालिन्दी कालिन्दी सूर्तियों की यात्रा-वीक्षा पर क्रिया लेख के ब्यवहार वह भिक्षु बल द्वारा की सत्ता कुटी में सुरक्षित में बरित झुकर स्थापित की गई थी। यह देखा जा सकता है कि कम्प्यूटर यह सूर्तियों यथार्थ प्रस्तर द्वारा राजन राजस्व संबंधि में सुरक्षित है। यह दृश्य देखा जा सकता है कि चमनबाज़ियों स्वर्ग यथार्थ प्रस्तर द्वारा राजन राजस्व संबंधि में सुरक्षित है।

भक्तिवदिनियों के विषय नं. २१ में पूरा द्वारा यथार्थ विशिष्टा कुटी में एक लेख सहित तारामंडल प्रकाशक है जिसमें अनुसार जेतवन महाध्यक्ष निवासी द्वारा विद्युद्रार्थ की दानसहायता दिये गये थे। उपरोक्त लेख में इन यथार्थ के एक यथार्थ की दानसहायता के नाम कमा: निम्नलिखित है: विश्वास, दान, विश्वास, विश्वास, विश्वास, विश्वास, विश्वास। उपरोक्त नामों में से यह स्वर्ग की हम जीवन भी सहित महत्त्व के आशा पाये हो सकते हैं। यथार्थ दान का एक नाम समस्त उद्देश्य भारत में बहुत विश्वस है यह स्वर्ग भाग्य के नाम प्रभाव अन्य विषयों का प्रभाव है १५०६ में संचालित कुटी में एक कालिन्दी कालिन्दी कर्म (किसने नाम का भाग) मिली है जिस पर जैन एवं भाषाओं के नाम विशिष्ट है।

इन सभी प्रमाणों की ज्ञान में रखते हुए यदि हम चीनी यात्रियों के वर्ण की सहीत करें तो दिखाया है कि उन्होंने आर्यों की सत्ता की यथार्थ की महत्व का आश्रय अवधि: लगभग १२ सी. अर्थात ४०० ली अनुमानित किया है और कालिन्दी कुटी की सत्ता में उत्सर्जन-प्रस्तार की यथार्थ बताया है जब कि सहित महत्व कालिन्दी कुटी के दिक्षित प्रतिभा की ओर ६० मीटर के आश्रय पर है।

भाषिक प्रयोगों या सावर्थ का ज्ञान:——

प्राचीन काल में सावर्थी अनेक भर्मों एवं मतों का प्रचार केंद्र रहा है। ब्राह्मण भर्म, चीन, जैन तथा भौतिक मत सभी इन मोहितशास्त्रीन नगर में प्रमुख भाग में रहते हैं।

वैदिक भर्म या सावर्थी——

अर्थ प्राचीन काल में सावर्थी वैदिक भर्म का केंद्र था। ब्राह्मण भर्म का संस्कृत सूत्र यथार्थ मध्य परिस्थित रहा है। संस्कृत आर्यभौतिक तथा ग्रामीण आर्य भर्मों के फलस्वरूप के बीच से समाना प्राप्त था।

1. देशों २०० २० ० ३०। ixvii भाग ६ पृ॰ २०७।
2. ब्राह्मणियोगिक चर्चा उत्तर एडिसन, एडिचरल रिपोर्ट।
3. आदि मनुष्य इंडियन रिटर्नर लों पृ॰ २६।
राजा महाकौशल एवं बादको पवेलिद के पुरोहित में थे। 1 बढ़ुभा कौशल के राजारी के तत्तावधान में नगर में वैष्णव रीतियों का पालन तथा बहस दिया करते थे। 2 वैष्णव संस्थाओं अपना व्रतार्थ वांछन रूप से करती रहीं थीं। इनके संबंध एवं अपना साधनीय के मर्मदेव वैष्णव होते थे। नगर के निकट ही मंदिरकारा था। 3 वह ब्राह्मण शास्त्रों का मुख्य केन्द्र था। तत्तावधान प्रकाश निपड़नी एवं निपटानी करने का बहुत मानत नज़र आना था। नगर के निकट ही आश्वायन तरीके के भी आपात की दुरुपयोग के नियुक्ति के होमन स्थापना के मत विशेषध्वारा वाली थी। 4 इस प्रत्येक के यह यह तत्तावधान नगरी के आपातकाल नाती का अनुसार राज्य की श्रेष्ठता के साथ वेश में मुख्तर भी भाषण किया करते थे। 5 इस गोविल की गति विशेष वाली रहती थी। ब्राह्मण गोविल के प्रभावित जीवन एवं समाज समस्याओं के लेना बाद अधिक किया करते थे। एक बार ब्राह्मणों ने एक स्थान के बनने में वाला भाषा। इस पर साधयों के एक शेषिय ने तैयार सहयोग द्वारा उसका निर्माण कराया। 6

जैन धर्म तथा साधयों:

जैन काल में साधयों चन्द्रपुरी ब्राह्मण ब्राह्मकार्याम् नाम से विशेष विश्वास था; और इसे तीनवर लोमथर सम्बन्धित नाम की जन्म मूलभल्म माना गया है। 7 एक अपना सूत्र के अनुसार यहीं भाषा ब्राह्मण लोमथर सम्बन्धित नाम की भूमि मूलभल्म माना गया है। 8 जैन जन्तु-पुत्र गोविल जब महाबोधि से अलग हुए तब उन्होंने साधयों नाम का बलायत कार्य के रूप में वार्तालाप लेकर साधयों के अनुसार केन्द्र नानावा और ब्राह्मण प्रवरण मुहूर्त जमा किया। 9 महाबोधि तथा गोविल में परसर मतमेद तोड़ने के उपर्युक्त प्रणव बार वहीं हो दोनों को भेंट हुई। 10 इस समय गोविल किते भाषा विशेष वाली उपमाणित न होकर अपने मत का प्रचार कर रहे थे। इस नगर में महाबोधि का ब्राह्मणों द्वारा स्थापित हुआ। 11 महाबोधि ने वही एक बार वर्णवास भी मन्त्रातिक किया था।
चन्द्रि मानो ग्रहस्य यहाँ का निवासी था। जय इतिहास हस्तियों का ख्याति और जैन सम्प्रदाय का बहुत अनुभवी था।। जैन सूत्र के अनुसार कारणक मण्डल का पुष्प कपिल सावधान में द्वारका के गुरुकुल में शिक्षा प्राप्त करने आया था। इन्हें इतिहास और कारणक में पुरातन सिद्धांत थे। मीत्र के पुत्र की सहायता करने के बिचार के द्वारका ने शिक्षा की सागर के एक बनामक के संरचना में रक्षक उसे विचित्र किया।

जैन सूत्र के अनुसार सावधान के राजा समुद्रविजय का पुनः मेवान शिक्षक तथा साधु था। १६ क्षेत्री ने सावधान का अनुभव किया। क्षेत्री पहले पारस्परिक के शिखर का और उपरान्त महानाथ का अनुभव और शिखर हो गया। १७ सावधान के सिक्के और सरपंच नामक स्थान पर आवाजिकों के आचारों में गोस्वामी का अज्ञ हुआ था। इसके माता दिना नाता अथवा विवाह नामक नाता दिना होगा। गोस्वामी ने अपने जीवन का प्राय: समस्त शैव माया शास्त्रीय में ही अत्यंत विचित्र और वहीं उन्होंने शास्त्रीय के पर में अपना काम को प्राप्त हुए। आवाजिक समूह में ब्राह्मणिनित्व और रीढ़ माया था। यही इन्होंने दर्शन १५ पुराणों के जानकार हुए। बीज भिन्नों द्वारा साधन के सर्वोच्च स्थान में सिद्धार्थ मिश्र और इस विषय में अनुभव और उन पर्यावरण आंदोलन के विषय में काम करते थे। १८ आवाजिक धार्मिक नाता निरूप रखते थे और इन लोगों ने सावधान में अपना प्रभाव जना रखा था, जैसा कि बीज एवं जैन धर्म भ्रष्ट स्थान पर था।

बीज धर्म तथा सावधान:—

बीज धर्मों के अपेक्षा सावधान में बीज धर्म का अभिभव हृदयान्त अभाव है। यह कहलाते हैं विकासित न होने की सावधान की ऐतिहासिक वैभव का ग्राहक बीज धर्म हो था, जिसके उत्सवम भगवान दुर्गा स्वर्ग थे। सावधान के समयसीत समयकों की बुद्धि में ग्राहक थी और यहों के नामकों ने लंबीय सी चित्रों में अत्यंत लाभ भी उठवा। १७ आंदोलनिक धर्म के पर प्राप्त ज्ञान ५०० मिश्रों के हेतु सौंक ग्रहण करता था। यही बात पति के साधन बिच्छेद ने विवाह ने विवाह के बिच्छेद में कहीं जाती है।

संकल्प मापा में विचित्र बीज धार्मिक के आधार पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि बीज परम्पराओं में जेतन का विशेष नाम रहा है। जैसे कि बार तपाय अपने अनुभवों समय जेतन में ठहरे और असंभव ग्रहण अनुभवों में अपने ज्ञान के हेतु आकर। १६ द्वारका ने

| 1. उत्खन समाचार पृ १६६-१६७। |
| 2. मैनसुल (एस० वी० ई०), बाग २, पृ ३२। |
| 3. वही। |
| 4. वही। |
| 5. जानक और दि हिंदामत ज्ञान त्रिवेदी। कलकत्ता वि०६००। |
| 6. बीज भाषा (एस०बी०ई०) पृ ६४। |
| 7. बोधि सत्यवानक-कलकत्ता ६, २, ३५, ३, ५२, २। |
| 8. जातक बाग ४, पृ ६१। |
| 9. लालितपिंडार वाच्य ९। |
अजयवन में बुद्ध की दृष्टि के विचार से ब्राह्मण में परस्पर बुद्ध ने उनकी धार्मिक सत्यता कर उनका स्वागत किया। यहाँ पर विविध तथा परेशानी ने आकर बुद्ध के प्रति ब्राह्मण एवं समान समाधित किया।

शास्त्रीय में बुद्ध ने ५०० मिसूनों को कमाह्न तथा नेता चुना का पाठ पढ़ाया। वहाँ के महा चुनाव के नामक साहिक ने दो पुत्र ने जिनमें जिनमें से अग्रज बुद्ध का अवधारणा तथा मिश्र वाक्यवाल के नाम के सिद्धांत था। बड़ा चुनाव सावली के बनाहु एवं सम्पन्न श्राधारा का पुनः जो कि बुद्ध का क्रांति न हो पुनः। बुद्ध का कुछा भाव था और मिश्र रूप में सावली में ही रहता था। यहाँ पर काश्यकर्नी नामक वहाँ थे। सावली के नामाणि इसकी पूजा करते थे। जन्मक्ति है कि वह वर्षा होने की तथा सृजा पढ़ने की भविष्यावास करती थी। ब्रत्र हथ के उत्तरार्थ बुद्ध में घोष द्वारा करने वाले श्राधारा मिश्र-निदित्विन्दा सावली को ही देन है। द्वारार्था सावली से सम्पन्न श्राधारा की गुणी थे जो बाद की मिश्र ग्रहण हो गई। निसागोतमी सावली के एक रूप है। अधिक वश के गुण की सृजा पर उसका शरीर लेकर बुद्ध के पास गई और उसे पुनर्जीवित कर देने की याचना की। बुद्ध के निवासावर्ग से प्रेरित हो वह मिश्र हो गई। अथार्याचार्य कुमार ने श्राधारीक से आपने रिटर्न श्राधारा के सम्पन्न परिवार में जन्म लिया। युद्ध ने इसे अपने शरीर में दोषित किया। बाक्यांत्रिक ने सावली के एक श्राधारा परिवार में जन्म लिया, जो बुद्ध के शारीरिक सीमार्थ्य से प्रभावित होकर मिश्र हो गया। यहाँ एक परिवार के नौकर ने मिश्र होकर प्रभाव पद प्राप्त किया।

एक भ्रमर पर जेवन में बुद्ध ने मिश्रों के समुदाय दो प्रकार के दोषियों के विषयों पर प्रकाश किया। बुद्ध ने इसके भ्रातार्थ चुनाव से अवतरण करके तीन प्रकार के पुनावलाएं विविध विषय में व्याख्या किया। उनके प्रकार के रूपियाँ के विषय में भी भ्रमर दिये। इसके पश्चात् पुष्पामें निश्चित भिन्नार्थित के श्राधारामें बुद्ध ने
तीन प्रकार के उपोस्थ एवं देवताओं की व्यस्तता के विषय में भी भाषण दिये। सारांश ने वहीं पर ब्याप्तिक तथा वाच्यता एवं विस्तार वाला भाषण दिया। आत तथा सारांश में अन्तराल तथा यदि परिलक्षण के बीच राग, सोह एवं दोष को लैसा वाद विवाद हुआ। वहीं पर बुद्ध ने रोहित को शास्त्री की महिमा बताई, जहाँ पर जन्म से मनुष्य की जन्म गर्भ के अवशेष से मुक्ति मिल जाती है। इसके बालिकात्मक मिठुङ्गों के बारे प्रकार बताते।

एक अन्य अवसर पर, जब कि बुद्ध जेतन में निवास कर रहे थे, प्रसन्नकातिक के अनुसार तथा मलिका देवी ने निर्णय, मुझे एवं तुलना, वनी परस्पर कहा, सुनदर परस्पर हुई एवं निर्णय से धनी तथा सुनदर होते का कारण बुद्ध से पूछा। वहीं राज कुमारी सुमना १०० अन्य राज कुमारियों के साथ बुद्ध के पास गई और बुद्ध से दो प्रकार के अनुशार वहीं और तभी तथा अनुष्ठान के तालाबों के समस्त भाषण किया। बुद्ध के अर्थात्, भिन्न भाषा फल सिक्का, बढ़ भी पूछा। तत्त्वांत ने अन्यायपितक को धन की उपयोगिता, विराजमान होते, सुनदरता, सुख, स्थायि एवं सुख प्राप्त होते में बालावासों की भी वहीं बताता।

बौद्ध धर्म मूलभूत में साधारण में तत्त्वांत के समय-समय पर निवास करने के अनेकों प्रति दिल्लिस्तिक मिलते हैं। मलिका की बुद्धु पर प्रसन्नकातिक का सांतवान के हेतु बुद्ध के समक्ष जाता, बुद्ध के पौर्व विषयों (काःछाँकों) तथा द्राग की महत्ता १० के समस्त भाषण, ब्यापारिपाठिक को अवबृत्त को ब्यक्ति ११ उपलब्धितर नामक ब्रांडाइया के यस्यम् अनेकों जों की व्यक्ति १२ और द्राक्षा तथा बुद्ध का वातालाप, ज्ञान अववेदन सुनत १३ उपस्थतेष्य अनुसरण युग्मों एवं महत्त्व पर प्राप्त कहीं रहता। तदुपरांत तथ्यों की शील एवं अववेदन समस्त व्यक्तिमतोंकाः १४ में व्यक्ति भिन्नता पर प्राप्त, बुद्ध में सकल होते के उपरांत प्रतिविधा द्वारा बुद्ध की भ्रष्टाचार्या १५ बाधि प्रति निर्भय ही साधारण को बौद्ध धर्म में अस्थ्यिक महत्त्व प्रदान करते हैं।

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 Bishop भर्म प्रवृत्ति के आवलोकन से अनेकों ऐसे ऐतिहासिक तत्त्वों का स्वप्नीकरण हो जाता है जिनके आदार पर सार्वोपरि प्रदर्शन प्रस्तावित धार्मिक विश्वासों एवं उस नगर में बीजब भर्म के प्राध्यान्त का कभी परिवर्तन ताका जा सके। सब प्रभाव तो महाराज गोरेराज का उद्देश्य समाप्त प्रदर्शन और उपरान्त उनकी बहिन सुमना तथा ब्याजपात के अनेक राज्यों पर बीजब भर्म का प्रभाव मूल कारण प्रतीत होता है।

श्रद्धा से बाबू अनुसार तत्त्वों के एक समूह की उनकी पारस्परिक हड़तालों के समक्ष में पुकार दल्ले हुए उद्देश दिया कि किस प्रकार उन श्रद्धा से पाप एवं दुःसर्विक भ्रम का आमान्त होता है। काहूं है कि श्रद्धा भर्म के स्थान पर जब बीजब का सामर्थ्य में प्रभाव हुआ, तब तत्त्वों से राज्य की देख कैसी बढ़ी। बलायें ने तदनुसार उन की सबूतियों के श्रद्धा को श्रद्धा की ही 1, जिनमैं से उद्देश्य का उल्लेख बना चुका है। पालिसार के अनुसार ६ भर्म रेत एक स्वदेशी परिवार का यथिताला २ और नामक एक अनेक यथित मरम-परिवार का और अविविष, जो पहले ६ तारी यथित था, ३ और तहलय संध में प्रभाव हुआ, सभी इसी नगर के सम्भाव्य एवं सामीद्रश्यात्मिक थे।

पालिसारित्व में स्थान स्थान पर अनुसार की दूरेर स्थानों से बहुत का उल्लेख भित्ता है। अनुसार के कौशलकौशल की दूरे प्रमुख वोजन, राजस्थान पेट्रालास्य वोजन ६ तत्त्विकला एक सी वानेर वोजन ६ मक्कानकास्त तीस वोजन, ६ सुनायरक एक सी चीस वोजन, ७ अयुग्मलाल विध्यालय तीस वोजन, ६ संकाय तीस वोजन, ६ उपरान्त एक सी वाश वोजन। ११ वास्तुकला में नें तब याचन का स्थान तीस वोजन, १२ चन्द्रमाग नदी का तीर एक सी बाण वोजन १३ और सकर्कर से योजन १४ दृष्टि था।

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उपरोक्त पुरातात्विक अवशेषों एवं अभिलेखों की प्राप्ति से साहित्यिक उल्लेखों
की योजना पुष्टि हो चुकी है और प्रायः आधुनिक के वास्तविक स्थल निर्धारण में संगम
की कोई प्राप्ति नहीं रही रही रही। यह प्राप्ति अनेक हिस्से का विषय है कि इस
प्राचीन संस्कृति, साहित्य एवं कला के केन्द्र की श्रद्धालुओं तक केवल परम्परागत
फिल्डनियों द्वारा ही भारतीय स्थल रहना पड़ा। हर्ष का विषय
है कि पुरातत्त्व विभाग द्वारा अर्थ इस स्थल पर खुदाईयों का कम चाहत है और यहाँ
महत्व पूर्ण ऐतिहासिक सामग्री प्राप्त होने की आशा है।
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