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Quarterly Journal

of the

Mythic Society

Volume XIII

(for the Year 1922-23)

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The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XIII]

OCTOBER, 1922

[No. 1

**THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
MYTHIC SOCIETY**

Bangalore, July 31st, 1922.

CHIEF JUSTICE RAJADHARMAPRAVINA K. S. CHANDRASEKHARA
IYER, ESQ., B.A., B.L.,
in the Chair.

Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, B.A., General Secretary, read the Report.

THE REPORT.

THE Committee of the Mythic Society have much pleasure in placing before you this evening the report of the Society's activities during its twelfth session.

This session will be ever memorable, as it was marked by the gracious recognition by His Highness the Maharaja of the unselfish and enthusiastic efforts of our President Rajasabhabhushana the Rev. Father A. M. Tabard in the cause of historical research in Mysore. The Committee take this opportunity of tendering their feelings of profound gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja for this further act of graciousness towards our work and for the continued favours that have been bestowed on the Society by His Highness since its commencement, and of offering once again our most cordial

congratulations to the President for this signal honor. The year is memorable also for the distinctions conferred on three of our prominent members by the Calcutta University, viz., Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, M.A., Ph.D., and Dr. R. Shama Sastry, B.A., Ph.D.

MEMBERSHIP.—Membership stood at 539 on the last day of the year. We were fortunate during the year in securing the kindly interest and co-operation of Mr. B. L. Rice, C.I.E., the pioneer of Mysore archæology and of Dr. E. Hultzsch, the famous savant, late of the Madras Archæological Department, both of whom we have elected honorary members. The number of our life members has increased by 7. There are also 203 resident members, 290 mofussil members and 29 subscribers. The Committee once again appeal to the members to bring more of their friends into the Society. Within the last week, Mr. K. Shankaranarayana Rao and another valued member have kindly consented to convert their annual membership into life memberships.

FINANCE.—The year opened with a funded capital of Rs. 6,556 and a cash balance of Rs. 194. Our collections from subscriptions amounted to Rs. 1,850; donations from life members totalled Rs. 1,100, and grants Rs. 2,100. We have been able to add Rs. 1,444 to the funded capital, bringing our total investments to Rs. 8,000. Our printing charges and postage alone exceeded the amount realized by subscriptions by Rs. 657, this being due, mainly, to the high cost of printing and paper, the increasing bulk of the journal and the higher rates of postage. The Committee do not wish to raise the rate of subscription, and we hope that our membership will increase and help us to reach the figure 1,000 during the current year. Despite the above deficiency, we have, after meeting establishment, contingent and other miscellaneous charges, made valuable additions to our Library by purchasing books costing Rs. 720. Your Committee appeal to those members in arrears to remit their arrears immediately on receipt of the Treasurer's reminder and to one and all to remit the annual subscription immediately on receipt of the first number of the journal, in future.

MEETINGS.—During the year, we had ten ordinary meetings and one special meeting convened to do honour to our revered President on the distinction of 'Rajasabhabhushana' bestowed on him by our beloved Patron, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. The proceedings of this unique occasion have already been circulated with our journal. Among the ordinary meetings, prominent mention is due to the address by Dr. Clarke of the Chicago University on the "Influence of Oriental Literature on the West", and that on "Some Aspects of Indian History" by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar of Trivandrum. Rao Saheb Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar's and Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar's papers on "Mysore and

the decline of Vijayanagar" and "Sravanabelagola", respectively, are also worthy of special note. The Reverends J. Vanes and F. Goodwill with their usual kindness treated the members to two enjoyable lectures, and the latter illustrated his paper with lantern slides. Mr. Hayavadana Rao delivered two lectures during the year, one on "Primitive Religion in Mysore" and the other on "Mysore Castes and Tribes", both of which were widely appreciated. Mr. Chakravarti and Mr. R. Rama Rao helped to make the session full and interesting.

JOURNAL.—With the kind help of the gentlemen already mentioned and of Dr. Hultzsck, Mr. B. V. Kameswara Iyer of Pudukotah, Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji, our Joint Secretary, who is now in Lucknow, as Head of the Department of Indian History in that University, Mr. P. V. Jagadeesa Iyer of Madras, Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra of Calcutta, Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer, lately Superintendent of Archæology in Trivandrum, Mr. A. Rangaswami Sarāsvati of the Madras Archæological Department and Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti of Ernakulam; your Committee have been able to maintain the high tone of our journal. Dr. Hultzsck's translation of Jivandhara will, we feel sure, help to create even a wider name for our journal. Dr. Hultzsck has taken a very lively interest in our Society's work during the year and it is through his kind co-operation that we have been able to purchase for our Library a valuable collection of Oriental Literature. We have been fortunate in securing still further additions to our list of exchanges during the year. The Smithsonian Institute, Washington, the Punjab Historical Society, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and several other journals have agreed to exchange their publications with us.

LIBRARY.—We have, during the year, as already stated, purchased a large number of books to complete our collections. You will have already noticed from the latest issue of our journal that the collection includes a fairly complete set of the German Oriental Society's Journal and a set of the Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research. We have also added to the Philosophy Section of our Library by purchasing a few books from the late Professor T. M. Seshagiri Sastry's Library, whose sons have presented us with several other volumes from the same Library.

Quite lately, we have been able to take over charge of the entire library of the late Pradhana Siromani Mr. T. Ananda Rao, through the generosity of his executors and residuary legatees and principally of Mr. T. Govinda Rao, one of our early members. These acquisitions have helped to make the library fairly complete and comprehensive. Thanks to the kindly assistance of Dr. F. W. Thomas, we have received during the year a complete set of the catalogues of the India Office Library, which is invaluable for research work.

The Committee wish to take this opportunity of conveying the grateful thanks of the Society to the several donors for the magnificent gifts.

THE HALL.—Thanks to the generous support continued by the Mysore Government, we have maintained our hall and grounds in excellent condition. Our portrait gallery has had valuable accessions during the year in the shape of the portraits of the Maharaja of Nepal and of Mr. B. L. Rice.

THE TABARD MEMORIAL.—With a view to commemorate the unique distinction bestowed on our President and perpetuate his memorable services to this Society, your Committee appealed to the members and other sympathizers for funds. They have been able to secure adequate funds for a gold medal to be competed for annually by graduates of the Indian Universities of not more than five years' standing. The Committee have much pleasure in handing over to Father Tabard on this occasion bonds of the face value of Rs. 1,600 yielding an annual income of Rs. 100. The Committee hope that this foundation will help in a way, humble though it be, not only to commemorate the services of the President Founder of this Society, but also to further the cause we have at heart, namely, the promotion of a study of South Indian history, archæology, religions and allied subjects.

CONCLUSION.—In conclusion, we beg to express our deep sense of gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja, to His Highness the Yuvaraja, and His Highness the Maharaja's Government for the encouragement and help which was continued during the session. We are glad to avail ourselves of this opportunity of offering our heartiest congratulations to our Chairman, Rajadharma-pravina Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhara Iyer and to one of our Vice-Presidents, Rajamantra-pravina P. Raghavendra Rao, on the distinctions conferred upon them by His Highness the Maharaja in the course of this session.

In proposing the adoption of the report, the Rev. A. M. Tabard said that it gave him great pleasure to see that this Society, unlike many similar societies in India, continued to be much alive, as witnessed by its many sided activities. He hoped that as the years go by it would continue to expand its scope of usefulness and attract a still larger number of members.

Since he had been honoured by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore with a unique distinction, he considered himself somewhat of a Mysorean. He would then call, more particularly, on all Mysoreans to gather round him still more closely to make the Mythic Society a huge success for the glory of Mysore and Mysore's beloved Maharaja.

He concluded by saying that he was happy to avail himself of this opportunity to thank all those who have so generously contributed towards

a Fund through which his name will be for ever associated with the Mysore University.

The proposal that the report and accounts for 1921-22 be adopted was seconded by Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao and was unanimously accepted.

The re-election of Rajasabhabhushana Rev. A. M. Tabard as President which was proposed by Mr. V. R. Thyagaraja Iyer and seconded by Dr. M. Srinivasa Rao was carried by acclamation. The election of the Vice-Presidents was moved next by Mr. K. Chandy. In doing so he referred to the merit and attainment of two of them who were newly proposed as Vice-Presidents, *viz.*, Rajadharmapravina Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhara Iyer and Dr. Brajendra-nath Seal and said that the inclusion of their names among Vice-Presidents would add to the fame of the Society. The motion was seconded by Mr. K. Shankaranarayana Rao, and carried with applause. The last proposition regarding the election of the other members of the committee having been proposed by Mr. K. R. Sreenivasa Iyengar and seconded by Rao Bahadur D. Shama Rao was also unanimously accepted.

The Chairman, rising amidst great applause, delivered the following address :—

CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH.

FATHER TABARD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Let me first thank you for the honour you have done me in asking me to preside on this occasion. Let me thank you also for the kindly reference about me in your report.

I am pleased to have an opportunity of publicly paying a tribute of admiration to the invaluable services of the Reverend Father Tabard. His protestations notwithstanding, we all recognize in him the Father of the Mythic Society. He has not only secured the gracious patronage and continuing encouragement of the Mysore Royal House, but has enlisted the sympathy of various other rulers, princes and nobles, from distant Nepal in the North to Travancore in the South and from Cooch Behar in the East to Baroda in the West. The Society has earned recognition also from the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, and the Governments of the various Provinces and Indian States. Its unpaid ambassadors are found as far away as Japan and the United States. It has entered the company of similar Societies of much longer standing, not only in India but in Europe, America and Japan. All this is what Father Tabard has given us.

The royal recognition of his labours at the time of the last Dasara Durbar is a matter for great rejoicing. Father Tabard's genuine love of

Mysore and his sincere interest in the cause of historical research commands the admiration of all, and the form taken by the memorial which the Society has decided to establish in the Mysore University seems happily chosen and particularly appropriate. The rest of my task is easy. We have heard a very satisfactory report of the Society's work during the last year. Our membership remains steady, at a high figure. Our journal has continued to maintain its high level of excellence, and the ranks of contributors have been joined by valued and honoured scholars. Among other learned institutions, it has gained recognition by the Smithsonian Institute; the unique international body of scientific research in the United States of America. Our best thanks and congratulations are due to the President and his band of fellow-workers for this highly satisfactory progress.

The usefulness of this Society and its valuable record of work are so well-known that it will be an act of supererogation on my part to dilate upon them on this occasion.

The Society is unlike other learned bodies which conduct journals useful only to a select circle of pedants and experts. The pages of its journal contain, not only highly technical essays of advanced research but a number of papers presenting the results of research in a popular manner for the uninitiated, and it is a matter for surprise that it has not gained even a wider circulation. Of all studies, the study of man is of enthralling interest. And of all branches of the study of man, the story of his evolution, his efforts at reaching a higher level of existence, his endeavours for self-realization and the fulfilment of his divine destiny are elevating and ennobling. The Society is devoted to the scientific study of the increasing purpose which runs through all ages, and to supplying the missing links in the chain of India's endeavour to contribute its share to the attainment of the world's goal. In Mysore we are fortunate in having a wide variety of materials for study. Of inscriptions we have an abundance, from the days of Asoka onwards. Local coins have been found from the early years of the Christian era, and prehistoric antiquities are met with in cromlechs and cairns on all sides—nay even within a few yards of the Bangalore City Municipal limits. In architecture, we have a rare wealth of specimens as well as a school essentially local in origin and second to none in richness of detail, grandeur of design and perfection in execution. Of folklore, tradition and romance, we have a rich heritage which alas is fast being forgotten and which, particularly, the Society should make special efforts to collect and record before it is lost. This is a field in which every member of the Society can help, no matter how little his previous knowledge of the several sciences and how inadequate his equipment for unravelling the mysteries or for

elaborating the results of the material collected by him. If once the material is collected and placed on record, the experts may be left to attack them at their leisure. The wealth of Mysore in the fields of religion and philosophy is immense. Sri Sankara and Ramanuja, two principal reformers of early India, chose Mysore for their labours and have left abiding monuments of their work here. The early sect of Jains has left a rich store of monuments, tradition and literature. The latter day cult of Basava originated in Mysore and Mysore is the home of numerous other Mutts which kept alive the hoary traditions of old India. Mysore has been the nursery of various romantic royal and imperial dynasties. Many a chapter in the history of the Kadambas, the Gangas and the Hoysalas, not to mention several others of less note, yet remains to be written. The growth of the present Royal House affords ample scope for further study. All we now know of several Chieftains famous in tradition is their names, often disclosed by the names of their capitals and strongholds. Many a thrilling incident in their history has to be rescued from oblivion by a close study of local tradition, of popular ballads, of obscure *Veerakkals*, of undeciphered inscriptions in local temples and of records in local Mutts or other institutions. Considerable work has been done in the past by the Society, but vastly more remains to be done. I commend the appeal of the Secretary for more members, and I hope that every one of us will be able to introduce at least one friend into the Society during the current year. Funds are the next important point. The gentle reminder about arrears and prompt payment of subscriptions will, I am sure, have the desired effect, and I trust also that the appeal for more life memberships will meet with a hearty response.

The Rev. F. Goodwill proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair. This needless to say was carried unanimously. The meeting terminated with three cheers for His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

ŚRAVANA BELGOLA.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

BY PRAKTANA VIMARSA VICHAKSHANA RAO BAHADUR

R. NARASIMHACHAR.

ŚRAVANA BELGOLA is a place of considerable importance from various points of view—archæological, artistic, religious and antiquarian. I propose in this paper to give some details about the colossal statue of Gommaṭeśvara at the place and to make some observations on the tradition that the Maurya emperor Chandragupta visited the place in company with the Śrutakēvali Bhadrabāhu.

Śravaṇa Belgola or Belgola of the Śravaṇa or Śramaṇa, a Jaina ascetic, is so named with reference to the colossal Jina image of the place, and its prefix Śravaṇa also serves to distinguish it from two other Belgolas with the prefixes Haḷe and Kōḍi in the same neighbourhood. One of the inscriptions names the place Dēvara Belgola, that is, Belgola of the god (Jina).

The usual derivation of Belgola is from the two Kannaḍa words *beḷ*, white, and *koḷa*, by euphony *goḷa*, a pond, evidently in allusion to the splendid pond in the middle of the village; and this derivation derives support from the Sanskrit equivalents Svēta-sarōvara, Dhavaḷa-saras and Dhavaḷa-sarōvara used in the inscriptions to denote the place. The name Velgoḷa occurs in an inscription of about 650, and Belgola in another of about 800. Other forms of the name occurring mostly in later inscriptions are Belguḷa, Beḷugūḷa and Beḷagūḷa, which have given rise to another derivation of the name from the herb white *guḷḷa* (the egg plant) in allusion to a tradition which says that a pious old woman completely anointed the colossal image with the milk she had brought in a *Guḷ'a-kāyi* or *guḷḷa* fruit. The place is also designated Gommaṭapura, the city of Gommaṭa (the name of the colossus), in some inscriptions and is called a *tīrtha* or holy place in several others. Further, the epithet Dakṣiṇa-Kāśi or Southern Kāśi is applied to it in some modern inscriptions.

The village is situated in 12°51' north latitude and 76°29' east longitude, about eight miles to the south of Chennarāyapaṭṇa in the Chennarāyapaṭṇa Taluk of the Hāssan District of the Mysore State. It lies picturesquely between two rocky hills, one larger than the other, which stand up boldly from the plain and are covered with huge boulders. "In the whole beautiful

State of Mysore it would be hard to find a spot, where the historic and the picturesque clasp hands so firmly as here." * The place can be reached by motor either from the Arsikere or the French Rocks Railway Station; or the run can be made from Bangalore direct, a distance of about ninety-two miles to Chennarāyapaṭṇa and then another eight miles to the village. The larger hill, known as Doḍḍa-beṭṭa or Vindhyagiri, situated towards the south, has on it the colossal image of Gommaṭēśvara and a few *bastis* or Jina temples, while the smaller hill, known as Chikka-beṭṭa or Chandragiri, situated towards the north, has on it the oldest inscriptions and a large number of *bastis*.

Gommatesvara.

The image is nude and stands erect facing north. The face is a remarkable one, with a serene expression; the hair is curled in short spiral ringlets all over the head, while the ears are long and large. The figure is treated conventionally, the shoulders being very broad, the arms hanging straight down the sides, with the thumbs turned outwards. The waist is small. From the knee downwards the legs are somewhat dwarfed. Though not elegant, the image is not wanting in majestic and impressive grandeur. The figure has no support above the thighs. Up to that point it is represented as surrounded by ant-hills, from which emerge serpents; and a climbing plant twines itself round both legs and both arms, terminating at the upper part of the arm in a cluster of berries or flowers. According to the Jainas the plant is Mādhavi, a large creeper with fragrant white flowers, which springs up and blossoms in the hot weather. It appears to be known as *Kāḍu-Gulagunji* in Kannaḍa. The pedestal is designed to represent an open lotus, and upon this the artist worked a scale, corresponding to three feet four inches, which was probably used in laying out the work. Engraved near the left foot of the statue, the scale is divided into equal halves in the middle, where there is a mark resembling a flower.

According to some old residents of the place this measure, when multiplied by eighteen, gives the height of the image; but they cannot give any satisfactory reason for multiplying by eighteen. According to others the measure represents the length of a bow, but the length of a bow is supposed to be three and a half cubits and not three feet four inches. Owing to the great height of the image and the want of any point sufficiently elevated from which to take a picture of it, most of the representations fail to give a good idea of the features of the face, which are the most perfect part artistically and the most interesting.

"It is probable that Gommaṭa was cut out of a boulder which rested

* Workman's *Through Town and Jungle*, 80.

on the spot, as it would have been a work of great difficulty to transport a granite mass of this size up the oval hill-side. It is larger than any of the statues of Rameses in Egypt.

The figure is standing with shoulders squared and arms hanging straight. Its upper half projects above the surrounding ramparts. It is carved in a fine-grained light-grey granite, has not been injured by weather or violence, and looks as bright and clean as if just from the chisel of the artist.

The face is its strong point. Considering the size of the head, which from the crown to the bottom of the ear measures six feet six inches, the artist was skilful indeed to draw from the blank rock the wondrous contemplative expression touched with a faint smile, with which Gommaṭa gazes out on the struggling world.

Gommaṭeśvara has watched over India for only 1000 years, whilst the statues of Rameses have gazed upon the Nile for more than 4000. The monolithic Indian saint is thousands of years younger than the prostrate Rameses or the guardians of Abu Simbal but he is more impressive, both on account of his commanding position on the brow of the hill overlooking the wide stretch of plain and of his size.”*

“The statues of this Jaina saint (Gommaṭa) are among the most remarkable works of native art in the south of India. Three of them are well known, and have long been known to Europeans. That at Śravaṇa Belgola attracted the attention of the late Duke of Wellington when, as Sir A. Wellesley, he commanded a division at the siege of Seringapatam. He, like all those who followed him, was astonished at the amount of labour such a work must have entailed, and puzzled to know whether it was a part of the hill or had been moved to the spot where it now stands. The former is the more probable theory. The hill is one mass of granite about 400 feet in height, and probably had a mass or Tor standing on its summit—either a part of the subjacent mass or lying on it. This the Jains undertook to fashion into a statue 58 feet in height, and have achieved it with marvellous success. The task of carving a rock standing in its place the Hindu mind never would have shrunk from, had it even been twice the size; but to move such a mass up the steep smooth side of the hill seems a labour beyond their power, even with all their skill in concentrating masses of men on a single point. Whether, however, the rock was found *in situ* or was moved, nothing grander or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt, and even there no known statue surpasses it in height, though, it must be confessed, they do excel it in the perfection of art they exhibit.”†

* Workman's *Through Town and Jungle*, 82-84.

† Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, 72.

Inscription No. 234, of about 1180, which is in the form of a short Kannada poem in praise of Gommaṭa, composed by the Jaina poet Boppana, also known as Sujanoṭtamsa, gives the following particulars about Gommaṭa :—

‘ He was the son of Purudēva or the first Tirthankara and the younger brother of Bharata. His other name was Bāhubali or Bhujabali. There was a struggle for empire between the brothers which resulted in Bāhubali generously handing over the kingdom of the earth to the defeated elder brother and retiring from the world in order to do penance. He thus became a Kēvali, and attained such eminence by his victory over *Karma*; that Bharata erected at Paudanapura an image in his form, 525 bow-lengths in height. In course of time the region around the image having become infested with innumerable *Kukkuṭa-sarṣas* or cockatrices, the statue came to be known as Kukkuṭēśvara. It afterwards became invisible to all except the initiated. But Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya, having heard a description of it, set out with the desire of seeing it. Finding, however, that the journey was beyond his power owing to the distance and inaccessibility of the region, he resolved to erect such an image himself and with great effort succeeded in getting this statue made and set up.’

The same inscription describes Gommaṭa thus :—

‘ When an image is very lofty, it may not have beauty; when possessed of loftiness and real beauty, it may not have supernatural power; loftiness, real beauty and mighty supernatural power being all united in it, how worthy of worship in the world is the glorious form, comparable to itself, of Gommatēśvara-Jina? When it is said that Maya (the artist of the gods), Indra and the lord of serpents are unable respectively to draw a likeness, to take a full view and to undertake the praise of it, who else are then able to draw a likeness, to take a full view and to undertake the praise of the matchless form of wondrous beauty of the southern Kukkuṭēśvara? The famous world of the Nāgas always forming the foundation, the earth the base, the points of the compass the walls, the region of heaven the roof, the cars of the gods above the towers, and the cluster of brilliant stars the inner broad jewel-awning, the three worlds enlightened by Jina’s sayings have thus become the abode of Gommatēśa. Is he of matchless beauty? He is Cupid; is he mighty? He is the conqueror of the emperor Bharata; is he liberal? He gave back the whole earth though he had completely conquered it; is he free from attachment? He is engaged in penance and contents himself with the two feet of earth given to him; is he possessed of perfect knowledge?, he has destroyed the bonds of *Karma*;—this said, how exalted is Bāhubaliśa? No man shall take pleasure in killing, lying, stealing, adultery and covetousness;

if he does, he will lose for ever this world and the next; lo! Gommaṭa-dēva looks as if proclaiming this standing on high. The ant-hills and the pressing and entwining creepers on the body looking as if the earth and creeper-like women owing to their grief came and tightly embraced him, saying "why have you forsaken us", the state of Gommaṭadēva's intense application to penance was worthy to be honored by the lords of serpents, gods and sages.'

The account given of Gommaṭa in this inscription is repeated with some additions and variation in the details in several literary works, such as the *Bhujabali-charite*, of about 1550, by Doḍḍaiya of Piriyaṭṭaṇa, the *Bhujabali-śataka*, of 1614, by Pañchabāṇa of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, the *Gommaṭeśvara-charite*, of about 1780, by Anantakavi, the *Rājāvali-kathe*, of 1838, by Dēvachandra, and *Sthaḷa-purāṇa* of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. Of these, the first work is in Sanskrit and the others in Kannaḍa. *Bhujabali-charite* states that Ādinātha had two sons, Bharata by his wife Yaśavati and Bhujabali by his other wife Sunande. Bhujabali married Ichchhādēvi and was the ruler of Paudanapura. Owing to some misunderstanding there was a battle between the two brothers, in which Bharata was defeated. Bhujabali, however, renounced the kingdom and became an ascetic. Bharata had a golden statue, 525 *mārus** in height, of Bhujabali made and set up. Only the gods worshipped the image, the region having become inaccessible to human beings owing to *Kukkūṭa-sarpas* which infested it.

A Jaina teacher, named Jinasēna, who visited southern Madhurā, gave an account of the image at Paudanapura to Kālādēvi, mother of Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya, who vowed that she would not taste milk until she saw Gommaṭa. Being informed of this by his wife Ajitādēvi, Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya set out with his mother on his journey to Paudanapura. In the course of the journey he stopped at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. The same night Padmāvati and Brahma appeared to him in a dream and said, "Around the god at Paudanapura to a considerable distance *Kukkūṭa-sarpas* keep guard and will not allow any one to approach. It is not therefore possible for you to see him. Pleased with your devotion, he will, however, manifest himself to you on the summit of the larger hill. Purify yourself and discharge a golden shot from your bow from the smaller hill and the god will instantly become visible." The mother, too, had a similar dream. The next morning Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya purified himself and standing on a rock on the smaller hill, facing south, discharged from his bow a golden shot to a boulder on the larger hill. As soon as the shot struck the boulder, the head of Gommaṭa revealed itself. When afterwards the officiating priest placed a diamond

* The measure of a man with extended arms across the chest.

chisel on the boulder and struck it with a jewel hammer, the layers of stone fell off and the full image became visible.

He then made elaborate arrangements for performing the *abhishēka* or anointment of Gommaṭa. But, to his grief, the milk used for anointing the image would not descend lower than the thighs. Being at a loss to know the reason for this, he sought the advice of his guru who directed him to use for anointment the little milk that an old woman had brought in a white *guḷḷa-kāyi*. When the priests poured this milk on the head of the image, it instantly ran down all over the statue in streams and covered the hill. The old woman was henceforward known as *Guḷḷa-kāyajji*. Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya then founded a village at the foot of the hill and granted for the god villages of the revenue value of 96,000 *varahas*. When he asked his guru Ajitasēna as to the name to be bestowed on the village newly built, he said, "As the old woman who had brought milk in a white *guḷḷa-kāyi* obtained celebrity by immersing the god in that milk, it is appropriate that the village should be named *Belgoḷa*". He accordingly named the village *Belgoḷa* and had also a stone image of *Guḷḷakāyajji* made.

The items of additional and variant information given in the remaining works may now be briefly noticed. The *Bhujabali-śataka* of Doḍḍaiya states that king Rājamalla, a lay disciple of Simhanandi, was the ruler of Madhurā in the Drāviḍa country. His minister was the Brahmakshātra-śikhāmaṇi Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya, a lay disciple of Simhanandi's disciple Ajitasēna and of Nēmichandra. It was a merchant that informed Rājamalla of the existence of an image of Gommaṭa made of the precious stone *Karkētana* at Paudanapura. On hearing this Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya took leave of the king and set out with his mother and his guru Nēmichandra. When he shot golden arrows from the smaller hill, Gommaṭa of Paudanapura became manifest on the larger hill. He granted a number of villages for the god and King Rājamalla, on hearing of his munificence, bestowed upon him the title of Rāya. The *Gommaṭeśvaracharite* tells us that on Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya shooting arrows the image of Gommaṭa revealed itself to him. He got it touched up and improved by sculptors and then had it consecrated. The *Sthala-purāṇa*, an English translation of which is given in the *Indian Antiquary* (II, 130), states that Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya, on his way to Paudanapura, heard of the existence of a statue of Gommaṭa, 18 bows high, at *Belgoḷa*. He consecrated the image and granted for it villages of the revenue value of 1,96,000 *varahas*. *Guḷḷakāyajji* was the goddess *Padmāvati* who, in order to break the pride with which Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya had become elated at the accomplishment of his vast undertaking, appeared, by order of the god, in the guise of an aged poor woman at the time of the anointment of the statue.

According to the *Rājāvali-kathe* she was the goddess Kūshmāṇḍini. This work further says that the image of Gommaṭa at Belgola was formerly worshipped by Rāma and Rāvaṇa, as also by the latter's wife Maṇḍōdari. The *Munivamsābhyaudaya* of Chidānandakavi (c. 1680) furnishes the information that Rāma and Sītā brought the images of Gommaṭa and Pārśva from Lankā and were worshipping them respectively on the larger and the smaller hills. Unable to lift them up, they left them there and went their way.

As stated before, inscription No. 234 makes the clear statement that Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya had the statue of Gommaṭa made. The same statement is also made in inscription No. 254 of 1398. We have further synchronous records Nos. 175, 176, and 179 in Kannaḍa, Tamil and Mahrāṭhi languages respectively engraved at the sides of the image itself stating the same fact. The period of the last three inscriptions is evidently that of Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya who, according to inscription No. 345, of about 1159, was the minister of the Ganga king Rājamalla whose reign began in 974 and ended in about 984. Between these dates must the statue have been erected, since according to tradition the consecration took place during Rājamalla's reign. But as a Kannaḍa work on the 24 Tirthankaras, popularly known as Chāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa, composed by Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya in 978, does not mention the erection of the statue in the long account it gives of the author's achievements, it is reasonable to conclude that the image was set up after 978. We may in the absence of more precise information put down the date of the completion of the colossus and of these inscriptions as 983. In the face of these inscriptions recording in unambiguous language that Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya had the image made, it is needless to say anything about the stories mentioned above regarding its existence from the time of Rāma and Rāvaṇa. The traditional date of the consecration of Gommaṭa by Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya given in several literary works is Sunday the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra of the cyclic year Vibhava corresponding to the year 600 of the Kaliyuga era.

Different estimates of the height of Gommaṭa have been given, 70 feet 3 inches by Buchanan and 60 feet 3 inches by Sir Arthur Wellesley. Mr. Bowring, then Chief Commissioner of Mysore, says, "The colossal statue was measured by my order on the 1st of January 1865 and the height then assigned was 57 feet. The measurement was made by the Amildar." In his *Eastern Experiences* (page 74) he says, "A platform was specially erected to ascertain the exact height of the statue, which was found to be 57 feet, and not 70 feet, as generally supposed." Measurements of the different parts of the image taken by an officer of the Public Works

Department in 1871 are given on page 129 of volume II of the *Indian Antiquary*. Advantage was taken of the platforms and scaffolding then erected for the anointment of the god to secure accurate measurements, but owing to the interference of the priests the work could not be completed. The following were the dimensions obtained:—

	Feet.	Inches.
Total height to the bottom of the ear ...	50	0
From the bottom of the ear to the crown of the head, (not measured) about ...	6	6
Length of the foot ...	9	0
Breadth across the front of the foot ...	4	6
Length of the great toe ...	2	9
Half girth at the instep ...	6	4
Do of the thigh ...	10	0
From the hip to the ear ...	24	6
Do Coccyx to the ear ...	20	0
Breadth across the pelvis ...	13	0
Do at the waist ...	10	0
From the waist and elbow to the ear ...	17	0
From the armpit to the ear ...	7	0
Breadth across the shoulders ...	26	0
From the base of the neck to the ear ...	2	6
Length of the forefinger ...	3	6
Do middle finger ...	5	3
Do third finger ...	4	7
Do fourth finger ...	2	8

These measurements appear to be fairly correct. The height of the statue may be put down at 57 feet. In a palm-leaf manuscript in the private library of Mr. Aramane Jinachandraiya at Mysore which I examined a few years ago I came across a number of Sanskrit stanzas composed by a Jaina poet of the name of Śāntarāja-panḍita giving the measurements of the different parts of the image in *hastas* (cubits) and *angulas* (finger-breadths). This poet, who bore the title of Kavi-Chakravarti or emperor of poets, also wrote in 1820 a big Sanskrit poem styled *Sarasajanachintamani*. The stanzas mentioned above are sixteen in number. We learn from the last stanza that the poet himself took the measurements by order of his patron the Mysore king Kṛishṇa-Rāja-Oḍeyar III, on the occasion of the anointment of the god caused to be performed by that king. In the first stanza he states that the measurements are given for the pious contemplation of his co-religionists and for the astonishment of the adherents

of other religions. There seems to be some mistake in stanza 14. The following are the measurements given :—

	Cubits	Finger-breadths.
From the foot to the crown of the head ...	36 $\frac{1}{8}$	0
From the foot to the navel ...	20	0
From the navel to the head ...	16 $\frac{1}{8}$	0
From the chin to the crown of the head ...	6	3
Length of the ear ...	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	0
From ear to ear ...	8	0
Girth of the neck ...	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	0
Height of the neck ...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	0
From shoulder to shoulder ...	16	0
The lines around the nipple ...	4	9
Girth of the waist ...	20	0
From the shoulder to the middle finger ...	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	0
Girth of the wrist ...	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	0
Length of the thumb ...	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	0
Length of the great toe ...	4 $\frac{1}{2}$?	0
Length of the foot ...	4	1

According to the poet the height of the statue is 54 feet 3 inches. He also gives the dimensions of several parts not given in the previous list.

Reference has been made to the anointment of Gommaṭa. This is popularly known as *mastakābhishēka* or the head-anointing ceremony, and is performed only at certain conjunctions of the heavenly bodies at intervals of several years, and at a great cost. It is called *mahābhishēka* in inscription No. 231, of about 1500, which seems to fix the amounts to be paid to the officiating priests, the stone masons, carpenters and other workmen, and for the supply of milk and curds. The earliest reference to *mastakābhishēka* is found in No. 254 of 1398, which states that Paṇḍitārya had it performed seven times. The poet Pañchabāṇa refers to an anointment caused to be performed by one Śāntavarṇi in 1612, Anantakavi to another conducted at the expense of Viśālāksha-panḍita, the Jaina minister of the Mysore king Chikka-Dēva-Rāja-Oḍeyar, in 1677, and Śāntarāja-panḍita, as stated above, to a third caused to be performed by the Mysore king Kṛishṇa-Rāja-Oḍeyar III in about 1825. Reference is made to a similar ceremony performed in 1827 in No. 223, to another in 1871 in the *Indian Antiquary* (II, 129) and to another still in 1887 in the *Harvest Field* (for May 1887). The latest, to my knowledge, was the one conducted in 1909. The anointment performed in 1887 was at the expense of the Kolhāpūr Svāmi, who is

said to have spent Rs. 30,000 for the purpose. The following account of the ceremony is taken from the *Harvest Field*:—

The 14th March last was the day of anointing for the statue of Gommatēśvara. It was a great day, in anticipation of which 20,000 pilgrims gathered there from all parts of India. There were Bengalis there, Gujaratis also, and Tamil people in great numbers. Some arrived a full month before the time and the stream continued to flow until the afternoon of the day of the great festival. For a whole month there was daily worship in all the temples, and *pāda-pūja* or worship of the feet of the great idol besides. On the great day, the 14th, the people began to ascend the hill even before dawn in the hope of securing good places from which to see everything. Among them were large numbers of women and girls in very bright attire, carrying with them brass or earthen pots. By 10 o'clock all available space in the temple enclosure was filled. Opposite the idol an area of 40 square feet was strewn with bright yellow paddy, on which were placed 1000 gaily painted earthenware pots, filled with sacred water, covered with cocoanuts and adorned with mango leaves. Above the image was scaffolding, on which stood several priests, each having at hand pots filled with ghee, milk and such like things. At a signal from the Kolhāpūr Svāmi, the master of the ceremonies, the contents of these vessels were poured simultaneously over the head of the idol. This was a sort of preliminary bath, but the grand bath took place at 2 o'clock. Amid the horrible dissonance of many instruments the thousand pots already mentioned were lifted as if by magic from the reserved area to the scaffolding and all their contents poured over the image, the priests meanwhile chanting texts from the sacred books. Evidently the people were much impressed. There were mingled cries of 'Jai Jai Mahārāja', and 'Aha, aha', the distinctive exclamations of Northern and Southern Indians to mark their wonder and approval. In the final anointing fifteen different substances were used, namely, water, coconut meal, plantains, jaggery, ghee, sugar, almonds, dates, poppy seeds, milk, curds, sandal, gold flowers, silver flowers, and silver coin. With the gold and silver flowers there were mixed nine varieties of precious gems; and silver coin to the amount of Rs. 500 completed the offering.

There is a story that, after the conversion of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana to the Vaiṣṇava faith, the Vaiṣṇava apostle Rāmānujāchārya mutilated the statue of Gommatā so as to ruin it as an object of worship. No trace, however, remains of such injury, unless it be that the forefinger of the left hand which is shorter than it should be, had a piece struck off below the first joint and was afterwards sculptured into a perfect finger again. This particular form of desecration would easily have suggested itself if it be true,

as tradition has it, that the change of the king's religion was in some degree brought about by the refusal of his Jaina guru to take food from him by reason of the king's mutilation in the shape of the loss of one of his fingers.

There are two more colossal images of Gommaṭa known to exist, one at Kārkaḷa, and the other at Ēnūr, both in the South Kanara District. The image at Kārkaḷa, 41 feet 5 inches high, was erected by Vira-Pāṇḍya in 1432 at the advice of the Jaina teacher Lalitakīrti of Panasōge, while that at Ēnūr, 35 feet high, was set up in 1604 by Timmarāja of the family of Chāmuṇḍa at the instance of Chārukīrti-panḍita of Belgoḷa. The Kārkaḷa statue was moved to the spot where it now stands. In a Kannaḍa poem named *Kārkaḷada-Gommaṭeśvara-charite* written by Chandrama in about 1646, it is stated that the statue was placed on a long cart of twenty wheels and dragged up and that the process occupied a month. These two images are identical with the one at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in the way in which they are represented, but differ considerably in the features of the face. The Belgoḷa statue is not only the most ancient in date and considerably the highest of the three, but from its striking position on the top of a very steep hill and the consequently greater difficulty involved in its execution is by far the most interesting. Of the accessories of these images, the ant-hills, with serpents issuing from them, which surround the lower limbs, and the climbing plant which twines round both legs and arms are worthy of notice. They are found in all the three statues, and are intended to symbolize the complete absorption in penance of the ideal ascetic until the ant-hills arose at his feet and creeping plants grew round his limbs.

The tradition regarding the visit to Sravana Belgola of Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta.

Briefly the tradition runs thus :—Bhadrabāhu, the last Śrutakēvali, predicted a twelve years' drought and famine in the north, whereupon the Jaina community migrated under his leadership to the south. Chandragupta, the Maurya emperor, abdicated and accompanied Bhadrabāhu as his disciple. On reaching Śravaṇa Belgoḷa Bhadrabāhu, perceiving that his end was approaching, ordered the community to proceed on their journey, remained on the smaller hill and died there, tended in his last moments by his disciple Chandragupta. The latter lived there as an ascetic for some years, worshipping the footprints of his guru, and ultimately died by the Jaina rite of *sallēkhanā* or starvation.

We may now proceed to mention a few facts derived from local history, inscriptions and literature which appear to give support to this tradition. The smaller hill at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa is said to derive its name Chandragiri from the fact that Chandragupta lived and performed penance there. The

Chandragupta-basti, one of the oldest temples on the same hill, is said to be so called because it was caused to be erected by Chandragupta. There is, moreover, a cave on this hill, known as the cave of Bhadrabāhu, containing his footprints, in which he is said to have expired. Inscription 166, of about 1100, in the cave refers to worship being done to the footprints of Bhadrabāhu. Two inscriptions on the north bank of the Kāvēri near Seringapatam, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, III, Seringapatam 147 and 148, of about 900, describe the summit of Chandragiri as marked by the impress of the feet of the great sages Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta. Among the inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgōla itself, 31, of about 650, refers to the pair of the great sages Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta, and states that the Jaina religion which had greatly prospered when they shed lustre on it, having become a little weak, the sage Śāntisēna renovated it; 67, of 1129, mentions Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta who, through the merit of being his disciple, was served for a long time by the forest deities; 64, of 1163, speaks of Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Śrutakēvalis, and of his disciple Chandragupta, by whose glory the sages of his *Gaṇa* were worshipped by the forest deities; and 258, of 1432, after extolling the lord of ascetics Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Śrutakēvalis, says that his disciple was Chandragupta, who was bowed to by the chief gods on account of his perfect conduct and the fame caused by the greatness of whose severe penance spread into other worlds.

In literature the *Bṛihatkaṭhākōṣa*, a Sanskrit work written by Harishēṇa in 931, says that Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Śrutakēvalis, had the king Chandragupta as his disciple. The account of Bhadrabāhu given in this work may be summarized thus:—In the Paunḍravardhana country King Padmaratha was reigning in the city of Dē akoṭṭa which was formerly known as Kōṭipura. He had a Brāhman dependant of the name of Sōmaśarma who by his wife Sōmaśrī had a son named Bhadrabāhu. One day when Bhadrabāhu was at play with other children at Dēvakoṭṭa, Gōvardhana, the fourth Śrutakēvali, happened to see him, and perceiving that he was destined to be the fifth Śrutakēvali, took charge of him with his father's consent and taught him all sciences. Soon after Bhadrabāhu received *dīkshe* (or the rite of initiation) from Gōvardhana and became an ascetic. In his wanderings he went to Ujjain and stopped in a garden on the bank of the Siprā. At that time the king of Ujjain was the pious Jaina layman Chandragupta whose queen was Suprabhā. While out to beg for alms, Bhadrabāhu went to a house where there was only an infant crying in its cradle which told him to go away. On hearing this he came to the conclusion that there would be a twelve years' drought in that country, and spoke to the *saṅgha* or community thus:—"There will be a twelve years' famine here. As my end

is approaching, I shall stay here alone. You go to the south." When he heard of this, King Chandragupta received *dīkshe* from Bhadrabāhu. Chandragupti-muni, the first of the Daśapūrvis, became the head of all the *saṅghas* under the name of Viśākhāchārya. By order of Bhadrabāhu he led the *saṅgha* to the Punnāta kingdom in the south. Bhadrabāhu went to that part of Ujjayini known as Bhādrapada, fasted for many days and expired. When the twelve years of famine were ended, Viśākhāchārya, disciple of Bhadrabāhu, returned with the *saṅgha* from the south to Madhyadēśa or the middle country.

Another Sanskrit work, named *Bhadrabāhucharita*, by Ratnanandi, disciple of Anantakīrti and pupil of Lalitakīrti, which appears to belong to about the fifteenth century, also gives an account of Bhadrabāhu. The account given in this work, though similar in many respects to the one given above, differs from it in some important particulars. Padmadhara was the king of Kōṭapura in Bharatavarsha and Sōmaśarma his family priest. Bhadrabāhu distinguished himself in disputations at the court of king Padmadhara. He succeeded his guru Gōvardhana as *āchārya* or teacher. Chandragupti, the king of Ujjain, showed him great honor and requested him one day to interpret the dreams which he had had the previous night. On hearing the interpretation he renounced the world and took *dīkshe* from the guru. Predicting a twelve years' famine and advising his followers to leave the country, Bhadrabāhu, saying "we shall go to Karṇāṭa," went to the south accompanied by twelve thousand disciples. On coming to a forest, perceiving that his end was approaching, he appointed Viśākhāchārya to his own place and directed him to lead the *saṅgha* to the south. Chandragupti alone stayed behind to attend on his guru, while the rest proceeded to the Chōḷa country. Soon after, Bhadrabāhu took the vow of *sallēkhanā* or starvation and expired. The sage Chandragupti, drawing a likeness of his guru's feet, was worshipping them. On his return, Viśākhāchārya paid homage at the tomb of Bhadrabāhu, and having been treated with due honor by Chandragupti-muni, left for Kanyakubja.

The Kannaḍa work *Munivamsābhyudaya* by Chidānandakavi (c. 1680) gives incidentally some information about Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta. It says:—"The Śrutakēvali Bhadrabāhu came to Belgoḷa and lived on Chikka-beṭṭa. A tiger sprang upon him and killed him. Even now his feet are worshipped in a cave on the hill. Dakshiṇāchārya came to Belgoḷa by order of the Jaina sage Arhadbali. Chandragupta, who had also come there on a pilgrimage, took *dīkshe* from Dakshiṇāchārya and was worshipping the god in the temple founded by him and the footprints of Bhadrabāhu. Some time after, Dakshiṇāchārya bestowed his own position on Chandragupta."

The account given of Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta in the *Rājāvalī-kathe*, another Kannaḍa work written by Dēvachandra in 1838, is mostly similar to that given by Ratnanandi, but it adds many more details which are not, however, of much importance. It states that, while Bhadrabāhu was at the court of Padmaratha, the king showed him a writing which no one could understand, and he at once interpreted it, thus giving proof of his learning and discernment. Chandragupta, the king of Pāṭalipura, on the night of the full moon in the month of Kārtika, had sixteen dreams. On the next day, being informed by the keeper of the royal garden of the arrival of Bhadrabāhu there, he immediately went forth with all his councillors to do him reverence, and after receiving his blessing, informed him of the dreams. Bhadrabāhu interpreted them all, the interpretation of the last dream in which the king saw a twelve-headed serpent approaching, being that a twelve years' famine would come upon the land. One day, when Bhadrabāhu went on his round to beg for alms, he stood before a house where there was an infant crying in its cradle; and so loud were its cries that although he called out twelve times no one heeded. From this sign he knew that the twelve years' famine had commenced. The king's ministers offered many sacrifices to avert the calamity, but Chandragupta, to atone for their sin in taking life, abdicated in favour of his son Simhasēna, and, taking *dīkshe*, joined himself to Bhadrabāhu. And Bhadrabāhu, predicting that all rain and cultivation would cease in the north and that the people would die of starvation, collected a body of twelve thousand disciples and went southwards. On coming to a certain hill he perceived that his end was approaching. He therefore committed all the disciples to Viśākhāchārya's care and sent them on under his guidance to the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries. Chandragupta alone received permission to remain, and he, on his guru's death, performed the funeral rites and took his abode in a cave, worshipping his footprints. Some years later he died on the hill.

Finally, we may also notice briefly inscription No. 1, perhaps the oldest epigraph at Śravaṇa Belgōḷa, on which the whole tradition is apparently based. It says:—"Bhadrabāhu-svāmi, of a lineage rendered illustrious by a succession of great men, who was acquainted with the true nature of the eight-fold omens and was a seer of the past, the present and the future, having learnt from an omen and foretold in Ujjayini a calamity lasting for a period of twelve years, the entire *saṅgha* (or Jaina community) set out from the North to the South and reached by degrees a populous and prosperous country. Then, separating himself from the *saṅgha*, an *āchārya* (or teacher), Prabhāchandra by name, perceiving that but little time remained for him to live and desiring to accomplish *samādhi* or religious suicide

on this mountain, bade farewell to, and dismissed, the *saṅgha* in its entirety, and in company with a single disciple, mortifying his body on the wide expanse of the cold rocks, accomplished (*samādhi*)."

It will be seen from the accounts given above that the evidence in support of the tradition is not conclusive: it is even discrepant on some important points. Inscription No. 1 does not say that Bhadrabāhu led the *saṅgha*; and Harishēṇa clearly states that Bhadrabāhu did not go with the *saṅgha* but died in a part of Ujjayini known as Bhādrapada. But the two inscriptions near Seringapatam, probably a little older than Harishēṇa's period, describe the summit of Chandragiri as marked by the impress of the feet of the great sages Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta, thus indicating that the two lived there, and a still earlier inscription on Chandragiri itself, No. 31, refers to the same two sages though it does not expressly state that they lived there. All accounts are, however, agreed on two points, namely, the prediction of the famine by Bhadrabāhu and the migration of the Jaina community to the South. There is also a fair amount of agreement with regard to the fact that this Bhadrabāhu was the Śrutakēvali of that name and that he had one Chandragupta as his disciple. The question is who this Chandragupta was, and tradition gives the unequivocal answer that he was the Maurya emperor of that name, the grandfather of Aśōka. The late Dr. Fleet was of opinion that the story that the Maurya emperor Chandragupta went with Bhadrabāhu to Śravaṇa Belgola and ended his days there in religious retirement had no solid foundation. He tried to show that the Bhadrabāhu of inscription No. 1 was a later one of that name who lived in the first century B.C. and wrongly identified Chandragupta with Guptigupta.

Though the evidence in support of the tradition is not quite conclusive, there are a few important facts which have to be taken into careful consideration before arriving at a decision one way or the other.

1. As Dr. Leumann says*, the migration to the South is "the initial fact of the Digambara tradition." After a critical examination of Jaina *pañcāvalis* or succession lists of gurus, Dr. Hoernle says†:—"Before Bhadrabāhu the Jain community was undivided, with him the Digambaras separated from the Śvētāmbaras..... The question is who this Bhadrabāhu was. The Śvētāmbara *pañcāvalis* know only one Bhadrabāhu, who, from the dates assigned to him by the Śvētāmbaras and Digambaras alike, must be identical with the Bhadrabāhu I of the Digambaras. Considering the varying and contradictory character of the Digambara traditions, the

* *Vienna Oriental Journal*, VII, 382.

† *I. A.*, XXI, 59-60.

probability is that the inception of the great separation took place under Bhadrabāhu I, who died 162 A. V. according to the Digambaras, or 170 A. V. according to the Śvētāmbaras..... The Digambara separation originally took place as a result of the migration southwards under Bhadrabāhu in consequence of a severe famine in Bihar, the original home of the undivided Jaina community." Here is some evidence of the migration having taken place under the Śrutakēvali Bhadrabāhu.

2. The Maurya emperor Chandragupta was a Jaina and a contemporary of the Śrutakēvali Bhadrabāhu. Mr. Thomas says*—"That Chandragupta was a member of the Jaina community is taken by their writers as a matter of course and treated as a known fact which needed neither argument nor demonstration. The documentary evidence to this effect is of comparatively early date and apparently absolved from suspicion..... The testimony of Megasthenes would likewise seem to imply that Chandragupta submitted to the devotional teaching of the Śramaṇas as opposed to the doctrines of the Brāhmanas." The same writer goes on to prove that the successors of Chandragupta were also Jainas. That Aśōka was a Jaina at first and afterwards became a Buddhist, he deduces from the statements of that monarch's edicts, as also from the statement of Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that Aśōka introduced Jainism into Kāshmir. This is confirmed by the *Rajatarangini* or Brāhmanical history of Kāshmir, which states that Aśōka brought in the Jina-śāsana. In the Sanskrit play named *Mudrā-Rakshasa* which dramatises the story of Chandragupta's accession to the throne of the Nandas, we see that the Jainas held a prominent position at the time, and Chāṇakya, Chandragupta's minister, who was the prime agent in the revolution, employs a Jaina as one of his chief emissaries.

3. Chandragupta's disappearance from public life at a comparatively young age requires some satisfactory explanation. He ascended the throne in or about 322 B.C. when quite young and must have been under fifty when his reign came to a close twenty-four years later about 298 B.C. He is not expressly stated to have died, and no special reason appears for his death at this early age. Had he fallen in battle, or his life been cut short by accident or disease, the circumstance could not fail to have been mentioned. On the other hand, if he retired from the throne in order to devote himself to an ascetic life in the last stage of his existence under the guidance of the most distinguished Jaina teacher then living, namely, the Śrutakēvali Bhadrabāhu, this would afford a reasonable explanation of his early disappearance from public notice and of the silence regarding his further career. It is also worthy of notice that the end of his reign coincides with the generally accepted date

* *Jainism, or the Early Faith of Aśōka*, 23.

of Bhadrabāhu's death. And tradition says that he lived for twelve years after the decease of Bhadrabāhu. His death then occurred when he was about sixty-two years of age, which seems more natural.

4. It is very probable that the Dekhan and the north of Mysore were included in the Maurya empire. For the Edicts of Aśōka found at Māsī in the Nizam's Dominions and in the Chitaldrug District in Mysore bear evidence to this fact. Early Tamil literature contains several references to the invasion of South India by the Mōriyar or Mauryas. There are also inscriptions in Mysore which state that Kuntala, a province which included the western Dekhan and the north of Mysore, was ruled by the Nandas. But these are of comparatively modern date, the twelfth century. Vincent A. Smith says* : "At present there is no good evidence that his (Chandragupta's) conquests extended into the Deccan, but it is possible that he may have carried his victorious arms across the Narbadā. Late traditions in Mysore go so far as to assert the extension of the Nanda dominion to that country."

A dispassionate consideration of the above-mentioned facts leads one to the conclusion that the Jaina tradition has some basis to stand upon. The evidence may not be quite decisive, but it may be accepted as a working hypothesis until the contrary is proved by future research. Vincent A. Smith, after a careful consideration of all the points bearing on the subject, arrived at a similar conclusion. He says† :—

"The only direct evidence throwing light on the manner in which the eventful reign of Chandragupta Maurya came to an end is that of Jain tradition. The Jains always treat the great emperor as having been a Jain like Bimbisāra, and no adequate reason seems to exist for discrediting their belief. The Jain religion undoubtedly was extremely influential in Magadha during the time of the later Śāiśunāgas, the Nandas, and the Mauryas. The fact that Chandragupta won the throne by the contrivance of a learned Brāhman is not inconsistent with the supposition that Jainism was the royal faith. In the drama cited above (*Mudrā-Rākshasa*) a Jain ascetic is mentioned as being a special friend of the minister Rākshasa, who served first the Nanda and then the new sovereign.

Once the fact that Chandragupta was or became a Jain is admitted, the tradition that he abdicated and committed suicide by slow starvation in the approved Jain manner becomes readily credible. The story is to the effect that, when the Jain saint Bhadrabāhu predicted a famine in northern India which would last for twelve years and the prophecy began to be fulfilled, the saint led twelve thousand Jains to the south in search of more favoured

* *Oxford History of India*, 74.

† *Ibid.*, 75-76.

lands. King Chandragupta abdicated and accompanied the emigrants, who made their way to Śravaṇa Belgōla in Mysore, where Bhadrabāhu soon died. The ex-emperor Chandragupta, having survived him for twelve years, starved himself to death. The tradition is supported by the names of the buildings at Śravaṇa Belgōla, inscriptions from the seventh century after Christ, and a literary work of the tenth century. The evidence cannot be described as conclusive, but after much consideration I am disposed to accept the main facts as affirmed by tradition. It being certain that Chandragupta was quite young and inexperienced when he ascended the throne in or about 322 B.C., he must have been under fifty when his reign terminated twenty-four years later. His abdication is an adequate explanation of his disappearance at such an early age. Similar renunciations of royal dignity are on record, and the twelve years' famine is not incredible. In short, the Jain tradition holds the field and no alternative account exists."

THE VELVIKUDI PLATES OF JATIĻA PARANTAKA (c. 770 A.C.)

BY MR. K. G. ŚANKARA.

IN 1893, Mr. Venkayya intended to publish these plates, of which the originals are in the British Museum (*Ind. Ant.* XXII. 64). Twenty-nine years have now passed, and they are yet unpublished. So I publish them from ink-impressions, kindly sent by Dr. L. D. Barnett.

The 10 plates have 155 lines in Samskrt and Tamizh prose and verse. The Samskrt words are in Grantha, and the Tamizh words in Vaṭṭezhuttu.

The Samskrt part says that a Pāṇḍya Mārravarman performed *hiranya-garbha* and *tulābhāra*; his son was famed as Raṇadhīra; his son Mārravarman Rājasimha routed Pallavamalla, performed *hiranya-garbha* and *tulābhāra*, and married Bhūsundarī, the Mazhava king's daughter; their son Jaṭila Parāntaka was the ruling king.

The Tamizh part says that the Pāṇḍya emperor (பெருவழுதி) Mudukuḍumi of many sacrifices (பலயாக) granted Vēlvikuḍi to Narrkoṭṭan of Korrkai. After long enjoyment, it was resumed by a Kaḷabhra, who displaced the Pāṇḍyas; but Kaḍunkōn returned and expelled him. His son was Mārravarman, with the title Avani-Chūḍāmaṇi (earth's crest-gem). His son was Śēndan (= Skt. Jayanta), with the titles Chezhiyan (Pāṇḍya) and Vānavan (Chēra). His descendant Mārravarman, with the titles Arikēsari (lion to foes) and Asamasama (condescending), won at Pāzhi and Śennilam, defeated Vilvēli at Nelvēli, broke the Kurrunāḍas, many times defeated the unrivalled lord of the whole earth, the Kēraḷa king, took Kōzhi (= Urraiyūr, the Chōḷa capital) and performed *hiranya-garbha* and *tulābhāra*. His son Jaṭaiyan, with the titles Tenna-vānavan (Pāṇḍya and Chēra), Śēmbiyan Chōzhan (Chōḷa), Madhura-Karunāṭakan (sweet Karṇāṭa) and Kongar-Kōmān (king of Kongas), won at Marudūr, destroyed the Āy-vēḷ (of S. Travancore), and defeated the Mahārāthas (W. Chāḷukyas) at the great city Mangalapura (Mangalore). His son Mārrān won at Neḍuvayal, Kurrumaḍai, Mannikurricchi, Tirumangai, Pūvalūr, and Koḍumpālūr, defeated the Pallava at Kuzhumbūr, won at Periyālūr, subdued Mazha Kongam on the Kāvērī, married the daughter of Gangarāja of Kongu, performed *gō-sahasra*, *hiranya-garbha* and *tulābhāra*, and renewed the walls named after Kūḍal (Madura), Vanchi (Karūr), and Kōzhi (Urraiyūr). His son Neḍumjaṭaiyan, with the titles Tenna-vānavan, Śrī-vara (lord of prosperity), Śrī-manōhara, Śinachchōzha (angry Chōḷa),

Ṣunappūzhiya, Vitakalmasha (rid of blots), Vinaya-viśruta (famed for humility), Vikrama-pāraga (of unbounded valour), Vīra-purōga (first of heroes), Marut-bala (wind-strong), Mānya-śāsana (of honoured commands), Manūpama (comparable to Manu), Mardita-vīra (of trampled heroes), Gīrīsthira (mountain-firm), Gīti-kinnara (a centaur in music), Kṛpālaya (abode of grace), Kṛtāpadāna (of achieved works), Kalippahai (foe of Kali), Kaṇṭakanishṭhura (ruthless to the evil-minded), Kārya-dakṣiṇa (skilled in affairs), Kārmuka-pārtha (an Arjuna in archery), Parāntaka (destroyer of foes), Paṇḍita-vatsala (patron of the learned), Paripūrṇa (contented), Pāpa-bhīru (fearing sin), Guṇa-grāhya (appreciating merit), and Gūḍha-nirṇaya (of secret counsel), defeated the Pallava at Peṇṇāhāḍam, south of the Kāvērī, and the Āyvel and Kurumbas at Nāṭṭukkurrumbu. In his 3rd year, he renewed the grant to the original donee's descendant; and the executor (आह्वानि) was Mārran-kāri, with the titles Kavi (poet), Madhuratara (sweet), Mangala-rāja (auspicious chief) and Mūvēnda-mangalap-pēr-araiyan (the great chief of Mūvēndamangalam), a Vaidya (by caste) of Karavandapuram (Kaḷakkāḍ in Tinneveli District), who defeated Ganga-rāja of Kongu, and at Veṇbai the Vallabha (W. Chālukya), and secured, for Rājasimha (lion of kings), the former's daughter.

The Mudu-Kuḍumi referred to was a descendant of Vaḍimbalambaninra-Pāṇḍyan, who dug (*Purra-nānūrru*, 9 and comm.) the Pahrruḷi river (Parraḷi in S. Travancore) and an ancestor of Neḍum-Chezhiyan, hero of Talai-ālankānam (மதுரைக்காஞ்சி 759-60). He was thus of the Sangham age.

Varāhamihira omits Kaḷabhra in his list (c. 500 A.C.) of S. Indian tribes. But in the 7th and 8th centuries A.C., Sinhavishṇu and Narasimhavarman I (S. I. I. ii. 356; i. 152), Vikramāditya I, Vinayāditya and Vikramāditya II (I. A. ix. 129; vii. 303; E. I. v. 204) claim victories over them. As they are unknown to the Sangham works, the Sangham age must date before, or only after their prominence. But, as none of the kings of this grant is mentioned in Sangham works, the Sangham age must date before c. 600 and not after 750 A. C. The Kaḷabhra occupation of Pāṇḍya-dēśa must have been brief, as the same Kaḷabhra, who displaced the Pāṇḍyas, was expelled by Kaḍunkōn.

The 2nd Mārravarman of the Tamizh part and the 1st Mārravarman of the Samskr̥t part must be identical, as both were the 3rd ancestors of the ruling king Jaṭila (Neḍum-Jaṭaiyan) Parāntaka. Both he and his grandson are said in both parts to have performed *hiraṇya-garbha* and *tulā-bhāra*. The latter performed *gōsahasra* also. In these, the king gives away the golden cow through which he passes, the gold against which he weighs himself, and

a 1,000 cows. This Mārran must be the hero of the *Kōvai* in *Irraiyanār Ahapporuḷ-urai*, who was also a Mārran Arikēsari and won at Pāzhi, Śennilam and Nelvēli, and the Neḍumārran, hero of Nelvēli, the Śaiva saint converted by Sambandha.

This Nelvēli battle must not be confused with the one fought by Nandivarman II's general Udayachandra, as Mārran's foe was Vilvēli, and Udayachandra's the Śabara Udayana; nor Mārran's Śankamangai battle with Udayachandra's Śankara-grāma battle (*S. I. I. ii. No. 74*).

As this Mārran is only said to have been the descendant, not the son of his predecessor, and as the Kēraḷa, whom he many times defeated, is referred to as the unrivalled lord of the whole earth, it seems that the Kēraḷa occupied Pāṇḍya-dēśa after Śēndan's reign, and Mārran had to fight him often before he regained his throne. This Kēraḷa was perhaps Kulaśēkhara āzhvār, who calls himself lord of the 3 S. Indian capitals.

Raṇadbīra (firm in battle) must be a title of the next king Jaṭaiyan.⁷

His son must be the Rājasimha of the Samskrt part. Since he routed Pallavamalla (the distinctive title of Nandi II), the Mannikurrichchi, at which he fought, may be the Maṇṇaikkūḍi, at which Udayachandra fought the Pāṇḍyas; and the Mazhava Bhūsundarī must be Gangarāja's daughter. The Mazhavas were defeated by Simhavishṇu and Vinayāditya (*S. I. I. ii. 356; I. A. vii. 303*). The Vallabha, defeated at Veṇbai by Mārran-Kāri, must be Vikramāditya II, who fought the Pāṇḍyas (*E. I. ix. 205*).

The executor must be the same Mārran-Kāri, with titles Kavi, Madhuratara, and Mūvēnda-mangalap-pēraraiyan, the Vaidya of Karavandapura and Uttara-mantri (premier) of the same Pāṇḍya Mārran-Jaṭaiyan Parāntaka, who built the Ānaimalai temple and consecrated the image on 4th November 770 A. C. (Kali 3871 expired, Kārttika, Sunday, Rēvatī). But he died shortly after. So his brother Mārran Eyinan, who succeeded him as Uttaramantri, with the title Pāṇḍimangala-Viśaiaraiyan, built the outer hall and consecrated it (கீர்த்தளித்து); for தளித்து in this sense cf. கிருதுது 328 (*E. I. viii. 317-21*).

As Mārran-Kāri died in 770 A. C., the Vēlvikuḍi plates, of which he was the executor, and Jaṭila's 3rd year, must date before 770 A. C. His accession thus dates before 767 A. C. The tabular statement below summarizes the above discussion, and the text of the plates follows, with the Grantha and Vaṭṭezhuttu letters in Nāgarī and Tamizh respectively. The 1st 8 plates are numbered in the margin by the Grantha symbols for 1 to 8.

No.	Name of the King	Approx. date of Acc.	Relationship to his predecessor	Titles	Historical Details.
1.	Mudu-Kudumi	c. 450 A. C.	...	பல்பாகசரலை முத்துமீடுபெருவ ழுதி.	Original donor of Vēlvikuḍi and ancestor of Neḍum-Chezhiyan II, hero of Talai-ālankānam.
2.	Kalabhra	c. 600	Usurper	...	Resumed the grant, after displacing Pāṇdyas.
3.	Kaḍunkōn	c. 615	Descendant of (1)	...	Expelled (2) Kalabhra.
4.	Mārravarman	c. 640	Son	Avani-chūḍāmaṇi.	.....
5.	Śēndan (Jayanta)	c. 665	Son	செழியன், வானவன்.	.....
6.	Mārravarman	c. 690	Descendant	Arikēsari, Asamasama, Neḍumār- nāyavār.	Performed <i>ṭiruvāṇam</i> & <i>ṭiruvāṇam</i> ; won at Pāzhi and Sennilam, defeated Vilvēli at Nelvēli, broke Kurrunādas, defeated Kērala (Kulaśekhara āzh- vār?), took Kōzhi, and fought at Sankamangai; hero of <i>kaḷavayūṭṭai</i> ; converted by Sambandha; Kulaśekhara perhaps occupied Pāṇḍya-dēśa after Śēndan's reign.
7.	Jatāiyan	c. 715	Son	Raṇadhira, தென்னவானவன் செம்பியன் சோழன், மதுரகருநாட- கன், கொங்கர் கோமான்.	Won at Marudūr, destroyed Āy-vēl, and defeat- ed the W. Chālūkyas at Mangalore.

No.	Name of the King	Approx. date of Acc.	Relationship to his predecessor	Titles	Historical Details
8.	Mārravarman	c. 740	Son	Rājasimha.	Routed Pallavamalla Nandi II; performed ஹிரண்யம், துலாபார and மோதஹ் ; married Bhūsun- dari, daughter of Mazhava Gangarāja of Kongu ; won at Neduvayal, Kurrumaḍai, Mannikurri chchi (Maṇṇai kuḍi of Udayachandra?), Tirumangai, Pūvalūr, and Koḍumpālūr, defeated Pallava at Kuzhumbūr, won at Periyālūr, subdued Mazha- kongam, renewed walls named Kūḍal, Vanchi, and Kōzhi ; Mārran-kāri defeated Vikramāditya II at Venbai.
9.	Jatila	c. 765	Son	கெடுஞ்செடையன், மாமுஞ்செடையன், தென்னவாணலன், சீவர, சீமனோஹர், சீனக்கோமுன், புண்புழையன், வீதி- கல்மய, வினயவிசுத, விக்ரமபாரா, வீர- புரோக, மருதவல, மான்யசாசன, மனூபம், மஹிதவீர, மிரிதிர, மோதிகிற்ற, கருபா- லய, கருதாபதான, கலிப்படைக : கருடக- நிபுர, கார்யதக்ஷிண, காமுக்கபாற், பரமந்தக, புண்டிதவத்சல, பரிபூர், பாபமோஹ, குணமா- ஹ, குலநிர்ணய.	Defeated Pallava at Pennāḍadam, and Āy-vel and Kurrumbas at Nāttukkurrumbu, in his 3rd year c. 770 A.C., renewed this grant to original donee's descendant.

Pl—i; p—(b)

- Line1. स्वस्ति, श्रियञ्चिरं वदिशिशिरां शुशेखरदिशवाश्रितात्तिप्रतिबन्धकारणम् तनोतु सौवर्णकप-
 2. ईसुन्दरकुदर्पकन्दर्पमदप्रमर्दनः ॥ विश्वम्भराभरश्रान्तशेषविश्वमकारणम् आ-
 3. कल्पान्तम्भुविस्थेयादन्वयः पाण्ड्यभूभृताम् ॥ अस्तम्भयत्क्षितिधरम्प्रविजृम्भमाणमम्भ-
 4. स्तमस्तमपिवञ्जलपेक्ष यस्तः कुम्भोद्भवो भवति यस्य मुनिः पुरोधास्तश्रीनिधि-
 5. र्जयति पाण्ड्यनरेन्द्रवंशः ॥ अस्मादप्रतिमप्रभावमहितः पाण्ड्याभिधानोनिधि-
 6. वीराभूधारिमहीपतिस्त्रिभुवने लीनेपि कल्पक्षयाद् धाता सृष्टवता पुनस्त-
 7. जगतां रक्षार्थमभ्यर्थितस्तेजस्वी तनयत्वमेव शशिने नाम्नाहुधाख्योभवत् ॥

Pl—ii; p—(a)

1. पुत्रस्तस्य पुरुरवा मुजबलप्रध्वस्तदैत्यः प्रमुस्तदंशे शिखरीन्द्रमस्तकशि-
2. लाविन्यस्तमस्त्यद्वयेशक्रादधासनहारभाजि शरणे विश्वस्य विश्वम्भरागेह-
3. स्वामिनि शाश्वते युधिजिताशेषामारिप्रभौ ॥ दूतोभूतदिवोकसि क्षितिधरक्षु-
4. ब्धाभिसंक्षोभितक्षीरोदन्वति कुम्भसम्भवकरप्राप्ताभिषेकक्रिये इष्टार्थाप्यण-
5. तर्पितार्धजनतापूर्णक्षमामण्डले जन्मावाप जगलयाच्चित्तगुण श्रीमारवर्मानृ-
6. पः ॥ धरणीवल्यं समस्तेमेतन्निजदोहण्डमहोरगेणविभूतं अहरस्तमु-
7. जंगमाभिर्भुविश्विरकालोद्बहनकुम्भधरायाः ॥ अधिरुक्खतुलाममिलवर्गं युधिजि-

Pl—ii; p—(b)

1. त्वामृतगर्भतो जनित्वा सुधीयामधिपस्सुवर्णराशि विधिवत्सप्रतिपादयाम्बभूव ॥ तस्या-
2. न्मजस्तर्णभास्करतुल्यतेजा राजा बभूव रणधीर इति प्रतीतः योलील्यैवभुवन-
3. स्यबभारभारं हारं यथास्यगुरवस्सुरनायकस्य ॥ पुलस्तस्य पुरन्दरप्रतिकृतिभू-
4. सुन्दरीवल्लभो नम्राशेषनरेन्द्रवेष्टनमणिम्रातावृत्ताद्भिरद्वयः आसीत्सत्यसखप-
5. राक्रमधनः पत्मासनायाः पतिर्विद्याचारविभूषणश्रुतधरश्रीमारवर्माभिधः ॥ सराज-
6. सिहस्तरसीरुहाक्षो भयम्भुविप्राणभृतामपास्य ररक्षदक्षः क्षपितारिपक्ष-
7. म् क्षमातलं क्षमापतिरक्षताञ्जः ॥ नरोनुरक्षोनु हरोनूपूरुषः परोनुशक्रोनु

Pl—iii; p—(a)

1. सरोपमागतः इतिस्ममत्वा युधियम्भयादितः पलायते पल्लवमलभूप-
2. तितः ॥ कनकगर्भकृतप्रसवः पुनस्तमधिरुक्ख तुलामतुलामपि अकिरद-
3. र्थमपाकृतकल्मषोद्विजदरिद्रसुरायतनेषु यः ॥ माहाकुलीनाम्भवेन्द्रक-
4. न्यां स मारवर्मा सट्टशीमुवाह अजायतास्यां हरसुनुकल्पो जगदिधतात्थं जटि-
5. लाभिधानः ॥ अक्षिपत्सधरामहीनसारम्क्षितिपम्श्चाळितकल्मषानुपंगम् नतरा-
6. जकमोलिरन्नरदिमप्रकराभ्यर्चिचतपादपत्तमपीठः ॥ कलयेत्सगुणानदात्कृतस्य
7. स्वभुजाभ्यां सुरपादपस्वभावम् अभयं शरणागतप्रजाम्भ्यस्तदिव संयतिश-

Pl-iii; p-(b)

- Line 1. ஸுபாதிவேப்ய: || ராஜதா ச மஹிபாலகிரிதாபிதசாசன: ராஜாசஹஸுதொரா-
 2. ஞாவிர்முய்யாம்பரான்தக: || இ ப்ரஸரிதசவ்யக்ருதுயாஜி அகிய வரோதயமதூ னுற் செ
 3. ய்யப்பட்டது || கொல்யாணை பலவோட்டிச் கூடாமன்னர் குழாந்தவி.
 4. ர்த்த, பல்யாக முதுகுடுமிப் பெருவழுதி என்னும் பாஹ்யாபிராஜ னு,-
 5. னாகமாமலர்ச்சேசோலை நளிர்சினை மிசைவண்டலம்பும், பாகனூர்-
 6. க்கூற்றமென்னும் பழனக்கிடக்கை நீர் நாட்டுச், சொற்கண்ணுளர் சொ-
 7. லப்பட்ட ஸ்ரீதமாமர்ய பிழையாத, கொற்கைகிழானற்கொற்றன் கொண்-
 8. டவேள்வி முற்றுவிக்க, கேள்வி அந்தனுளர் முன்புகேட்க என்றெடுத்-

Pl-iv; p-(a)

1. துரைத்து, வேள்விசாலை முன்பு நின்று வேள்விசூழி என்றப்பதியைச், சி-
 2. ரொடுதிருவளர்ச்செய்தார் வேந்தனப்பொழுதேய், நீரோட்டிக்கொடுத்தமை-
 3. யானிடு ஸுக்ரி துத்தபின், னளவரிய அபிராஜரீ அகலீக்கி அகலிடத்தை-
 4. க் ககர நென்னுங் கலி அரைசன் கைக்கொண்டதனை இறக்கிய பின், படு
 கடன் முனை-
 5. த்தபருதிபோல் பாஹ்யாபிராஜ ன் வெளிற்பட்டு, விடுகதிரவிரொளி விலகவிற்பி-
 6. ருந்து, வேலைசூழ்ந்த வியலிடத்துக், கோவுங்குறும்பும் பாவுடன் முருக்கிச், செ-
 7. ங்கோலோச்சி வெண்குடைநீழ்ந், றங்கொளி நிறைந்த தாணிமங்கையைப், பிறர்-
 8. பாலுரிமை திறவிதினீக்கித், தன்பாலுரிமை நன்கனமமைத்த, மானம் பே-
 9. ர்த்ததானை வேந்தன், ஒடுங்காமன்னரொளி நகரழித்த, கடுங்கோனென்னுங்கதி-
 10. ர்வேற்றென்னன், மற்றவற்குமகனாகி மஹிதம் பொதுகிண்கி, மலர்மங்கை ஒ-

Pl-iv; p-(b)

1. மெண்ணயர்ந்த, அற்றமில் பாவைத்தானை, அபிராஜந் அவனீருளாமணி, எத்தி-
 2. றத்து மிகலழிக்கு, மத்தயானை மாரவம்ந், மற்றவற்கு மருவினிய ஒரு மகனா-
 3. கி, மண்மகனை மருக்கடிந்து, விக்ரம் த்தின் வெளிற்பட்டு விலங்கல்வேல் பொ-
 4. றிவேந்தர் வேந்தன், சிலைத்தடக்கைக் கொலைக்களிறுந், செழியன் வானவன்
 5. செங்கோற்சேந்தன், மற்றவற்கு பழிப்பின்றி வழித்தோன்றி, உதயதிரிமய ம-
 6. த்துறுசுடர்போலத், தெற்றென்று திரை நடுங்க, மற்றவன் வெளிற்பட்டுச், கு-
 7. றியானை செலவுந்திப், பாழிவாயமர்கடந்து, வில்வேலிகடற்றூனையை
 8. நெல்வேலிச்செருவென்றும், விரவிவந்தடையாத பாவரைப்பாழ்படுத்-
 9. து, மறுகாலினம் புடைதிறைக்குங் குறுநாட்டவர் குலங்கெடுத்து-
 10. ன், கைந்நலத்த களிறுந்திச் செந்நிலத்துச் செருவென்றும், பாரனவுந்-

Pl-v; p-(a)

- Line 1. தனிச்செங்கோற் கீரக ணைப்பலமு [தையமு] ரி [மை] ச்சற்றுமா.....யாணை.
- உம், புரிசைம்மதிற் புலிஊரப், பகளுழிகை இறவாமை இக்கோ-
 - ழி உன்வென்றுகொண்டும், வேலாழி உம் வியன்பரம்பும் மேலாமை சென்-
 - றெறிந்தழித்தும், ஹிரண்யகம் முந்துலா மார மும், தாணிமிசைப்பல செய்து,
 - அந்நா ர்க்கும் அந்நா ர்க்கும் வந்தனைக என்றித்தளித்த, மகரிகை அணிமணி-
 - நெடுமுடி அரிகேசரி அசமசமந் ஶ்ரீமாரவம்ந், மற்றவற்கு மகளுகிக் கொற்றவே-
 - ல்வலனைந்திப், பொருதாருங் கடற்றானையை மருதாருண் மாண்பழித், தாய்வே-
 - ளை அகப்பட ஏயென்னுமை எறிந்தழித்துச், செங்கொடியும் புதான் கோட்-
 - டுந் செருவென்றவர் சினந்தவிர்த்துக், கொங்கலருந் நறும்பொழில் வாய்க்கு-
 - இலோமெலகவு, மங்கலபுரமென்னும் மஹாநகர ண் மஹாரை, எ-

Pl-v; p-(b)

- றித்தழித்தறைகடல் வளாகம் பொதுமொழி அகற்றிச், சிலை உம் புலி உன்-
- கயலுஞ்சென்று, நிலையமை நெடுவரை இடவ இறங்கிடாய், மண்ணினிதாண்ட
- தண்ணளிச் செங்கோற், நென்னவானவன் செம்பியன் சோழன், மன்னர் மன்னன்மது-
- ர கருநாடகன், கொன்னவின்ற நெடுஞ்சுடர்வேற் கொங்கர் கோமான் கோச் சடையன்,
- மற்றவற்கு புது னாய் மண்மகளது பொருட்டாக, மத்தயாணை செலவுந்திமான-
- வேல்வலனைந்தி, கடுவிசையாலெதிர்த்தவரை நெடுவயல் வாய் நிகரழி-
- த்துக், கறுவடைந்த மனத்தவரைக்குறுமடைவாய்க் கூர்ப்பழித்து, ம-
- ன்னிகுறிச்சி உந்திருமங்கை உமுன்னின்றவர் முரணழித்து, மேவலோ-
- ர் கடற்றானை ஒடேற்றெதிரேய் வந்தவரைப், பூவலூர்ப்புறங்கண்டுந்,
- கொடும்புரிசைநெடுங்கிடங்கிற் கொடும்பாளுர்க்குடார் கடும்பரி-

Pl-vi; p-(a)

- உன், கருங்குளிறுங் கதிரவேலிற் கைக்கொண்டுந், செ (மும்புரவிப்) பல்லவனை [க்]
- குழும்புருட்டேசுழிய, எண்ணிறந்த மால்குளிறுமிஷுகளும் பலகவர்க்-
- தும், தரியலராய்த்தறித்தவரைப் பெரியலூர்ப்பிடழித்தும், பூவிரி உ-
- ம் பொழிற் சோலைக்காவிரியைக் கடந்திட், டழகமைந்தவாரசிலை இன்மழகொ-
- ங்கமடிப்படுத்து, மின்னொளிய மணி இமைக்கு மெழிலமைந்த நெடும்பு-
- ரிசைப், பாண்டிக் கொடுமிடிசென்றெய்திப் பழபதி யது பரமபாதம் பணித்தே-
- த்திக், கனகராசி உங்கதிரமுனி உம் மனமகுழக்குடுத்திடுந், கொங்க-
- ரவந்தறுங்கண்ணிக் காராந் நெடு சம்வந் ஞ் செய்தும், எண்ணிறந்தன மோ-
- சஹ் மும் ஹிரண்யகம் முந்துலா மார மும், மண்ணின் மிசைப்பல செய்து ம-
- றை நாவிலூர் குறை திர்த்துங், கூடல்வஞ்சிகோழி என்னுமாடாமதி-

Pl-vi; p-(b)

Line1. ல்புதுக்கி உ, மறைகடல் வளாகங்குறையாதாண்ட, மன்னர் மன்ன தென்னவர்
மருக-

2. ன், மானவெண்குடைமான்றேர்மாறன், மற்றவற்கு மகனாகி மாலுருவின்வெளிற்ப-
3. ட்டிக், கொற்றமுன்றுடனியம்பக்குளிர் வெண்குடை மண்காப்ப, பூமகளும்பு-
4. லமகளுந்நாமகளுந்கலனேத்தக், கலி அரைசன் வலிதளரப்பொலுவிலெடுவி-
5. ற்றிருந்து, கருங்கடலுடுத்த பெருங்கண்ணாலத்து, நாற்பெறும்படை உம்பா-
6. ற்படப்பரப்பிக், குருதாது வந்தெதிர் மலைந்த காடவனைக் காட்டையப், பூவி-
7. ரி உம் புனற்கழனித் காவிரி இன்றென்கரைமேற், றுண்ணாகம்மலர்ச்சோலை-
8. ப் பெண்ணாகடத்தமர்வென்றுந், திவாய் அஇலேந்தித்தினைத்தெதிரேய் வந்-
9. திறுத்த, ஆய்வேளை உங்குறும்பரை உமடல் மருளழித்தோட்டிக், காட்டு-
10. [க்] குறும்பு சென்றடைய நாட்டுக்குறும்பிற் செருவென்று, மறைகடல்வளா-

Pl-vii; p-(a)

1. க [மொ] ரு [மொ] முிக்கொளியு, சிலமலித்தடக்கைத் தென்னவானவன்
அவனே-
2. ய், சீவரந்நிமனோஹந் சினச்சோழகன் புனப்பூழியன், வீதகம்மபந்-
3. விநயவிசுதந் விசுமபாரகந் வீரபுரோகந், மருடலந் மான்யசாசனந் மநுபமந்
4. மார்த்தீவரந், மிரிசிரந் மீதிகிசிரந் கூபாலயந் கூதாபதானந், கலிப்பகை காழ-
5. கனிசுடரந் கர்யதக்ஷிந் காமுசுபாத்ந், பரான்தகந் பண்டிதவத்சலந் பரிபூர்ணந் பா-
6. பமீர, குரை உறுகடற் படைத்தானை ருணபுரந் ருதந்ந்ந்ந்ந், நிரைஉறுமல-
7. ர்மணி நீண்முடி நெரிய, கோன்னெடுஞ்சடைய மற்றவன்றன், ராச்யவத்சலந் முன்னு-

Pl-vii; p-(b)

1. வது செலாநிற்ப, ஆங்கொருநாண், மாடமாமதிற்குடற் பாடுநீத்தவர் ஆ-
2. க்ஷி க்கக், கொற்றவனேய்மற்றவரைத் தெற்றென நன்கு கூவி, என்னேய்துங்
குறை
3. என்று முன்னாகப்பணித்தருள, மேனாணின்குரவராற் பான்முறை இன்வ-
4. முவாமை, மாகந்தோய் மலர்ச்சோலைப் பாகனூர்த் கூற்றத்துப் படுவது,
5. ஆள்வதானை அடல்வேந்தேய் வேள்விகுடி என்னும்பியருடையது, ஒ-
6. ல்காத வேற்றானை ஒடோதவேலி உடன்காத்த, பல்யாக முதுகுடுமி-
7. ப்பெருவழுதி என்னும் பரமேசுரனாற், வேள்விகுடி என்னப்பட்டது
8. கேள்வியிற்றாப்பட்டதனைத், துளக்கமில்லாக்கடற்றானையாய் கருக-
9. ராலிதக்கப்பட்டது, என்று நின்றவன் விசுநாயு ந் செய்ய நன்று நன்றென்று.
10. முறுவலித்து, நாட்டானின் பழமையாதல் காட்டி நீ [கே ளெ] ன்ன, நாட்டி
ற்றன்

Pl-viii; ௪-(a)

- Line1. பழ [மையாதலைகாட்டி] னாறங்க [ப் பொ] முதே [ய்காட்] ட, மேனாளை [நங்] குர-
 2. வராற்பான்முறை இற்றரப்பட்டதை, எம்மாலுந்தரப்பட்டதென்று செ-
 3. ம்மாந்தவனெடுத்தருளி, விற்கைத்தடக்கை விறல்வேந்தன் கொற்கைகிழா-
 4. ன்காமக்காணி நற்சிங்கற்குத், தேரோடுங்கடற்றாணையான் னீரோட்டிக்கொ-
 5. ட்த்தமை இன், மற்றிதற்குப் பெருகான்கெல்லெதெற்றென விரித்துரைப்-
 6. பிற், புகாறுபொழின் மருங்குடுத்த நகருரெல்லெக்கும்மேக்கும், மற்றிதற்கு-
 7. த்தென் எல்லெ, குளந்தைவங் கூழ்வந்தைசைக்குங், களந்தைக்குளத்திலாலுங்கு
 8. வடக்கும், மற்றிதற்கு மேலெல்லெ, அற்றயில்லாக் கொற்றன்புத்தூர, ரொடுமைங்
 இ-
 9. ருப்பைச்செய் இடைமேற்றலைப்பெருப்பிற்குக் கிழக்கும், மற்றிதற்குவடபா-

Pl-viii; ௪-(b)

1. லெல் [லை] காயலுட்கமலம் மலரும் பாயலுள் வடபாலைப் பெருப்பிற்குத்-
2. தெற்கும், இவ்வியைதபெருகான் கெல்லையிற்பட்ட பூமிகாராண்மையாட்சி
3. உள்ளடங்க மேலெங்குரவராற் குடுக்கப்பட்ட பரிசேய் எம்மாலுங்கொடுக்-
4. கப்பட்டது, மற்றிதற்காணத்திருற்றயின்க் கூறுங்காலைக், கொங்கரவந்-
5. றங்கண்ணிக் காராணது கய்யாள், கொங்கர் கோற்குக்குணந்து கொடுப்ப, ஆர்ப்-
6. பறாஅடற்றாணைப் பூர்வாள் புகன்றெழுந்து, வில்விரவுங் கடற்றாணை வறுணை
7. வெண்பைவாய், ஆளமருன்னழிந்தோட வாளமருளுடன் வவ்விய, எனப்பொறி-
8. இகலமருளிட உருமெனவலனேந்தி மானத்தாணை, சடவிகுலன் மன்னர்கோ-
9. னருளிற்பெற்றுங், கோல்வனைக்கும் வேற்றாணைப்பல்வனைக்கோன்குணர-

Pl-ix; ௪-(a)

1. ப்பட்டும், பொரவந்தவர் மத்தவிர்க்குங் கரவந்தபுரத்தவர் கு [ல]த் தோன்றல்,
மாவேந்-
2. துங்கடற்றாணை மூவேந்த மங்கலப்பேரையனாகிய, வேங்கிசியாமரி மாறங்கா-
3. ரி. இப்பிரமதேயமுடைய கொற்கை கிழான் காமக்காணி சுவரஞ்சிங்கன், இ-
4. தனுள் மூன்றிலொன்றுந்தனக்குவைத்திரண்டு கூறும் ஒம்பதின்மர் பாடி-
5. யர்க்கு நீரோட்டிக்கொடுத்தான். இதனுள் மூர்த்தி எயினன் சவை ஒடொ-
6. த்தது நான்கரைப்படாகாரமுடையன். இதனுட்டனக்குவைத்த ஒரு கூற்றிலு-
7. ந்தம்பிமார்க்கு நான்குந்தஞ்சிறப்பனார் மக்களுக்கு ஆறும் ச-
8. னீ ஒடொத்த படாகாரங் கொடுத்தான். இப் பசுசி பாடினசேனாப-
9. தி ஏனாதி ஆன சாத்தஞ் சாத்தற்கு மூன்று கூற்றருமாய்த்
10. தங்களோடொத்த நான்கு படாகாரங் கொடுத்தார்!!!

Pl—ix; p—(b)

- Line 1. आसीत्संगलराजो मधुरतरः शास्त्रवीत्कविर्वाग्मी आज्ञातिरस्य वैद्यः करवन्दपुराः
 2. धिवास्तव्यः ॥ रत्नान्नरः परकृतो विदधीतविद्वान्पादाहि धर्मयशसः पर-
 3. मस्य लब्धा धातैव स्रष्टुमखिलम् भुवनन्तथापि रत्नान्तिपुण्यरतयः प्रथिविन्नरेन्द्रा ॥
 4. न ह्यी भूमिप्रदानाद्वै दानमन्यद्विशिष्यते नचापी भूमिहरणात्पाप-
 5. मन्यद्विधीयते ॥ दाता दशानुगृह्णाति यो हरेईशहन्तिच अतितानागता-
 6. नीह कुलानि कुलनन्दन ॥ स्वदत्ताम् परदत्ताम् वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरा-
 7. म् न तस्य नरकात्पौरादिषते निष्कृति कचिव ॥ बहुभिर्बहुधा

Pl—x; p—(a)

1. दत्ता भुज्यतेहि तराधिपैः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमस्तस्यतस्यत-
2. दाफलम् ॥ चत्वारः इमे वैष्णवे धर्म्मल्लोकाः ॥
3. மற்றினைக்காத்தார் மலாடி என்முடிமேல் என்று கொற்றவனைய்பணி-
4. த்தருளித்தெற்றெனத் தாபுசாசனஞ் செய்வித்தான் ॥ இய்தெழுதி-
5. னசுத்தகேசரிப்பெரும்பணைகாரனுக்கு பெருமக்கள் அருளாற்பெற்ற-
6. து ஒருஇல்லவளாவும் இரண்மொச்செய் உம் ஒருபுன்செய்உ-
7. ம்பெற்றான், இவை யுகேசரிப் பெரும்பணைகானெழுத்து.

COIN COLLECTING IN SOUTH INDIA.

(*A Paper read before the Mythic Society.*)

BY REV. J. A. VANES, B.A., F.R.N.S.

My aim in this paper is strictly practical, to give help to those who would begin the interesting work of collecting coins that have ceased to be current. There are in India millions of such coins of all ages which are liable to be thrown into the melting pot, and yet some of them can give light on the early history of the country that historians, archæologists and epigraphists have been vainly seeking for years. Already we know of many early rulers to whose existence their coins are the only witness, while other coins, rescued from the remains of ruined cities, have given the clue to the interpretation of some inscription on stone or copper. In the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* you may find abundant illustration of this fact. However, it is not in the spade of the excavator that I would interest you now, but rather in what may be found in the local bazaar where, as we were reminded in an interesting paper on Greater India in a recent issue of our journal, Dr. Hultzsch found a silver coin of Ptolemy Soter. When once a coin has been the authorized medium of exchange, it becomes in a sense historical and for thousands of years may remain to bear its silent witness to the past while sentiment and interest alike gather round it. Cap. Tufnell wrote an excellent introduction to this subject in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* 1886-7, and afterwards published it in book form with illustrations and additions under the title of "*Hints to Coin Collectors in S. India*", but unfortunately it is out of print and difficult to be obtained. He describes a lot of coins that may be found in the bags of the South Indian shroffs by those who hunt for them in the right way. A similar book entitled "*Coin Collecting in North India*" was written by Chas. J. Rodgers, of Amritsar, Hony. Numismatist to the Government of India. This was at first a series of articles in the *Pioneer*, and then published in book form with plates in 1894. It has many personal experiences in coin collecting and many interesting facts connected with the historical coins which abound in the bazaars of North India. Possibly a copy of the book could be obtained from such a coin dealer as Hormusji C. Gorimar of Karelwadi, Bombay 2. Then Major R. P. Jackson of the Indian Army (retired) wrote in the *British Numismatic Journal* 1909 two full articles entitled "*Coin Collecting in Mysore*" and "*Coin Collecting in the Deccan*". These are most helpful as also a later

and longer article of more than a hundred quarto pages in the same Journal for 1913 under the title "The Dominions, Emblems and Coins of the South Indian Dynasties". These three articles were published separately by Harrison and Sons, St. Martin's Lane, and were illustrated with beautiful auto-type plates. Books and illustrations are essential to a coin collector and if he cannot possess them he must try to consult them in some library. Such books by authors of known qualifications are generally expensive and having a comparatively small number of readers, pass out of print soon and become costly. I shall endeavour in the course of this paper to deal with the bibliography of the subject and hope that in time the library of our Society will have a department of numismatics. When one begins to search for coins he may soon imagine that there are very few, but persistent and wise effort will surely be rewarded. Cap. Tufnell gives instances showing the desirability of carrying old coins with you to let the people see the kind of thing you want, displaying current coins also to give them confidence that they will be immediate gainers by exchange. He tells us how the villagers in one place assured him that there were no coins to be had, yet before two days had passed he had obtained 28 lbs. weight of them. Pilgrims from distant places bring with them strange coins that often find a resting place in the bag of the village money changer. In remote places the fact that any one should seek such coins will seem surprising and suspicion may be awakened, but there are many ways of allaying such feelings. I recently found in the mofussil that during the War when copper became scarce men came round buying up all the old coins they could find in order to melt them down, and that suggested, what experience has since confirmed, the desirability of buying the old coins by weight and not attempting to choose any particular ones. At some later time accumulations of those not wanted may be easily disposed of as old metal. Up to the time of the East India Company, say 1600, the great majority of old coins, with the exception of those of the sultans of Delhi and of the Mogal emperors, were of copper and there ought to be many still available. Speaking generally, we may say that the copper coins of the South are small; they abound in the Madura District, and those of the Deccan are thick and clumsy. Large numbers of silver and gold coins have been dug up at various times and have been dealt with by Government as treasure-trove. A very full account of the hoards of Roman coins which have been unearthed, for the most part, in the South-West of India, is given in detail by Mr. Thurston in his Catalogue of Roman coins in the Madras museum. A large number of the coins in the Lucknow museum have been obtained from treasure-trove. In recent years there was dug up at Kodur in the Nellore District a hoard of 16,500 gold coins

which at any rate were prior to the Vijayanagar kingdom. These were distributed to various museums and some 500 were on sale to the public at the Madras museum, but the supply was not equal to the demand. The whole find was described and illustrated in the Government of Madras Home Department G.O. No. 1106 of 11th October 1917.

The more one knows of the languages and of the history of the country the greater will be his interest in the coins; and the more one knows of the habits of the people and of the customs of those who barter, the more successful is he likely to be as a collector. Yet when the script of the coin can be read it is not always easy to say to what the coin belongs, for it is seldom that any single coin bears the whole of an inscription; and sometimes three or four different specimens have to be obtained before the whole can be known. This of course results partly from the die not being truly centered when the coin is struck and partly from the die being broader than the coin. This constitutes a marked difference between the ancient and the modern coin. The latter is said to be milled, *i.e.*, machine-made and it is well to consider briefly what is involved in this. Lieut. Moor in his 'Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment' published in London in 1794, gives an oftquoted description of the mode of coining at the Bombay Mint. He says, 'The metal is brought to the Mint in bars, the size of the little finger, where a number of persons are seated on the ground provided with scales and weights, a hammer and an instrument between a chisel and a punch; before each man's berth is fixed a stone by way of anvil. The bars are cut into pieces by guess, and if, on weighing, any deficiency is found, a little particle is punched into the intended rupee; if too heavy, a piece is cut off, and so until the exact quantity remains. These pieces are then taken to a second person, whose whole apparatus consists of a hammer and a stone anvil, and he batters them into something of a round shape, about seven-eighths of an inch diameter, and one-eighth thick; when they are ready for the impression. The die is composed of two pieces, one inserted firmly into the ground, the other, about 8 inches long, is held in the right hand of the operator, who, squatting on his heels (the posture, indeed, in which everything is done in India, for if a man has a dram given him, he finds it convenient to squat upon his heels to drink it) fills his left hand with the intended coins, which he with inconceivable quickness slips upon the fixed die with his thumb and middle finger, with his forefinger as dexterously removing them, when his assistant, a second man with a mallet, has given it the impression, which he does as rapidly as he can raise and strike with the mallet on the die held in the right hand of the coiner. The diameter of the die is about an inch and a half, inscribed with the great Moghul's name, titles,

date of the Hejra, his reign, etc., but as the coins are not so large, they do not consequently receive all nor the same impression. The rupee is then sent to the treasury, ready for currency, as no milling, or any other further process is thought necessary.'

Now it is the "milling" which gives the air of respectability to our modern coins. That is they are passed through the machine or mill as it was called in old times, probably because the watermill or the windmill provided the motor power. In England the milled coin was introduced in a few cases during the reign of Elizabeth, but it became compulsory by the Warrant of Charles II in 1663. You will notice also that the milled coin has a raised edge all round and this protects the impression from being rubbed and quickly worn away, but the ancient coins in most cases had a more highly raised portrait; in the modern coin the relief is lower.

In popular language the word "milled" as applied to coins is now restricted to the regular parallel lines on the edge of the coin. Every one is familiar with their appearance and when a coin is hand-made the forger has always difficulty in producing these lines, and the forged rupee can generally be detected in a roll of rupees by its irregular milling. The advantage of milling is illustrated further by Dr. Bidie in his very informing paper on the Pagoda or Varaha coins of South India in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I of 1883. The early gold coin of Madras was called a pagoda, a word which like fanam has had a very elastic meaning in Anglo-Indian literature as may be seen by any one who will consult the words in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*. Pagodas were sometimes of silver but mostly of gold and in some of the later issues had a gopuram of a temple stamped on one side with stars around and an inscription in English, $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ 1 or 2 Pagodas, as the case might be. Bidie says "Counterfeit specimens of this pagoda are very often seen in jewellery, but may usually be easily detected, as in the genuine *huns* i.e., pagodas, the milling on the edge is oblique, like the section of a rope, whereas in the forged ones the milling is like that on modern English coins". The so-called Porto Novo pagodas are quite different, being dumpy, about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, flat one side with an image of Vishnu, and the other convex with a granulated surface. They seem to have been first coined by the Portuguese. Similar coins with the Persian letters *illah* on the granulated surface belong to Sa'adat-ulla-Khan, Nawab of the Carnatic, 1708-33, and the Persian letter *'ain* is substituted on those of Safdar-Ali-Khan (1740-42).

Let us suppose one has begun to enquire in the bazaar after old coins; he will be pretty sure to find some of the old Mysore coins which ceased to be coined in 1843. Many of them have on the obverse an elephant or a grotesquely depicted lion and above it the Kanarese letters *sri* with a crescent

moon. On the reverse in many cases will be *Krishna* in Kanarese letters and underneath that *Mahishur* (for Maisur) in Persian letters and *Kāsu ippatu* in Kanarese with XX Cash in clumsy English capitals. Sometimes it will be 25 cash or 10 or 5 according to its size. For all such coins you will find the fullest information in Tufnell's Catalogue of Mysore Coins in the Bangalore museum or in the Catalogue of Mysore Coins in the Madras museum, compiled by Mr. Thurston. These two books are well provided with plates.

You will be likely to meet with some small copper coins on one side of which is a chequered pattern of crossed lines accompanied in some case with various marks. On the other side there may be a numeral in Kanarese. There appear to be two or three sizes of these numbered coins and there is great uncertainty as to their origin. Numbers are readily found up to 31 but the figures above that are so seldom seen that Tufnell thought there are none. When I was at the British Museum last I went through theirs and I made a note at the time that they had No. 33, but not 32. Major Jackson says that he saw 32 and 33 in the collection of Dr. Hultzsch, so here is a coin that the young collector in Mysore may well search for. Sir Walter Elliot who also had No. 32 thinks that the series was issued by Chama Raja V (1775-1796) and if this recent date is reliable we ought to be able to find out something about the issue of the coins and the meaning of the numerals.

The later coins of the East India Company are still common and most of the copper ones have the arms of the Company on one side. On the earlier ones there was generally what is called the bale mark of the Company. It is the outline of a heart with two diagonal lines which cross in the middle and in each of the four compartments thus formed is one of the Capitals, V. E. I. C., i.e., United East India Company. On the top of the heart is the figure 4, the significance of which is still doubtful. Lieut. Moor tells us this mark was put on every thing that the Company sent to India. A large proportion of the Company's coins will be easily recognized but the dating of some of the rupees may perplex. They struck them in the name of Shah'Alam whose rupees were in good repute among the merchants, and adopted the 19th year of his reign as the regnal date (san. 19). This they did not alter from year to year but on the other side they gave the actual Hijrah date. It is well to remember that there are some rupees with the name of Alam-gir on the one side and on the other the date belonging to the reign of Shah'Alam. There are rupees with the name of Arcot given as the mint town and yet they were struck at other places. Some were struck at Calcutta and these bear a rose as a mint mark, while others, struck at Madras, bear the lotus flower. Similarly the Surat rupees were coined both at Calcutta and Bombay and the latter bear as a mint mark a small crown,

The following distinctions in milling are given by Prinsep and may usefully be recorded here:—The following have oblique milling:—The sikka rupee of 1793-1818, the old Farrukhābād rupee of 1803-1819, the Benares rupee of 1806-1819, the previous coins having no milling. The following have straight milling:—sikka rupee of 1818-1832, the Farrukhābād of 1819-1824, and the Benares one of 1819-1830.

A few coins will be found to have what is called Indented Cord milling resembling the tracing of a narrow cord round the middle of the rim. When once it is seen it will be recognized from the name. The milling of the edge is of course intended to prevent persons from rubbing away or clipping the edges of gold or silver coins and there are a few coins of the Company in which the same object is gained by stamping an inscription round the edge as was done in the old English crown piece. A very full account of the coins of the East India Company is to be found in Mr. Thurston's Catalogue of those coins in the Madras museum, which contains also an illustrated history of the coinage.

Muhammadan coins are easily recognized by their script, but also differ from others by having no images on them, only writing. The name of the ruler, the Hijrah date, often the year of his reign, the name of the mint,—these are the points on which we may expect to get information. Persian is generally the language used on the coins of Delhi, of the East India Company and of the Native States, e.g., *In bīs kāś ast* (i.e., "this is 20 cash") on the copper Madras coin of the East India Company. But Arabic words are also found and in learning to decipher the script there are difficulties which only patient study and practice will overcome. As Dr. Codrington reminds us in his book on Mussalman Numismatics, some inscriptions begin at the bottom and read upwards, and while some are written in beautiful regular characters, most are far otherwise. The letter *alif* the tyro might think would never be a difficulty, yet its top is often carried over and lengthened into a curl or loop, and when writing is arranged in a fancy pattern the letter is often misplaced or even omitted and an *alif* in another place does duty for this also. As to diacritical points they are often left out and when given may be far from the letters to which they belong. The coins are frequently ornamented with dots and it is not easy to say which dots are for use and which are for mere beauty. The Kufic form of Arabic in which the earliest coins are inscribed is still more difficult to read but Dr. Codrington gives much help by his list of Kufic forms. There are certain terms which are constantly found on these coins and they may easily be mastered and will help us in reading the rest of the inscription. Of these the commonest is *zarb*, i.e., struck, the final letter of which is sometimes carried right across the coin as a most

prominent dividing line as is also done at times with *he* and *ye*. This is followed by the name of the Mint town and the Hijrah date and sometimes the year of the reign. *San* or *sanat* year : *jalūs* regnal year : *falūs* copper coin : *maimanat mánūs* tranquil prosperity : *mubdrak* blessed, auspicious : *sikka* coined : *Sultán*.

While Arabic or Persian is read from right to left, the numerals are read from left to right as in English. The only exception to this is the dating of Tippu's coins.

The advice I would give to one who wishes to become familiar with the script of these coins, is to get Valentine's "Copper Coins of India, Part I," price ten shillings from W. H. Valentine, 60, Upper Kennington Lane, London, S. E. 11. The plates clearly represent the inscriptions on more than 500 Muhammadan coins each one of which is transliterated and translated and the study of these plates will soon give skill in dealing with similar coins.

During the War numbers of copper coins of Turkey have come into the bazaars and most of them have a peculiar emblem which at once distinguishes them. It is the mark of the Othmanli coinage and is known as the Tughra or Doghra and if carefully analysed by one who is familiar with ornamental writing it will be seen to be a kind of monogram made up of the names of the Sultan and his father, the letters of which intercross and have their upright portions prolonged upwards and twisted in such a way that it is difficult to trace the component parts.

As Tippu's coins with a standing elephant are still found in considerable numbers in our local bazaars it will be helpful if we give in greater detail a list of words which may be found upon them. The following are the names of the chief mint towns which Dr. Taylor has arranged in the order of their frequency: 1. Pattan (*i.e.*, Seringapatam), 2. Nagar (in the Shimoga District), 3. Bangalore, 4. Farrukhī (Ferokeh), 5. Faid Hisār (Goody), 6. Calicut, 7. Farrukh-yāb-Hisār (Chitaldrug). There are seven more but they occur on very few coins. Nos. 1, 2 & 7 also are called sometimes Dāru-s-Saltanat. Tippu's eccentricity was further shown by giving artificial names to his coins and inserting them in the legend. It was Dr. Hultzsch who in the Indian Antiquary for 1889 gave us the first full and satisfactory explanation of the names. The following are the names of his copper coins: 1. The 40-cash piece, called at first Othmāni or Asmāni, but in Maulūdī year 1222 changed to *Mushtari* (Jupiter). 2. The 20-cash piece he called *Zahra* (Venus). 3. The 10-cash piece *Bahrām* (Mars). 4. The 5-cash *Akhtar* (Star). 5. The 2½-cash *Qutb* (Pole star). For his silver coins he adapted the names of the Imāms, thus the Double-rupee he called *Haidarī*, for *Haidar* 'lion' was the epithet of

the 'Ali, the first Imām'. 2. The rupee was *Imāmi*. 3. The Half-rupee was *Ābidi* from the fourth Imām. 4. The Quarter-rupee was *Bāqiri*, after the 5th Imām. 5. The Two-anna piece was *Ja'fari* after the 6th Imām. 6. The one-anna piece was *Kāzimi*, after Mūsā-al-Kāzim, the 7th Imam. 7. The Half-anna piece was *Khidri*, after Al Khidr, thus leaving the line of Imams. For the gold coins Tippu went a step higher. 1. The Muhr he called an *Āhmadi* from a second form of the name Muhammad. 2. The Half-muhr was *Sadiqi* from the epithet usually given to Abu Bakr, the first of the four Khalifas. 3. The Quarter-muhr, equal in value to the pagoda, was a *Fārikhi* from the title borne by the second Khalifa. 4. To the smallest gold coin, the fanam or one-tenth of a pagoda, he gave the name of *Rahuti* but it is not found on any of the coins. In the 5th year of his reign he ceased to date his coins from the Hijrah and instead adopted the birth of the Prophet as his starting point and the date was therefore preceded by the word *Maulūdi* (derived from *walada* to give birth). As these years are solar Dr. Taylor points out that the conversion of a year from A.D. to the Maulūdi era is effected simply by subtracting 571. We have already pointed out that the figures of the date itself are written in the English order from left to right. The last four years of his reign he further manifested his eccentricity by putting in a prominent place on his copper coins one of the first four letters of the alphabet. Thus in Maulūdi 1224-5 he put *alif* and the next year *ba* and so on, and the beginner need not be confused by finding these letters apparently unconnected. On the 40-cash piece the letter is put on the banner of the elephant. The most complete information on the coinage of Tippu will be found in Dr. Taylor's paper being No. 1 of the Occasional Memoirs of the Numismatic Society of India, which, I think, is not easily to be obtained. But the Catalogues of the Mysore coins in the Madras museum and in the Bangalore museum are both very full and well illustrated. (Since writing this I find that there has appeared at Madras "The Coins of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultān" by J. R. Henderson, C.I.E. Price 4 rupees. It contains 9 Plates admirably executed by the Clarendon Press and will certainly be the leading authority on this subject for a long while to come.)

The coinage of the Nizām's Dominions is interesting and easily obtained and much may be learned about Muhammadan coins by studying it. There were three kinds of old Halli Sicca rupees minted at Haidarabad between 1752 and 1853 and were current till 1904 and though not milled they are well struck and the lettering is in deep relief. The style of inscription on the reverse is as follows: *Sikka-i-mubdrak* followed by the name of the Emperor of Delhi, i.e., Muhammad Shahai Alamgir or Muhammad Akbār Bādshāh while on the reverse is *zarb Haidarābād farkhanda banyād jalūs maimanat*

mánús, i.e., "struck at H. of happy foundation, in the year of his auspicious reign". Only the initial of the Nizam appears, i.e., *alif* for Asaph-ud-Daulah : *sin* for Sekandar Jah, *nun* for Nasar-ud-Daulah and *mim* for Sir Mahbub Ali Khan Bahādur. It was in 1854 under Sir Sālar Jung that the name of the Nizam took the place of that of the Emperor of Delhi and it was accompanied by the figure 92 which represents the Prophet, as that is the numerical value of the letters, M. H. M. D. In 1894 the rupee was for the first time machine-made but the inscription unchanged. In 1903 the Halli Mahbūbia Sicca rupee was coined which has on the obverse a representation of the Chār Minār with the usual inscription distributed around it. The smaller denominations of the Halli Sicca coins have the same inscriptions as the rupees and these coins we often find used as studs and brooches. Of copper coins the *dab* is well known with its single letter or parts of letters, so carelessly executed that it excites derision. The fact is that it is not coined in the usual way but slabs of copper are stamped with a large die having the full name and title of the Nizam upon it (and the full title includes always that of his father), and then the slab is cut up roughly into small pieces each of which has a portion of the lettering on it. One of the titles of the ruler is Asaph Jah and the State is sometimes spoken of as the Asaphean State and on the coins the title is Asaph Jah Nizām ul Mulk Bahādur. During the existence of the Delhi emperors the Nizam's official title was "Subedar of the Dekkan". A cheap and interesting pamphlet entitled "Notes on the Hand Minting of Coins of India" has been published at Haidarabad by F. K. Viccajee, the Assistant Superintendent of the mint, which gives much valuable detailed information about the coinage of the State.

Any one collecting coins in the South will soon have his attention drawn to many with a monogram in which a large V is the prominent letter. On one of the arms of the V will be found O and on the other C and some of these coins will be small and thick. The letters are the initials of the Dutch East India Company (*Vereinigste Ostindische Compagnie*). At the bottom will generally be the date and a letter will be sometimes on the coin indicating the place at which it was struck, e.g., N for Nagapatam, P for Pulicat, C for Colombo. There are also the copper duits or challis, which were current for a long time in Cochin which was the Dutch capital, coins about the size of a paisa but thinner. On one side is the monogram and on the other the arms of Holland or of one of its provinces. The coins are well struck and interesting and are described and illustrated and described by both Tufnell and by Jackson ("Dominions, Emblems and Coins of the South Indian Dynasties"). The Danish East India Company has left behind a

long series of coins representing the kings of Denmark from 1588 to 1848. Most of these are dated and are struck at Tranquebar in a somewhat rude fashion. On the obverse is either the initial or the monogram of the king with a crown over it. Small four-cash pieces are by far the commonest of these coins. On the reverse of the early issues is found D. O. C. linked and crowned, for Dansk Ostindisk Compagni and after 1730 it is changed to D. A. C., for Dansk Asiatisk Compagni. The fullest account of the Indo-Danish coinage is in an article contributed to the Madras Journal of Literature and Science 1888-89 by Messrs. Rangachari and Desikachari.

The coins of the French East India Company are generally easily identified by having on one side the figure of a cock or of the fleur-de-lys, and on the reverse a letter or two in Tamil of the word Puducheri, the native name of Pondichéri.

In the bazaars of the Deccan there are still to be found a large number of old thick copper coins weighing from one to two hundred grains belonging to ancient dynasties, minted in Aurangabad, Golkonda, Bijapur and Surat and inscribed in large thick Persian characters. Even more common, Major Jackson says, are the thick copper coins of the Mahratta kings of Sātāra, known as the Chhatrapati pice, especially the issue of the great Sivāji (1674-80). These of course are inscribed in Devanagari. The ordinary early copper coins of the southern part of the Peninsula are quite different in appearance, being generally not more than 50 grains in weight, and smaller and thinner. There is usually a symbol on them but seldom is an inscription to be found. Hence there is uncertainty as to their origin. The clearest arrangement and most helpful notes for a beginner are perhaps to be found in Major Jackson's "Dominions, etc., of South Indian Dynasties" to which reference has already been made; Loventhal's "Coins of Tinneveli" and Elliot's "South Indian Coins" contain much relevant matter. Occasionally there may be found silver punch-marked coins. These small flat thin pieces of silver have been cut into various shapes and stamped with different symbols of which perhaps the commonest is a small rayed circle representing the sun. They are thought to date from early times and are generally connected with the Buddhists, but our knowledge of them does not go beyond conjecture.

Some early lead coins are also found with an animal on one side and on the other four circles or a cross with a ball at the extremity of each of the equal four arms. This too is thought to be of Buddhist origin. Speaking generally, we may say that the four early historical kingdoms of the South were the Chera with its capital at Salem and its favourite symbol a bow, the Pandyan with its capital at Madura and its symbol a fish, the

Chola at Tanjore for the most part and its symbol a tiger. The Western Chālukyas at Kalyāna had a gold coinage with the sign of a boar, the influence of which, Elliot says, has been lasting, for "from the extensive circulation of the Chalukya money bearing the figure of this animal and its adoption by the succeeding dynasty of Vijayanagar, the name of the pieces in most of the vernaculars has come to be that of *varaha* or *varāha*, i.e., boar." As to these symbols Professor Rapson says it is almost certain that, in accordance with the usage of South India, historical facts are expressed by the heraldic symbols which occur on these coins and so we may be helped in our classification of them, a fact easily illustrated by the examples in Tufnell's book and Jackson's. With Rājārāja in A.D. 1022 when the Chola dynasty was becoming paramount in South India, there came a new type of coin, still to be found in considerable numbers, having in many cases the king's name in Devanagari. In well-worn specimens perhaps only parallel wavy lines run across the coin; but its style is unmistakable and easily recognized. The less-worn coins show the form of what may be supposed to represent a man or a demon standing upright with grotesquely long legs and short body and by the side in some cases letters either in Devanagari or in Tamil. On the reverse the man can be imagined to be crouching sideways and under his left arm are the letters which represent "Rajaraja". It is well to become familiar with these features by studying the illustrations in Coin Catalogues, not omitting Thurston's Catalogue of Ceylon Coins in the Madras museum. These are of two distinct kinds: some are thick in the middle, gradually becoming thin towards the edge, in three sizes weighing about 60, 24 and 9 grains respectively and are attributed to South India. The others of uniform thickness, in clearer relief and more easily deciphered, were thought by Prinsep to be connected with Ceylon and are generally known as the Ceylon series of Chola coins. They date from the 11th or 12th century. The copper coins of the Vijayanagar kings have been dealt with most fully by Dr. Hultzsch in the 20th volume of the Indian Antiquary. They have on them such names as Pratāpa, Harihara, Vira Bukka, Devarāya mostly in Devanagari but occasionally in Kanarese or Telugu whilst a special class have the word *Srīdhara* on one side and a symbol of an animal or of a god on the other. The collector must not be misled by a small coin bearing the word *Vijaya* in Telugu. It does not belong to the Vijayanagar dynasty but to the State of Pudukotta and is coined especially for distribution during the Dasarah. The figure on the obverse represents Brihadambā, the family deity of the Tondiman or Raja. These are in two styles: there are old clumsily struck pieces dating from 1729 and there are the pretty little modern coins not half an inch in diameter apparently coined for the State at some British

mint. The district of Madura is a rich hunting ground for coins and several excellent collections have been formed by residents in that part. Old copper coins have been found in great numbers with inscriptions in Tamil that are nearly obliterated and such words as, samara kolāhala sundara pandiya, vira pandiyan, ketu, can be conjecturally deciphered. Sir W. Elliot gives most that was known of these Pandyan coins 35 years ago and we do not seem to have got a great deal further yet. Still coins promise much and may any day give us the key that so long has been wanted. On all such points I am sure that skilled advice and willing help may be found at the Bangalore museum or the Office of the Director of Archæological Research.

For general information on coins and coin collecting the Numismatic Circular is most helpful. It is issued at present every two months at a yearly subscription of five shillings, post free, by Spink & Son of 17, Piccadilly, the leading coin dealers of the Empire. It serves the purpose of a price list of the coins they have on sale and their descriptions of their coins are perfectly reliable: when they say a coin is F you can rely on its being fine, and when E. F. exceptionally fine, and when P it is poor. But there is also a large amount of interesting information regarding the meetings of numismatic societies and finds of old coins in different parts of the empire, with occasional lists of second hand numismatical books, with much else that need not be specified. It will be seen that Greek and Roman coins and early British coins are the ones on which very large sums of money may be spent and the collector of Indian coins must recognize that the commercial value of his coins is little more than the value of their metal. Still the historical mind has other criteria of worth and it may be that in another hundred years the coins may have a large market value also. Since 1904 the Asiatic Society of Bengal has issued separately a Numismatic Supplement to its Journal and this contains much information from the pens of some of the leading numismatists in India, and the more recent issues may be seen on the table of our Society's Reading Room. The Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, deals with more than 20,000 pieces, is compiled by numismatists of the highest rank and is fully illustrated in the best style by the Clarendon Press. To us it is interesting to note that the coins of Bengal are dealt with by Sir James Bourdillon, K.C.S.I., formerly our Resident in Bangalore who made a special study of the coins of that province. A similar catalogue has been published for the coins of the Lahore museum and yet another is in the press for those of the Lucknow museum.

Sir A. Cunningham's books, one on the Coins of Ancient India and the other on those of Mediæval India are still most valuable and are well

illustrated, but the coins he describes are to be found chiefly in the bazaars of North India. Rapson's book on the Coins of India deals with them as sources of Indian History and is full of references to the literature of the subject, most useful to one who has access to a large library on oriental subjects. The books which Valentine is issuing will be invaluable to the collector wishing to identify his coins. The time taken in the compilation of his lists added to the manual labour involved in preparing for the lithographer the sketches of all the coins described lay us under great obligation to him. "The Copper Coins of India, Part I," deals with the Coins of Bengal and the United Provinces, Part II with those of the Punjab and contiguous Native States including Kashmir, price one guinea, and Part III will deal with those of Bombay, Rajputana and Central India. He has a similar book dealing with the Modern Copper coins of Eastern Muhammadan States, such as Turkey, Persia, Morocco, etc., and yet another on somewhat different lines for Sassanian coins. Tufnell gives useful hints on making casts of coins. It is hardly necessary to say that the so-called silver coins hawked about by the women folk of the Afghan horse dealers are forgeries, though well executed.

We trust that these discussive notes may prove helpful to some who are beginning to take an interest in such old coins as may be found in this part of the country. When however a serious attempt is made to help historical research the private collector will do most good by concentrating his efforts on some limited field. This is the unanimous testimony of leading numismatists both of the East and the West.

MYSORE CASTES & TRIBES—A GENERAL SURVEY.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

BY C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

WHO were the first inhabitants of India? Were the Negritos the first to settle in it and do the jungle and forest tribes of South India represent them in these days? Who were the Dravidians? How did they reach India? What was the effect of the impact of the Aryan on the non-Aryan in India? What of caste? Was it the invention of the Indo-Aryan or the result of a compromise between differing racial types, with social traits of a kind whose evolution did not always run on parallel lines? These are some of the questions that confront us at the very threshold of Indian ethnology. For their study, the Mysore State offers many opportunities to the investigator. The State has many tribes and castes resident in it which deserve careful study. Investigators so far have not, by any means, exhausted the subject. Thus, for instance, further study of the peculiar tribe of Kadu Gollas seems necessary. They have many unique customs. Then there are Hale Paiks of Nagar Malnad. At least one well-known investigator has drawn attention to the peculiar similarity between their customs and the Todas of the Nilgiris. Of the Todas, it has been said by Dr. Rivers, the latest writer on this unique tribe of South India, that they reached the Nilgiri plateau from the Malabar side. The reasoning of Dr. Rivers is by no means free from doubt. Both the Toda language and their customs help us to infer that they should have ascended the ghauts from the Mysore side. Later, in their wake, followed the Kotas, whose language has been termed by Caldwell as a "very old" dialect of Kanarese, and the Badagas whose very name (Northerner) shows their Mysore origin. Then, again, take the magnificent-looking Bedars who formed the strength of Haidar's great armies; the faithful Gollas who have always preferred death to treachery to their masters; the fine manly tribe of Banjaras, who have many curious customs to boast of; the Gangadi Vokkaligas, who form the bulk of the agricultural population, noted as much for their industry as for their shrewd intelligence; Kurubars though traditionally reckoned dull are really far from being so; and a great many other castes who could be easily named. About all these more information to determine various points of interest about them.

The earliest description of Mysore Castes and Tribes is to be found of the writing of Abbé Dubois who laboured for nearly a quarter of a century in Mysore after the fall of Seringapatam. Lieut.-Col. Mark Wilks included

One stray notes on certain sections of the people of Mysore in his *Historical Sketches*, a work originally published in two volumes in 1810 and 1817 respectively. Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards known as Hamilton) also devoted some attention to this subject in his narrative of a *Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*. Sporadic descriptions of individual castes and tribes, or of particular sections of them are also to be found in the writings of past officers in the Mysore Service. Some of these are to be seen in the earlier volumes of the *Indian Antiquary*. *The District Gazetteers* of Mysore and Kolar issued in the sixties of last century allotted some space to the different castes and tribes living in them but the first real attempt to give a systematic account of the more important of them was made by Mr. Rice in his *editio princeps* of the *Mysore Gazetteer* issued in 1876. The information contained in this publication was improved in the second edition of that work issued in 1897. By that time much useful information had been collected and made public in the Census Report for 1891. Mr. Ananda Rao's Report on the Census of 1901 added still further to this information and the interest thus awakened in the study of castes and tribes by a succession of writers prepared the way for a comprehensive survey of the whole of them by a special agency. This was rendered the more necessary when the Government of India, at the instance of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, undertook a general Ethnographic Survey of British India for which a scheme was drawn up by the late Sir H.H. Risley. In pursuance of this scheme, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore directed an Ethnographic Survey of the State and appointed the late Mr. H. V. Nanjundaiya, M.A., M.L., C.I.E., as Director of the same. In this connection, Mr. E. Thurston, the then Superintendent of the Madras Museum, was enabled to conduct an anthropometric survey of the people of the State as well. His results are included in *Tribes and Castes of Southern India*. Mr. H. V. Nanjundaiya's descriptions of the Castes and Tribes of Mysore have been issued tentatively as bulletins by the Mysore Government Press, Bangalore, and a consolidated edition of the work has been long overdue.

In the general survey attempted herein, I have used with care not only the information gleaned from these various sources but also something gathered by myself while I was privileged to work with Mr. Thurston in his anthropometric survey of the State. The object aimed at is not so much a study of each individual caste as a study of the general rites, customs and habits of the main castes of the State with a view to drawing certain general conclusions therefrom. These conclusions I propose to set down under these primary heads:—

1. Evidence of Matriarchate.
2. Pre-Marital Communism.

3. Post-Marital License.
4. Divorce.
5. Polygamy.
6. Widow-Remarriage :
 - (a) Levirate.
 - (b) Form of Remarriage.
7. Influence of Brahmanism.
8. Restrictions on Marriage.
9. Totemism.
10. Hypergamy.
11. Forms of Marriage :
 - i. (a) Purchase of Bride.
 - (b) Relics of Marriage by capture.
 - ii. Marriage ceremonies.
 - iii. Marriage seasons.
12. Adoption.
13. Inheritance.
14. Other minor characteristics.
15. Funeral ceremonies.
16. Some unusual or curious customs.

The above heads, however, do not by any means exhaust the subject. There are other points to consider, such for instance, the connection of the Mysore tribes and castes with those of identical or allied names in the adjoining British Provinces; the filiation of some of those now exclusively resident in the British districts with those found in this State; the inferences that could be drawn in regard to the ultimate racial origins of the Mysore Castes and Tribes from their physical characteristics as made out from Mr. Thurston's survey, etc. These questions, however, I do not propose to touch upon in the present paper. I am just now concerned only with the ethnographic aspect of Mysore Castes and Tribes; the anthropometric and other aspects may be taken up later, in a different paper, if that is found possible.

General Characteristics of Mysore Castes.

So far as enquiries have gone, there is no evidence among any of the castes and tribes of Mysore of the general existence at sometime in the past or now of Polyandry.

Mother-kin.

Evidence of the existence, however, at one time of *mutterecht* (or mother right) is traceable among several of them. Under this system, often called the Matriarchate, descent was traced and property transmitted in the female line. Earlier writers supposed this to be a relic of a state of society where

owing to promiscuity or polyandry it was impossible to affiliate the children. Recent opinion, however, inclines to the view that its origin is to be sought rather in the fact that paternity itself was once not understood. In those primitive times a woman's children belonged to her family rather to her husband's. Among many castes and tribes in the State, a man actually seeks to continue his family at the present day through a daughter who lives in his house. This is so among the Kurubas, Bedas, Vaddas, Dombars, Madigas, Holeyas and Killekyatas. Among most of these, when there are no sons born of the marriage, adoption is hardly ever resorted to. Instead the lineage is perpetuated through the daughter. The daughter, in this case, is not given away in marriage as usual but is dedicated to the God or Goddess—Saivite or Vaishnavite according to the caste of the family—and turned, as it is called, into a Basavi. This term, literally meaning "She-Bull," carries with it the import of "procreator". This name has been given because she raises progeny for the family of her father. A Basavi, after dedication, usually remains in her father's house and can consort with any one belonging to her own caste or a superior caste. Her children belong to her father and inherit direct from him. She has herself all the rights of a son and in default of sons inherits all her father's property. Her issues not only inherit her father's property but are also deemed for every purpose—including marriage—legitimate. The ceremony of dedication is essentially the same among all those castes. Among the Kurubas, a day is selected and the girl is led in procession under a cloth canopy carried overhead, like an ordinary bride, to the temple, a *kalasa* (a consecrated pot of water) and fruits (five coconuts, five date fruits, etc.) and rice and betel leaves being carried by a married woman. After prostrations to the God or Goddess at the temple and the presiding *Pūjāri* (priest), the girl is seated on a *Kambli* (blanket), facing the East. Then the permission of the caste Guru is obtained for the tying of the *tāli*, which is tied by an elderly Basavi or a married woman, who before doing so rubs her hands and feet with saffron. A *Kankana* (wristband) of betel leaves is also tied to her right hand. Then the assembled people throw yellow coloured rice upon her by way of blessing. This is followed by her being made to put on silver bangles and toe rings—other symbols of a married woman. The ceremony is followed by a caste dinner. Among the Bedas, the approximation of the ceremony to a regular marriage is even more striking. The regular marriage booth of twelve pillars is erected, a procession goes to the temple where the girl is seated by the side of a dagger and the *tāli* is tied to her by the *Purōhit* (priest) or by her maternal uncle's son. The caste dinner follows and the ceremony is over. After three days, the girl is free to take to her bed any man who is not of a

caste lower than her own. The first person who receives her favours has generally to pay her father the expenses incurred by him for making her a Basavi. Among the Madigas, the dagger placed beside the girl is worshipped by the girl pouring over it some rice in token of her having been wedded to it. Then the *tāli* is tied by the *Pūjāri* or an old Basavi, after touching the dagger with it. The girl next carries the dagger and places it within the temple. The *Pūjāri* gives her a cane and a begging pouch which she hangs on her left shoulder. She is then branded on the shoulders with a Shankha and a Chakra. If she is a virgin, she is branded with a Chakra on her breast. Formerly it is said that the girl was required to sleep three nights in the temple, but now she spends one night there and often this is also dispensed with. A girl thus turned a Basavi among the Madigas may consort with men of any caste except a Holeya. A much simpler form of ceremony is observed if the dedication takes place on the marriage day of the God at the Kurubatti Mailari Temple. Here annually in March and April a very large number of girls are turned into Basavis. They are first bathed and then brought to the temple, where in front of it the wrist-bands and the *tālis* are tied to them. They, thereafter, sleep that night in the temple and then go to their homes. During the annual festival of Mariamma, the presence of some Madiga Basavis is secured wherever they are available. When new pots are brought for this festival and when the buffalo is led to the sacrificial post, Basavis come dancing and singing songs in praise of Mariamma and spitting on the by-standers. The significance of their connection with the festival of the Goddess is not clear. Possibly it might refer to the belief that the worship of this popular Goddess—as those of the Divine Mothers so largely believed in by the people in Southern India—had its origin in mother-kin. Among the Vaddas, over-aged girls who cannot get suitable husbands for themselves are also turned into Basavis. The ceremony is the same and their children inherit property along with their grandfather's male issue. Occasionally the turning of a girl into a Basavi is the consequence of a vow taken by her parents when she was afflicted with some dangerous malady. A form of dedication of women in favour of the whole caste is also found prevalent among certain castes, notably the Bedas. A woman thus dedicated is called a *Kulambidda*, i.e., child of the caste. Even widows with issue and divorced women can be made "children of the caste" after their paying a fine to the caste and standing the expense of a caste dinner. A woman who wishes to become "a child of the caste" asks formal permission to do so at a meeting of the castemen, who, as a token of consent, give her a handful of the food prepared for the feast, which she partakes of along with them. She has thereafter the right to cohabit, like a Basavi, with men of her own or of a superior caste. The chief distinction between

a Basavi and a Kulambidda is that, while the former's children are looked upon as legitimate, the latter's are treated as illegitimate. The children of a Basavi inherit direct from their grandfather while those of a Kulambidda do not. The affiliation of a son-in-law in the family is also widely prevalent. Among the Holeyas, a resident son-in-law receives an equal share of his father-in-law's property with his brothers-in-law. Among the Bedas, Vaddas, Gangadikara Vokkaligas, Morasu Vokkaligas, Gollas and a section of Ganigas, a similar custom, called *Illatom* in Telugu and *Manevālatana* in Kannada, is found to be prevalent. It is rare among Komatis but is not altogether unknown. According to this custom when a man has no sons, a daughter is married to a man who agrees to become a member of the family and who thereafter resides in the father-in-law's house and inherits his estates for his children. *Illatom* literally means *acting as the son of the family*. A son-in-law thus affiliated gets a share in the property equal to that of the son and in the absence of any sons becomes sole heir to the father-in-law. A Basavi and an *Illatom* son-in-law as such perform the funeral obsequies of the father or father-in-law from whom they inherit.

Among most castes and tribes in the State, the important position assigned to a woman's brother gives us a glimpse of the days when the family centred round the mother and her brother and not her husband. It might be stated that the universal practice among castes and tribes of the State is for a man to ask for the hand of his sister's daughter either for himself or for his son. It is a binding custom among the Korachas that the first two daughters of a woman must be given, at a reduced bride-price, to her brother to be married either by himself or to his sons. If he has no sons and does not himself stand in need of the girls for marriage, his right to them is exercised by his getting two-fifths of the bride-price payable for each of them at their marriage. The usual bride-price in the caste—20 pagodas—is reduced to 12 pagodas if the maternal uncle takes the bride. Among the Vaddas, the bride-price varies from Rs. 7 to Rs. 15, according to family custom, but this amount may be compounded for by the bridegroom agreeing to serve his father-in-law till he begets a female child and presents her to his brother-in-law. Among the Sanyasis, very often the son-in-law remains in his father-in-law's house until he becomes a father of two or three children before he settles down separately. The right to a sister's daughter is not lost even when the sister lives unmarried in her father's house. In such a case, the brother does not himself marry such a sister's daughter but he has no objection to take her in marriage to his son. The maternal uncle, indeed, has to be consulted in regard to the marriage of his nephew or niece and not infrequently he himself makes all the arrangements necessary in connection

with it. Among the Kurubas, Agasas, Helavas, Killekyatas, Kumbaras, Sādas, Idigas, Nayindas, Tigalas, etc., it is the right and duty of the maternal uncle to cut the chief post of Kalli (*Euphorbia Tirukalli*) required for erecting the marriage booth. It is this post which ensures, it is said, the continuity of the line. Among the Holeyas, the *tāli* is tied to the bride by the maternal uncle. Among the Komatis a portion of the presents made to the bride must go to the maternal uncle and another portion to the bride's sister. Among the Sales and the Nagaratas, a peepul branch is cut and brought by the maternal uncle for erecting the marriage booth and he is paid Rs. 4-8-0 for his trouble. Among the Idigas and Telugu Banajigas, the duty of tying the chaplet (*Bhāsinga*) to the bridegroom's forehead is discharged by the maternal uncle. Among the Kumbaras, a chaplet tied can only be removed by the maternal uncle. Among the Kumbaras, the bride is brought to the marriage booth by her maternal uncle. So also among the Helavas and Gangadi Vokkaligas.

Among the Morasu Vokkaligas, the maternal uncle ties the fringes of the cloths of the bride and bridegroom as soon as the *tāli* is tied and they then exchange rice and salt, a sign of swearing mutual fidelity. Among the Kadu Gollas, the bride-price is made over by the father, on payment, to the maternal uncle. Among the Medaras, the bride is a second time given away by the maternal uncle. Similarly among the Korachas, the maternal uncle cuts the Nerala (*Jambolana*) tree. Among the Tigalas, no marriage can be agreed to without the maternal uncle consenting to it. A parent so agreeing is tried by the caste tribunal and adequately dealt with for his delinquency. Among the Komatis, the maternal uncle's daughter is claimed as of right by his sister. The phrase *Komati Menarikam*, literally meaning the *Komati's maternal relationship*, is a well-known one. It really means a relationship from which there is no escape. Where a man has no daughter to give in marriage to his sister's son, he has to secure a girl for him. Indeed, this prominence at marriages of the maternal uncle, the claiming at the time of marriage of the milk-price (lit. breast milk wages) * among certain castes and tribes by the mother, besides the bride-price, which went wholly apparently to the mother's brother and now partially to him, and the practical obliteration of the father and his rights during the time the marriage lasts—all these show that in ages past the mother and her brother possessed rights which later were usurped by the father. A few other customs indicating mother-right may be added here. When a Koracha girl gets tattooed for the first time, her paternal aunt is invited to a dinner and presented with a new cloth on the occasion. A brother is entitled to the hand of even his younger sister's

* Cf. Tamil *mulaipāl Kūli*, wages for breast-milk.

daughter when he loses his first wife and he cannot get a woman to wed him. Among the Tigalas, after the marriage is over, when the couple go to prostrate before the consecrated pots, the sister of the bridegroom bars the passage till he utters the name of his wife. He refuses and tries to get off by a promise of giving her a cow or the first-born daughter in marriage to her son. Similarly, among the Telugu Banajigas, the sister bars the passage and gets a promise from the bridegroom that he would give the first-born daughter to her son. Among the Madigas, the remnants of the ceremonial feast (*Buvvada Pūje*) must go to the bride's relations, as a matter of right. When a woman is divorced, she says, she goes to "her mother's house" and not to "her father's". This is significant in view of what we have said above about mother-right. The mother's property, whatever it is, usually goes to her daughter and not to her husband or sons.

Pre-marital Communism.

Among the majority of castes and tribes, a great deal of freedom is allowed between the sexes prior to the marriage, so long as they confine their amours to members of their own or a superior caste. Most castes strictly prohibit intercourse between persons of the same exogamous group, but it none the less occasionally takes place. In such a case, the usual practice (as among the Vaddas) is to make the man pay a fine to the caste which is double the usual amount and to require him to marry her. If he declines to do so, he is put out of caste, and she is allowed to marry any other person. Among the Holeyas, sexual license before marriage is connived at or at least tolerated. If a young woman remains unmarried in her father's house, she may entertain casual visitors, and if she forms a permanent connection thus, the man may tie a *tāli* to her. The usual bride-price has to be paid and the issue of such a marriage is considered legitimate even though they were born before the tying of the *tāli*. In some places an unmarried girl might with impunity live with any caste man, but if she becomes pregnant she has, not only to marry her lover (unless he rejects her) but has to pay to the caste a fine of Rs. 8. The man is also fined by the Headman, who may require the man to marry the girl. If he refuses, he is put out of caste. The woman has then the right to take another man, the betrayer being compelled to compensate her by paying Rs. 25 and giving her requisite new clothing. Very similar customs prevail among the Madigas, Gangadikar Vokkaligas, Idigas, Upparas, Kumbaras and Handi Jogis. Among the Korachas, a woman may remain unmarried without incurring any social odium. But if she has a secret lover, she must disclose his name and marry him, if he is a casteman, after paying a fine to the caste. If he is of a superior caste, she pays a fine and marries a

casteman. If he is of a lower caste, she is thrown out of caste. Among the Tigalas, a man may consort with a woman of any caste except the lowest, such as a Holey, Madiga, etc., and his children are reckoned as Tigalas. Among the Dombars, sexual lapse before marriage is proverbial. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant by a man of the same caste, she has to marry him and the man has to pay the full bride-price in addition to a fine levied from him which goes to the caste headman. If he refuses to marry, he is put out of caste, and the woman is purified by the headman giving her consecrated water. She may then marry another man or become a regular prostitute, after paying a small fine to the caste. If an unmarried woman should bear children to a man of higher caste, she and her children are made to pay a fine and admitted into the caste after an expiatory ceremony. This ceremony consists in cutting a few locks of her hair, slightly burning her tongue with a bit of gold, making her swallow some consecrated cowdung and getting her to beg pardon of the *Guru* of the caste. She may thereafter marry any one of the caste, to whom she goes with the children. If, however, she elects to become a caste prostitute, she may do so after being dedicated as such by a regular ceremony. This is rather an elaborate one but is not dissimilar to the ceremony of dedication of a Basavi. The chief points to notice are that only Basavis take part in it, that the *tāli* is tied by the maternal uncle of the girl, and that the girl obtains formal license from the assembled castemen and the headman for the life she is hereafter to lead. Among one section of the caste, a measure filled with rice with a cotton thread round it is placed, at the time of dedication, beside the girl to represent the bridegroom when she sits in the temple at the time the ceremony takes place. A woman thus dedicated must restrict her amours to castemen or to members of a superior caste. Among the Banjaras though the seducing of an unmarried woman is met with heavy punishment, still it is not discountenanced. The man is made to undergo a modified form of marriage with the girl, after the payment of a fine to the caste and compensation to the parents. This renders the previous offspring of the union legitimate. If the man is unwilling to marry her, she pays a small fine and is taken into the caste with her children. She then is at liberty to marry any member of the caste, who takes her along with the children, without incurring any social odium. During the Holi Feast, the women of this caste go out to collect doles for the festival and any lapses they may be guilty of in the course of their wanderings are easily condoned. Festivals of this kind are regarded as affording an occasion for great sexual license amongst many primitive communities in India and also in other parts of the world.

Post-marital License.

Though the chastity of the wife is generally valued and is, as a matter of fact, the rule among most castes and tribes, great freedom is known to prevail within the limits of the caste among them. Among the Kurubas, for instance, adultery on the part of a woman with a man of the same or a higher caste is condoned by the tribal head, but if the man who receives her favours be of a lower caste, she is put out of the caste. She is compelled to remove herself to the Madiga quarters and cattle horn and bones and margosa leaves are thrown into her house, evidently to show that she has become as low as the Madigas in the estimation of her quondam castemen. Among the Bedas, Agasas, Besthas, Tigalas, Morasu Vokkaligas, Idigas, Upparas, Kumbaras and Medaras, if the husband has no objection the wife's adultery may be expiated for by the payment of a fine to the caste. Among the Korachas, sale or mortgage of wives is not uncommon. Among the thieving section of this caste, the children born to a married woman through *liaison* during the time her husband has been away serving his sentence in a jail are reckoned and acknowledged as his own by the latter after he returns home. A similar custom is prevalent among the Banjaras. In the same caste, the wife is not infrequently considerably older than the husband by reason of the man not foregoing his right to the hand of his sister's daughter. In consequence of this custom, the women are allowed to cohabit with near relatives, the husband acknowledging the children born by such connection as his own. Among the Dombars, elopement after the marriage of a woman is common and is expiated for by the payment of a fine to the caste, besides reimbursement to the husband of his marriage expenses. If the husband refuses to have her back, the woman is fined by the caste Panchayat and turned into a regular caste prostitute (*Kulambidda*). Among the Madigas, it is said that a wife who is living with a person other than her lawful husband may after the lapse of some years be reconciled to her husband and go back to his protection with any children which may have been born to her in the interval. A somewhat similar custom prevails among the Handi Jogis. Among many other castes, such as the Gollas, Killekyatas, Mondarus, Helavas and others, infidelity on the part of a wife is condoned by the husband, and the caste *panchayats* only inflict nominal fines.

Divorce.

Marriage being a religious sacrament among orthodox Hindus—Brahmans and those following their customs in this matter—divorce as such does not exist, though infidelity might mean expulsion from the caste to a married woman. Among others, however, divorce is both simple and easy. Divorce can be brought about at the instance of either party for infidelity on the part of

the wife or incompatibility of temper between the parties or loss of caste by either party. A fine is usually paid to the caste by the party adjudged to be at fault. In either case the wife has to return to her husband the *tāli* tied to her on the marriage occasion. Also the jewels if any presented to her then, as also the bride-price, and the marriage expenses incurred by the husband, in case she marries another man. In case she marries her paramour, the bride-price and the amount of the marriage expenses of the previous husband will be collected from him. Such a marriage is always in the *Kudike* form. The bride-price paid for a divorced woman varies, but is usually considerably less than the regular bride-price. It is said that, after divorce, the parties cannot reunite if they wished to do so. Among the Besthas, the paramour has only to pay half the marriage expenses to the first husband. Among the Tigalas, impotency is a reasonable ground for divorce on the part of a wife. In such a case, she returns the *tāli* to her husband and remarries after paying a small fine to the caste. In case the husband refuses to consent to the dissolution of the marriage tie, the woman has only to return her *tāli* to the *Gauda* and *Gānachary* in a caste assembly, after which she ceases to be his wife. Among Vaddas, when a divorce takes place, the bride-price is not returned. Parents desiring to take daughters who have been divorced by their husbands have to pay a fine to the caste. Despite all these restrictions, divorce is singularly popular in this caste. A proverb goes to the effect that "a woman who has consorted with seven men is a respectable Boyi (*i.e.*, Vadda) matron". Among the Korachas and the Handi Jogis, divorce enjoys a similar popularity. Some castes do not permit so much latitude. Thus among the Kadu Gollas, a divorced woman is not allowed to remarry. In fact she is put out of caste. Similarly, among the Devangas and the Kumbaras, the woman cannot marry a second time after obtaining a divorce. Among the Idigas, in some parts of the State, the woman is not allowed to remarry until the death of her first husband. Among Gollas, though the woman cannot remarry, she may live in the keeping of a man of the same caste. Among the Killekyatas the separation is signalized by the husband's taking away the *tāli* and bangles given by him and by tearing the loose end of the wife's garment. A similar custom is found among the Handi Jogis. Among the Banjaras, divorce may be obtained almost at will, the only condition necessary being the assent of the Nayak for which one rupee has to be paid as a fee. If the woman is pregnant at the time, the child may, after its birth, be claimed by the previous husband and taken possession of.

Polygamy.

Though both Hindu Law and usage allow a man to take as many wives

as he desires, it is only rarely that a man of any caste or tribe takes advantage of the privilege. The special reasons that might sanction a second wife are the failure of the first to bear a son, or her affliction by an incurable disease or infirmity. In such cases not only the consent of the first wife but also of the caste is necessary. Usually the wife herself moves first in the matter and arranges for the second marriage of her husband. She not infrequently encourages her husband to take a second wife to save the family from extinction. Where a sister of the first wife is available, she is usually taken in marriage as the second wife, the first wife playing the part of a mother to her in her husband's house. Some amount of compulsory polygamy prevails among certain castes (for example, the Banjaras) owing to the practice which prevails amongst them of expecting a man to marry his elder brother's widow. Among most castes (e.g. Kurubas and Holeyas) it is usual to discourage Polygamy by levying a fine on the party guilty of it. When a man marries a second wife, while the first one is still alive, he is made to pay *Savati Hana* (or co-wife's price) which is sometimes about half as much again as the bride-price current in the caste.

Widow Remarriage.

Among the higher castes widows do not remarry as marriage is considered a religious sacrament. This theory, however, has not permeated the generality of Hindu castes and tribes in the State. Among those who do not remarry their widows are the Komatis, Kadu Gollas, sections of the Īdigas, Nayindas, Devangas and Kumbaras, the non-Lingayat Śādas, Nagartas, Banajigas (except the Mannuta section, who are regarded as being low in the social scale) and the Ganigas. The Gollas, Morasu Vokkaligas and Kunchigas stand in a mid-position. They discountenance widow remarriage, but if a widow chose to remarry or live with a widower as his concubine, she is allowed to do so and her children form a *Salu* or branch of their own. The members of the caste do not intermarry with them though they have no objection to interdine. Among some castes (notably the remarrying section of Kumbaras) the restriction as to intermarriage extends only to three generations, after which *Jus connubium* is restored. Amongst the Kadu Gollas, the feeling against remarriage is intense. They, indeed, believe that a woman on losing her husband becomes the bride of the tutelary deity and so she can neither remarry nor be allowed to part with her bangles and *tālī* which she is allowed to wear as usual. Excepting the castes mentioned, widow remarriage is extremely common in the State. Usually there is no restriction as to the number of times a widow can marry. Among Vaddas, Dombars, Korachas, Handi Jogis a woman remarries as many as seven times. Among the Gangadikar Vokkaligas it is usual to remarry as many as three times. Some of this caste believe that persistent remittent fever (quartan ague) is cured if the person

suffering from it drinks water given by a thrice married woman. Except among the Banjaras a widow cannot marry her deceased husband's brother, elder or younger. Among most castes she cannot marry any agnatic relation of her late husband. The restriction is extended among a few other castes (e.g., Kurubas, Helavas, Bedas, Sanyasis and Holeyas) to all persons belonging to the exogamous sept of the husband. Among the Korachas, however, though she cannot marry her late husband's brother, she may marry any one belonging to his division or sept. It is usual for the widow, especially when she is young and without children, to return to her mother's house before offering herself again for marriage. Among the Idigas there can be no question of remarriage while the widow stays in her late husband's house. This right of remarriage is, however, subject to certain conditions. These are that she should obtain the consent of her parents, the parents of her late husband and of the caste headman. She should also hand over the children, if any, by the first marriage, to her late husband's parents. She should also in some cases return the jewels (including the *tālī*) which her previous husband might have given her. Among some castes (e.g., Upparas) a further payment called the "release money" should be made to the late husband's parents. Among most castes, a widow may marry only a widower, but a bachelor may marry her by payment of a fine and by performing in addition a mock marriage with a tree (usually as among the Upparas and Helavas), the Ekke (*Calatropis Gigantea*) or other inanimate object. A bride-price has to be paid but it is usually a sum smaller than (sometimes half) that paid for a virgin bride. A widower when he wants to marry a virgin has, on the contrary, to pay an enhanced bride-price. Among certain castes (e.g., Nayindas, Madigas, and Agasas) among whom a widow can remarry as many times as she likes, it is said that at every subsequent marriage the bride-price is reduced to half the amount paid at the previous marriage. It is said that this reduction is made in the bride-price because, as among the Korachas, the new husband has to maintain until they are grown up, the children of the previous marriage. Among the Vaddas, widow marriage is very popular; a widow may marry her late husband's cousins. The bride-price paid for a widow goes to the previous husband's parents or in default to the widow's parents. Among some castes (e.g., Idigas) this is returned by the parents of the late husband to the caste. It is usual also to levy a further fine from the new husband which among most castes goes to the caste Guru, who, as among the Kurubas, in return presents to the couple some consecrated cowdung ashes. Among the Korachas the amount paid to the caste by the previous husband is returned to his heir, an equivalent sum being paid to it by the new husband.

The Levirate.

There are in the State but a few traces of the *Levirate*, the custom by which a widow is taken as the wife of the younger brother of her late husband. This type of this old-world custom should not be confused with the similarly-named one prevalent among the Jews, the object of which was to provide a son for the deceased. Hindu Law Books refer to the practice called *NIYOGA* which, as a rule, was permitted only where the widow was childless, with the object of providing a son for the first husband. Manu expressly states that cohabitation should cease as soon as one or, at most, two sons have been begotten. But this idea of raising offspring for the deceased is entirely absent, so far as can be gathered, from the only known instance in which (in the State) the younger brother is required to marry the elder brother's widow. This occurs among the Banjaras. According to the custom prevalent in this caste, the younger brother of the deceased husband is considered the most eligible person to marry a widow. This rule is carried so far as to sanction the marriage of a widow with a boy of tender years with liberty to live with another person as substitute till he attains the proper age. She then rejoins him bringing with her any children she may have meanwhile borne. Of late, however, this custom is being discredited and a stranger is preferred to a brother-in-law who is not of proper age. In such cases, the *tali* tied by the deceased husband with the bride-price paid for her at the time of the second marriage goes to the younger brother. When a widow marries her husband's younger brother no fresh bride-price is paid, which seems to indicate that the widow belongs not merely to her dead husband but also to her husband's family. This is in accordance with Gautama's well-known text "People say the woman belongs to the husband's family, not to the husband alone." In this caste, it is further stated that, formerly, when a husband became unfit either by old age or impotency, his younger brother could marry her as if she were a widow but this practice has entirely disappeared now. The only other caste in which there are indications of the existence at one time of this type of levirate is the Handi Jogis. Among these though it is unusual for a widow to marry her late husband's younger brother, the caste does not object to his keeping her as his concubine. In such a case, the *liaison* is overlooked and the issue is freely admitted as members of the caste. The evidence, scanty as it is, confirms the conclusion of Sir Edward Gait that, while the custom may sometimes have originated with the object of raising up seed to the deceased husband, it did not always do so. More often it seems to be a survival of fraternal polyandry, or at least of a state of society

where the woman was regarded as a chattel bought with a price and at the disposal of her husband's heirs.

Form of Remarriage.

When a widow marries her late husband's younger brother, as among the Banjaras, there is hardly any ceremony excepting that the new husband has to supply to his caste fellowmen betel and nut and provide for them a drink. In other cases, there is a kind of maimed ceremony that is usually performed on the occasion. This is known among most castes as *Kudike* (or commingling) as opposed to the *Maduve* (or marriage) in the case of a virgin bride. Sometimes it is called *Sirudike* or the commingling preceded by the present of a new cloth to the widow by her new husband. Married women cannot take part in it, nor could the remarried woman make herself visible to any married women for three days after her wedding. Nor can they ever take part in the celebration of virgin marriages and other auspicious occasions. The marriage takes place usually during the dark fortnight, on a day fixed after sunset and often after darkness has set in, in the presence of the assembled castemen. The bride usually bathes, puts on the new cloth given by the new husband, who ties the *tāli* to her after paying the bride-price usual in the caste. The usual caste dinner follows. Among some castes the ceremony is somewhat more elaborate, as among the Madigas but the essential portion of the ceremony is the same. Among the Vaddas the *tāli* (a string of black beads in this caste) is tied either by the new husband or by one of the widows present. Among the Dombars, the cloth presented must be white in colour. Among the Sanyasis the *tāli* is a string of Rudrakshi (*Eleocarpus Ganitras*) beads tied by the husband. Among the Idigas, in some places, the *tāli* is tied by the maternal uncle of the new husband or the headman of the caste.

A peculiar form of the ceremony is prevalent among the Agasas of Davangere and near about. The man after being bathed and dressed in new cloths is seated in a dark room, before the caste people assembled. The widow about to be remarried, similarly bathed and dressed, is conducted to that room, arriving at which she knocks at the door. The man inside asks her who she is and what she has come therefor, the woman replies that she has come to light a lamp in the room. The headman and other caste people then give permission to the man to tie *tāli* after which betel and nuts are distributed and the ceremony closes with a dinner.

(To be continued.)

MANDALAPURUSHA AND HIS AGE.*

By PANDIT M. RAGHAVA IYENGAR.

OF the three great Nighandus in Tamil Literature, namely Thivakaram, Pingalanthai and Cudamani, it is well-known that the Cudamani is the latest and most modern. All that is known about its author is that he is one named Mandalapurushar and that he is a native of Veerapuram or Veerai or Perumandur in Thondaimandalam† and that he lived during the flourishing reign of a Krishnaroya‡ who was also his patron; and did compile this laborious work at the instance of his preceptor and guru Gunabhadra who was the Maecenas of poets in his time and who was also well versed in Tamil Literature and Astrology and was the occupant of the Jain religious *pīth* at Thirunarunkunrai (திருநறுங்குன்றை) in the Tirukkoyilur Taluk. The work of this author has been called Nighandu Cudamani (or the crown gem of Nighandus) and hence the name Cudamani given in later times to the production as a whole§. The author is obviously a Jain.

When did this celebrated author flourish? Mr. T. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar of Tanjore in a very learned essay he has contributed to a monthly called 'Tamilakam', that was published from the same place, attempts to assign A.D. 898 as the age when this Mandalapurushar must have presumably lived||. For arriving at this conclusion he has taken the couplet :

“ திருந்திய கமலவூர் திருப்புகழ்ப் புராணஞ் செய்தோன்
பரந்தீரிக் குணபத்ரன் னுள் பணிந்தமண்டலவன்னுனே ”

and the words ‘ திருப்புகழ்ப் புராணஞ் செய்தோன் ’ occurring therein as referring to the achievements of Gunabhadra and concludes it must be the well-known Gunabhadra who had undertaken and finished the latter portion of Mahapurana in Sanskrit in 898 A.D. and was the contemporary of a Rashtrakuta king named Krishna Raja II, whose name entirely coincides with the name of the monarch also mentioned to be the contemporary of the author of Cudamani. And if as is common with all historical writers from this analogy of

* Translated by R. Seshadri, B.A., B.L.

† See Thondaimandala Sathakam Verse—“ நிகண்டு சூடாமணி தானுரைத்த மண்டலவன் குடிக்கொண்டது நீ டொண்டைமண்டலமே ”.

‡ “ கெடிமன்னர் மணங்குந் தாளான் கிருட்டிண ராயன் கைபோற்—கொடை மடமென்ப தம்மவரையாது கொடுத்தலாமே ”

§ “ மன்னிய நிகண்டு சூடாமணியென வொன்றுரைப்பன் ” See the Introductory chapter of Cudamani. See also the verse in the preceding foot-note 1.

|| Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar adopts the above view of Mr. Kuppuswami Sastriar; see Mythic Society Journal, Vol. V, 1914-1915, pp. 36, 37.

names he concludes that the author of the Cudamani must have lived in 896 A.D. it is only natural, and what all we could suggest for and against the probabilities of this theory is whether it is being confirmed in the light of other independent materials that we have got, both external, and internal from the works of the author himself by which we could be justified in assigning so early a date as the 9th Century A.D.

First taking the introductory chapter of the Cudamani we find the author in the first three stanzas beginning with “சொல்லொடு பொருளுணர்ந்தோன்” and ending with “செந்மெனும் பளிங்கு” speaking about the achievements of his preceptor and patron, and then only in the fourth stanza that deals about himself he says “திருப்புகழ்ப் புராணஞ் செய்தோன்.....குணபத்ரன்ருள் பணிந்த மண்டலவன்னுனே” in the couplet already cited. The question therefore arises whether this particular distinction of having compiled the Thiruppugalpuranam goes to the credit of Gunabhadra or Mandalapurusha, his disciple. No doubt the words “திருப்புகழ்ப் புராணஞ் செய்தோன்” are placed in such a position that they might either qualify Gunabhadra or Mandalava. But if we look to the fact that in the three preceding stanzas the author seeks to give a complete account of the achievements of his religious preceptor and only in the fourth where speaking about himself he gives out this achievement:—What is the natural inference? Would we not infer that the authorship of Thiruppugalpuranam is mentioned to the credit of Mandalava rather than to that of his Acharya. And what is more natural than this explanation since, if the author has sought to have given it to the credit of his Guru, he would have mentioned it in the first three stanzas which would give no cause for doubt and not in the fourth where he speaks only about himself and where the words referring to such a great achievement on the part of his patron and preceptor would give rise to a duplicate meaning and would itself cause a probable suspicion in the minds of his preceptor and everyone who reads the introduction that the author sought the benefit of the wording either to refer to his Guru or by implication refer to himself. The author in order to obviate all these difficulties might have naturally mentioned this incident in the preceding three stanzas and could well have done so. And again look at the construction of the lines. If, “திருப்புகழ் புராணஞ் செய்தோன்” qualifies Gunabhadra and all the achievements refer only to the preceptor, it will be easily seen that a mere “குணபத்ரன்ருள் பணிந்த மண்டலவன்னுனே”, leaves us wondering who this Mandalava is, and under the circumstances it would be only natural to expect that the author intended to give an identification about his person by saying “திருப்புகழ்ப் புராணஞ் செய்தோன்” மண்டலவன்னுனே.” So Mahamahopadhyaya V. Swaminath Iyer Avargal to whom the Tamil world owes a deep debt of gratitude for resuscitating the ancient classics writes in his first

edition of Manimekalai thus:— “This author (of Cudamani) is a Jain and a native of Veerapuram or Perumandur and had compiled the Purana of Arhadeva and his name is Mandalapurusha”.

So it will be clearly seen that the natural explanation of the passage as it stands without an undue straining of meaning would suggest to any casual reader that the achievements mentioned of the compilation of the Thiruppugalpuranam would only go to the credit of Mandalapurusha and not to that of Gunabhadra. Further it should be noted that the author who compiled the Uttaramahāpurana is a Northerner and a person well-versed in Sanskrit, whereas Gunabhadra, the Acharya of the author of the Cudamani is a native of Thirunarunkunrai and well-versed only in the Tamil language. So how could both be identical?

Let us examine again the same question from a different standpoint. If we look from the internal evidence furnished by the ‘Cudamani’ itself we will come to the conclusion that its author could never have lived so early as the 9th Century A.D. The following illustrations would clearly confirm the above hypothesis:—

(1) Both the anterior Nighandhus, Thivakaram and Pingalanthai mention the three Tamil kings and also Chalukyas.* If Mandalava is also the author of such early times it is natural to expect that he would have made mention of the Chalukyas. Even if it is urged for purposes of argument that because the Chalukyas were the enemies of the Rashtrakuta king who patronized him and his preceptor, he did not mention them, it is only natural to expect he would have mentioned at least the Rashtrakuta kings. In this connection, it should be noted that, though a Jain, the author enumerates with due deference the other Gods of the orthodox Vedic religion and it would be only disparaging the impartiality of so great a scholar as Mandalava to say that he showed his likes and dislikes in compiling such a monumental work as the ‘Cudamani’. And the wonder grows stronger when we find not only no mention is made of the Chalukyas but also that Mandalava,—and this is most startling—seems to be quite unaware that there were kings known as Chalukyas who were once a mighty power in Southern India.

Thus where “கேழல் வேள்புல வரசர் கொடியே” in Dhivagaram meaning thereby ‘The Chalukyas have the flag occurs with the figure of a Boar’, Mandalava not being able to make out the meaning of the term “வேள்புல வரசர்” makes it out to be ‘வேழம்புலவர்’ and we find him transcribe the above verse as ‘பன்னிய கேழல்வேழப் பதாகையும் புலவருக்கே’ meaning thereby ‘The

* ‘வேள்புல வரசர்களுக்கு வேந்தர்’ (திவா-பிங்) ‘கேழல் வேள்புலவரசர் கொடியே’ (திவா) ‘தார காரியுஞ்சனக்கியர் வேந்தனும்-வேனி லாளனும் வேளேனலாகும் (பிங்)

boar and the elephant figures are inscribed in the flags of poets' in his Cudamani, where he got such curious information about the figures in the flag of poets is impossible to be traced and there is no authority whatever for the statement above made by the author. The author under mistake must have read the lines 'கெழல் வெளபுல வாசா தொடியே' occurring in the cadjan leaves, as 'கேழல்வேள (ழ)ம் புலவர்கொடியே' and this is all the explanation that we could offer as to how he made the mistake. Anyhow it is not easy to account for this mistake on the part of so great a scholar like Mandalava and the natural explanation would be he lived at an age long posterior to the age of the Chalukyas when such a name was itself forgotten.

(2) The word 'காரிகை' according to Dhivakaram and Pingalanthai means beauty, woman and *kattalaiikalithurai* (அழகு, பெண், கட்டளைக் கலித்துறை) but the author of the Cudamani also says it is a literary work. This is a clear reference to *Yapparunakalakkarikai* of *Amitasakarar* and it is shown from this that Mandalava lived only after the above work had attained recognition in literary circles. There are ample reasons that confirm *Amitasakarar* could not have lived before the 10th century of the Christian era.

(3) In the 12th chapter of Cudamani enumerating 'அட்டகணிதங்கள்' Mandalapurusha mentions *Bhaskaram* (பாற்கரம்) and this (presumably) refers to the work of *Bhaskaracharya* who had published his work (entitled *Surya Siddhanta*) in A.D. 1150.* So Cudamani could not be anterior to the 12th Century A.D.

(4) In the 11th chapter of the Cudamani giving out the meaning of the word 'Soman' (சோமன்) whereas Dhivakaram and Pingalanthai say it means the moon (சந்திரன்), and one of the Vasus (அட்ட வசுக்களுள் ஒருவன்). Mandalava also mentions that it refers to a 'வள்ளல்' a munificent patron of literature. Since no mention is made of a person of this name in the Sangam works and in the earlier Nigandhus, it could be only concluded that he lived presumably posterior to those works. So in the 12th century A.D. when the Chola power was in the ascendant we learn that there was a nobleman of that name who was a great patron of Literature and was the chieftain of a place called 'Thiribuvanam'.† It is mentioned in Tamil *Navalar Charitai* that the great poet Ottakuthar when he was pursued by certain ruffians who had been set upon him‡ was forced to seek refuge in the house of this chieftain and

* The History of Indian Literature by Weber, pp. 262.

† This place is on the way between Kumbakonam and Thiruvendaimarudur.

‡ It is said that Ottakuthar was approached by his own castemen (செங்குந்தர்) Senkunthars of compose a poem praising their caste but as he refused to do so certain persons pursued him in revenge as being treacherous to his own people. (See Sen Tamil, Vol. II, p. 409.)

when his protector sought to learn the reason why he was so pursued he spoke in the following strain:—

“அடையென்பார் தன்னென்பா ரன்பொன் றிலாமற்
புடையென்பார் தங்கடைக்கே போகோங்—கொடையென்றால்
முந்துஞ்சோமாபுவனை முன்னவனே நின்கடைக்கீழ்
வந்துஞ்சோ மாதலான் மற்று”

And the above incident finds confirmation in that Ottakuthar himself in his work called ‘சட்டியெழுபது’, ‘Ettiezhuppathu’ refers to this anecdote as “பூவார் புவனையிற் சோமன் நரும்பழி போனபின்பு”. Similarly we have got another anecdote about this chieftain in another place of Tamil *Navalar Charitai* *. The great Chola is said also in that work to have praised this nobleman’s munificence † and a later poet too refers in feeling terms to the greatness of this chieftain. ‡ Thus it will be evident that this nobleman’s name has been familiar to literary students and it is possibly to this chieftain that Mandalapurusha refers, when he says “சோமனோர்வள்ளலிந்து”. Therefore it is clear that his age could not be anterior to the 12th century A. D.

5. Finally taking the words that are scattered in the Cudamani itself we find them to be so modern that to attribute them so early a date as the 9th century A. D. would be utterly impossible and incredible. And thus we find § தானம்போதல் (9-54) (அருந்தல்-அருமை 11-202) in the sense of rareness; கெடிமன்னர்-பிரித்திபெற்ற, சேம்பாளும் அரசர் (பாயி) (in the sense of renowned kings or kings who rule the realm); and ஒற்றித்தல்-ஒற்றையாக்குதல் (12-2) and arrack || (அரக்கு-ஒருவகைக்கன் 11-37.) Again the Sanskrit names are mentioned in the Cudamani in the form in which they are found in that language as குணபத்ரன் (பாயி-6), சரஸ்வதி (12-74), பாஞ்சராத்ரம் (12-59) மாகேச்வரி, மாகேந்தரி (12-67). This mode, it is certainly, impossible to find in earlier literature and this shows clearly the modernness of the author.

The question now arises if Mandalava must have lived only posterior to

* This is that when once this chieftain went to get an audience of the Chola monarch he met Ottakuthar coming from the palace and then he inquired of him whether the king could be seen at the time for which the poet is said to have replied in the sense that what the king was doing at the time was praising his most noble virtues.

“தன்னுடைய தேவியர்க்குத் தார்வளவன் குணரைப்ப
தன்னுடைய கீர்த்தி யுயர்நலமே—தன்னுபுகழ்ச்
சோமா திரிபுவனத் தோன்றலே நின்புகழை
யாமா குரைக்க வினி”

† “துலயிலங்கிடகொடைச் சோமன்வாழ் புவனையில்” (தமிழ்கா-தை-175).

‡ பழகு “தமிழ்ச்—சொல்லருமை நாலிரண்டிற் சோமன் கொடையருமை - புல்லரிடத் தேயறியின் போய்”

§ [போகதேல்] is the old form.

|| The word arrack is however derived from foreign sources.

the 12th century A. D., in what other era could he have lived when there was a Krishnaroya and a Gunabhadra.

The answer is simple. We know that Krishnadevaroya reigned between 1509-1530 and it is well-known that this monarch ruled not only the Andhradesa but was also the overlord of the Tamil country. Though himself a Telugu and his ancestry is Kanarese, he seems to have patronized several Tamil scholars and poets as well.* The author of the Cudamani might have very probably lived in his reign. But then what about the Gunabhadrachariar who is mentioned as the preceptor of Mandalava. In the Madras Manuscript Library I recently came across a cadjan copy styled Yathidarma Sravakadharmam and the work, it seems, is written by a Jain author dealing as it does with the history and traditions of the Jain community in the southern country. The work is no doubt modern but the following quotation in it is worthy of note: “ராயர் சந்ததிகளில் விஷ்ணுதேவராயர் அதிகாரத்தில் குணபத்ராசாரியர் நானையில் அர்ச்சகத்தொழில் செய்யா நின்ற இந்த ஸஜநப் பிராமணர்கள்” “These Jain Brahmins doing Archaka service during the reign of Vishnadevaroya of the Royar dynasty at the time of Gunabhadracharya”. †

The reference is to certain reforms carried out by this Gunabhadracharya which is said to have taken place at “சித்தாமூர்” Chittamur, in the Thindivanam Taluk. So it is evident that this must be the Gunabhadrachariar who is also mentioned to be a contemporary of Mandalava. But the reigning sovereign is said to be a *Vishnadevaroya*. We find no such sovereign in the dynasty of Vizianagar and since the proper form of the name if it should be otherwise is Vishnudevaroya, we might take this inferentially to be a slip more due to the scribe than the author himself committed when transcribing the name ‘Krishnadevaroya’. Anyhow the hypothesis of Kuppuswami Sastriar that Mandalapurusha must have lived in the 9th century A.D. could not be supported in the light of the above arguments and the latter date i.e., “the 16th century might probably be the date of the author of the Cudamani since the writer himself from his Nighandu seems to be most modern.

This disposes of the date of Mandalapurusha. We already referred that the above author must have also compiled the Thiruppugazhpuranam. ‘Thiru’

* He is sung by Tamil bards and poets like Kumārasarasvati (223), (குமாரசரசுவதி), Thathvaprakāsar (225), (தத்துவப்பிரகாசர்) Nagaraśanambi (நாகரசநம்பி) (189), etc., as shall be seen from Tamil Navalar Charitai, (தமிழ் நாவலர் சரிதை), and Thondaimandala Chatakam (40) (தொண்டைமண்டலசதாகம்). They call him therein ‘Krishnaroya, Krishnabhūpāla, and Krishnaroyan.

† The original mentions in one place that the age of this Vizianagaram monarch is circa 1200 of the Kali era and in another says it is about 500 years before. The author is apparently mistaken as to the date of the monarch he mentions.

is an honorific affix equivalent to 'ஸ்ரீ' in Sanskrit which we find commonly used by Jains as Thirukkalambakam (திருக்கலம்பகம்), Thirunurranthathi, (திருநூற்றந்தாதி and திருவறம் (7-66), etc. And the Puranam that Mandalava is said to have compiled most probably is the Sripuranam that is now extant which is written in a Manipravala style and treats about the lives of the Thiruthankaras. There is also one other work that is attributed to the same author. There is a work on astrology called 'சூடாமணியுள்ளமுடையான்' Cudamani Ullamudaiyan and it is wrongly attributed to Mandala merely because the name Cudamani is found to be the common feature, of the Nighandu of the author and the astrological work. But the last stanza of the 'உள்ளமுடையான்' Ullamudaiyan reveals the whole secret and from that stanza it would be clear that its author is a different personage who is called திருக்கோட்டி நம்பி (Thirukotti Nambi).

VARIETIES OF BRAHMANISM.

(BY T. A. SESHAGIRI AYYAR, B.A., B.L., M.L.A.)

IN this article, I propose, primarily, to state facts which came to my knowledge during the last year and a half: It is hardly possible to avoid stating conclusions here and there. My aim is only to stimulate enquiry.

To one accustomed to life in Madras, the manner of living and the modes of thought that influence people in other parts of India may appear puzzling to some extent: In Madras the Brahmin is at once the privileged man and the most abused; about him, I shall reserve my remarks to the end. In other parts of India he has neither the halo that surrounds him in the South, nor the brand which scorches him to the marrow.

I shall take Cashmere first: Its rivers are hallowed in our Vedas: The Rig Veda speaks of the Vitasta which now goes by the name of Jhelum. The Sutlej which commingles with this river is Satadru of the Rig Veda: There are other landmarks in this beautiful valley which mark it out as one of the earliest abodes of the Aryan race. The Brahmin or the Pandit as he is called there I would almost put among the depressed classes: It may be due to the treatment he was subjected to during the Mahomedan period: that he is an outcast in his own land is clear. Many a Kashmiri Brahmin has migrated to other parts of India—notably the United Provinces and the Punjab—and have risen above his fellows: but the Kashmiri Brahmin of the valley—the man who is native of the soil—is nowhere in the race of life; one peculiarity is that caste distinctions which are so predominant in the South are not observed in the happy valley. The Brahmin is the pandit, the tiller of the soil, the jamadar, the hardworking menial and the pest that inhabits sacred places to fleece pilgrims. I came out of Cashmere with the conviction that the mark of superiority is not on the brow of the descendant of the rishis of old in this land.

In the Punjab, the abode for a considerable period of the Aryan race, he is no better: The degeneration probably is of recent origin. In the days when Sikhism was being preached as a new revelation, the Brahmin was still to the fore; when Gurudwars in which the sacred Granths are worshipped were established in the early days, the Sikhs had to place at the head of these shrines learned Brahmin pandits as the Sikhs were not advanced in learning sufficiently to take charge of them. The exposition of the religious literature of the Sikhs was entrusted to these priests. The Mahants as they were called transmitted the headship as it pleased them best; and the result of it we see in the bitter struggle that is now going on between the Akalis and the Mahants: These Akalis, who may not inaptly be styled "protestant" Sikhs, have risen in arms against what they allege to be irreligion and immorality in the head priests of the various sacred places founded and

endowed by Sikhs. I am not entering into the merits of the controversy, but the reform movement owes its strength and vitality to the superior learning of the modern-day Sikh; whereas it is acknowledged on all hands that the priestly class among the Hindus has visibly degenerated. I found in Hurdwar a Sikh sadhu discoursing religion to Hindu disciples. I made enquiries and learnt that it is the commonest thing now-a-days for Hindus to sit at the feet of Sikh Gurus: there has thus been a phenomenal reversal of the position. The Punjabi Brahmin—of course there are notable exceptions and I am only speaking of the class as a whole—is often to be found as chaprasis (peons) in many public offices: He is the *Mundu* (menial servant) in various private households. He ploughs and sows: there are, of course, a few who carry on the priestly profession. They are an infinitesimally small number who are employed as officials. But the vast majority of them toil and spin and are neither sought after nor abused: Swami Dayanand Sarasvati has created a new hierarchy: undoubtedly he has stirred to the depth the easy going Hindu. It is no wonder that the Brahmin of the old type is opposed to this reform movement. It may be that, in course of time, a tolerant and reasonable Brahminism of the purely Vedic type may emerge in the Punjab.

In Behar and the United Provinces, the Brahmin is occupying a slightly better position. I had an illuminating talk with a member of the Behar Legislative Council the other day; what he said was an eye-opener to me: intellectually the Brahmin is not in the forefront in these areas: He is a great deal more religious than his compeers in the Punjab: he is perhaps more ceremonial, but in the villages he is the actual cultivator of the soil. It would appear that he should not actually hold the plough. That is prohibited, but he uses his spade: he sows, reaps the corn and does all works of husbandry which the Madras Brahmin disdains to do: the Kayasthas of these parts are more intellectual than he: I asked my friend about the mantras connected with his daily ablutions. I found that they were simpler and closer to Vedic texts. The South India Brahmin has mixed up a good deal of the Puranic literature in his invocations. For example, the invocation to Ganesa at the beginning of the morning and evening ablutions finds no place in the Biharee's creed: The Achamayan with the recital of the twelve names of Vishnu is not practised: Otherwise the essential incantations to the sun, the purificatory texts relating to the sprinkling of water, etc., are the same as we find in the South. I learnt from this friend that the practice of personifying two or three purohits and of feeding them during Sradhs is not observed in these parts. The spirit of the dead is invoked in a Kurcha and that is all. In many other respects, I found that we in the South have elaborated and made complex the simplest Vedic rites.

In Bengal, the Brahmin has gone up a step higher. But he has not monopolized learning as in Madras. The Kayasthas are as well placed as the Brahmins. The Kulin Brahmin had at one time a splendid field all to himself in the matrimonial market, but the situation has changed. They are believed to be the descendants of the five priests who were invited to Bengal by an ancient sovereign,

Adisur. It is curious that on the High Court Bench the Brahminical element is stronger, although in the Bar and in other professions there is not the same proportion. Even on the bench there have been Kayasthas of undoubted eminence. Dwarkanath Mitter, Romesh Chunder Mitter, Chunder Madhab Ghose are names worth remembering. Gurudas Banerjee, Ashutosh Chaudhury, Ashutosh Mukerjee belong to the Brahmin class. Among the lawyers Rashbehari Ghose, Monmohan Ghose, Anandamohan Bose, Lalmohan Ghose, Lord Sinha, Sir Benode Chandra Mitter all come from the Kayasthas. Rammohan Roy, Issur Chandra Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Debendra Nath Tagore were Brahmins, and among living men Rabindranath Tagore is the shining light of the Brahmins. Bose and Roy, the great scientists, are not Brahmins. It would appear that the position which the Kayasthas are occupying in Bengal and Behar is due to the fact that, when the British settled there, they were the earliest to act as interpreters and to get themselves employed under the new masters. But even in Madras, the earliest Dubashes were all non-Brahmins and yet they do not seem to have worked their way up.

In Bombay, in most districts, the Brahmin holds no commanding position. This is largely due to the commercial instinct of the people of the Presidency. Employment in the learned professions is not much of an inducement to the Bania or the Bhattia; and it is they that control and guide public opinion in the Presidency. The position is different in the Maharashtra position of it. The rule of the Peishwas and the respect which Sivaji paid to the priestly class created a new atmosphere. The Poona Sastri has come to the fore there and sought employment in public offices. He has created around him the same feeling of antagonism which dogs the footsteps of his brother in Madras.

Before leaving Bombay, I may advert for a moment to the status of Brahmins in the Kathewar States: The Marwaris, as we Madrasis call them, are of all classes: The Brahmins comprise five communities: they are strict vegetarians: Many of them—mostly those in the cities—have taken to trading: a few are pandits in schools and colleges and clerks in Government offices. Those that live in the villages plough, sow and reap as any other class of people does. Their religion is a little more ceremonial than that of the United Provinces or of Behar.

As regards food, we have the Kashmiri Brahmin who is partial to goat's flesh. I wonder whether it is his influence that induced the ruler of that State to prohibit cow-killing within his territories or whether he considers it his misfortune that the Maharaja has promulgated such an ordinance: We have the Bengalee who considers fishes to be fruits of the sea and that, as such, they come under the category of vegetables: In South Canara we have the same variety of the priestly classes. In the majority of cases, vegetarianism is the rule. Of course, I am not speaking of the cosmopolitan Brahmin whose religion depends on his palate and not on shastraic injunctions: was vegetarian diet the traditional one? Or was it due to the wholesome influence of Jainism? Some verses in the Ramayana and some riks in the Vedas may be regarded as lending colour to the belief that Brahmins

were flesh-eaters. Swami Dayanand Sarasvati has been at pains to show that such an interpretation of Vedic texts is wholly opposed to their spirit and letter.

Now for Madras: there are varieties. The Nambudri of Malabar stands on a pedestal of his own. He is the most intolerant of his sect. His treatment of the other classes has thrown thousands into the fold of other religions. As compared with him, the Tanjore Brahmin is nowhere in caste arrogance. Go north and examine the Telugu Brahmin. His acharam is unacceptable to the Brahmin of the Cauvery Delta and of Madura and Tinnevely: the Niyogi with his whiskers does not come up to the right standard of spiritualism. If we go to South Canara, fish-eating at least is not *taboo* to the Brahmin there, although it is not universal. The Brahmin of the southern districts is a different being. Intellectually he has established a record for proficiency in higher learning which is unequalled anywhere. He is not as intolerant as the Nambudri, but his is only a degree less. His aptitude for work is marvellous. Go to any part of India, you will hear that he is the best hack that you can get for the money. His Bible is not the Vedas so much as the Achara Kandam of Vythinadha Dikshitar. There is no doubt that he has been the top dog in Government service for a considerable time. Was it his fault? Was it good luck or was it his misfortune? I incline to the belief that it is the latter. He has created enemies and allowed his brain to move in a groove. The wakening has come—what his future will be, it is difficult to foretell.

One essential feature should not be lost sight of. "Don't touchyism" of the aggressive type is not in evidence beyond the limits of the Madras Presidency. My Behar friend told me that the Purohit who officiates in a non-Brahmin house is not in any way looked down upon. He and the other Brahmins can eat in non-Brahmin houses, sweets and chapatis; only boiled articles, *dole* are not permitted to be taken. Naturally there is greater comradeship between the classes and less friction. There is no objection to the highest and the lowest classes drawing water from the same wells; and in most cases worship in the temple is open to all. I was in Bombay on a Mahasivaratri day and I found men and women of the lowest walks of life rubbing shoulders literally with the highest within the precincts of the Siva temple. The Namasudras and the Mahars, I understand, suffer from some disadvantages, but their disabilities bear no proportion to what their brethren undergo in the South.

The problem is worth investigation why the South Indian Brahmin has developed a code of social life so different from what obtains elsewhere. Is it because the settlers in these parts were a handful and endeavoured to preserve their identity by exclusiveness and aloofness? There is something to be said in favour of this theory. If one scans carefully the mantras recited in Gaya in offering Pindas to the far-off ancestors, he will notice that there is a feeling of lament over those who have migrated to far-off places. At any rate, that is my reading of some of the recitations. Probably a few adventurous spirits—not encumbered with women—left their homes in the north to explore richer fields down below and ultimately settled themselves away from friends and relations. It may also be that, in

the South, the Aryan came into contact with people more civilized than those whom he encountered in the North. Here again the desire to preserve the ancient traditions might have been a powerful factor in avoiding closer touch and in not assuming a spirit of easy familiarity. Romesh Chunder Dutt seems to suggest that there is a lighter streak of Aryan blood in South India than elsewhere. He seems to hint at a mixed parentage for the Brahmin of the Madras Presidency. That may partly account for the Brahmin's assumption of superiority. If the zeal of the convert is proverbial, the anxiety of the hybrid to be regarded as of pure blood is not an unheard-of theory. I hope I am not rubbing my brethren too severely the wrong way. After all, from the point of view of our ancient law-givers the offspring of such mixed marriages had as much right to Brahminhood as children of the purer type. On the other hand, it may be that the northern Brahmin lost much of his spirituality, because of his frequent submission to rulers of different faiths and of different civilizations: in the south, there was not the same experience. The civilization he came in contact with did here not upset his life; and it does not appear that the faith of the earlier settlers of the south of India was antagonistic to the Vedic religion. These facts would account for the purer type of Brahminism that is believed to exist in the Madras Presidency.

Again to whom do we owe the composition of the Puranas? Vyasa is credited with the authorship. Where did he live? If it is not sacrilegious to doubt the theory of the compiler of the Vedas having compiled the Puranas as well, it is open to argument that most of these must have been of South Indian origin. The finest and subtlest religious philosophies came from Madras. Did the Pseudo-Vyasas also hail from the banks of Godavary, Krishna and Cauvery? We are so much Puranic ridden that it is not unlikely that my surmise has some foundation.

I am not afraid to be criticised. I dare say my theories are crude and lack perspicacity and a true grasp of history or tradition. I confess to a feeling of considerable doubt in my own views, but I give expression to them solely with the intention of eliciting discussion.

The summary of my experiences is that, except in Madras and in the Maharashtra country, the Brahmin exercises no commanding influence in the councils of the Empire or in moulding the ideas of the people. I would like this sketch to be followed up by some one who can trace the history of the movement and accurately investigate the causes that have led to the difference in the outlook which are so marked in the career of the Brahmin from one end of the Peninsula to the other.

JAINA TEACHERS AND THEIR CONTEMPORARY KINGS. (PRABHAVIKA CHARITA)

(EXTRACTED BY DR. R. SHAMA SHASTRY, M.A., PH.D.)

(1) The Era of Vikramaditya and the Dynasty of Gardabhilas and of Murundas.*

THE importance of the Puranas as a source of information at least on the list of successive dynasties of kings that ruled over various parts of India is admitted on all hands. Accordingly, relying upon the Puranas historians of India presumed that the Sunga, Kanva and Andhra dynasties successively came one after another and ruled over a great part of Northern India from Pataliputra, their capital in Magadha. But it is a mistake to take them to be successive dynasties and there is evidence to prove that some of those dynasties were more or less contemporaries either beginning earlier or lasting longer than those dynasties which they are supposed to have succeeded. If we were to rely on the accuracy of the Puranas at least so far as the succession of dynasties is concerned, we should be led to believe what the Puranas say regarding the dynasties that succeeded the Andhras. Concerning these dynasties, the Vishnu Purana says as follows:—

“After these, various races will reign as seven Abhiras, ten Gardabhilas, sixteen Sakas, eight Yavanas, fourteen Tusharas, thirteen Murundas (Murundas-Vayu), eleven Maunas (Hunas-Vayu), altogether seventy-nine princes who will be sovereigns of the earth for 1399 years.”

From this one would be led to believe that the Andhras were succeeded by seven Abhira kings who in their turn were succeeded by ten Gardabhilas and others. But there is evidence to prove that this Puranic statement is entirely wrong and that both the Gardabhilas and the Murundas were both contemporary to the Andhras. This evidence is furnished by the Prabhavikacharita or the Life of Jaina Saints, composed by Pradyumnasuri in Samvat (Vedanala sikhi sasi dhara varaha) 1334-1378 A.D. printed by the Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay, and published by B. R. Ghanekar in 1900. There is, however, a mistake on the title page of this book. It is not the work of Chandraprabhasuri, as stated on the title page, but rather the work of Pradyumnasuri, as clearly stated in a verse repeated at the close of every chapter of the work. From the fourth chapter entitled Kalakasuriprabandha of this work, it will be clear that the dynasty of the Gardabhilas was contemporary to the Andhras and that, while Satavahana of the Andhras was ruling in Pratishthana and Murunda in Pataliputra, one of the Gardabhilas, called Gardabhila, was ruling in Ujjayini in Malava. It will also be noticed that, after Gardabhila was slain by the Sakas, Ujjayini passed into the hands of the Sakas and that king

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ED., Q. J. M. S.

Vikrama drove out the Sakas from Ujjayini and established his own dynasty there, celebrating his victory by starting an era after his own name. Again in the eighth chapter entitled *Vridbhavadi-prabandha* the author speaks of *Vikramaditya* as being the contemporary of king *Balamitra* and of the interest which king *Vikrama* took in the religion of the Jainas. He says that the dynasty of king *Vikrama* lasted only for 135 years and was destroyed by the Sakas, his enemies and that they celebrated their victory by starting another era after their own name. Whether reliance can be placed upon this assertion is a question which I leave to scholars for decision. The nature of the event described in the life of *Kalakacharya* appears to me to be true and inclines me to believe that the author has recorded a genuine tradition. A brief summary of the story is as follows :—

There was a city called *Sridharavasa*. There lived a king called *Virasimha* who was very powerful. His wife was called *Surasundari*. He had a son called *Kalaka* and a daughter *Sarasvati*. Once *Kalaka* went out of the city riding on a horse and exercised the horse by various movements. When he and the horse were tired he sat taking rest and heard the noise of speaking in the midst of a forest not far from his resting place. He ordered his minister to ascertain whose speech it was. Having found it out, the minister returned and said that *Gunakara*, a Jaina teacher, was preaching there. The prince went there and listened to *Gunakara's* lecture on the ethics and philosophy of the Jainas. Impressed by his lecture, the prince, permitted by his parents, embraced Jainism and became an ascetic, together with his sister. On the death of *Gunakara*, *Kalaka* took his place and began preaching.

Once he went to Ujjayini. At that time the king of Ujjayini was *Gardabhila* and he happened to be outside the capital (?) when *Kalaka* with his sister was there. Struck with the beauty of *Sarasvati*, the sister of *Kalaka*, *Gardabhila* carried her off. On hearing this through the Jaina nuns who accompanied him, *Kalaka* went to the Court of *Gardabhila* and spoke thus :—

"O *Saivait* king, it is true that we have formed a fence round our *Kachha* to protect its fruits. But when in spite of your being regarded as the protector of the religions of all castes, you yourself carry off and eat fruits, whom shall we complain to?"

When the king paid no attention to his appeal, *Kalaka* in virtue of the *Kshatriya* blood flowing in his veins took an oath that, if he were not to slay the king, his wives and sons, relations and all, he would be guilty of the terrible sin of the slaughter of humanity. When he expressed his determination before the king and the public he was taken for a lunatic. Feeling for his sister, he left for the countries of the *Sakins*, *i.e.*, Sakas, on the banks of the Indus. There were ninety-six Saka States; at their head there was a *Mandalika* with an army of 700,000 horses. *Kalakasuri* sought an interview with the Saka chief and on being admitted into his Court, he requested his help against *Gardabhila*. The Saka chief consented and sent out his 96 feudal chiefs to rescue *Kalaka's* sister. They all arrived at the vicinity of Ujjayini, the capital town of *Gardabhila*, and captured him alive. At the

request of Kalaka he was however let out and banished. The country was divided among the conquerors. Sarasvati was released and taken among the nuns.

Sometime after this event Vikramaditya drove the Sakas out of Ujjayini and made himself the king of the country and started an era after his own name. Then again one hundred and thirty-five years after Vikramaditya, the Sakas destroyed the dynasty of Vikrama and started an era after their own name.

After the banishment of Gardabhila, Kalaka went to Balamitra, the king of Bhrigukachha. Balamitra's brother was called Bhanumitra and his sister Bhanusri. They were the son and daughter of his paternal aunt.

Having arrived at the court of Balamitra, Kalaka conquered his chief priest in religious dispute and converted the king, his priest and his subjects to Jainism. Having spent the rainy season there, he went to Pratishthana (Sthanesvar) which was then the capital of Satavahana. Satavahana himself was a Jaina. (B.C. 27?)

In Kosala there was a king called Vijayabrahma and there was also a merchant called Phulla with his wife called Pratima. Having no son, she went to Parsvanathachaitya and worshipped the image of Parsva. Parsva appeared before her and said that, if she wanted to have a son, she had to go to Vidyadharagachha and drink the water used to wash the feet of the teachers in the gachha where Kalakasuri once flourished. She did so. She then became pregnant and brought forth a son who was called Nagendra. When he became eight years old, he was initiated into the religion of the Jainas. He became an ascetic under Sangamasimbasuri. Mandana was appointed to teach him. When he was ten years old, he became the head of Kashapatta in the place of Sangasimha and became known as Padalipta.

There was then in Pataliputra a king called Murunda. After residing in the court of that king for some time, he went to Bhima, king of Lata. Then he left for the city of Manakheta ruled over by Krishna and then to Balamitra, king of Bhrigukachha.

There was in Pataliputra a king called *Dahada* (probably the father of Murunda). Dahada was converted to Jainism by Mahendra of Bhrigukachha. It is under this Guru that Padalipta learnt Jaina philosophy. Mahendra also converted Krishna of Manakheta to Jainism.

At this time there lived Nagarjuna, the celebrated alchemist. He was a Kshatriya by birth. His father was Sangrama and mother Suvrata. Padalipta converted him to Jainism. At the same time Satavahana was ruling in Pratishthana. While Balamitra with his son Dananjaya was ruling in Bhrigukachha, Satavahana invaded Bhrigukachha and Padalipta saved Balamitra from his attack.

The four Jaina teachers, namely, (1) Aryakhapata, (2) Rudradevasuri, (3) Mahendrasuri, and (4) Padalipta were successive and almost contemporary teachers about 484 after the Nirvana of Mahavira. In Bhrigupura there was a sacred place of pilgrimage for the Jainas. It was often destroyed by enemies and often restored. Among those who restored it one was Vikramaditya whose minister was Limba.

In the seventh year of his era he set up a flag and a golden vessel in the Vira temple which he restored in Vapata.

Siddhasena was Vikrama's teacher. Siddhasena was for some time the teacher of Devapala, king of Karmara nagara. Siddhasena helped Devapala in averting danger to his country by the attack of Vijayavarma, king of Kamarupa.

(The above history is an amplification of what was recorded in a prasasti dated 150 samvat in the Varshasrama matha on the top of Raivata mountain.)

(2) Haribhadrāsuri.

Haribhadrāsuri was a Brahmin priest of Jitari, king of Chitrakuta. He was converted to Jainism by Jinabhatasuri and was elevated to the position of Jaina teachers in Chitrakuta. Two of his sister's sons, Hamsa and Paramahamsa by name embraced Jainism and were studying under Haribhadra. Once permitted by Haribhadra, they went to Sugatapura to study the system of Buddhist logic in the Buddhist college. There was at that time in Sugatapura a great free-boarding school where students were provided with boarding and lodging. After having learnt the logic of the Buddhists, the two students applied the same logic in criticising the religion of the Buddhists. The principal of the college thought it better to expel all Jina students and circulated a notice that, while entering the college, every student should touch with his legs the image of Jina placed at the entrance for the purpose. The two students thought over this difficulty and substituting a Buddha image for that of Jina, they touched it with their feet. There was, however, some doubt whether it was really an image of Jina or of Buddha. The principal, however, made up his mind to murder them and apprehensive of danger, Hamsa and Paramahamsa left the college and began to run away. They were pursued and Paramahamsa was killed but Hamsa somehow or other escaped and took shelter under Surapala, king of Sugatapura. A few days after this he went to Chitrakuta and informed Haribhadrāsuri of what had occurred. Haribhadra came to the Court of Surapala (840 A.D.?) and conquered the Buddhists in religious disputes.

(3) Mallavādi.

In Bhrigukachha (Broach) there were a Buddhist professor Nanda, and a Jaina teacher Jinananda. The latter was defeated by the former in religious dispute and had to leave the place for Valabhi where his sister, Durlabhadevi, lived with her three sons, Jinayasas, Yaksha, and Malla. They all three became Jainas and studied logic. Having become an expert in logic Malla or Mallavadi, as he was called later, went to Bhrigukachha and defeated Nanda in dispute in the presence of All (?), the king of Broach.

(4) Bappabhatti.

In Patala, a town in Gurjara, there lived a Jaina teacher called Siddhasena. Once he went to Modhera, a city not far from Patala to worship the idol of Mahavira. There he met a boy six years old and asked him who he was and whence he came. He said "I am called Bappa, son of Bhatti, living in Panchala." Calling myself Surapala, I used to molest other boys whom I regarded as my enemies. My father was displeased with me and banished me. So I came here to take shelter under you." Accordingly he was taken into the monastery of the Jainas and was taught

Sanskrit. As a boy of extraordinary intellect, he learnt all that he was taught and became a learned man. His Jaina teachers had a great liking to convert him to Jainism and installed him as the head of their monastery. Accordingly they requested his father to make a gift of his son to the Jainas. He consented and accordingly Bappabhattachi was installed with the name of Bhadrakirti in the monastery in Modhera in Samvat 807.

Once while walking outside the monastery Bhadrakirti was caught in rain and standing in a temple met a boy who came thither fully drenched. While talking with the boy, he was struck with his poetical talents in Sanskrit and took him to the monastery after the rain stopped. On being asked about his parentage, the boy said that he was the son of Yasovarman, king of Kanyakubja, a descendant of the illustrious Chandragupta of the Maurya dynasty and that displeased with his father's chastisements, he came thither. He wrote on the surface of the ground that his name was "Âma". On further inquiry he said that while pregnant his mother was banished by Yasovarman and that she brought forth Âma in a Jaina monastery. When Âma's step-mother died, Yasovarman sent men in search for Âma's mother and she was taken in when found. But Âma himself came thither, leaving his mother to go back alone.

Âma stayed in the monastery of Modhera and was educated in all arts befitting his royal descent. While thus living with Bhadrakirti, i.e., Bappabhattachi in close intimacy, he promised that, in case of his inheriting his father's kingdom, he would make it over to Bappabhattachi.

In the course of time his father fell ill and apprehensive of death sent his ministers to bring back Âma and crown him in the kingdom. Immediately after his coronation, Âma sent his army to Modhera to bring Bappabhattachi to Kanyakubja. Permitted by Siddhasena, Bappabhattachi came to Kanyakubja in Samvat 814 and resided in a beautiful building. Under Bhatti's advice, Âma built a number of Jaina monasteries and temples.

Once Bhatti went to the city of Lakshmanavati, the capital of king Dharma, descendant of Paramara dynasty, and succeeded in making Dharma and Âma friends to each other. Then at the invitation of king Dharma Âma went to Lakshmanavati and was given a magnificent royal reception. After staying a few days in the capital of Dharma, Âma returned to Kanuj.

Sometime after this Dharma wrote a letter to Âma inviting Âma and his minister Bappabhattachi to the boundary of the two countries to conduct a religious discussion between Bappabhattachi and Vardhana Kunjara, a Buddhist logician, betting his own kingdom to the winner.

The challenge was accepted and Vardhana Kunjara and Bappabhattachi began to discuss the comparative merits of Buddhism and Jainism in the presence of Vâkpatirâja, a learned scholar in the Court of Dharmarâja. The discussion went on for days and when king Âma was eager to attend to the affairs of his kingdom after closing the dispute, Bappabhattachi succeeded in silencing Vardhana Kunjara with his powerful arguments in favour of Jainism. King Dharma was not however

deprived of his kingdom and was rather prevailed upon to retain it as before. Kunjaravardhana was converted to Jainism. Vākpatirāja who was once defeated in dispute by Vardhanakunjara went with Bappabhatti and living under the patronage of King Āma wrote two works, one Gaudabandha (Gaudavaho) in Prakrit and another Madravijaya in Sanskrit.

At the same time there lived in Hastijaya, a city in Gurjara, two Jaina scholars, Nannasuri and Govindasuri. Nannasuri had a mere literary interest in Vatsyayana's Kāmasūtra and wrote a commentary on it. Seeing this performance, the King of Khētakamandala suspected him of sensual tendency and had no respect for him. At the advice of Govindasuri, Nanna dramatised Mahavira's life and had it staged in the Court of Āma. Āma was very much pleased and invited those two scholars to come to Kanuj and live with him for some time. Accordingly they came to Kanuj and having lived there for some time they returned to Hastijaya.

King Āma was a Saivite and was addicted to sensual pleasures. Bappabhatti took steps to correct him and to convert him to Jainism, if possible. After listening to Bhatti's advice, Āma opened his eyes to the dissipation he was making of his life and asked his Court pandits whether they could suggest any atonement for the sin he has committed. They said that, in view of getting rid of the sin he committed by having intercourse with a Chandala prostitute, he should prepare an iron statue of her and embrace it when red hot. Bappabhatti protested against this kind of atonement and said that mental depravity can only be cured by mental control. Though the king said that he preferred Saivism, he was prevailed upon to embrace Jainism. Even Vākpatirāja was disgusted with the nature of the life the king was living and left for Modhera (Muttra). As a Saivite the king seems to have had also some faith in Vishnu. So he expressed his inclination to go to Muttra to worship the image of Krishna there. Accordingly accompanied by a number of his feudal chiefs and learned men, he went to the temple of Varāha where Bappabhatti composed a number of verses in praise of Vishnu's exploits, both moral and immoral and also of Vishnu's amorous sports. When listening to his amorous poetical effusion the king pointed out the unsuitability of the occasion for such prayers, Bappa said that such gods as he worshipped must have all their compliments paid to them. After discussing with him on the merits of various religions, Bappa succeeded in converting him to Jainism.

Immediately after his conversion, king Āma laid siege to Rajagiri (Rajghir), the capital of Samudrasena, but could not capture it. On being asked when he could capture it, Bappa told him that his grandson would seize it. Then in the course of twelve years there was born a son to his son called Dunduka. Taking this infant in a State palanquin, Āma laid siege again to Rajagiri and succeeded in capturing it. Samudrasena fled from the country. Āma annexed it to his own territory.

Then he went on a pilgrimage to various sacred places of the Jainas—Pundarika mountain, Raivataka mountain, with about eleven kings ruling over the country round it, Dwaraka with the temple of Krishna, and Somesvarapura, whence he

returned to Kanyakubja. On his return he crowned his son Dunduka as king of his kingdom and died on Friday, the fifth of the white half of Bhadrpada, the moon being in Chitra and the sun being in Tula, in the Vikrama year 890.

His son was addicted to sensual pleasures and spent his time in the midst of prostitutes, especially in the company of one called Kandi. He had, however, a son called Bhoja from his queen, a princess of Patalipura. Bhoja was sent to live with his maternal uncle in Patalipura, as Bappabhatti apprehended danger to his life at the hands of his father. Though Dunduka demanded his son's return, Bhatti firmly stood against his return, until at last he was compelled to go himself and bring Bhoja back. Bhatti went there and died in Vikrama 895. After hearing of his father's wicked deeds, he went to Kanuj taking with him three Bijapāra fruits. On forcibly entering into the palace he murdered both his father Dunduka and his concubine Kandi by striking their heart with the fruits he took with him.

As he was liked by all the subjects of Āma, he was immediately crowned king of Kanuj and ruled over the country well with the good advice of Govindasuri.

* THE FOUNDER OF THE VIKRAMA ERA.

BY A. RANGASVAMI SARASVATI, B.A.,

Assistant Epigraphist.

IN the first article under the above heading an attempt was made to show that Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama Era, was the historical king Śūdraka who ruled over Ujjain, set aside the ruling Andra Dynasty, destroyed the power of the Śaka invaders and was a great patron of letters and himself a great poet. There are a large number of other references to Śūdraka and Vikramāditya in literature which tend only to strengthen the theory. The verse लिम्पतीवतमोद्गानि, etc., of the Mṛichchakaṭi which has been called one of the best in Sanskrit literature and about which the Sanskrit savant said "If the whole of the Mṛichchakaṭi were to be destroyed and only that verse were to survive the fame of Śūdraka as a great writer would live on," is found in both the anthologies Subhāshitāvali and Śārngadharaṇḍavatī as the composition of Vikramāditya. The Subhāshitāvali has got about ten verses which are said to be the production of Vikramāditya.

The identity of Śūdraka and Vikramāditya appears to have been forgotten very early in history. Although the fame of Vikramāditya lived on in the form of legends scattered throughout the country changing their form from time to time, the relation of these legends with Śūdraka was lost sight of. The result has been very disastrous to the political as well as the literary history of India. The era was thought to have had its origin in the reckoning of the republican tribe the Malavas starting from the time when those tribes got themselves consolidated into a state.

Scholars have not been rare who questioned the accuracy of this interpretation, but the problem still remains unsolved because they could not satisfactorily establish the identity of Vikramāditya with any historical king who ruled about 56 B.C., that is, when the Āndhrabhṛitya power was in the ascendant. Similarly although the drama Mṛichchakaṭi lived on and although from its characteristics its antiquity was recognized, its exact date and authorship could not be ascertained. It is most curious to note that all the European savants who have done so much in ascertaining the dates of most of the classical authors of Sanskrit and made the writing of the history of Sanskrit literature possible left Mṛichchakaṭi and its author severely alone and uncared for. Some scholars not being able to find out any king called Śūdraka who ruled at any period from Ujjain or any other place, thought that the work was a literary forgery. One scholar suggested from some references that it might be the work of Dandin. But in the previous article it has been shown how Dandin who lived in the beginning of the seventh century refers to Śūdraka and his works and also gives the legendary account

* Vide page 268 to 282 of Vol. XII, No. 3.

of his life current at the period. Another set of scholars took that *Mṛichchakaṭī* was the work of a late poet who worked on the drama *Daridrachārudatta* of Bhāsa and elaborated it to its present form. In addition to doing so he is believed to have written the introductory act of the drama to make it appear as the work of a Śūdraka who was king of Ujjain or Avanthi and about whom he wrote the verses mentioning his scholarship and exploits. The theory appears to be highly improbable if not actually impossible. The *Daridrachārudatta* is merely an abridgment of the *Mṛichchakaṭī* which contains most of the passages of the former work. The name *Daridrachārudatta* of the smaller drama is itself found in the larger one. Whosoever might have been the author of the abridgment, whether it was Bhāsa or not, it seems to be certain that Śūdraka's work was abridged after his time.

The legends and stories about Vikramāditya have had a very curious history. In one place in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* Vikramāditya is said to be the king of Ujjain and the son of Mahēndraditya. In another place he is called Vikramakēsari and is said to have had his capital at Pratiṣṭhāna on the Godāvari. Here the Buddhist Śramana that took him to the Bētāla and wanted to sacrifice him is called Kshāntiśīla. In the fourth story of the Bētāla according to the *Kathāsaritsāgara* Śūdraka is said to be the king of Śōbhāvati. This story is the same as No. 7 of the *Mitralābha* in the *Panchatantra* of Vishnuśarma wherein a faithful servant sacrifices the lives of his wife and only son in order to save that of his master Śūdraka. In the story Śūdraka is called the king of Karṇāṭa. The famous poet Bāṇa who lived in the court of the king of Kanauj Harshavardhana and who took the kernel of the story of Kādambari from the *Bṛihatkaṭhā* mentions Śūdraka as his hero and the whole story is woven round his name. Here Śūdraka is called the king of Ujjain. Later dynasties of India preserve reminiscences of Śūdraka in their historical Prasastis. The terms *Raṇarangaśūdraka* and *Āhavaśūdraka* used in these inscriptions show that in their time the memory of Śūdraka as a great conqueror had not entirely died out. Hāla's reference to Vikramāditya in his *Saptaśati* was thought by some scholars to stamp it as a later work; because they did not know of any Vikramāditya before his time. But Hāla's relation to the *Saptaśati* and his identity as an Āndhrabhritya sovereign are above controversy and the mention of Vikramāditya in it is one of the strongest arguments in favour of the existence of a Vikramāditya at 56 B.C., who was the founder of the Era.

So much has been able to be deduced from Sanskrit secular literature about Śūdraka or Vikramāditya. Jain literature has got several references to a Vikramāditya of Ujjain who founded the Samvat era. Many years ago Dr. Bühler discussing about the dates of the Śunga sovereign Pushyamitra and the great grammarian Patanjali contributed a note in the *Indian Antiquary*, II, Page 362. At the end of the note he subjoined the Prakṛit Gāthas upon which his statements were based, according to the ancient Jain authors Mērutunga Dharmasāgara, and Jinavijayagani. These Gāthas and their translations are given below on account of their importance to the study of the foundation of the Vikrama Era.

जंरायणि कालगओ अरिहातित्थंकरोमहवीरो ।
 तंरायणि अवन्तिवईअहिसित्तोपालगेराया ॥ १ ॥
 सट्ठीपालगरणोपणवणसयंतुहोयिणन्दाण ।
 अट्ठसयंतुमुरियाणंतिसंविअपूसमित्तस्स ॥ २ ॥
 बलमित्तभानुमित्तापट्ठीवरिस्सानिच्छतणहवहणे ।
 तहगइमिह्हरअंतरसवरिस्सासदास्सचौ ॥ ३ ॥

1. Pālaka, the Lord of Avanti, was anointed in that night in which the Arhat and Tirthankara Mahāvīra entered Nirvāṇa.

2. Sixty are (the years) of king Pālaka, but one hundred and fifty-five are the years of the Nandas ; one hundred and eight, those of the Mauryas and thirty those of Pushyamitra.

3. Sixty (years) ruled Balamitra and Bhānumitra, forty Nabhōvāhana. Thirteen years likewise (lasted) the rule of Gardhabilla, and four are (the years) of Śaka.

These verses which are quoted in a very large number of Jaina commentaries and chronological works, but the origin of which is by no means clear, give the adjustment between the eras of Vira and Vikrama and form the basis of the earlier Jaina chronology.

Again Johannes Klatt in his learned article headed " Historical Records of the Jainas " Ind. Ant., XI, p. 251, gives considerable information about Vikramāditya deduced from Jain literature. The portion of this article bearing on the present discussion might be quoted *in extenso*. Kālakasūri, the uprooter of Gardhabhilla, lived in 453 (Vardhamānaśaka). According to other manuscripts the same Kālaka also transferred the Paryushanaparvan and as authorities for the fact are mentioned the Sthānakavṛittika Dharmopadēsamālāvṛitti, Pushpamālāvṛitti, Samastakālākāchārya-kathā and Prabhāvīkacharita. Āryakhaputa lived at the same time 453 (V.S.) according to a Jirnapattavali, but besides it is said that the Prabhāvīkacharita gives the date as 484 (V.S.).

In 467 (V.S.) lived Aryamangu, Vṛidhavādin and Padalipta, at the same time as Siddhasēna-Divākara, the author of the Kalyāṇamandirastava and converter of Vikramāditya 470 (V.S.). Here follow the three prakrit verses which Prof. Bühler first published in Ind. Ant. II, p. 362 (in Verse 3, read Nahavāṇa for Nahavāhana). In a Guravāvali of the Vṛihadgachcha, the following two Gāthas are given :—

सुत्रमुणिवेयजुत्ता ४२०

जिणकलाविक्रमोवरिससट्ठा ६०

धम्माश्चोचालीस ४०

गाइलपणवीसनाइडे अट्ठ ८

इकंमिवाससरा

गयंमिपणतीसवच्छरसदिरा २३५

विक्रमकालाउसगा

णवच्छरोपुणविसंजाओ ॥

These references in ancient Jain religious and canonical literature prove that there was a king of Ujjain called Vikramāditya who founded the era after his name after the expiry of 470 years after the Jain Tirthankara Mahāvira's Nirvāṇa.

The Jain religious work *Prabhāvikacharita* or the lives of Jain Saints by Pradyumnasūri gives a long account of the life of the Jain Āchārya Kālakasūri. This work gives an account of the politics of India at the period when Vikrama is said to have founded the Samvat era. According to this work when Śātavāhana was ruling from Pratishthana and Murunda at Pāṭaliputra, a king called Gardabhila was ruling at Ujjain in Mālva. The Śakas are said to have conquered Ujjain and replaced its king Gardabhila. These Śakas were driven out of Ujjain by the king Vikrama who founded the era after his name. The *Prabhāvikacharita* says that the invasion of the Śakas to Ujjain was brought about by Kālakasūri who invited them to conquer the kingdom to wreak vengeance against the king Gardabhila who tried to outrage his sister. The kingdom of Ujjain was conquered by the Śakas who divided it among themselves but soon Vikrama is said to have driven them out of the country, made himself the sovereign and started the era after his name. The work narrates an account of the achievements of Kālākachārya. He is said to have achieved them in the Courts of Bālamitra, king of Bhṛīgukachcha, Śātavāhana king of Pratishthana, Vijayabrahma king of Kōsala, Murunda king of Pāṭaliputra, Bhīma king of Lāṭa, and Kṛishṇa, king of Manakhēṭa. The work also says how the Jain teacher Padalīpta saved Bālamitra, king of Bhṛīgukachcha, from the attack of his kingdom by Śātavāhana of Pratishthana. The Jain teachers Āryakhapuṣa, Rudradēvasūri, Mahēndrasūri, Padalīpta and Sidhasēna are brought into contact with Kālākachārya and Vikramāditya in this work. Of these Padalīpta is said to have converted the celebrated Alchemist Nāgārjuna to Jainism. Sidhasēna is said to have helped Dēvapāla, king of Karmaranagara against the attack of his country by Vijayavarman, king of Kāmarūpa.

The above account is very interesting. It proves beyond all doubt that there was a Vikramāditya at 56 B. C., ruling over Ujjain but all the stories narrated in it have not got the same degree of credibility. It makes Nāgārjuna, the famous Buddhist Scholiast, and founder of the Mahāyāna, a Jain. The account it gives of King Kṛishṇa of Manakhēṭa seems merely to be a reminiscence of the account of one of the kings of that name who ruled much later at Mānyakhēṭa (Malkhed) and were Jains. Again though it might be true that Vikrama patronized Jainism, it is not likely that he actually became a Jain. In spite of all these doubts it appears to be certain that Kālakasūri, the Jain teacher and author, and Vikramāditya, the king of Ujjain, who founded the era after his name were historical persons. From a study of the account in the *Prabhāvikacharita* Dr. Shama Sastry laid down the proposition which is very important for the history of ancient India that it is a mistake to suppose that the dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas succeeded each other and that there is evidence to prove that some of those dynasties were more or less contemporaries either beginning earlier or lasting longer than those dynasties which they are supposed to have superseded. If one were to rely on the accuracy of the

Purāṇas as regards what they say about the succession of these dynasties, they would be committing a great mistake. The Vishṇupurāṇa says "after these various races will reign seven Abhiras, 10 Gardabhilas, 16 Śakas, 8 Yavanas, 14 Tusbaras, 13 Murundas and 7 Haunas, altogether 79 Princes who will be sovereigns of the earth for 1399 years." But the evidence of the Prabhāvikacharita and Jain tradition shows that the kings Murunda and Gardabhila were contemporaries and the dynasties represented by them should also have been contemporary. Any other way of looking at these dynastic lists would make the last of these dynasties as having ruled as late as the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D., which would militate against all accepted views of the history of India during the period.

(To be continued.)

SOLAR SIGNS IN INDIAN LITERATURE.

BY K. G. SESA AİYAR, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., *Trivandrum.*

IN his learned articles on '*Solar Signs in Indian Literature*' published in the issues of the Journal for July and October, 1921 Mr. Kameswara Aiyar states certain conclusions which, if accepted, will set at rest some vexed questions of Indian literary history. He says that, if in any Indian work any sign of the solar zodiac is mentioned or the calendrical week or any week-day occurs, then that work should be relegated to a period not anterior to the 5th century of the Christian era, when alone, he says, India borrowed these notions from the Greeks. He does not stand alone in holding this view; and for that very reason it seems to me desirable that the premises on which the conclusion is rested should be examined. I am conscious of my limitations for a task of such moment; and if, nevertheless, I venture to say a word or two questioning the premises, it is only with the view that a discussion may be provoked on a subject of outstanding importance.

As regards the zodiacal signs in Indian literature, Mr. Kameswara Aiyar's argument, shortly put, is as follows: Though in the Babylonian and Assyrian zodiac there were twelve divisions, there were only eleven picture-signs, Libra or the Balance being unknown, and its division being occupied by a second scorpion. The Greeks, who borrowed the zodiacal signs from the Babylonians, replaced the pair of scorpions by a single scorpion with 'claws' stretched across two divisions. The Balance as a distinct sign must have been introduced by the Greeks about the first century B.C. As the Indian zodiac consists of twelve distinct signs, including Libra, it must have been borrowed after the first century B.C. from the Greeks; and the earliest opportunity for such borrowal occurred only in the time of Chandragupta II in the 5th century. This reasoning, I submit, is vitiated by a fundamental error, relating to the seventh sign of the zodiac.

It may be conceded that no representation of the Balance has been yet discovered on any Assyrian cylinder. It may also be conceded that the earlier Greek writers like Eudoxus and Hipparchus, knew of only eleven zodiacal symbols, and the Balance is first mentioned as the sign of the autumnal equinox by Geminus and Varro. Nevertheless, in the words of the learned writer on the *Zodiac* in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Vol. 28, page 994), "Libra was not of Greek invention. Ptolemy, who himself chiefly used the 'Claws,' speaks of it as a distinctively Chaldaean sign; and it occurs as an extra-zodiacal asterism in the Chinese sphere. An ancient Chinese law, moreover, prescribed the regularization of weights and measures at the *spring* equinox. No representation of the seventh sign has yet been discovered on any Euphratean monument; but it is noticeable that the eighth is frequently doubled, and it is difficult to avoid seeing in the pair of zodiacal scorpions carved on Assyrian cylinders the prototype of the Greek

scorpion and claws. Both Libra and the sign it eventually superseded thus owned a Chaldaean birth place." In that view, the basis for the statement that the Indian zodiacal series was borrowed from the Greeks vanishes; for if India must have been a borrower in this respect, she might have owed the symbols to Babylonia or Assyria, with which countries she had, as I shall try to show presently, extensive intercourse in the distant past.

As regards the planetary week, Mr. Kameswara Aiyar is also certain that India borrowed it from the Greeks after the 5th century A.C. He writes: "Everywhere in Sanskrit literature, it is Sunday that heads the list of week-days. Till we find any list which starts with Saturday or any passage showing precedence to Saturday as the first of the week-days, we have to fall back on the only explanation possible, *viz.*, that we adopted the week from the Alexandrians as they had it, after the edict of Constantine the Great about 325 A.D. had transferred the precedence from the astronomically correct Saturday to the ecclesiastically appropriate Sunday; and the intellectual intercourse of the northern Indians with Alexandria was set up only after Chandragupta had opened up free access thereto." This view is also based, it seems to me, on erroneous assumptions. The underlying notion here is that the primitive week began with Saturday and closed with Friday, and it was only after the edict of Constantine that Sunday was placed at the head of the list, so that thereafter the week-days stood from Sunday to Saturday. If so, what is the explanation for the Jewish week, which at least from the date of the flight of the Jews from Egypt, according to Dio Cassius, if not also from pre-exilic times, has had Sunday as the first and Saturday as the last day of the week? Obviously, every nation that begins its week with Sunday had not to wait for the constitution of Constantine of 321 or borrow that arrangement from the Alexandrians after the edict. And why does Mr. Kameswara Aiyar say that 'astronomically' Saturday is the 'correct' day to lead the week? It may be that Saturn is the most distant of the planets of ancient astronomy; but the Sun, which the ancients regarded as one of the seven planets, is the largest and most conspicuous body in the heavens, 'at whose sight all the stars hide their diminished heads,' and thus easily it will be accorded precedence over other planets. Now, accepting a day of 24 hours and arranging the planets in the order of their distance, if we regard the Sun, as by reason of its outstanding importance it may with justification be regarded, as presiding over the first hour of the first day and therefore also over the eighth, the fifteenth and the twenty-second hours, then Venus will have the twenty-third and Mercury the twenty-fourth hour, and the Moon as the third in order from the Sun will preside over the first hour of the second day of the week. Mars, as the third from the Moon will preside over the first hour of the third day, and so on; and according to this arrangement there would be a week calculated from Sunday to Saturday. I see no necessity whatever for first postulating a week beginning with Saturday and then appealing to the constitution of Constantine for its alteration into one beginning with Sunday. But did the constitution of Constantine of 321 A.C. really alter the arrangement of the week days? According to all

the four evangelists, the resurrection of Jesus Christ took place on the first day of the week after the crucifixion; that is on Sunday. That day was, naturally therefore, a holy day for the Christians, the Lord's Day, to adopt the words of the writer of the Apocalypse; and Constantine on his conversion to Christianity directed that that holy day, Sunday, which was already the first day of the week, shall be the day of rest, in opposition to Saturday, the seventh day of the week, which was and still is the Sabbath of the Jews. He did not alter the order of the week-days. It was not by the constitution of Constantine that Sunday was advanced to the position of the first day of the week; it had occupied that leading position even in the Jewish week from perhaps pre-exilic times; and so, the basis on which Mr. Kameswara Aiyar founds his 'only explanation' of the week days in Indian literature disappears.

In my paper on the *Date of Chilappatikaram* (Madras Christian College Magazine, September 1917), I have attempted to refute the view that India borrowed the week and the week-days from the Greeks about the 5th century A.C. Those that hold this view depend as their sheet anchor on the fact that the earliest instance so far known in Indian epigraphy of the use of the week-day is afforded by the Eran inscription of Budha-Gupta of the year 484; and they say that early Indian literature does not afford authenticated instances of the use of the week-days in the civil life of the country. However, the *Hitopadesa* mentions *Bhat-taraka-vara* (Sunday), the *Vaikanasa Dharmasutra* which Dr. Macdonell assigns to the 3rd century, mentions *Budha-vara* (Wednesday); and *Yagnyavalkya Smṛti* mentions Sunday and Monday. The *Matsya Purana* which is regarded as the earliest among the *Puranas* mentions the planets in their week-day order. Ordinarily these instances ought to suffice to rule out the suggestion that India borrowed the week-days only in the 5th century; but the advocates of that theory seek to belittle the value of these instances on the hypothesis that they must be interpolations or later additions. That hypothesis may always be advanced to meet any instance that literature may afford; but suppose early literature does not afford instances of the use of week-days: does it necessarily follow that the country did not know of the week-days earlier than the 5th century? Even among the Babylonians and Assyrians, who were undoubtedly cognizant of the week-days, there is the high authority of Dr. Robertson Smith for saying that the planetary week did not prevail in civil life. The fact appears to be that the week-days were probably regarded originally as part of the occult lore of the land, and hence were not employed for general purposes for a considerable length of time.

If India must have borrowed the astrological week from elsewhere, why should it not have been from Babylonia or Assyria? The late Shankar Balakrishna Dikshit says in his *Early History of Bharatiya Jotisha* that India got the week-days from the Chaldaeans long before the Christian era. Mr. V. S. Dalal in his *History of India* also expresses the same view. That there was commerce on an international scale between Babylon and India, it seems to me it is idle to deny. We read in the *Book of Kings* that Solomon's fleet went to Ophir and returned laden with gold, precious

stones and "almug" wood (1. Kings IX. 28, X. II), which is conjectured to be the Indian sandalwood. Wherever Ophir might have been, in South Arabia as Genesis X. 29 seems to indicate or in India as has been often asserted, it is quite clear that among the cargo that Solomon's ships brought on their return were Indian articles, such as aloes and peacocks (1. Kings X. 22). Philology discloses that the Hebrew words *tuki* and *ahalin* come from the Tamil words *tokai* and *agil* respectively; and it is interesting to note that the Hebrew word for muslin is *sindhu*, so called obviously from the land of the Indus whence it was exported. Arrian mentions that the maritime city of Patala in the Indus delta was the centre of trade between India and Babylonia. Thus there was international traffic in merchandise and manufactures between the two countries in very remote times. Among the business tablets found in Nippur in Babylonia, records of dealings by a banking house with Indian merchants have been discovered. Ancient Hindu intercourse with the Hittites of Syria is evidenced by the occurrence of the Sanskrit numerals *eka*, *tri*, *panca*, *sapta*, *nava*, in the cuneiform inscriptions of Boghoskoi; and further it has been brought to light that one of the languages in which the inscriptions in that city are written is an old Indian language. Again, recent investigations have disclosed the significant fact that gods bearing such names as *Mitra-sil*, *Aruna-sil* and *Indra*, names possessing an unmistakable relation to the names of Hindu Gods, were worshipped in the Mitani Kingdom which was situated on the right bank of the river Kur, and which extended towards the Caspian sea. From all this it may be concluded that in the distant past there was extensive intercourse between India and Babylonia and Assyria; and when two civilized peoples have such intercourse, I should have thought that between them exchange of intellectual ideas would have been as easy and natural as the exchange of the products of their labour. The natural tendency would be to produce between them a material and social comity which might be expected to affect the fabric of arts, science, letters, philosophy and religion of each nation. Nevertheless, Mr. Kameswara Aiyar tells us that the first opportunity for India to borrow from or exchange with another country intellectual ideas or devices presented itself only in "the golden period of the Guptas," when Chandragupta Vikramaditya's successful arms had reduced Gujarat and Kathiawar and opened up free access to the ports of western India. We are not told what agency prevented the advance of intellectual waves from Babylonia or Assyria to Indian shores, when there was brisk international traffic between those kingdoms and India. I do not know if in Mr. Kameswara Aiyar's view, the cataclysm of war, violence or disorder is an essential prelude to the interchange of intellectual ideas between two nations, as the use of the expressions, "a collision of two cultures", "a clash and competition between conflicting modes of thought", which he employs in this connection, seems to suggest. If European ideas "travelled with the goods of the Alexandrian merchants" into India in Chandragupta's days and influenced his court and subjects, why, as the result of the ancient sea-borne commerce between India and Babylonia, should not some Babylonian thoughts and ideas have travelled to India along with Babylonian goods or money? At any rate,

readers of Juvenal's *Satires* know that Indian astrologers competed with their Chaldaean brethren for the custom of rich Roman ladies in the latter part of the first or the beginning of the second century; and consequently Indian astrology need not have waited till the 5th century A.C. to make its borrowal of the week-days. It could have effected it without trouble from the Chaldaean astrologers themselves long before that date.

I know I shall be regarded as over-bold if I suggested that, after all, India might not have borrowed the astrological week from abroad. There are scholars who hold the view that Sumerian culture was of Indian origin; but that is a very large question which need not be discussed here. Having regard to the conditions under which controversies regarding ancient Indian culture are usually conducted, even much more modest claims on behalf of ancient India cannot be advanced without considerable temerity. Everybody knows that, whenever in respect of any branch of ancient learning a claim for originality is made on behalf of India, the burden of establishing or even rendering probable that claim is thrown on the person who advances it; for the normal condition is taken to be that India should be relegated to the position of the borrower. Whether India borrowed her astronomy and astrology from abroad is not by any means a settled question. Prof. MaxMuller and Dr. Thibaut entertained the view that the study of astronomy in India was indigenous. It has now passed beyond the range of controversy that the lunar zodiac was invented in India. The various religious observances and ceremonial rituals ordained for the Hindu, necessitated astronomical or astrological study and calculation for their regulation. The new moon and the full moon would naturally become religious occasions and thus a lunar month would come to be regarded as consisting of two sacred cycles. A further basis for the sub-division of each of these cycles might be found in the phases of the moon; and a week so determined will have an average length of 7 days in round numbers, discarding fractions. This number coinciding with the number of planets in ancient astronomy, the idea would naturally suggest itself to a people with imagination, as the ancient Hindus certainly were, of assigning a day to each planet. So far the ancient Hindus need not have gone to foreign lands for inspiration. It is, however, said that in settling the order of the week days, ancient India depended on foreign help. It is stated that the division of the civil day into 24 hours determined the order of the week days; and a day of 24 hours is unknown in Indian literature. I am not quite sure that the statement that the division of the nycthemeron into 24 parts is not met with anywhere in Indian literature is correct; for it is my belief that from Kalidasa's writings it may be gathered that he uses the twenty-four hours day; but that apart, can the order of the week-days be explained only on the basis of 24 parts to the nycthemeron? The week-days may also be explained on the basis of a day of 60 *ghatikas* which I believe is a division peculiar to India. The planets of ancient Indian astronomy are the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. If we consecrate the first *ghatika* of the first day to the Sun, as the most important of the planets, then Mars will have the second *ghatika*,

Jupiter the third, Saturn the fourth, the Moon the fifth, Mercury the sixth, Venus the seventh and the Sun again the eighth *ghatika*. On this arrangement the Sun will ultimately have the 57th *ghatika*, Mars the 58th, Jupiter the 59th and Saturn the 60th *ghatika* of the first day of the week ; and over the first *ghatika* of the second day the Moon will preside. In the same manner, Mars will preside over the first *ghatika* of the third day, Mercury over the first *ghatika* of the fourth day, Jupiter over the first *ghatika* of the fifth day, Venus over the first *ghatika* of the sixth day and Saturn over the first *ghatika* of the seventh day of the week. Perhaps this explanation of the origin of the week-day order in India will be pronounced to be patriotic ; but may I submit that 'patriotic' need not necessarily be equivated with 'unscientific' or 'fanciful' ? I may here note the fact, for that may have some significance, that while the ancient Chaldaean day and the Indian day resemble in being reckoned from sunrise to sunrise, the ancient Egyptians and the ancient Greeks reckoned their day from midnight to midnight.

The suggestion that ancient India owed the evolution of her planetary week and week-days to her own genius, may or may not be acceptable ; but if a borrowal has to be postulated, then Mr. Kameswara Aiyar himself seems to admit the possibility of the Tamil people having been able to derive the solar signs, the week and similar conceptions from the Babylonians or the Greeks several centuries before Christ ; and I venture to suggest that the same possibility may be claimed not unreasonably for Northern India or ancient Sanskrit India also.

REVIEWS.

The Mahabharata.

Notes of a study of the preliminary chapters, being an attempt to separate genuine from spurious matter.)

BY MR. V. VENKATACHELLA AYYAR, B.A., B.L., NELLORE.

THE excellent study before us is based on the comparative examination of four recensions of this famous epic, namely, the Calcutta edition of Pratap Chunder Roy, an edition in Telugu characters published about sixty years ago, the Dravida recension published by some Kumbakonam Pandits and the Bombay edition by Messrs. Gopal Narayan & Co. The author has laid under contribution also a translation in Telugu of the epic by the great Telugu poet Nannaya Bhatta in the eleventh century A.D. and the reference to the epic by Al beruni.

While in the main all the recensions agree as to the text of the epic, the divergence among them as to portions of the same are palpably great. No one text agrees with another in the number of slokas it gives. The sequence of the chapters is often found varied. The arrangement of matter differs, frequently, in respect of even individual chapters. Whole Adhyayas or chapters, given in one edition, are looked for in vain in the others. The careful student cannot fail to observe the literary style of different epochs brought together, oftentimes in the course of the same Adhyayas. The artless simplicity of the early periods, the artificialities of the latest, and the rhetorical flourishes of the mediæval period may be seen side by side in a strange combination in the course of the same chapter. A critical study of the text is a real necessity. The Bharata, as we find it, is an encyclopædia treating of many subjects which have no connecting bond between them. We find in it what was offered as history, what was regarded as geography, what was believed to be religion, philosophy, polity, science, and several other topics of interest. Did the Bharata exist at the start in the form in which we find it? Was it the work of one man or of one period?

It is these questions that Mr. Venkatachella Ayyar attempts to answer in the book of over 400 pages before us. And he has answered them in no uncertain voice. The volume is replete with instances of careful exegetical study and unbending logic. The close analysis of the preliminary chapters and the well-reasoned comparison of parallel readings have yielded a rich and interesting harvest.

To follow the arguments in the book even briefly would take us far beyond the space permitted us. We would content ourselves with remarking that the interested reader will be amply rewarded by even a cursory perusal of the work. We can here hardly do more than summarize a few of the conclusions arrived at

by the author. "Putting the several facts together, that Dhritarashtra's summary ends with the contents of the 11th Book; that the Sauti has not carried it farther; that his own summary, up to the point of his introducing Dhritarashtra, stops with the outbreak of the war; that the suggestion in the next Book leads to the inference that only the first eleven Books were canonical; we may take it as tolerably certain that the last seven Books are spurious." "The undermentioned suggestions may be inferred from the contents of the first chapter:—1. That the Bharata existed in various forms in various periods. 2. That the extent of the Bharata of Vyasa, *i.e.*, of the original cast, was probably not greater than 8,800 verses. That the upakhyānam formed no part of Vyasa's Bharata. That systematized efforts were made to convert it into an encyclopædia. That the didactic portions, and those concerned with the elaborations of "Vedic and Shastric" teachings were interpolations of later periods. Repetitions frequently occur of the same story in the Mahabharata. "The reason can be suggested. It is probable that the first version of the story, which is generally brief, was all that the original cast contained. But later, workers at the Bharata took in hand the revision of the episodes, amplifying them in every way they conceived." Regarding the notorious incident of the attempt to strip Draupadi naked in the Durbar Hall of Duryodhana, Mr. Ayyar has the following:—"In all probability, the idea, as to the outrage on Draupadi, of the earlier draft of the Bharata, was confined to her enforced appearance in the public hall, contrary to the customs and manners of the country (here we feel some difficulty in agreeing with the author that there was any such custom prevalent in those times); that the further outrage of attempting to strip her of her wearing apparel was the invention of a later age; that the appeal to Krishna, the Avatar, and his miraculous intervention, were yet later introductions intended for the glorification of the Avatar." As regards the 12th and the 13th Books, namely Santi and Anusasānika Parvas, he says: "They are stupendous forgeries; the 13th Book was of a later period than the 12th; in the case of both these Books, they were repeatedly added to in later generations."

The above extracts will amply show the wide field for interesting study that the subject offers; and Mr. Ayyar is a safe friend with whom to explore these fields. We shall conclude this all too brief a review with our tribute of praise for his patient and fruitful labours. We are aware that the attentions of a select body of scholars are being devoted to this study in the Bhandarkar Institute and we have little doubt that those researches will, in a large measure, bear out many of Mr. Ayyar's conclusions so far as they go.

A. V. R.

Records of the IV Madras Pioneers, 1759—1903.

(Now the 64th Pioneers)

BY MAJOR H. F. MURLAND, 64TH PIONEERS.

This handsomely turned-out quarto volume of over 300 pages is a substantial contribution to the history of early British military activities in South India; and Major Murland deserves the gratitude both of those who are interested in the history of this gallant and faithful old regiment and of those who delight to wander through the mazes of Indian history in general. The wideness of his researches, often through records that are not easily come by, and the care and thoroughness with which the work has been done, merit the highest commendation. In following the fortunes of the regiment over parts of three centuries, Major Murland has set himself to indicate the politics of the times, the movements of armies on both sides of the fields of war, and the issues of the various campaigns that come under review. The present writer knows of no single volume or series of volumes in which such information, succinct and exact, has been brought together. It is rather a matter of regret that the "Records" are published for private circulation only; and therefore the presentation of a copy to the Mythic Society by the 64th Pioneers gains the more both in grace and intrinsic value. Rather more than half the book is taken up by the story of the campaigns in which the regiment participated, together with the tale of its doings as a Pioneer regiment in civil undertakings; then follows a series of most interesting extracts which illustrate the interior economy of the regiment; and the book is closed with some account of the British and Indian officers who have been connected, through the period covered, with the life and doings of the regiment. It would be hard to say which of these is the most valuable contribution to history, for each has a unique interest and value.

The names of the British officers bring to our memory the great family names of the Turings, the Dovetons, the Munros, and many others. Old sepoys name the regiment after Baillie, "Baillie-Ki-Paltan", famous for his great, but ill-supported, stand against Hyder and Tippu at Pollilur in 1780 and for his heroic fortitude during imprisonment in Seringapatam, till death relieved his sufferings but it appears clear that he did not himself raise the regiment. The credit of that rests with George Airey, probably its first commanding officer. Honour further clings to the regiment in that Flint, who defended Wandiwash for 167 days in 1780-81; was at least nominally its Lieut. Colonel in 1797; while we doubt not that the memory of Thomas Munro's enrolment for two years with the regiment is highly treasured. Probably many of our readers will desire to see the old drawing, preserved in the regimental officers' mess, which represents Baillie handing his sword to Hyder after the battle of Pollilur.

Since the history will be available to members of the Mythic Society in its library, little need here be said of the history of the four British campaigns against Hyder Ali and his son Tippu, nor of the war against the Mahrattas by Wellesley.

Enough to say that readers can rely both on the general outline of history, and also on its details; a careful study of the latter can hardly produce a single correction, and none that is important. Local members of the Society will delight to note that the present 64th—formerly the 5th, and then the 4th battalion, with at first "Coast sepoys," then "Carnatic Battalion," afterwards "Madras Native Infantry," as its descriptions—was present in Mysore in 1768 under the renowned Col. Joseph Smith, again at the capture of Bangalore and the siege of Nandidroog, and did heavy convoy work in the campaign of 1799 under the direction of Capt. Alexander Read. One of its commandants, Capt. Nathaniel Dawes, died at Bangalore in March, 1791, just after the siege, and was buried in the fort itself, but his tomb like many another has been swept out of recognition.

The amazing fidelity and service of the Indian sepoy of South India is revealed again in these records. When the fortunes of the British were suffering eclipse in 1780—84, when the Civil authorities and the Military leaders were hopelessly at variance and consequently the troops were again and again more than half starved and almost helpless for lack of stores and ammunition, when leaders hesitated and bungled away their chances of victory, then the sepoys kept faith and fighting spirit to an extent that elicits wonder and admiration. Smith, Coote, Wellesley, all in their turn testify to the bravery and endurance of their sepoys. Perhaps the time when their lamp shone brightest was when numbers of those who had escaped from the disaster of Baillie, and had made their way to the army that did not make its way to them, still marched and fought with the most gallant. Major Murland rightly does not attempt to indicate the worth of all this, because it is beyond description; he contents himself with the bare record of facts and of the statements of eye-witnesses.

Readers of old records of military doings in India must often have been struck to find how very young numbers of the British troops and officers were. Tippu could find about sixty youths in captivity in the neighbourhood of Bangalore in 1783, and sent them off to be included in his 'cheylah' battalions. Here is a record of two boys, neither more than fifteen years of age, in charge of companies at the siege of Pondicherry in 1778; a fact possibly due to the old system which sometimes granted a deceased father's commission to his son even, as in the case of General Monin, buried at Trichinopoly, at the tender age of five years. Other reasons lay in the difficulty in securing recruits for India, so that recruits were found in the immature, and often, alas, in the gaols of the country.

We note with great interest in the record of the interior economy of the regiment, the system, started in 1785, of granting the pay of a sepoy who had been killed or had died in the service to one of his sons, who when he was ripening into manhood must either enlist or be struck off the regimental roll. The system seems to have worked well, for two years after its initiation the numbers of two "recruit boys" per company were increased to forty per regiment, and that again shortly after to fifty. How much of regimental tradition, pride of service, mutual affection, must have been fostered by this old system!

It is interesting to laymen in matters military to note the frequency of the changes in details of regimental equipment, clothing, pay, etc., through the years. Military tailors have ever had keen eyes, and changeable tastes. We note that the best leaders were ever the most careful of their men, even of their finances. Smith *e.g.*, recommended in 1770 that commanding officers should not stop "more than four, or at most five, rupees from any sepoy" for his clothing. "Slops" that clothing is called later in the same year, a term that is now unknown to modern English generally, but is retained in the rural districts of North England to describe, when used in the singular an "overall, a smock," and when in the plural a man's nether garments, specially of a "sloppy" cut.

The dress of British soldiers and their officers in those early days must have been a burden to the flesh in days of battle and long marching. William Hickey is quoted here as witnessing to the fact that "officers in India dress precisely the same (in point of coat at least), as in Europe, and although certainly absurd in such extreme heat, actually button the lapel close up to the throat." The drawings which represent the 18th century soldier in India bear the same testimony to the use of very unsuitable Western clothing by the Eastern campaigner. Small wonder that the climate claimed vast number of victims. On the other hand a study of the dress of the sepoys as described in 1780 shows that it was as simple and efficient as it was picturesque.

Much more has been marked down for comment, but the reviewer must be content thus far to commend these fascinating "Records" to the Mythic Society's readers, being sensible that this but poorly indicates the great worth of the compilation that Major Murland has given us.

F. G.

Magadi Kempegowda.

BY S. K. NARASIMHAIA.

The book gives a connected account of the reign and doings of Kempegowda and his ancestors and fills up the gap in the history of Mysore so far as it relates to the family of this chieftain who is gratefully remembered even to this day. Mysore is a land in which several Palegars have played their part and Kempegowda is one of the foremost among them. Monuments erected by him can be seen in and around Bangalore. The remains of the several forts built by him, the temples and tanks constructed and the many grants made by him bear ample testimony to his wise administration, his scrupulous regard for the protection and welfare of his subjects and lastly his devotion and charitable disposition generally. Even within the precincts of Bangalore, which is stated to have been founded by him, we see several remains of the structures erected by him and the four watch towers are a daily reminder to the people of this great man. He is surely a personage any people may be proud of and yet very little is known or written

about him and his reign except as a builder of this temple, the grantor of that inam and so on. The author in bringing together all the scattered information about this illustrious chieftain has done a real public good. Though there is scope for improvement, he deserves to be congratulated on the success his maiden attempt has achieved.

We hope some one will take up an English version of Kempegowda for the benefit of people not well versed in Kannada.

T. S.

Ramayana.

BY P. V. JAGADISA AYYAR.

(of the Madras Archaeological Department)

We thank the author for having placed us in possession of a copy of this book. It is a nice abstract in English of the famous epic. It is neatly got up and is written in easy style. It is useful for general reading by boys and girls for whom it is primarily meant.

N.B.—Copies can be had of Messrs. Vaidyanathan Bros., Mylapore, Madras—Price Rs. 1-8-0.

Siva Tattwa Ratnakara.

(To be published by Messrs. B. M. Nath & Co., Vepery, Madras)

We are in receipt of a prospectus of the above work from its publishers. It is a famous work on the Veerāsaiva cult, compiled in the early part of the 18th century under the patronage of the Lingayet King *Basavaraja of Keladi*. The publication of the Sanskrit text with an English translation is promised.

Considering the size and importance of the work, the price is low being only about Rs. 12 and the publishers deserve the support of all Veerāsaivas and students of Indian religions in their undertaking.

**Books presented or purchased during the quarter
ending 30th September 1922.**

Registrar, Calcutta University—

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. VIII.

Superintendent, Government Printing, India.

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for 1920-21.
Index to Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, Nos. 1—6.

Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab.

Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1921.

Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa.

Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Central Circle, for 1920-21.

Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma—

Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for the period ending 31st March 1922.

Presented by—

Rajasabhabhushana Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.B.E., M.R.A.S.

Caravan Journeys and Wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkestan and Beloochistan by J. P. Ferrier.

“ St. Thomas, the Apostle in India.”

Dr. M. Sreenivasa Rao, M.A., M.D.

Drittes Jahrbuch Der Schopenhauer Gessellschaft, Ausgegeben. 22nd February 1914.

Allgemeine Geschichte Der Philosophie Mit Besonderer Beriickjichtigung Der Religionen Erster Band, Dritte Abteilung—“ Die Nachvedische Philosophie Der Inder ” by Paul Deussen.

Do “ Allgemaïne Einleistung und Philosophie Des Veda Bis Auf Die Upanishads ” by Paul Deussen.

Do “ Die Philosophie Der Upanishads.”

Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E. (Author)

Anthropological Papers—Part II.

Asiatic Papers—Part II.

Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, B.A.

The Russian Grammar by Ch. Reiff.

Mr. K. Rama Sastry, B.A. (*Author*)

"Akkalpundi Grant of Singaya Nayaka."

Mr. N. G. Venkatasubbayyar, *Teppakulam*.

"Saptashatakam Des Hala" edited with notes and translation by A. Weber.

Mr. B. Ghosal, M.A., *Bhopal State Museum*.

"Sanchi Tope" by Sir John Marshall.

"The influence of the age on the writer" by Ghosal, M.A.

Mr. R. Rama Rao, B.A. (*Author*)

Jaimini Bharata Katha Sangraha.

Mr. S. K. Narasimhaiya (*Author*)

"Magadi Kempegowda"

64th Pioneers.

Records of IV Madras Pioneers from 1759 to 1903 by Major H. F. Murland.

Executors and residuary legatees of the late Pradhanasiromani Mr. T.

Ananda Rao's Estate.

The entire library of Mr. Ananda Rao.

Received from Bhavanagar.

"Nagarothpathi."

Purchased—

Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgalandischen Gesselschaft 76 band—1 Heft.

An Alphabetical Encyclopædia by Dr. Emil Reich.

A concise dictionary of Egyptian Archæology by M. Brodrick and Anderson Morton.

A new classical dictionary of Biography, Mythology and Geography by William Smith.

A classical dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquities of Biography, Geogra phy and Mythology by H. B. Walters.

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KALPA-SUTRAS AND APASTAMBA.

BY B. V. KAMESVARA AIYER, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S.

Sūtra literature falls under two broad heads: (1) the *sūtras* of the *śaḍ-darśanas*,* (the six systems of Indian philosophy) and (2) the Kalpa *sūtras*. It is not easy to decide which is earlier. It is however probable, as pointed out by Dr. G. Bühler,† that some of the later authors of the Kalpasūtra, like Āpastamba, were acquainted with the *pūrva* and the *uttara mīmāṃsā*, the latter of which presupposes the other philosophical systems. Of these six systems, five do not concern themselves with the Karma-Kāṇḍa (ritualistic portion) of the Vedas. The *pūrva-mīmāṃsā sūtra* of Jaimini alone occupies itself with the Karma-Kāṇḍa and lays down the canons which apply to the interpretation of Vedic texts and which have been accepted by the *uttara mīmāṃsā* or Vedānta and applied by it to the interpretation of Upanishadic texts. Excepting the *pūrva mīmāṃsā*, there is little in common between the *darśana-sūtras* and the Kalpa-*sūtras*.

The Kalpa-*sūtra* constitutes one branch of the Vedāṅgas, out of the six branches ‡ of knowledge which are considered necessary for the correct

* Nyāya and Vaiśeṣhika, Sāṅkhya and Yoga, *pūrva* and *uttara mīmāṃsā*.

† S. B. E., Vol. II, Introduction.

‡ These are *Sikshā* (phonetics), *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *Chhandas* (metrics), *Nirukta* (etymology and explanation of Vedic words), *Jyotiṣa* (astronomy) and *Kalpa* (rituals).

understanding of the Vedas. The main divisions of a Kalpa-sūtra are three:— (1) *Śrauta* which, digesting and arranging the teaching of the Vedic Samhitās and Śākhās, lays down rules for the performance of the several sacrifices in the three Vedic fires, (2) *Grihya*, which lays down rules for the performance of the rites like *Upanayana*, *Vivāha* and *Śrāddha* in the grihya (*aupāsana*) fire and (3) *Dharma or Sāmayāchārīka*, which summarises the teachings of the Vedas and the practice of the wise and learned with regard to the duties of the several *varṇas* and *āśramas* and the penances and penalties for dereliction of duties.

At one time, there appear to have been many complete works treating of all the three divisions of the Kalpa. A great many of them have been lost, their authors* being quoted or referred to by the later Sūtrakāras. The existing Kalpa sūtras are (1) for the Rig Veda, Śāṅkhāyana and Āśvalāyana whose works, as now extant, are confined to the śrauta and the grihya, (2) for the Sāma Veda, Lātyāyana and Drāhyāyana (śrauta), Gobhila and Khādīra (grihya) and Gautama (dharma), (3) for the Śukla Yajurveda Kātyāyana (śrauta), Pāraskara (grihya), (4) for the Krishna Yajurveda (Baudhāyana and Āpastamba (all the three branches), Bhāradvāja and Satyāśhaḍha Hiranyakeśin (grihya). Pāṇini speaks of the ancient Brahmanas and Kalpas (पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु) in one of his Sūtras (IV—3, 105) thereby making us understand that in his time there were Brāhmanas and Kalpa Sūtras which were regarded as ancient and others which were considered as later. Some of the Kalpa Sūtras would thus go back to very nearly the times of the Brāhmanas, while the latest of them, which have no scruples about flesh-eating, must be earlier than, say, the fourth century B.C., the period when the Jain and Buddhist tenets began to have sway.

Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, both of the Taittirīya Śākhā, are the only authors whose works comprise the complete Kalpa ritual. While Baudhāyana's Kalpa Sūtra cannot be said to be free from later interpolations and additions, Āpastamba's is singularly free from such tampering, as has been conclusively shown by Dr. G. Bühler; hence the peculiar interest which attaches to Āpastamba for the critical student. Āpastamba appears to belong to the Dekhan (probably the Āndhra country) and Baudhāyana would also appear to belong to or at any rate, to be acquainted with the Dekhan. Most of the Taittirīyas of South India belong to the school of Āpastamba; of the rest, the majority are Baudhāyanas, while a few belong to the schools of Bhāradvāja or Hiranyakeśin.

The Kalpa-Sūtra of Āpastamba consists of thirty praśnas or chapters.

* E.g. Hārīta, Kāṇva, Kautsa, Pushkarasādi, Sātyāyana, Māṇḍūkya, vide Ap : Dh : Ś. I—10—28—1, etc.

* The first twenty-four treat of the several Śrauta sacrifices; the twenty-fifth * contains the *paribhāṣhās* (axioms and postulates), the *pravara-Khaṇḍa* (the pedigree of āchāryas) and the *hautraka* (prayers to be recited by the *hotraka* priests). The twenty-sixth is the mantra-praśna (or *ekāgnikāṇḍa*) which contains the Vedic texts and prayers to be used in the *grihya* rites. The twenty-seventh is the *grihya Sūtra* which lays down the rules of the *grihya* rites in the order of the mantras in the preceding praśna. The next two praśnas constitute the *Dharma Sūtra*. The thirtieth contains the *Śulba sūtra*, which lays down the geometrical rules for construction of the sacrificial altar, etc.

In his Catalogue, Dr. Burnell mentions that sometimes two praśnas, treating of the *pitṛimedhika* (funeral) rites were counted as the thirty-first and thirty-second praśnas. But till of late, Āpastamba's sūtra on the *Pitṛimedha* was known only by name and many orthodox pandits went so far as to assert that Āpastamba himself wrote no Sūtra on the subject, that it was Bhāradvāja that wrote a Sūtra on funeral rites and this work was sometimes known as or talked of as Āpastamba's.

The late M. M. Gaṇapati Sāstrin, of the Tanjore District, succeeded in getting some manuscript copies of Āpastamba's *Pitṛimedha Sūtra* with two commentaries, one by the earlier and famous Kapardisvāmin and the other by one Gopāla Paṇḍita and in 1906, he published in Grantha the Sūtra of Āpastamba and Kapardin's bhāṣhya, extracts from that of Gopāla and a commentary of his own, explaining also the Vedic texts connected with the rites along with the *Āpara-prayoga* of Āṇḍa Pillai. As Āpastamba's *Pitṛimedha Sūtra* is not likely to be known to Sanskritists in India or outside a short description of it may not be uninteresting.

The work consists of two praśnas and as there is no indication that it was meant as the last two chapters of Āpastamba's *Kalpa Sūtra*, it must be supposed that this work did not form part of the *Kalpa Sūtra* and that it was, therefore, a separate treatise. There would also be a sentimental objection, from the Indian standpoint, to close a great work like the *Kalpa Sūtra* with a description of the inauspicious funeral ceremonies.† The remarks at the end of each paṭala of Kapardi-bhāṣhya run thus—श्रीमदापस्तम्बपितृमेधसूत्रविवरणेपटलस्यखण्डः—without connecting the work with the great body of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. It would be thus legitimate to presume that Āpastamba composed this *āpara sūtra* as a separate treatise, intending by it to complete the exposition

* Max Müller notes that the *Prayogaratnamālā* of Chūḍappa, who is said to have been minister of Virabhūpati, son of the famous King Bukka of Vijayanagara, states 'चतुर्विंशे तथाप्रश्ने न्यायप्रावरहौत्रके' S.B.E., Vol. XXX, pp. 312 & 313. If so, how are the thirty praśnas accounted for?

† Some Sūtra writers like Āśvalāyana and Pāraskara treat of the *pitṛimedha* in the body of their *Grihya-Sūtras*.

of all Vaidik rites which a twice-born Ārya had to go through in the course of his life.

The first praśna of the Pitṛimedha Sūtra consists of four paṭalas or sections. The first two paṭalas treat of the ceremonies to be performed on the eve of death and on the first day of demise—the selection of the burning-ground, the washing, dressing and carrying of the dead body to the burning-ground, the offering of the body on the funeral pyre with solemn rites and prayers and the return-home of the mourners after bath; they consist of eight khaṇḍas and 138 sūtras; the mantras to be used are mostly taken from the fourth prapāṭhaka of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the texts being indicated by the pratikas or commencing words. The third paṭala consisting of two khaṇḍas and 28 sūtras treats of the second day's ceremony, the collection of bones and the daily offerings up to the tenth day. The first two khaṇḍas of the fourth paṭala (55 sūtras) treat of the tenth day's ceremony closing with the *Śānti* and *Ānanda homas* which mark the end of mourning; the third khaṇḍa treats of the special variations of the rite, that appertain to *brahma-medha samskāra*, a mode of the disposal of the dead who are considered holy and spiritually advanced.

The second praśna is a single paṭala with two khaṇḍas and 19 sūtras. It treats of the ceremonies connected with the depositing in an altar of clod (*loshṭa-chiti*) of the urn of bones of those who were offered up in the Kāṭhaka fire.* There is nothing in the Grantha (and the only) edition to show that there is a second praśna at all. This praśna has no bhāṣhya. Kapardin's commentary ends with the first praśna, the colophon running

इति श्रीमदापस्तंबपितृमेधसूत्रविवरणे चतुर्थपटलस्य तृतीयः खण्डः पटलश्च समाप्तः ॥

The editor has, however, printed the sūtras separately at the end of the volume, where we come across these two khaṇḍas, following the third khaṇḍa of paṭala IV. Comparing these sūtras with the corresponding portion of Āṇḍapillai's Aparā-prayoga and with the colophon in Kapardin's bhāṣhya, and having in mind the tradition that Āpastamba Pitṛimedha Sūtra has two praśnas, one is led to conclude that these two khaṇḍas formed the second praśna. The rite treated of in this praśna has long become obsolete and Kapardi-Svāmin's omission to notice or explain this portion can, therefore, be easily understood.

A word as to the commentaries on Āpastamba Sūtra. His Śrauta Sūtra is commented on by Rudradatta. Whether he is the same as Haradatta who has commented on the Mantra† praśna, the Gṛihya, and the Dharma Sūtra or different from him cannot be decided conclusively. If we are to rely on the

* Sāvitra, etc., treated of in the Kāṭha praśnas (X—XII) of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.

† S. B. E., Vol. XXX, p. 313.

mangala śloka of the *bhāṣyas*, we have to conclude that they are different, Rudradatta invoking the aid of Viṣṇu (श्रीवत्सवक्षसः) while beginning his commentary on the Śrauta Sūtra whereas Haradatta begins his commentaries on the Mantra-praśna and the Dharma Sūtras with prostrations to Mahādeva. It is well known that Sanskrit authors while commencing their works, invoke only their *iṣṭa-devatās*. Kapardi-Svāmin has commented on the Paribhāṣhā-ṭaṭala (Pr. xxv) and the Pitṛi-medha Sūtra (Pr. I.). Kapardin's fame as a commentator is great as attested by the familiar saying यत्कृतं वेदवत् भाष्यं आद्रियन्ते विपश्चितः । सकपदीं चिरं जियात् ॥ etc. He has perhaps commented on the other parts of Āpastamba's Kalpa-Sūtra; but his work, if any, is probably lost. Prof. Max Müller notes that a MSS. (1127, now 307) in the India Office Library, dated Sāka 1556 contains both Kapardin's commentary on the Paribhāṣhā-ṭaṭala and Āṇḍapillai's Prayoga-vṛitti. If so, both these writers must be earlier than the seventeenth century. Dr. Burnell on whom Max-Müller relies would appear to think that Kapardin and Āṇḍapillai are one and the same person. The two are different writers. Kapardin's work is a *bhāṣhya*. Āṇḍapillai has not written any *bhāṣhya* on Āpastamba. He has written only *vṛittis*, wherein he has adapted and reproduced Āpastamba's sūtras, modifying, enlarging and elucidating them so as to meet modern Vaidik requirements. His prayoga vṛittis (manuals of procedure) have now replaced Āpastamba's śrauta, grihya and pitṛimedha sūtras. Āṇḍapillai is a Tamil name; more fully the name is Āṇḍa-pilliār (Ganeśa who saved). Probably he was named after the elephant-faced deity of his village. In his works, he calls himself not by his Tamil and familiar name, but by his Sanskrit śarman—Tālabrindanivāsin, the colophon to his works running

‘इत्यापस्तंबीयपितृमेधप्रयोगवृत्तौ तालवृन्द (or तालवृन्त) निवासिनाकृतायां’ etc.

Max Müller observes, “he (Dr. Burnell) states that according to tradition the author* was a native of Southern India, called Āṇḍapillai,† and that Tālabrinda or Tālavṛinta is a translation of the Tamil *panai-kkātu*, a very common name for villages among palmyra trees (*panai*=palmyra; *kātu*=forest).” Perhaps so. But it is unusual for a writer to designate himself by the name of his village or leave no clue as to his true śarman. In the Tamil districts, he is simply called Āṇḍapillai.

* Here Dr. Burnell is confounding Āṇḍapillai with Kapardin.

† The double *pp* is incorrect in Tamil.

MYSORE CASTES AND TRIBES.

By MR. C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

(Continued from Vol. XIII, p. 486.)

RESTRICTIONS ON MARRIAGE.

(a) Linguistic, Territorial and other.

A similar custom appears to prevail among the Sādas. Among them the marriage takes place in the new husband's village, to which the widow repairs. She lodges in a temple for the time being. The would-be husband goes there with some of his castemen and presents her with a new cloth and a bodice cloth which she wears. Glass bangles are put on her wrists, and in the presence of the assembled castemen, the man, or as in some places a remarried widow, ties the *tāli* to her. Meanwhile the man's house is vacated and rendered dark for the occasion and the man himself is made to sit in it in a corner. The woman is conducted to this place, and as soon as she enters it, the man asks her why she has come there. She replies, "I have come to light a lamp in your dark house." Then a light is lit, and the whole function ends with a caste dinner.

Among the Upparas the ceremony cannot in some places take place even in the father's village. It usually takes place in a different village, from which the couple do not return to their own village for some time. The ceremony is performed either in a temple or in an unoccupied house. The day fixed for it is usually during the dark fortnight. The woman is seated in a dark place, beside the door. The would-be husband pays down the bride-price, goes to the spot where the woman sits and ties the *tāli*. The caste headman or beadle sprinkles rice on the couple and in some places gives three strokes with a rattan to the woman and declares that they have become husband and wife, repeating the words: "In the presence of the elder Guru, in the presence of the kinsmen, this woman is given to you as wife. If you fail her, you will be liable to punishment." Remarking on the existence of similar customs elsewhere in India, Sir Edward Gait says:

"It has been suggested that there is a spirit basis for the rule that the marriage of a widow must take place at night in the dark half of the month, namely, the belief that the spirit of the first husband may be enraged at his widow marrying again and the consequent desire to evade his notice. It has also been suggested that a bachelor marrying a widow first performs a mock marriage with some plant or other object in the belief that the new husband's first wife would ordinarily be the main object of the spirit's revenge, and that a man not previously married might be attacked himself unless he provides a bogus wife as a substitute.

An objection to this theory is that the dark half of the month is specially associated with spirits, and that the night is the very time when they return to earth. The mock marriage of a bachelor

seems rather to be intended to bring him on the same level with the widow. The Punjab Superintendent suggests that the real object in view in selecting the time mentioned for a widow's marriage is to prevent the Gods from knowing about it; the dead of night and the dark half of the month are particularly disagreeable to the Gods, and all worship is forbidden between midnight and 4 A.M. On the other hand, certain customs exist which support the theory. In the Central Provinces a second wife of the Chitari caste worships the spirit of the dead first wife, offering it some food and a breast cloth, in order to placate it and prevent it from troubling her. In the Punjab, the death of subsequent wives is often believed to be caused by the angry spirit of the first; and for this reason, amongst the Aroras of the Western Punjab, the subsequent wife, at the time of her marriage, wears round her neck the picture of the first, or a paper on which her name is written, thus identifying herself with her predecessor. The Koltas of Sambalpur believe that a bachelor marrying a widow would become an evil spirit after death if he did not first go through a mock marrying of the kind described above.

The real explanation may be much simpler. Sometimes there is a rule that ordinary marriages must take place during the bright half of the month so that the moon may witness them. As widow marriage is looked down on, the converse rule may simply mean that the ceremony, being of a less reputable character, is one which the moon should not witness."

Brahman Influence.

Though, as we have seen above, sexual licence within the caste is tolerated to a certain extent, still female chastity is highly prized among the generality of castes and tribes in the State. This may be due to long contact with Brahmanism which has long inculcated the belief that marriage is a sacrament. Among those castes which have been largely influenced by this idea, even widow marriage has ceased to exist. In some castes, while it is favoured by some sections, others look askance at it. Among Morasu Vokkaligas, even child widows cannot remarry. Pre-marital licence is falling into disfavour. It is not tolerated among the Gangadi and Morasu Holeyas. Among them if a girl becomes pregnant before marriage she is put out of caste. The odium lasts even after death and to ensure a proper burial of her body, such a woman sets apart a sum of money (about Rs. 12) during her lifetime. Even among Banjaras, pre-marital intercourse is put down with a high hand. The Nayak of the Thunda had until recently power to subject the seducer in a case of that sort to ignominious treatment, shaving his head on one side and parading him in the street on the back of a donkey. This, however, is now out of date, and in its place, a heavy fine, as much as Rs. 100, is imposed on the man, who, besides, is made to pay compensation to the parents of the girl of an equal sum. Among the Gare section of the Upparas, a woman guilty of immorality is thrown out of caste. Similar expulsion from the caste is the fate of a woman soiling the bed of her lord among the Ganigas, Devangas and Nagartas. Among many castes, though, in theory, a woman may remain unmarried, she hardly ever does so, or is ever allowed to do so, as, for instance, in Malabar. Among certain castes such a single state of blessedness has its penalties provided ready for it. For instance, among the Bedars and some other castes, a woman dying without

marriage is carried by men without a bier and is interred—like tender babes* in this respect—with the face downwards, no funeral ceremonies being observed. To avoid treatment of this kind among some castes (notably the Holeyas) a girl who cannot get married from the absence of suitors, is married to trees, such as Honge (*Pongamia Glabra*), Ekke (*Calatropis Gigantea*) or the Margosa or other inanimate object and dedicated to shrines. She then may consort with any member of the caste and has all the rights of a son in her father's family. Marriage is thus rendered compulsory amongst the generality of castes. Divorce, though easy, is not common. There is thus reason to believe that the relations between the sexes in the State are becoming steadily more regular.

The restrictions on marriage are many among the generality of castes and tribes. A man must not marry outside the limits of his caste and if he is, as it often happens a member of a sub-caste, he may not marry outside the particular sub-caste. Occasionally too he may be able to take a girl from a particular sub-caste, but not give one to it. If not infrequently happens he may and does marry with particular sub-castes and not with others. In the case of several castes (e.g., Kurubas, Holeyas, Agasas, Komati, Uppara, Kumbara, Banjara, Sadas, Handi Jogi, Nagarta, Telugu Banajigas and Devanga), linguistic, territorial, religious and occupational differences prove effectual bars to inter-marriages. Among these, religion (excepting the Lingayat which always create a sharp line of difference) is seen to be the least harmful. In a very few cases, very trivial differences in the mode of pursuing the same occupation lead to the creation of additional bars to marriage. Thus among the Helavas, a begging caste, found all over the State, those who use a metal bell do not intermarry with those who use a wooden bell. Then, again, the metal bells are divided into those who sit on a bull while begging and those who have given up the bull while going their rounds. The Besthas who live by agriculture, fishing and palanquin-bearing respectively form separate endogamous groups. Similarly among the Gangadi Vokkaligas, found in the western and southern parts of the State, the mode of carrying marriage articles has led to the formation of two endogamous divisions—those who use open boxes and those who use covered boxes.* Occasionally differences in diet have had the effect of separating part of the caste and making it a strictly endogamous unit by itself. Thus the Cheluru Gangadikaras, who are pure vegetarians, marry only among themselves. Then, again, most castes are further divided into groups consisting of persons supposed to be descended

* Among the Kavadiyas of Chingleput Dt.—a caste of curd sellers who emigrated from Mysore during Haidar's time—those who carry bamboo baskets do not marry with those who use rattan baskets.

from a common ancestor and so forbidden to intermarry. A man is therefore exogamous as regards his family group and endogamous as regards his caste or sub-caste. While endogamy is the essence of the caste system, exogamy is found amongst primitive communities all over the world and in Hinduism is, as Edward Gait suggests, probably a survival from an earlier culture. Descent, throughout the State, being traced through the male, the general rule is that a man may not marry a girl of his own exogamous group. In this State, contrary to what prevails elsewhere, the limits set by exogamy do not extend to the families of both the parents, nor do they extend to the families of a man's maternal uncle or paternal aunt. Among most castes, as we have seen, a man marries his sister's daughter or has her for his son. Cross-cousin marriage is the general rule in the State. The connection between this and mother-right has been referred to above. It is only in rare cases—as among the Komatis—that the rule of “turning the creeper back” prevails. According to this rule, known as *Éduru Ménarikam*, a girl who has been married into a family cannot ever after give a girl in marriage to her father's family. In the same caste, the rule that the bride and the bridegroom should not belong to the same Gotra (or sept) prevails. Similarly, we have already noted the fact that some castes allow a widower to marry his younger sister's daughter if he cannot otherwise wed. As elsewhere, among the Brahmans, these exogamous groups are generally eponymous, each group or Gotra being supposed to consist of the descendants of one or other of the Vedic Rishis. Gotras with similar names are found among a few of the other castes (e.g., Komati, Bestha, Sale, etc.) but the exact nature of their connection to the groups professedly belonging to them is not clear. It is possible that they trace their descent not directly to the Rishis whose names they bear but from their priests who originally administered to them and who belonged to these Gotras. It may be also, as suggested by Sir Edward Gait, that they trace their descent from members who originally belonged to these Gotras. This is one of those questions that still requires careful investigation, as indeed a great deal more of the many points relating to exogamy as practised among the castes and tribes of the State. Our present knowledge does not enable us to say how far exogamy is absolutely primitive and how far copied from other sources. Many castes and even sub-castes have headmen of comparatively modern times as the reputed ancestors of their exogamous sections. This is the case among the Banjaras, Nagartas, Kadu Gollas, Agasas, Tigalas, Sanyasis, Idigas among whom marital restrictions are of a most complicated character. Some groups are named after the places where the founders originally resided or are supposed to have resided. Probably the origin of “house names” is to be explained on some such basis as this. This is especially the case,

among the immigrant castes, such as the Dombaras, Idigas, Nagartas, etc. Finally there are the totemistic groups which are found chiefly among castes of the tribal type. Traces of totemism are also found among other castes as well, but further investigation is necessary for any general inferences to be drawn from them. For instance, we cannot say from the evidence now available whether those castes which retain traces of totemism were originally tribes who slowly drifted into the orbit of Brahmanism. If so, several castes, including the Holeya, Kuruba, Bestha, Bili Magga, Kadu Gollas, Medara, Golla, Kumbara, Helava, Gangadi Vokkaliga, etc., were before their absorption into Brahmanism, in all probability in the tribal state of existence with totemism in full swing among them. Totemism as it exists in the State is of the genuine type. The totem is usually some animal or inanimate object (vegetable, flower, sun, moon, stone, etc.) formerly held in reverence by the members of the sept and associated with some taboo. Among several of the castes first mentioned those belonging to the same totem do not intermarry. Among some castes Gotras reminiscent of the Vedic Rishis have been adopted but as among the Besthas, who have adopted the Koundinya and Kasyapa Gotras, and the Sales, who have adopted Markandeya as their single Gotra, the incorporation is meaningless, as the Gotras are not effective as bars to intermarriage. Among these, on the other hand, totemism is not altogether dead and the association of Rishi Gotras with them seems to be an attempt at engrafting the Brahman system on to the decaying tribal one. Among certain castes totemism is practically dead, such as Madiga, Handi Jogi, Mondaru, Killekyata, Nagarta, etc. Among certain castes only those living in particular areas (e.g., Helavas in the Mysore District) and Gangadi Vokkaligas (in Mysore and Bangalore) have anything like totemistic septs, the others having lost it. Among non-Lingayat Sadas, there are the flower men and the *Pangamia Glabra* men, but this division has no significance in connection with marriage. It follows from this that those castes which do not now exhibit any traces of totemism might have practised it at one time though they dropped it later. Such dropping might have been in some cases, as among the Sales, Besthas, etc., preceded by the conversion of totem names into those of Vedic Rishis, for example Kach Chap, (Tortoise) into Kasyapa. Among the Komatis totemism is partially active, two or three totem septs being included in a Gotra. While the openness of a Gotra is no bar to intermarriage, the openness of the Sept is. This shows clearly that the addition of the Rishi Gotras is a recent attempt at engrafting two different systems of culture. The Devangas have adopted some Rishi Gotras but the fact that some of these are not of the Vedic type is rather significant (e.g., Bhaskara, Pippala Malika, etc.).

Totemism.

The evidence, such as it is, warrants the general deduction that at one time totemism was widely prevalent among the people of the State. It has the usual belief associated with it here—those belonging to a particular system profess to be descended from it, reverence it in daily life in a variety of ways and regard that those attached to a totem (called locally *Kulā* or *Bédagu*) should refrain from intermarriage. Such a connection is considered incestuous and brings on expulsion from the caste. Thus among the Kurubas, who are divided into a large number of totemistic septs, the commonest totems are among animals; the she-buffalo and the goat which are neither killed nor eaten by members of the groups belonging to them and the elephant which is not ridden by them; among trees the Banyan, the Indian Fig, the *Ficus Infectonia*, the wood apple, the *Prosopis Specigera*, the Margosa, the Sandalwood tree, the *Pinus Deodara*, the peepul, the tamarind, the *Phyllanthus Emblica*, etc., which are neither cut nor burnt nor their products (oil or cake in the case of Margosa) used nor indeed do the people belonging to the septs named after them consent to sit under them or cross their shadows; among plants the kitchen herb, the *Celosia Albida*, the *Phaseolus Radiatus*, which those belonging to them abstain from eating; jasmine, pepper, *Calatropis Gigantea* which those belonging to them refrain from cutting, cultivating or using; among the heavenly bodies, the sun and the moon; among other living beings, the ant, the fish, the cobra, the peacock, the rabbit and the scorpion; and among other inanimate objects are the drum, cage, cart, silver, gold, flint-stone, arrow, knife, bier, pickaxe, Bengal gram, pumpkin, pearl, ocean, pestle, glass bangles, conch-shell, salt, weaver's shuttle, etc. In the case of all these the object after which a totem is named is not used for any purpose, domestic or other. For instance, as regards the gold and silver and glass bangle septs, the woman belonging to these septs do not use jewels made of these precious metals or use glass-bangles but instead wear bell-metal ones. People of the sun sept will observe some sort of fast if the sun does not appear as usual and even pray for his appearance on cloudy days; in the case of the cobra, scorpion, etc., they are not killed but are let off when observed. People of the pestle sept do not use it but have instead a wooden hammer. The saffron and horsegram septs have transferred their allegiance to the panie seed and the jungle pepper as these things are of every day use. All the same the people of these septs do not grow saffron and the horsegram. The Holeyas have very similar totems, besides the earth, the crow-bar, the plantain, the cuckoo, the oil mill, lightning, pigeon, peacock, betel leaf, etc. Those belonging to the sept Nagale, a kind of thorn, do not, when pierced by a thorn, pull it off themselves but request one of

another sept to help them out of the difficulty. Among the Bedas similar septs prevail with some few additions, bug, pig, ox, the seven mountains (of Tirupati), etc. The Besthas have besides septs named after coral, etc. The Komatis have as many as 101 septs including the lotus, the lime-fruit, the gourd, bamboo, brinjal, cardamom, camphor, etc. The Bili Maggas are said to have as many as sixty-six including the Brahman kite, milk, the *Pandamus Odorotissima*, horse, sparrow, tank, paddy, rope, etc.; the Sales have an equally large number of totems including dagger, drum, mountain, nail, indigo plant, etc. The Vaddas have likewise septs, some of which are the pig, mortar, margosa, salt, buffalo, etc.; while the Nayindas have the horse, *Pongamia Glabra*, jessamine, peacock, saffron, chrysanthemum, *aehryranthus aspera*, etc. The Kadu Gollas have three primary exogamous septs, two of which are named after the bear and the moon, each of these being again subdivided into different exogamous septs, the first of which includes the bear and the pot; the second among others of the moon, he-buffalo and the milk-hedge, and the third includes the pestle, gram, hoe, etc. The Morasu Vokkaligas have a varied number of totems of which may be mentioned the Banyan, wood-apple, pomegranate, *Pongamia Glabra*, the bastard teak, plantain, *Basia Latifolia*, mango, cocoanut among trees; the elephant, jackal, goat and the tortoise among the animals; jasmine and chrysanthemum among flowers; black among the colours (men of this sept do not keep black bullocks and the women belonging to it do not wear black bangles or black clothes) and the ant hill and conch shell and silver among inanimate objects. The Madigas, among whom totemism seems to be decaying, possess, among other totems, silver, bow, umbrella, ants, gold, tatler, bear, tortoise, jessamine, tiger, saffron etc.; the Gollas have monkey, spotted cow, saffron, peafowl, tree, mustard, lion, horsegram, deodar tree, gold, sandal, etc.; the Upparas own a large number of totems which are the palanquin, elephant, saffron, moon, umbrella, coriander, *Pongamia Glabra*, pearl, jackal, jessamine, dagger, etc. The Helavas living in the Mysore District have among others the peepul tree, cobra, banyan, mortar, pestle and light, which last those belonging to the sept do not extinguish by blowing it out from the mouth. The Gangadi Vokkaligas living in certain parts of the State have totems which include the moon, silver, gold, buffalo, cat, *Pongamia Glabra*, fig tree, etc. Finally, the Lingayat Sadas are divided into as many as thirty-three septs some of which are the arecanut, pigeon-pea, butter, cobra, stone, chrysanthemum, jessamine, lime fruit, etc.

So far as enquiries have gone, there is in the State only one caste which shows any trace of that earlier form of restriction on marriage which divided the primitive tribe into two exogamous classes or phratries, the men of each

phratry forming alliance with the other. This single caste is the Bili Magga, which is divided into sixty-six exogamous septs divided into two groups respectively known as the Siva and the Parvati group or the male and the female group, each group comprising of 33 totemistic septs. According to the custom-prevailing, a Siva cannot marry a Siva nor a Parvati a Parvati—which it is said would be absurd not only because they belong to the same major division but also because they cannot marry one of the same sex! The Garos of Assam have similar divisions among them. It is a highly primitive division and has not therefore survived among the generality of the castes and tribes of the State. These are, however, some notable instances of a twofold exogamous division. Thus the Kadu Gollas and the Komatis have several main exogamous divisions with a number of sections (often totemistic) in each. The rule of exogamy applies to the major group as well as to the minor.

In this connection a suggestion of some importance is thrown out by Sir Edward Gait, which, having regard to the speculation which the origin of the Right hand and Left hand castes has given rise to, is worth closer attention. Writing of the double exogamous division found in certain castes, Sir Edward Gait remarks that "the question suggests itself whether the division of many Madras Castes into right hand and left hand sections may not be a survival of a dual exogamous grouping which existed before the development of the caste system. At the present time the whole of a caste usually belongs to one and the same section but this is not always the case with Pallans and Chakkiliyans, the men belong to the left hand and the women to the right hand section. The Kaikolans belong to the left hand section but their Dasis usually to the right hand one. The Chaliyans and Dasis have right hand and left hand sub-castes. There is a close bond between the castes of the same section; and the lower 'right-hand' castes select their headman from the Baliya, and not from their own caste." This is a line of enquiry which merits further attention. That the division is older than caste itself may also be inferred from the fact that regular respect is paid to the 18 phanas at most marriages in the State, *e.g.*, Agasa, Vadda, Dombar, Golla, Killekyata and Handi Jogis. That the ceremony which is connected with this should be made part of the marriage ceremony which, in the case of most castes and tribes, is perhaps the most important one, is significant. Marriage ceremonies as they exist now enshrine some of the most primitive practices of the tribe to which they relate and it is therefore of special interest to note this respect to the groups forming the right-hand and left-hand castes. The ceremony alluded to is known as the *Gaddige* or *Simhasana Puje* *i.e.*, the worship of the throne. On the third day of the marriage a black blanket is done into eight folds and spread on a plank before the seats of the

couple. This is known as the *Gaddige*. Betel leaves are arranged in a circle on it with arecanuts placed in a heap in the centre. Round the heap are kept lumps of consecrated cowdung ashes and the bell and the spoon, the insignia of the 18 phana people are brought by the Chalavadi and kept on the *Gaddige*. After the married couple worship it, the betel leaves and the arecanuts placed in the heap are distributed in the known order of precedence to all the assembled persons.

Hypergamy

Hypergamy, or the rule according to which when a caste is divided into several sections of different status (frequently the result of a different origin) parents are obliged to marry their daughters into an equal or higher section to avoid being dragged down to the status of the section in which their daughter marries, is practically absent in the State. Among the Madigas, the priestly section, termed Jambavas, do not give their daughters to men of lower status. Though this has been termed "a genuine case of hypergamy" it cannot be deemed so, for as Sir Edward Gait well remarks "there is no widespread demand on the part of the lower section to secure husbands from the higher, and it is this which constitutes the essence of hypergamy."

Marital Age

Except among the Brahmans and those closely following them in this matter (e.g., Komatis, Sales, Namadhari, Nagartas, etc.) marriage is usually adult. Among most, however, it may be before or after puberty, though it is generally after. Among the Brahmans the tendency to postpone marriage as much as possible is very pronounced just now. The Infant Marriage Regulation has to some extent checked the inordinate desire to marry mere infants so much prevalent at one time among Brahmans, Komatis and a few other castes.

FORMS OF MARRIAGE

(a) Purchase of Bride

Among the Brahmans and those following them, e.g., Nagartas, the all but universal rule is to give away the bride as a gift to a suitable bridegroom. The bride too is decked in jewels before being presented at the expense of her parents. Similarly until recently, the bridegroom, who pretended to be a pilgrim student on his way to Benares, was not paid by the bride's parents. But for some years past with the increase in the cost of education and competition for well-educated sons-in-law the habit of paying—sometimes heavily—for them has come into existence. In the State, there are instances of payments ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,000 and even more for an educated bridegroom. A more refined feeling is beginning to show itself but it will be sometime perhaps before it can become anything like strong. Among the other tribes

and castes, it is the bride that is always paid for. The amount varies with each caste, from Rs. 12 among the Tigalas to as much as Rs. 500 among Lingayat Ganigas and the Devangas. Most castes, however, are content to bide by the ancient custom in the matter and do not arbitrarily raise the amount. This amount apparently was much more than now, if some of the stories current among some castes and tribes are to be believed (e.g., Korachas, Banjaras, Gollas, etc.) but owing to changed circumstances it has been lowered to enable people to marry at the proper age. The usual amount among the generality of castes is somewhere between Rs. 12 and 24 (e.g., Kuruba, Holeya, Beda, Bestha, Vadda, Nayinda, Dombar, Kadu Golla, Sanyasi, Madiga, Idiga, Medar, Golla, Uppara, Telugu Banajigas, etc.). Among the Bili Magga and Sale castes it is Rs. 24; the Kurubas pay from Rs. 25 to 50; the Gangadi Vokkaligas pay from Rs. 20 to 35; and the Handi Jogis from Rs. 10 to 40 and one pig. Among the Korachas, it varies from Rs. 60 to 72 and as the amount is far too high for their means, it is not uncommon among them to spread its payment over a number of years. The Mondaru only pay Rs. 6, the Helavas from Rs. 9 to Rs. 24 and the poorer Devangas from Rs. 9 to 21. There are hardly any cases in which the bride-price is excused in any caste or tribe except (1) where the bridegroom is either the maternal uncle of the bride or where the maternal, if he himself does not marry the girl, takes her for his son when the usual amount is reduced by one half and sometimes even excused altogether; when a widow marries her husband's younger brother (as among the Banjaras) no bride-price is paid; (2) where the bride is a widow and the person marrying her is a widower when the price is similarly reduced by one half; and (3) when there is an exchange of daughters between the marrying families, the bride-price is altogether excused on both sides. On the contrary when a widower desires to marry a virgin he has to pay a higher price. Sometimes this is twice what is paid ordinarily for her, besides the *Sauti Hana* or the co-wife's gold. Half the price is usually paid immediately the contract of marriage is settled and betel leaves and nuts are exchanged between the parents of the bride and bridegroom, and the other moiety is paid after the *tali* is tied, i.e., after the contract is turned into a sacrament. Where the amount is higher—double the usual amount or nearabouts, as among the Idigas—the sale is apparently taken to be an absolute one and the girl has therefore to be sent to her husband's house at once and the latter might refuse to send her back to her father's house, which he could not if the smaller amount was paid, being in that case bound to send her whenever her father went to fetch her. Sometimes, as among the Kurubas, where the amount to be paid is heavy, its payment is spread over a number of years. Occasionally when the bridegroom is too poor to pay anything either

immediately or in the near future, he is allowed to work in his prospective father-in-law's house, be fed and clothed by the father-in-law. There is no period of service fixed but usually—as among the Vaddas—the son-in-law has to serve until he begets a female child and presents her to his brother-in-law. The amount of price paid, whatever it is, goes usually to the bride's mother, father or brother. But it seems fair to conclude that this was not always so. Apparently the amount originally went to the maternal uncle of the bride. Among the Korachas, when the maternal uncle does not take the girl for himself or his son, he usually gets two-fifths of the price paid for her transferred over to him in the case of the first two daughters. Among the Kadu Gollas again, the amount is taken by the father and handed over to the maternal uncle, which shows that he is rightly the person entitled to it. These and other customs pertaining to bride-price show that, as the filiation changed from the mother to the father, the devolution of the price paid also changed in the same direction. This change is daily getting more and more confirmed among the urban castes by reason of contact with higher castes who usually do not pay any price whatsoever for a bride. It may, indeed, be said, that among several castes, the bride-price, though paid, is usually converted into a jewel by the parents of the bride and returned to her as such. This is so for instance among the Morasu Vokkaligas and the Telugu Banajigas and a section of the Devangas. Among these it may justly be remarked that the taking of the bride-price is getting into disfavour.

(b) **Relics of Marriage by Capture.**

There are a few traces of marriage by capture among certain tribes and castes. Thus among the Bedars, Agasas, Nayindas, Idigas and Handi Jogis a mimic fight between the bridegroom's and the bride's parties—in which the indiscriminate throwing of half-pounded rice is prominent—is a regular feature of the usual marriage ceremony. It is the bride that is sought to be captured, the fight customarily taking place at or near the bride's house. On these occasions the bridegroom usually carries a dagger in his hand and is accompanied by his party, who are met by the bride's party, and the mimic fight ensues immediately the meeting takes place. The bridegroom's party is taken next into the marriage booth to which the bride is brought in and placed opposite the bridegroom with a cloth as a screen between the two. At the moment the priest draws off the cloth the bride and the bridegroom throw on each other some jaggery and cumin seed or rice, the girl if too young or small in stature being held up by her maternal uncle or other near relative. This apparently indicates the easy surrender of the bride after the simulated fight. One or two curious customs prevail among certain castes which may probably be relics of marriage by capture. Thus among some

of the Holeyas, five men from the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house and tie the *tāli* round the neck of the bride and return to the village, where the bridegroom is kept waiting all alone in a room, outside the house known as *Devaramane* (or God's Home). The bride comes on horse-back, alights near the *Devaramane* and goes into the room occupied by the bridegroom. A cloth separates the girl and garlands are mutually exchanged. The men and the women present then throw rice on the heads of the pair. Have we here a simulation of the capture of a bridegroom by the bride? Among the Madigas, as the bridal pair come out of a room after the customary dinner, the maternal uncles of the bride and the bridegroom intercept them at the threshold and beat them with whips of twisted cloths. Among the Handi Jogis as the bridegroom and his party approach the bride's place, they are stopped by a party of the bride's relations who hold a rope across the path. After a mock struggle in which he is worsted the bridegroom pays down a rupee to his opponents who thereupon permit him to pass into the marriage booth. Among the Banjaras when the couple are led to the marriage booth, the bride puts up considerable resistance and is forcibly led to the place by an elderly woman. The couple then go round the milk post three times, the bride all the while weeping and howling. In the same manner, the couple pass round the second post three times, after which the elderly woman retires. The husband once again passes round the post with the bride. Her resistance is now redoubled and he has almost to drag her by force. It is this which constitutes the binding or the essential part of the ceremony in this caste.

Marriage Ceremonies, etc.

Among the generality of castes the marriage ceremonies are elaborate and usually last five days. The marriage in the majority of cases takes place at the bride's place, though sometimes, as among the Dombaras, and a section of the Holeyas, it also is performed at the bridegroom's. Among the Kadu Gollas, however, marriage is looked upon as an impure affair and takes place only outside the hamlet. Among these, those who attend a marriage do not enter their houses without bathing in a tank. The marriage ceremonies include among most castes various items, the chief of which are the *Vilyada Shashtra* which fixes the contract between the parties; the *Devamruta* which invokes the blessings of God and the dead ancestors on the couple; the *Chappra* or the *Elevasa*, or the erecting of the marriage booth, in which the maternal uncle of the bride plays an important part; the *tāli* tying which turns the contract into a sacrament; the *dhare*, the pouring of the milk over the couple which is caught in a vessel and thrown over an ant hill afterwards; the *sasé*, the pouring of handfuls of rice by married couples on the bride and the bridegroom; *bhūma*, the eating together of the newly married couple;

the *Nāgavali*, the searching of two vessels containing red coloured water ; the *Kankana Visarjana*, the untying of the wrist bands from off the hands of the couple ; and finally the Gaddige (or Simhasana Pūje) the worship of the throne at which the members of the 18 and 19 phana communities are, in the order of seniority, shown respect by the distribution of betel leaf and nuts. Among some castes a few more items may be found to exist but the above may be taken as forming the principal ones in a typical marriage celebrated among most castes in the State. The binding portion of the marriage is invariably the tying of the *tāli* followed by the *dhare*. The *tāli* is in most cases tied by the bridegroom. This apparently seems a later innovation. Originally it seems not improbable that it was tied as even now among the Holeyas, by the maternal uncle. This custom, however, has entirely fallen into desuetude and the bridegroom has taken the place of the maternal uncle. The Tali is usually a round disc of gold made flat or convex like a shallow inverted cup with a small button at the top. A string is passed through a ring attached to it and it is tied so as to hang round the neck. Among the Telugu-speaking immigrant castes, the string is strung also with black glass beads on each side of the Tali. Among the Banjaras, as we have seen, going round the milk post, is the operative part of the ceremony. This circumambulation of the milk post is performed by most other castes, but it nowhere assumes the importance it does among the Banjaras.

Marriage Season.

To save expense it is customary with some castes to celebrate a number of marriages together. Thus among the settled section of the Dombars, it is usual to arrange for such a celebration before the temple of their caste Goddess Ellamma at Tumkur. Single marriages are the exception with them. Similarly among the Handi Jogis, a wandering caste, a similar custom prevails. The time considered most suitable for marriage is the beginning of the *New Year*.

Adoption.

Adoption has been described by Sir Henry Maine as "the earliest and most extensively employed of legal fictions . . . which permitted family relations to be created artificially." "If it had never existed," he adds, "I do not see how any one of the primitive groups, whatever were their nature, could have absorbed another, or on what terms any two of them could have combined except those of absolute superiority on one side and absolute subjection on the other." In another part of his great work "*Ancient Law*" he observes :—"Both a will and an adoption threaten a distortion of the ordinary course of family descent, but they are obviously contrivances for preventing the descent being wholly interrupted, when there is no succession of kindred

to carry it on. Of the two expedients, the fictitious creation of blood-relationship is the only one which has suggested itself to the greater part of archaic society." It should come as a rude shock to many familiar with these and other similar remarks of Maine to be told that there are still tribes and castes both in this State and in some of the adjoining districts of Madras who have not so far evolved the conception of adoption. In fact adoption as such is foreign to them. With them the continuation of the family in the daughter or daughter's line or the affiliation of the son-in-law seems to have been universal. Thus, as we have seen, among sections of the Kurubas, Holeyas, Madigas, Dombars, Killekyatas (Chikkabombe Division) and Besthas, while there is no adoption of the son, the perpetuation of the family through the daughter by dedicating her as a Basavi is quite common. Enquiries show that among these castes even a brother refuses to give one of his sons in adoption. In such a case the continuation of the line through the daughter seems natural. Mr. W. Francis, I.C.S., has drawn attention in the *Bellary District Gazetteer* (Chap. III) to this absence of adoption of sons among certain castes in that border district under the Basavi system prevailing there. Where a daughter is turned Basavi, she in every sense becomes a son, and has all his rights—she lives in her father's house, inherits his property and performs his funeral obsequies just as his son does. And if she dies, persons inherit directly to the grandfather *per capita* as if they were his own children. The filiation of the son-in-law seems to have been the consequence of this system of making the daughter one's own heir, when there was a failure of male issue. It seems a fair inference from the extreme popularity that the Basavi system enjoys at present, that these modes of raising heirs by means of one's own daughter were more widely prevalent in the country than now. Further inquiries are necessary before we can definitely say how far this principle of making the daughter heir of a family and continuing it by means of her sons was the cause of the system of dedication of dancing girls to temple as Bhogams, which has been declared illegal by the Madras High Court. It should in any case be admitted that Basavis are not all immoral and that examples of Basavis who have restricted themselves to a single visitor are not uncommon. But once the way was open for degeneracy, it should have been impossible to stop the current. The custom of dedicating one of the daughters at least as a Basavi or dedicating one of several as a Basavi in consequence of a vow seems a later innovation conceived in the spirit of religion. Whether, if at all and if so how far, this principle of making the daughter and her children heirs of the family in place of a son is connected with mother-kin and how it is the precursor of the Hindu Law Doctrine that invests the *Putrika Putra*

with certain natural rights in case of failure of male issue can only be determined by closer investigation of the whole subject in the areas in which the principle is still alive.

Where the adoption of a son is practised, the boy adopted is usually a brother's son; or one belonging to the same exogamous division. One's own brother cannot be adopted, nor can a married man be adopted.

Among most castes the son of a daughter or a sister may, however, be taken in adoption. These are exceptions to the accepted rule of Hindu Law that the adoptee must be the reflection of a son born. No particular ceremony is observed in connection with adoption. Among many castes, however, the adoptee's waist thread is cut and a new one is tied in its place and a new cloth is, in addition, given in some cases. The adopter also stands a dinner to his castemen in honour of the occasion.

Inheritance.

The devolution of property follows the usual principles common to all Hindus. The rights peculiar to Basavi daughters and their children and to an *Illatom* son-in-law have been referred to above. The eldest son among some castes gets an extra share. Among the Killekyatas, it is stated that the younger son succeeds to the property of his parents by preference. This is brought about apparently by the fact that the elder ones set up separate sheds for themselves soon after marriage and that the youngest remaining longest with the parents has to support them in their old age. Among the Idigas, the youngest son is allowed the first choice of the share and then the next above him. In the same caste, the share given to the father in a partition during his lifetime is said to belong to the son who defrays his funeral expenses at his death.

Other Minor Characteristics.

Every caste has its own occupation, and its status is well defined in Hindu Society. Each caste or tribe has also its own peculiar religious and social observances, though those which desire to seek a higher status in the social scale have not been altogether unwilling to adopt and even assimilate customs and practices hitherto largely if not solely identified with the Brahmans as a caste. This has been especially so in regard to marriage including early marriage of girls before puberty and enforced widowhood, and ideas of ceremonial pollution. Most castes have some account of their origin, sometimes the stories given out being most fanciful and betraying an evident anxiety to get into the hallowed circle of Hindu Society.

Brahmans as a general rule do not take water or articles of food baked, boiled or fried in ghee from persons of other castes. Most castes, however, are willing to take food prepared by Brahmans or Lingayats. Generally

speaking it may be said that it is not considered derogatory for Brahmans to minister to the spiritual needs of other castes considered fairly high in the social scale. Most castes, however, have their own priests and among Lingayats none but their own priests can officiate at marriages, funerals, etc. The division of castes known as the right hand and left hand (Balagai and Yedagai) still persists but it is of no practical significance. Among some castes the custom of admitting outsiders prevails, for example, Agasa, Beda, Holeya, Madiga, Nayinda, etc.; a purification ceremony precedes the admission and is held before the caste elders. It is usually followed by a caste dinner to which the new admittant is a party. Usually the admittant is a person regarded by the caste in question as belonging to a caste higher than itself in the social scale. Caste titles vary but as already remarked the tendency to appropriate some particular ones by those not really entitled to them is common. Caste government of some kind is universal though its power and jurisdiction have been largely taken away from them by the Civil Courts, the tendency towards individualism which has made itself felt to an increasing extent in recent years and the general relaxation that has followed the emancipating tendencies of the Western influences. At present it may be said caste tribunals have little to do with disputes relating to property inheritance and occupation. Their jurisdiction usually extends to questions relating to food, marriages, admission of outsiders into the caste and like matter which purely affect the particular caste as such and its general status in the accepted social scale. Occasionally family dissensions are also taken up for decision by the caste tribunals but this is done more in their extrajudicial character than otherwise.

These tribunals are of two kinds. One is presided over by the Swamis of recognized mutts (religious orders), such as those of Sringeri, Uttaradi, Vyasaraya, etc., among Brahmans, and the Murugi and other mutts among the Lingayats. These have agents all over the State and they are recognized on all ceremonial occasions, such as marriages, funerals, etc. They collect the fees and remit them to the mutts concerned, report cases of delinquency to them and obtain their decisions on them for general promulgation among the castemen concerned. The other sort of caste tribunal is the headman of the caste resident in each village, who decides every dispute as it arises, the chief headman being referred to only on important occasions, (e.g., Kuruba, Golla, Beda, Morasu Vokkaliga, etc.). The office of the headman is hereditary. Headmen of castes which belong to the right hand and left hand castes make use of a beadle in convening assemblies in their jurisdiction known as *Kattemanes*. The headman, called variously Gowda, Setty, or Yejaman is not unusually assisted by his deputies (as among the Bedas) or by assessors (called

Buddhivantas) or wise men in his work (as among the Vaddas). The parties are summoned and heard after they have been duly sworn in after the manner customary in the caste concerned (swearing by the *vibhooty* or consecrated ashes after placing it on a kumbly and making puja to it as among the Kurubas and swearing by *Janjappas* or sacred sheep as among Kadu Gollas). Then evidence is next heard and sentence pronounced. For ordinary offences, a fine is the usual sentence. Marrying out of the endogamous unit is followed not infrequently by expulsion from caste. Some castes which are numerically strong have a more developed caste organization. Thus among Morasu Vokkaligas, several *Kattemanes*, each presided over by a Gowda or Yejaman, form a *nādu* (division of country at the head of which is a *Nādu* Gowda). Several *Nādus* form a *Dēsa* (Country) presided by a *Dēśai* Gowda or *Nādu* Gowda. There are two such, one at the head of a Telugu section and another at the head of a Kannada section of this caste. That these offices were at one time connected closely with the civil administration of rural areas and that even women could become *Nal-Gowdas* or *Nad-Gowdas* may be inferred from inscriptions. An inscription dated 918 A.D. found in the Shikaripur Taluk of the Shimoga District gives an interesting account of the office of the *Nad-Gowd* being continued to the widow on the death of her husband. She was a Jain, and rejoicing in her beauty, was distinguished for the skill and ability of her management. Though a woman, the inscription says, she well protected her charge, with pride in her own heroic bravery. But on being attacked by some bodily disease she retired in favour of her daughter and ended her life with the performance of the Jain vow of *sallēkhana*.

Funeral Ceremonies.

The dead are either buried or cremated. Cremation is universal among Brahmans, the Banjaras and Komatis. The priestly section among the Helavas and other Vaishnavite Nagarthas also burn their dead. Sometimes aged men among the Holeyas are also cremated. Those suffering from contaminating diseases like leprosy, etc., those dying by accident (*e.g.*, from wounds inflicted by wild beasts) and pregnant women are, even among castes which usually bury, cremated. Among some caste, *e.g.*, the Up-paras, Vaddas, Dombars, Madigas, Agasas, Telugu Banajigas and a few others—in such cases, the body is disposed by what is known as *Kulul Seve* (or stone service). This consists of the body being placed on suitable ground and being heaped over with stones, so as to form a mound. The generality of castes bury their dead with the head turned to the south. Veerasaivas and those who have come under their influence—*e.g.*, Ganigas, a section of Kurubas, a section of Bedas, Silavantas, Nayindas and a few others—

bury their dead in the sitting posture. The Lingayat Devangas, however, bury in the lying posture. On the other hand, Vaishnavite Holeyas bury their dead in the sitting posture. Pollution lasts for a period ranging from 10 to 15 days. Most castes including those who do not offer annual oblations, observe the Mahalaya New Moon day as a day sacred to the dead. Among the Morasu Vokkaligas, the Holeyas of the Morasu Section of that caste as the Halemaga (lit. old son) of the caste plays an important part in the burial ceremonials. In olden days he was one of the four who carried the body but now he walks before it. He also carries the death news to relations, digs the grave, helps the chief mourner to set fire to the body and on the third day goes with the chief mourner to the burial ground and partakes of part of food remaining over after an offering of it has been made to the spirit of the dead person, the remaining portion being thrown to the crows. Among many castes which bury the dead the custom of planting a stone, about 2 ft. high, over the grave prevails fairly widely. The building of Brindavans and the setting up of Lingas by the Vaishnavas and the Saivas respectively is also not uncommon in several places.

Some unusual or curious customs.

Among unusual customs prevalent in the State may be mentioned a few. The existence of Couvade among the Korachas is fairly well established. When a Koracha woman feels birth pains, her husband puts on some of her clothes, makes the woman mark on his forehead and retires to bed in a dark room. The practice exists in remote parts in the Shimoga District and elsewhere and is reported to be dying out. The Myasa Bedas of Chitaldrug District practise circumcision. Whether they have adopted this custom from the Muhammadans has still to be cleared. But it is significant that the pig is taboo to them as an article of food. As the circumcision of women is not practised by them, it may perhaps be inferred that it has been borrowed by them. Customs of this kind, moreover, are never indigenously evolved. The Morasu Vokkaligas of Mysore formerly had a custom, now prohibited by the Government, whereby a woman, before the ears of her eldest daughter were pierced prior to her betrothal, had to suffer amputation of the ring and the little fingers of the right hand. Among the Vaddas a man grows his beard until he is married and removes it at the time. During the pregnancy of his wife, a Vadda will not breach a tank or carry a corpse. The Kurubas of Mysore do not consummate marriage for three months, so as to avoid the risk of having three members of the family within a year of marriage, which is regarded as unlucky. Among the Kadu Gollas, a pregnant woman in labour is lodged far off from a village and only a Beda midwife is allowed to be near her. After three months the mother and the child are brought in.

Among most castes on a girl attaining her age, she is kept out of the village, in a special shed, for a period which may extend to 21 days. Among some (*e.g.*, the Madigas) the maternal uncle of the girl should fetch the materials of the shed, and dismantle it on the day the girl is purified by a bath. Among the Madigas, a girl on attaining her age, is made to have her first bath after attaining her age, on the first day standing on an old shoe and a broom. Among the Banjaras, who profess to be descended from Brahmans, a Brahman's presence is considered essential at the time of marriage. When he is not present an elderly man of the Vadalya clan, which is supposed to be descended from the original Brahman progenitor of the caste, puts on a sacred thread and officiates in the guise of a Brahman. When, however, a Brahman priest is actually present, he is teased by women, young and old, with all sorts of horse-play. The Brahman not infrequently retaliates and even if he does not, a good present makes up for the practical jokes cracked at his expense. It is stated that the women feel keenly disappointed if they miss the fun with the Brahman.

I will now conclude as I began by requesting members of this Society to take a sustained interest in this branch of our work. The paper will have shown how many points yet remain to be cleared up. Our knowledge of Mysore castes and tribes is still small. Because with Government aid a survey has been completed, let us not take it for granted that the work in this section is over. For myself, after nearly twenty-four years of work in this subject, I must say that I only know so much of it as to make me feel that it is only a very little—merely the outer fringes of it. I trust and hope that the subject will attract more men to it.

FISH AND RELIGION IN SOUTH INDIA.

BY S. T. MOSES, M.A., F.Z.S.

(A paper read before the Mythic Society.)

EVEN a hurried tour in these parts is enough to convince a visitor of the enormous sanctity attached to fishes and if he is an enthusiastic follower of Izaak Walton, he may have cause to be annoyed at what to him appears to be the unnecessary fuss made about his attempts to catch the fish in our sacred waters. Further a paradox puzzles him when he notices how much fish enters the dietary of the residents here. Most castes embracing the Hindu religion include notorious fish consumers while even many Brahmans in some parts such as Canara are ichthyophagous. Unlike the Egyptian who excluded all delicious fish from his list of sacred ones (*Oxyrhynchus*, *Phagrus*, *Lepidotus*, *Latus* and *Maeotes*) and dedicated to God only the unwholesome and other poisonous fish unfit for human consumption (p. 192, "The ancient Egyptians" by Wilkinson, Vol. II, 1874) the Hindu includes among the sacred fish even the mighty Mahseer (*Barbus tor*). The Hindu, with an admirable self-restraint, scrupulously refrains from conciliating his gustatory nerves with a repast of sacred fish and resents in a very demonstrative way any attempt of an ignorant foreigner who thinks the tame fish lodged and fed in the temple tanks and sacred rivers excellent victims for his sport! In Malabar "injuring certain kinds of fishes specially bred in tanks attached to certain temples which are invested with varying degrees of sanctity is regarded as a sin" (p. 200, *Malabar and its Folk* by Gopal Panikkar, 1900). The sacred fishes are the carp (*Cirrhina* spp. and *Barbus* spp., small species), the minnows (*Danio* spp. and *Rasbora* spp.), the barbels (*Barbus* spp.), the Carnatic carp (*Barbus carnaticus*) and the Mahseers (*Barbus tor* usually but also *Barbus mosal*). A ritual observed by the worshippers at shrines consists in part of the feeding of fish, an act which is considered meritorious. Rice, etc., used in connection with Shraddas and other ceremonies is thrown to the fishes, which being fed sumptuously like princes, sometimes attain huge sizes and are very tame.

The fish consuming propensity of Muhammadans is very clearly seen in their making fish a heavenly food—a delicacy allotted to the faithful in Paradise and in the ingenious explanation offered by them *re* the taboo on the flesh of animals slaughtered without the offering of "Hallal". Fish being aquatic does not wait for the butchers' knife to give up its ghost, but does so soon after it lands on "terra firma". Hence they say that Muhammad

cut the throats of all fish by throwing his blessed knife into the sea. It is only the bony fishes which have been so dealt with, the opercular openings being the deep cuts! This explains why the rays (Tamil: Thirukkai) and dog-fishes (Tamil: Sura; Malayalam: Sravu) which have only small gillslits are not eaten by the Muhammadans. Some say it is out of deference to their 'human' habit of giving birth to living young instead of laying eggs as other fishes do. Muhammadans like the Jews are also forbidden from eating fish without fins or fish without scales. In the first set are included the rays (Malayalam: Therandi) and under the second come the catfishes. (Tamil: Keluthi; Malayalam: Etta.)

Though Buddhist pagodas, in Burma and Nepal, have sacred fish in their tanks, in South India no vimana possesses any. Buddhists profess great horror at the deprivation of lives of lower animals and fishermen are considered very inhuman. Carvings are not uncommon in Buddhist sculptures, depicting fishermen being "hooked" and drawn to the fiery furnace. However their immoderate liking for a fish diet is notorious; the consumer goes scot free while on the fisherman's head is heaped up all the blame of 'fish-slaughter'. A story is current, as illustrating the casuistry of a *pongee* for obtaining fish. A young fisherman built a chatram for Buddhist *pongees* and supplied them with fish for food. No *pongee* would stay there as the man was a fisherman and as the food was obtained at the expense of the lives of innocent fish. One *pongee* however stayed there for a longer time than the others and to him the fisherman complained that no *pongee* embraced his hospitality and in fact shrank away from him and his hospitality as if from a pestilence. The *pongee* told him the reason was not far to seek and that it was his profession. He then wanted to know how the fish were caught. When the fisherman was explaining his methods, the *pongee* wished to know if the river or the expanse of water was completely blocked by the net and if the river was open to the fish if they chose to avoid the net. When the fisherman said that only a third of the river was obstructed by the net the *pongee* absolved the fisherman by saying it was no fault of his if the stupid fish in spite of having two thirds of the river to go up and down, should fall into the net! From that day the *pongee* stayed in that place and had his regular quota of fish!

Christians eat fish immoderately for even the devoutest do not refrain from eating fish on days they are supposed to abstain from meat *e.g.*, during Lent days and Fridays. Fish is not meat as is seen from the triple combination, "Fish, flesh or fowl" but according to what logic is not known!

The Jains, who are found in the North Arcot, South Arcot and South Canara districts are the only people who scrupulously abstain from eating fish or flesh. Their extreme carefulness to avoid meat diet may be judged from

the fact that "they do not partake of food before sunrise or after sunset and always carefully filter water in order that they may not destroy the animalculæ in it" (p. 191, South Canara District Manual, Vol. I, 1894).

Fish is held sacred by the Hindus because of the frequent piscine metamorphoses of their gods. It was as a fish that Vishnu saved Manu from the deluge as a token of thankfulness for his kind attentions in providing suitable habitats for the growing stages of divine incarnation. The god-fish warned him of the impending (Noachian) flood, advised him to build an ark for himself and a couple of each and every kind of animal and seeds of plants and later towed the ark during the deluge to the peak Naubada. It was as a fish that Vishnu reclaimed the stolen Vedas from Hayagriya. It was as a fish that Brahma instructed Manu in wisdom which enabled him later to formulate his famous code of laws.*

Though the figures of fish may be seen beautifying the walls and pillars of not a few of our temples, it is very rare to find the presiding deity shaped in the form of a fish. At Nerenika in Bellary District is a temple dedicated to Malleswara near which is a cave where a crude carving of a rock into something like the caricature of a fish is worshipped. One species of *Ammonites* (a fossil shell called locally Salagramam as it is usually brought by pilgrims from a village on the Ganges near Benares named Salagram) known as Mutchyamurti Salagramam because of its resemblance to the face of a fish is worshipped during household pujas on the West Coast (Malabar, Travancore, etc).

Of the many temples which have as adjuncts ponds and rivers for sacred fish the following may be mentioned as of special interest. Papanasam Falls in Tinnevely District is a very sacred spot and the Saivite temple there is flocked to by a huge number of pilgrims. As the Tamil name signifies, the visit is highly valued as it ensures a thorough washing of all sins! The river here has innumerable sacred fish in it and these are fed from the temple funds. In Madura District at Thiruparankuntam the gods in a shrine dedicated to Kasi Ishvaralinga can only be approached by devotees swimming across a pool where sacred fish swarm in good numbers and are so very tame that they come for food when called by the Bairagis. In Trichinopoly District near Arappaleswaran Koil on the Kollaimalais is a stream with millions of sacred fish which are fed by pilgrims. They are also tame and take food even from the hand and come up, it is said, in response to a dinner gong (p. 112, Salem District Manual, Vol. 1, II, 1883). The Tanjore District abounds in temple tanks and as these receive their water-supply from channels of the Cauvery

* For further particulars see Dr. Machan's Madras Administration Manual, Vol. III, pp. 479—483.

and Coleroon all sorts of fish, the fresh water Shark (Tamil: Valai) (*Wallago attu*), the Hilsa (Tamil: Ullam) (*Ilisha Ilisha*), a nice fish to buy which a Tamil proverb advises one to sell all that he has, etc., besides the sacred carp are found. Even the predacious shark is considered sacred here. In Malabar the famous fish pagoda dedicated to Durga in Wynad is on the banks of a river where sacred fish consisting mostly of Carnatic carp (*Barbus Carnaticus*) are fed by the pilgrims. At Ramnathpur in Mysore where temple fish abound, a 'brother of the angle' says 'they don't mind fishing 100 yards or so above the temple bathing steps' (p. 380. *The Rod in India* by Thomas, 1897).

In the holy river Tunga on the banks of which is situated the ancient and historic town of Sringeri, the head-quarters of Sri Sankaracharya of Sringeri Mutt, there abounds a rich variety of salmon of fairly good size in a pool near the Mutt premises, and devotees visiting the place show their regard for the fish in the pool by feeding them with cereals, plantains and other edibles.

On the flight of steps leading to the pool there stands installed Nirakareswara Lingam worshipped daily and the offering of boiled rice made to this Lingam is used for feeding the fish. This indulgence has no doubt contributed in no small measure to their congregating in large numbers and to fearlessly approaching visitors who feed them.

His Holiness Sri Swamigalavaru of the Mutt, whenever he bathes in the river, feeds them and the sight of the fish taking their food from his hands is a fine one.

His late Holiness Sri Sankaracharya had one of the conspicuously big and bold ones of the brood caught and got a golden ring inserted in one of its gills.

There is a widespread belief in Sringeri that skin diseases can be cured by propitiating the fish of this place. Accordingly, when persons are afflicted with cutaneous complaints, they take a vow to feed them and instances can be given where their faith has yielded beneficent results to the sufferers.

Another cause of veneration for fish is the popular belief of the souls of the dead, especially gluttons, finding repose by transmigrating into fish. In Malabar and Travancore this belief appears to be widespread and Fra Paolina de san Bartolomeo says "when a Malabar king, prince or a great man dies the Mukkuwans must for sometime give over fishing and as a signal that it is then prohibited branches of trees are always stuck up here and there on the banks of the rivers. They are generally suffered to remain eight or ten days in order that the soul of the deceased during that time may choose for itself a new habitation in the body of some fish" (p. 242 *A Voyage to the East Indies*, 1800). He also records an interesting case which occurred as far back as 1780. The king of Travancore 'Rama Varmer' had lost his mother and so "the commander of English troops in Anjengo was requested

by the king to cause every mark of respect to be paid at Anjengo to the memory of his deceased mother. No one during that time (three days) durst fish in the sea because the Indians believe in the transmigration of souls and are therefore afraid that the soul of a deceased person may be prevented from going into some fish or other" (ibid. p. 144).

The Tirumalapad (or Raja) of Nilambur in Malabar has in the pool below his house sacred fish which have reached huge dimensions. Also the Madagole Zamindars of Vizagapatam have huge mahseer in their Matsyagundam. Their superstitious fears lest any be killed are great and are akin to the belief of "the heir of Clifton of Clifton in Nottinghamshire dying if a sturgeon is caught in the Trent near Clifton." A story is current near Matsyagundam as to the origin of some rocks near by. A sacred fish was caught there by an unfortunate Brinjari who with his pack-horses were instantaneously petrified! The river which supplies water to this Matsyagundam forms a rock pool near its source, and here also the sacred fish abound. The fish are fed by a priest who calls them 'Machi, Machi, Machi'. The fish come up and take the food thrown in.

The Gonds are so obsessed by the belief that the souls of the dead find a habitation in fish that, after burial, they go to the river, cry out the name of the deadman and catch a fish which they fully believe is the mortal vehicle of that soul. The curious part of the custom is the fish is made a meal of in the belief that the deceased will be born again in the family!

Another cause of fish-worship may be found in the timidity of the followers of Tubal Cain, who seek to propitiate the monsters of the deep with gifts, requesting them to refrain from harming the fishermen while reaping the harvest of the sea. Fisher-folk in their daily round of reaping where they have not sown are subject to innumerable dangers. Tragic has been the end of many who draw their daily bread out of the waters. A fisherman who gets out in the morning in the hope of a good share in the finny spoils may fall a prey by mischance to a ravenous monster whom he had fondly hoped to take home. Our Pattanavar fishermen, unlike the Kaffirs of Africa who offer human sacrifice, merely offer Pongal periodically. The Kaffirs of Africa dedicate a child from his birthday as a victim for the sharks and then in the eleventh year they tie him to a pole in the sea where the boy shrieks in horror till the life is despatched by the sharks. Even the Muhammadan fishermen and divers employed in the chank and pearl fisheries of the South try to propitiate the sharks. Once the shark scare is raised, the fishery must break up unless a priest or an old woman performs ceremonies which are supposed to charm the monsters away from the scene. Some years ago a Muhammadan who held the post of honorary overseer in the Ramnad Chank Fisheries and who was reputed to be a very effective sharkcharmer,

failed to scare away the shark in spite of reiterated prayers and pronouncements of charms. It was subsequently found that the inefficacy was due to the loss of many teeth of the overseer due to old age.' The divers could not be persuaded to resume work even by lavish promises of presents, till another charmer was found. At Gwadur on the Mekran Coast it is recorded that fishermen of all religions present the priests of a shrine with saws of *Pristis* the sawfish. The priests were expected to pray for pot luck and a safe return (p. 728, Fishes of India by Day, Vol. I, 1878-1888.)

A ceremony connected with fish may be mentioned here. The Fish is a very prolific animal, one female, e.g., that of *Scomber microlepidotus* the Mackerel (Kanan-geluthi of the Tamils and the Aylai of the West Coast) depositing as many as six lakhs of eggs! It is ordinarily taken as an emblem of fertility and so the Holeyas of Canara lead the newly wedded couple to a river where they put in the wedding mat woven by the bride and catch some fish which the couple let go after kissing (p. 174, South Canara District Manual, Vol. I, 1894). In some cases one fish is taken home and its scales adorn the forehead of the couple and they believe this ensures fertility!

In the old Vedas it is said there is no equivalent of the word fish and that only after the Aryans had migrated towards the ocean the word Matsya was introduced. Vizagapatam District and the place round about was formerly known as "Matsya Desa". The chiefs who ruled over this 'fish country' were the Matsyas the founder of which clan is said to have descended from a fish. The Madagole Zamindars of Vizagapatam claim to be the lineal descendants of the Matsyas. Their throne is fish-shaped. Their signature is a symbol representing a fish, they display a fish on their banner and even their dependants wear fish-shaped ear-rings.

The Pandys of the South had as the device of their House a fish, (p. 74, A Sketch of the Dynasties of South India by Sewell, 1883) and on their banner was the figure of a fish. This is sometimes adduced as a proof that the Pandys who were often addressed as "Minavar Kon" (king of the fishermen) belonged to the fishing community of the South the Parawas or as they style themselves the Bharathas.

In this connection it may be interesting to show how it is that the early Christians of Europe too had adopted the fish as their emblem. During the early days of Christianity Christians were persecuted and they had to find out a means by which the burial place of a fellow Christian could be easily made out without betraying the fact to their pagan persecutors. The emblem of a fish was adopted and a figure of a fish inscribed on the grave-stones. The first letters of the Greek words Jesus, Christ, God's Son, Saviour chanced to form the Greek word Ichthus (fish) and hence the symbol.

BHAGAWAD-GEETHA—PHILOSOPHY OF DUTY,

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society)

BY M. CHAKRAVARTHI, ESQ., M. A.

THIS aspect of the Geetha is really enchanting to the spiritualist, the moralist and essentially to the practical philosopher in his big programme of social adjustment. While the eighteen chapters of the Geetha aim at individual perfection separately under the training of Karmayoga, Gyanayoga and Bhakthiyoga (right action, true knowledge and pure devotion) in their diverse aspects, the chief keynote to the Book on the whole consists in the fact that the immortal author has 'humanity' as the central theme of his work and the empire of humanity as the goal of man here on earth and individual existence, a sound solid factor contributing in itself, consciously or unconsciously, to the realization of that goal. Unless this idea is clearly borne in mind, it is not possible to construe properly the apparently contradicting expressions frequently appearing in the Geeta either under Karma-yoga or Gyanayoga or Bhakthiyoga. The one theme of all the Upanishads is the correct knowledge of man, world and God and the application of that knowledge in man's everyday walk of life. The famous sutra of Patanjali ज्ञानानुष्ठानेधर्मः amply illustrates the truth of this. By merely knowing the essentials of life and life's activities we cannot achieve our goal; no do we reach the goal by adhering to a practice traditionally handed down to us about the knowledge of which we are utterly ignorant. The Sadhana or the direct means consists in the true knowledge and its application. This our social legislators like Manu, Yagnya-valkya, and others called धर्म or Duty. Kānāda explained धर्म as यथोऽभ्युदयसिद्धिस्तद्धर्मः. 'That which contributes to worldly prosperity and spiritual bliss is Dharma or Duty'. The great logician has not closed his eyes to the bearing of Dharma on worldly activities unlike his later followers here in India. What he evidently means is that to be Dharmic one should be ever striving towards the progress of the world and one's own spiritual advancement. There is perhaps no other word in the Sanskrit language as सिद्धिः for at once being rich, significant and fully expressive. If the Sanskrit poets said कवीनांकलिः कामधेनुः (the word kali is the all-giving cow to the poets) the student of humanity may take सिद्धि as his कामधेनु. It is by individual attempts that man adds to the weal of the world and the consciousness that the world is richer, nobler and in a word better than what it was before he came to this world in his sacred pilgrimage towards perfection lies at the root of man's supreme happiness pertaining to this world. This is अभ्युदयसिद्धि. The unceasing attempt with a consciousness that by that the world is certainly progressing, howsoever infinitesimally it be and the supreme satisfaction that existence here has not been wasted but so directed as to bring joy to the world including the individual is what Kānāda has in mind

in having that expression अभ्युदयसिद्धि in his definition of धर्म. This comes first in the definition because service to mankind or in other words promotion of worldly prosperity is more insistent on man's spiritual nature and is the sure step to please God. But man's work does not end here. Half the sacred function is rightly done and the other half yet remains. The world will be happy and he will be happy only after the successful performance of duties in relation to the world. But meanwhile some strong support is necessary to keep him on and on in spite of repeated obstacles, unnatural impediments and soul-killing temptations. This want is fulfilled by the word निश्चयसिद्धि in the definition. Spiritual bliss is not possible without a correct knowledge of godhead and the conviction that whatever man be in his onward march towards perfection he is but an instrument of God with a special purpose of his own in the shaping of the world. As before निश्चयसिद्धि means that, while man works for the progress of the world in his humble capacity he should strengthen his hands with spiritual realization so much so that individuality merges in the all-embracing divine love. Thus worldly prosperity and spiritual evolution are complementary to each other and with these two weapons man, undaunted by fear, obstacles and opinions, is sure to achieve his goal. Pettiness, the natural outcome of worldly successes, cannot find a place in the heart of man spiritually dedicated to God. Thus धर्म so beautifully defined by the great seer Kānāda has no particular reference to any place, any nation or any time, but is universal. It is this Dharma that Sri Krishna expounds in his sacred Geeta to Arjuna and it is the banner of this Dharma that Vyasa holds unfurled in his great epic Mahabharata. That mighty edifice with its eighteen Parvas and that illustrious author with his other eighteen puranas strike an attunement to the eighteen chapters of the Geeta with the one chorus of धर्म. Vyasa says

ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरोम्भेः नहिकश्चिच्छृणोतिमे । धर्मादर्धश्चकामश्चसकिमर्थनसेवत ॥

(With hands uplifted I shout and no one comes to listen to me; Prosperity and happiness are born of धर्म and why do you not observe it?) The Vedas explain this Dharma by facts in the कर्मकाण्ड, भक्तिकाण्ड and ज्ञानकाण्ड. In doing so the Vedas behave like kings. Their orders are pithy and pointed. They reward good conduct with good results and bad conduct with bad. While on one side the rewards are most tempting even according to the hair-splitting pains-involving मोमांसक school of philosophers with their one commandment that sacrifices must be performed as enjoined in the Karmakanda of the Vedas, the punishment for wrong doing on the other not only strikes terror even into the most heinous criminal but also shakes the confidence of the most pious and honest and sacrifice-loving person on the ground that even in trying to live by the Vedas he has to commit faults of omission and commission in the nature of things. Naturally fear dug the ground under his foot and in spite of the Vedas and their royal prerogatives the one query remained 'what to do'. At this point the great seers opened their fountains of knowledge and thence proceeded the streams of puranas watering the parched-up soils of enquiring minds and giving rise to the plentiful harvest of soul vision and God vision on the sacred tree of Dharma reared up amidst the closely seasoned

अर्थवाद. Unlike the king-like Vedas, the puranas served like friends. They would tell stories at times real and at others imaginary but always to teach धर्म. But stories multiplied and the simple truth got hidden among crustations of wild glaring and dreary episodes. धर्म got to be confused and with the advent of the several schools of thinkers of the षड्दर्शन (the six systems of philosophy) and in their sincere and yet one-sided desire to explain away the Reality and the Absolute more or less in a sectarian spirit, confusion became confounded and धर्म became a mere word and whatever people did they called it the dictate of धर्म. The correct sense of the original धर्म meaning the duty of a knowing spiritual man in helping the onward march of the world with the full cognition of his purpose in creation got disfigured, its application was lost amidst cumbrous details and meaningless forms and it was forced to mean whatever the whim and fancy it suited the individual to give to the word. The empire of humanity was no longer the goal, the individual attempt at the universal oneness was no longer the duty imposed upon man's higher nature and the whole thing was reduced to individual aggrandizement and utter debasement of the human destiny.

It was at this point, Sri Krishna whom the Hindus call an Avatar, made his appearance amidst mortal men to extricate the precious truth from among the mischief-making labyrinthal schools of philosophers and restore it to its pristine purity. Whatever may be the opinion about Sri Krishna anybody may entertain it remains for his immortality that he showed the true धर्म of the Vedas as the science of conduct between man and self, man and man, man and the world and man and God in his immortal Geeta. Geeta (that which is sung) it certainly is, for to an enquiring mind its melodies are sweeter than music and more soul-refreshing than anything that we know of in the fine arts. In the Geeta He says that He made Himself manifest for the restoration of Dharma.

वदायदाहि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत । अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सजान्महम् ॥

(Oh Arjuna, when righteous conduct disappears from the land and unrighteousness prevails, I make myself manifest.) This stanza is the keystone of the whole edifice of the Geeta. Karmayoga, Gyanayoga and Bhakthiyoga it surely treats of in separate chapters but a close perusal of the whole Geeta will convince any unbiased student that the treatments given to them separately are only to explain away the several fallacies connected with them and show them in their real bearing on man's good here and hereafter. To understand the importance of this statement we have only to conjure up to our minds the real situation at the time Sri Krishna gave his sacred Geeta to Arjuna and through him to the world at large. The opposing forces are gathered in large numbers ready to fight in the field of Kurukshetra and the hero is taken in a chariot to see who they are that he should kill. He sees his own kith and kin, his preceptors and elders and friends and well-wishers. Naturally the tender heart of the hero melts away with compassion at the inevitable carnage and being himself known as one of the greatest Dharmikas he stills finds himself at sea when he thought of what his conduct then should be. Should he kill or retire from the battle-field? The

idea of Duty compelled him to kill but along with it another duty of the Kshatriya^{*} namely दुष्टनिग्रहशिष्टपरिपालन रूपो राजधर्मः (punish the wicked and succour the good) rose up in his mind. This conflict of duties got further strengthened by the good notion that those like Bhishma, Drona and others whom he should protect at any cost and who themselves were known champions of Dharma had ranged themselves along with the Kauravas who deserved death. How should he conduct himself at this juncture? Again it would not come under right ethics if a man kills his own folk who are driven by lust and greed even to mad excesses like his cousins. They were wrong no doubt but it did not justify him to do greater wrong in annihilating them. Arjuna fears that by his conduct one way or the other society would lose its stability and the men and women would do as they pleased with the result that the race-purity would disappear. Being a staunch believer in other worlds and the safe residence of his deceased ancestors there he thought that the Varna-sankarya (the mixture of races) the inevitable result of warfare, would send down to perdition those ancestors whose stay in the higher regions depended upon their receiving libations from their children below. Thus Arjuna is troubled on all sides by strange notions of duties arising on personal, social and religious considerations. When he found that he would not conduct himself safely he thought that, the noble soul that he was, he should sacrifice himself rather than do that which would damn him eternally with ignominy. These worries he would not have had had he only known that the goal of man is in the empire of Humanity and real धर्म should not be judged either by personal, or social or even religious considerations but transcending all these it should stay on the hard rock of right conduct which alone contributes to the weal of the world. At this stage, seeing that unbecoming infamous attitude of Arjuna Sri Krishna said, "Oh Arjuna, you have lost moral courage. You must pick it up. Your purpose here is not to see a few kith and kin safe for the present. They have to die some time or other. But your purpose should be such that does not retard the progress of the world as the actions of the Kauravas are doing now. If you think the welfare of your preceptors and elders as the end—all of your life you have not done your duty by the world. There is nothing wrong in killing those who retard the progress of the world. Kauravas are sinners and those whom you want to save sacrificing the world's welfare are only trying to drag the destiny of humanity down. As a Kshatriya it is but right that you should not swerve in killing your enemies and moreover if you do not do your duty you will be condemned by the good people. Killed in a right cause you will get into Heaven and winning you will enjoy the glories of the world. And Arjuna! all this confusion has arisen in your mind, simply because you have not known on what your conduct should be based. You should not be guided by the ideas of joy and pain, gain or loss but should do your duty determined by circumstances. Even the Vedic ideal holds forth some fruits or other and people are naturally guided by the results of actions and cannot understand the importance of 'doing duty for duty's sake,

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन । मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भूर्मातेसंयोगोत्सवकर्मणि ॥

(You have to do your duty ; you have at no time to reckon on the fruits thereof ; you should not be persuaded to do your duty by its results and may you not love inaction) Thus in the most terrible of circumstances, Sri Krishna's advice to Arjuna was that he should do his duty irrespective of the fruits thereof. He should neither encourage bad action nor himself indulge in inaction. This advice of Sri Krishna is at once a key to unravel the mysteries hanging round Karmayoga, Gyanayoga and Bhaktiyoga. These three Yogas are not in themselves complete but they are complementary to each other. Karmayoga which teaches man to do his duty properly raises a number of issues, the chief among them being whether any man can even remain inactive, even for a moment. (नहि कश्चित्क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत्) It is impossible in man's nature to be inactive. Whether he wills or no his very nature goads him on to manifest or unmanifest activity. This innate tendency in man 'to do' has certain limitations. All his tendencies cannot always give good results, good in harmony with the world's welfare. Some tendencies judged purely by the motives of the lower self of man may no doubt satiate or try to satiate man's individual sense-pleasures but may from the standpoint of his divine mission on earth retard universal progress. It is here the Vedic ideal interfered and ordained that whenever you have to do anything because you cannot but do the inevitable, it is only right that that doing may be for your good but should not be such as to retard universal welfare. The Karmakanda of the Vedas asked man to convert the tendencies into doing some sacrifice or other and in anticipation of the superior happiness in the other worlds discount all happiness here because the worldly happiness was never fully happiness but an admixture of pleasure and pain. According to the मीमांसक school of philosophy the natural tendency in man should be trained along the lines of action calculated to bring the unmixed pleasures of Swarga and other worlds. This way of looking at things naturally gave rise to the ideas of पुण्य and पाप (merit and sin). All that which promised unmixed happiness hereafter was known as पुण्य and all that that was detrimental to the unmixed happiness was पाप. But again the question was put "how long can a man enjoy this sort of unmixed happiness?" There was again a limitation to this unmixed happiness 'क्षणे पुण्ये मर्त्यलोके विवर्तिते'. When the stock of merit is exhausted the man must come back to the mortal world. Here again it is not eternal happiness though unmixed. It required constant work on the Vedic ideal only to run between heavens and earth for the sake of a higher and still selfish happiness. At this stage the Karma theory of the Hindus शुभकृत्यं शुभमाप्नोति पापकृत्यं पापमश्नुते (He who does good is rewarded with good and he who does bad is rewarded with bad) wanted a strong back-bone in the knowledge of the nature of Karma. So long as Karma or action we do is meant for some selfish end, lower or higher, we are bound by the result of it. This binding is what the Hindus call संसार (Birth and Death). Bound by the fruit of action man is born and born again until he knows how he can get rid of this bondage. The Gyanayoga now comes to solve this riddle of how to be doing the inevitable work or Karma and still take care to see that the Karmaphala or the result of action does not bind. It is here

that credit must be given to the Hindu conception of the Vedantic ideal of self-surrender. Gyanayoga while teaching the true nature of man, world and God in their several aspects with one another teaches fundamentally the idea that the real happiness (आनन्द),—not the mixed happiness of this world nor the unmixed but still temporary happiness of the other world—, consists in the realization of Self and its relation to the world and doing all our actions sinking all individuality in the universal. It means to say that the inevitable Karma (action) should be done but so done that it does not recoil on the doer but works out the good of humanity. Man is not bound here, because he wants nothing and man's mission here on earth is fulfilled because his purpose is justified. He, the composite factor, individually contributes to the aggregate good. The renunciation school opposed this view and said that man need not do anything at all but should direct all the inevitable tendencies towards inner reflexion and enjoy आत्मानन्द (the happiness born of the realization of self) to be free from this bondage. Sri Krishna, the most tolerant of reformers while admitting the importance of this view, still suggests that while man surely attains his goal thereby, his purpose in creation is not justified. The world in that case would miss a great leader.

यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेव तरो जनः । स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ॥

Whatever the great man does is simply copied by the ordinary man. The world will follow him, only so far as he himself does. According to this school the world without a proper guide would do things irresponsibly and give scope for all confusions. Peace and order would disappear and the progress of the world would mean nothing. The purpose of creation would be defeated. Thus it is incumbent on the Gyani to work for the guidance of the world in its march or rather its ordered procession towards perfection. Whatever diversity of opinions may exist in differentiating Karmayoga and Gyanayoga so far as the purpose of the Geeta is concerned, it goes without saying that a true Karmayogi is none other than a Gyanayogi. Without Karma Gyana is barren and without Gyana Karma is either brutish or superstitious (अन्धपरंपरा—blind leading the blind). It is in this light that Sri Krishna advised Arjuna to rise above the occasion and do his duty.

मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणि संन्यस्या व्यात्मचेतसा । निराशो निर्ममो भूत्वा युध्यस्व विगतज्वरः ॥

Fight, Arjuna, without any uneasiness and without entertaining any desire or attachment but take care that whatever action you do, you do it in my name with no idea of your individuality in the matter.

This doing of any action sinking all individuality and doing in God's name and for God is what the Geeta calls Bhakthiyoga. In this Yoga there is a total annihilation of man's idea of अहं (I) and all along there is the consciousness that he is but an instrument of God in the evolution of the world. The work is done, the result is produced and the world is enriched but the Bhaktha, the great devotee, enjoys bliss as the result of fulfilling the divine purpose. It is extremely painful to note that sharp hair-splitting differences are made out between Karmayoga, Gyana-yoga and Bhakthiyoga, while one cannot be without the other two and all the three

are but the three aspects of the philosophy of duty. Worse it is that compartmental divisions are made between the three aspects and each reduced to practices like indulging in animal-killing sacrifices in the name of Karmayoga, in the running away to a forest under the so-called spirit of renunciation ignoring the responsibility to the world in the name of Gyanayoga and running ecstatic without rhyme or reason in dancing and weeping under the idea of Bhajana in the name of Bhakthiyoga. All these people, howsoever good their motives be, are forgetting the fundamental truth of their existence, namely, that they exist not for themselves but exist for others. कर्मणैव हि स सिद्धिमास्थिता जनकादयः (It is by well-regulated Karma only that kings like Janaka attained the highest. I believe that India has not produced a better example than Janaka in at once being the greatest knower, the greatest doer and the greatest devotee and illustrating in his life the philosophy of duty. No doubt, it is very hard to realize where one aspect of this duty revolves to show the other two aspects but the wisdom of man consists in seeing that all his actions are free from motives and ever calculated to universal good.

यस्य सर्वे समारम्भाः कामसंकल्पवर्जिताः । ज्ञानाग्निदग्धकर्माणं तमाहुः पण्डितं बुधाः ॥

योगसन्वस्तकर्माणं ज्ञानसंछिन्नसंशयम् । आत्मवन्तं न कर्माणि निबध्नन्ति धनंजय ॥

(He who does all his actions without any attachment arising out of desire and whose actions are well determined by true knowledge is called a knower by the wise and he who has a balanced mind in doing and whose doubts are cleared by a correct knowledge of his purpose in life and who has realized his self is not bound by the action results.) The essence of duty does not therefore consist in the differentiation of Karma and Gyana but in seeing them as one. (एकं सांख्यं च योगं च यः पश्यति स पश्यति) He alone sees who sees oneness in theory and practice. Although it is not given to every man to reach this ideal in the winking of an eye, it is still the ideal which Sri Krishna placed before Arjuna in the battle-field specially because life is a battle-field where theory and practice are ever in conflict in almost all human beings. When the theory is practice lived out we say it is सिद्धि. Towards this Siddhi all are striving but only a few succeed.

मनुष्याणां स ह स्तेषु कश्चिद्यत्नति सिद्धये । यततामपि सिद्धानां कश्चिन्मवेत्ति तत्त्वतः ॥

Amongst a thousand men one strives to attain Siddhi and of those Siddhas still striving one may know Me in reality, the purpose of this creation and divinity underlying it all. Although difficult to attain it is quite possible for an aspiring mind to reach it. The only direct means towards it are constant attempt and selflessness. अभ्यासेन तु कौन्तेय वैराग्येन च गृह्यते ॥ Not being satisfied with expatiating on this sublime topic in its theoretical aspect, Sri Krishna gave precious lessons of practice in the following words :—

देवद्विजगुरुप्राशूपूजनं शौचमार्जवं । ब्रह्मचर्यमाहिंसा च शरीरं तप उच्यते ॥

अनुद्वेगकरं वाक्यं सत्यं प्रियं हितं च यत् । स्वाध्यायान्ध्यासनं चैवाङ्गमयं तप उच्यते ॥

मनः प्रसादस्सौम्यत्वं मौनमात्मविनिग्रहः । भावसंशुद्धिरित्येतत्तपो मानसमुच्यते ॥

Here Sri Krishna enjoins three kinds of तपस् (watchful conduct) for all men and

for all times so that they may receive practical training in consonance with the spirit of duty. The physical body has been enjoined to observe the following—worshipping of God, godly folk, preceptors and the learned, cleanliness, straightforward bearing, continence, and harmlessness to animals. The organs of speech have been enjoined to observe these—uttering words never calculated to be painful, true, pleasing and agreeable and devoted to praise God and the mind should always have equanimity and sweet temperament, should practise silence and control the organs of sense and cultivate purity of heart. By these methods Sri Krishna assures us that we can fit our body, word and mind to discharge the several duties and responsibilities imposed upon us by the very purpose in creation and make us live a useful life in the world amidst the diverse humanity with the consciousness of an all-merciful God everywhere leading us to enjoy uninterruptedly the bliss of sharing citizenship in the grand and majestic empire of humanity.

JAINA TEACHERS AND THEIR CONTEMPORARY KINGS.

(Continued.)

BY DR. R. SHAMA SHASTRY, B.A., PH.D.

Sriharsha and Manatunga.

WHEN Sriharsha was ruling in Benares, his Court poets were Mayura, the author of Suryasataka and Bana. Though they were near relatives, there was strong rivalry between them. Manatunga was a celebrated Jaina philosopher and scholar in the Court of Sriharsha.

Siddharshi.

There lived king Srivarmalata, in Srimala, a city in Gurjara. He had a minister called Suprabha. The latter had two sons, Datta and Subhankara. Datta's son was the celebrated poet Magha, the author of Sisupala Vadha. Subhankara's son was Siddha. Having fallen into evil habits, he used to come to his house late at night. One day his wife complained to her mother-in-law against her husband. She took steps to correct him. One day when he came to the house late at night, she refused to open the door to him. Finding no place for rest, he went to the Jaina monastery in the city and seeing the religious devotion of the ascetics there he changed his mind and embraced Jainism. Having studied Sanskrit thoroughly he commented on a number of old Jaina works.

Srivira (Vikram 938—991).

In Srimala, a city in Gurjara, there was Devaraja, a descendant of the Dhar-maraja dynasty, king of the Gurjara country. There was a merchant Sivanaga by name and he had a son named Vira. Once he went to Matsyapura to worship Mahavira and was robbed of his wealth by thieves on his way. This made him give up his love of wealth. Then he became a Jaina ascetic and began to preach. Once he went to Anahillapura and preached before Chamundaraya, the king of that country. The king had no sons and in virtue of the worship and rites performed by Vira, he got sons who were known in history as Vallabha rajas. Vira was born in Vikrama 938 and died 991.

Santisuri.

In Anahillapura in Gurjara there was king Bhima. There was at that time Vijayasimhasuri, head of the Tharapadagachha. There was also a merchant called Dhanadeva in the same city then. His wife was Dhanasri, and their son was Bhima. He became a convert to Jainism and was thereafter called Santi. After the death of Vijayasimhasuri, he occupied his place in the monastery. The Court poet of king Bhima was Dhanapala, also called Vadichakri who wrote Tilaka-manjari. Santisuri wrote a commentary on it. Once Santisuri went to Dhara, the capital of Bhoja and conquering a number of poets in his court, got

the title of Siddhasaravata and a large amount of money with which he built a number of Chaityas in Dhara. He also defeated a Digambara teacher in dispute in the presence of Siddha, king of Gurjara. Santisuri died on Tuesday the 9th of the white half of the month Suchi (Ashadha), the star being Kritika, in the Vikrama year 1096—1040 A.D.

Mahendrasuri.

While Bhoja, son of Munja, was ruling in Dhara, there was a learned Brahman named Sarvadeva. He had two sons, Dhanapala and Sobhana. He happened to meet Mahendrasuri, a famous Jaina teacher and became acquainted with him. As Sarvadeva was in need of money, he made a gift of his younger son to Mahendrasuri and got forty lakhs of Svarna Tankas from him in return. Dhanapala reported this to the king Bhoja and succeeded in banishing all the Jaina teachers for twelve years from the territory of Avanti. Mahendra with his followers, inclusive of Sobhana, the younger son of Sarvadeva, left Avanti for Anahilla. Sarvadeva was also excommunicated for selling his son. After spending twelve years in studying Sanskrit and Jaina philosophy Sobhana returned to Dhara and succeeded in converting his brother Dhanapala to Jainism. Dhanapala was a learned man and wrote his Tilakamanjari, a work consisting of Jaina religious stories and read it before king Bhoja. The king was very much pleased with the charming style and the sweet and instructive stories of the work. But pointing out some defects he asked Dhanapala to rectify them. He told him that obeisance to Siva at the beginning of the work was necessary. He also suggested that Dhara might be substituted for Ayodhya, with the names of Mahakala and Sankara for Rishabha and his own story for that of Meghavahana. The author did not like to do so. Then king Bhoja took the manuscript and burnt it. Dhanapala was very sorry and had no desire to live any longer. His daughter who had heard the stories read before her narrated them again and Dhanapala wrote them for a second time.

In the city of Bhrikachha in Lata there was a learned Brahman called Suradeva. He had two sons, Dharma and Sarma. As a young man Dharma was an idle man and would do no work. But coming in contact with Jaina teachers of his day, he learnt Sanskrit and Jaina philosophy and became invincible in dispute. Once he came to the court of Bhoja and challenged his court pandits to carry on religious dispute with him and defeat him, if they could. King Bhoja regretted the absence of Dhanapala at his court and after a long search succeeded in getting him back to his court. In the debate that ensued between Dhanapala and Dharma, the former defeated the latter and told him that his learning was nothing when compared with that of Santisuri, Dhanapala's brother. When Mahendrasuri died Santisuri succeeded him as the head of the Jaina monastery in Anahillapura.

Suracharya.

While Bhima was living in Anahillapura and ruling over Gurjara, there lived a Kshatriya called Mahipala, the son of Sangramasimha who was Bhima's maternal uncle. When Mahipala was very young, his father died and his mother placed the boy under Govindacharya, a Jaina teacher in Anahillapura. Mahipala studied

Sanskrit grammar and literature and became a learned man. When he grew sufficiently old, he was initiated in the religion of the Jainas and became a Jain teacher called Suracharya. Then king Bhoja wrote to king Bhima, asking him whether there was any poet in his court, capable of composing half a verse so as to fit the first half enclosed in the letter. A number of poets tried, but failed. But Suracharya completed the verse to the satisfaction of king Bhoja. At the invitation of king Bhoja, Suracharya was permitted to go to Dhara and remain with king Bhoja for some time. Bhoja was a Saivait. But as other religions had also their excellences and learned preachers, he could not condemn them. He had however a mad desire to try and combine the six systems of Indian religion into one. Accordingly he consulted his ministers. They said that it was impossible and that one of his predecessors of the same Paramara dynasty failed in his attempt to unify religions. Bhoja was however determined and having assembled his court pandits and other learned men who had come thither at his invitation, he ordered them to unify religions. He said that no food would be given to them unless they made one religion and removed differences. There were assembled a thousand scholars, both men and women. The one true thing that they all felt with no exception was hunger. It was immaterial whether there existed a Jiva or not. The sight was pitiable. Suracharya had to intervene. He was not one among the imprisoned scholars. He went to the king and said as follows :—

“Your city consists of eighty-four palaces, eighty-four streets, and eighty-four roads lined with shops. In this bewildering system of palaces, streets, lanes, and shops, no stranger could with certainty find his way out. Why do you not destroy them and make one palace and road for the entry and exit of strangers? If you could not destroy what you yourself had made, how can we attempt to destroy old religions of different sages and replace them all by one? Besides the various religions satisfy various cravings and tastes of men. He who is endowed with humane feelings will find pleasure in Jainism. Whoever is bent on pleasure-seeking will find satisfaction in the cult of the Kaula Tantrics. Whoever wants to follow the natural trend of mankind (Vyavaharthi) may follow the Vedas and whoever desires emancipation has pleasure in philosophy. Such being the natural variety in tastes, how is it possible to compel mankind to cultivate a single phase of taste?”

After listening to the speech of Suracharya, king Bhoja gave up his mad desire and entertained the assembly of scholars with a sumptuous dinner and presentations.

Suracharya also succeeded in removing the lurking enmity between king Bhoja and king Bhima.

Suracharya paid a visit to the Sanskrit college established by Bhoja in his capital. In addition to literature and philosophy, grammar was also taught there and the text book which the professor of grammar used in teaching grammar was one which king Bhoja himself had made. When the professor sang the introductory verse in which the goddess of speech was described as a wife of Brahma, Suracharya said that with countries customs also changed and that while for the

southerners it was usual to marry the daughters of the maternal uncle, the people of Surashtra married the widow of their dead brother and asked the professor whether with the people of Avanti it was a custom to marry their own daughters as Brahma was said in the introductory verse to have married his own daughter, Sarasvati.

Abhayadeva.

While king Bhôja was ruling over Malava, there came two young learned men, called Sridhara and Sripati and paid a visit to Dhara. They halted in Dhara as guests of Lakshmidhara, a learned man in the same city. The next day after their arrival his house caught fire and was reduced to ashes. Lakshmidhara was sorry not so much for the destruction of his house as for the loss of accounts of about 20,00,000 gold tankas recorded on one of its walls. The guests however succeeded in reading and restoring the accounts. Meanwhile Vardhamanasuri, a Jaina teacher paid a visit to Dhara. The two guests had the pleasure of seeing him. They studied Jaina philosophy under him and thenceforward became known as Jainesvara and Buddhisagara.

At that time Durlabha was the king of Srimatpattana. As a Saivait he prohibited the entrance of the Jainas into his capital. At the request of Vardhamanasuri, Jainesvara and Buddhisagara promised to get the prohibition removed. Accordingly they went to Srimatpattana and resided with Somesvara, the Brahman priest of the king. Charmed with their learning, the priest requested the king to remove the order and allow the two Jaina teachers to live with him. The king was pleased to cancel the order and permit learned men of all religions to have free entrance into his capital. By way of praising the king for his impartiality, they narrated a story related to Srivinaraja of the Chapaikata dynasty. That king, they said, was a Jaina in religion, as he was brought up and educated by Devachandrasuri of Nagendragachha. At the request of his teacher, he built a special suburb for the residence of the Jainas. The Jainas however requested him to pass an order prohibiting the stay of the followers of other religions in their midst. Then a Saivait called Jnanadeva raised an objection against the proposed rule unless similar suburbs were also constructed for the followers of other religions. The king sympathized with Jnanadeva's objection and built different suburbs for different religions.

Buddhisagara wrote a work on grammar and called it after his own name. Jainesvarasuri once went to Dhara again and happened to meet Abhaya, son of a merchant called Mahidhara. He converted him to Jainism and taught him Sanskrit. Having taken the consent of Vardhamanasuri, Jainesvarasuri raised Abhayadeva to the status of a suri. When Jainesvarasuri and Vardhamana died, Abhayadeva was at the head of the Jaina monastery at Anahillapura. There was a terrible famine at that time and all Jaina colleges had to be closed for a number of years. Accordingly learned men became rare and Abhayadeva considered it necessary to reduce oral learning to writing and preserve manuscripts in libraries. For this purpose he sought help from Bhima, king of Anahilla and with the three lakhs of Drumma which he received from king Bhima he employed eighty-four

copyists to copy manuscripts in each of the villages, Tamralipti and Asapalli, and distributed the manuscripts to the Suris of various Jaina monasteries.

Virasuri.

In Pandillagachha, a branch of the Chandragachha, there lived Bhavadeva Suri whose disciple was Vijayasimhasuri. Vijayasimha's disciple was Srivirasuri. He was a friend of king Siddharaja. Once when the king said in joke that the power which Vira had exercised was all due to his friendship with the king, Vira was displeased and left his country at once. He went to Sripattana, the capital of Jayasimha, king of Gurjara. After residing there for some time he went to Mahabodhapura where he defeated a number of Buddhists in dispute. From that place he passed to Gopalagiri and was accorded a grand reception by the king of that place. Then he went to Nagapura and declined to accept the invitation of Siddharaja. Then he left for Arupagrama not far from Anahillapura and was received by Jayasimha, king of that city. There he defeated in dispute Vadisimha, a Sankhya philosopher, in the presence of the king and Govindacharya, whose friendship was sought even by Karmaraja.

Devasuri.

There was a kingdom called Ashtadasasati (one hundred and eighteen) in Gurjara. There was a fortified city known as Maddahabrita in it. In that city there was a householder called Naga, a descendant of the Wata family. His wife was called Jinadevi. His son was called Purnachandra. When an epidemic disease broke out in the city Naga with his family left for Bhrikukachhapura in the country of Lata. There was in that city Munichandrasuri at the head of the Jaina monastery. Seeing Purnachandra, Munichandra requested his parents to make a gift of him to the Jaina Sangha. They made him over to Munichandra. The boy was educated and was called Ramachandra. Having become an expert in debate he conquered a number of learned men in cities such as Dhavalaka, Kashmirasagara, Satyapura, Nagapura, Chitrakuta, Gopalagiri, Dhara, Pushkarini and Bhrikukshetra. Among his friends there were Vimalachandra, Harichandra, Somachandra, and Parsvachandra. When Munichandra grew old, he was made the head of the Jaina monastery in Anahillapura and was given the name of Devasuri.

Once when he was going up the mountain called Arbuda with Ambaprasada, Vijayasimha's minister, the minister's leg was smitten by a scorpion. Devasuri cured it by applying the water with which he first washed his own legs. One Devabodha, a born poet and scholar belonging to the Bhagavata sect was a friend of Devasuri. With the money contributed by a generous wealthy man named Bahada, he built a number of Jaina temples in Nagapura, and other places.

The king of Nagapura called Ahladana held him in high esteem and kept him in his city. Once on this occasion Vijayasimha or Siddharaja, as he is also called, had to raise the siege which he laid to the city of Nagapura because of the presence of Devasuri inside the city. After returning to Sripattana, he invited Devasuri thither during the rainy season and in the next autumn he renewed his siege of the city of Nagapura and captured it. Sometime after this event, Devasuri

went to Karnavati at the invitation of the Jaina Sangha of that place. Meanwhile Kumudachandra, a Digambara Jaina ascetic and the guru of Jayakesi, king of the Karnata and father-in-law of Siddharaja came thither challenging learned men to subdue him in debate if they could. As the Digambaras did not permit women to practise asceticism, he ill-treated an old lady ascetic in Karnavati. At her request and at the request of the Sangha also, Devasuri was compelled to carry on a debate with Kumudachandra and vanquish him. Accordingly Devasuri sent a letter to Siddharaja to arrange for a religious debate between him and Kumudachandra and went to Anahillapura in company with Zhadada, Nagadeva and others. Kumudachandra also went there. It was decided that the defeated should follow the principles and doctrines of the victorious in the debate. All were afraid that Devasuri might sustain defeat and accordingly wanted to bribe Kumudachandra to give up the debate. But Devasuri would be no party to such shameful contrivance. He was confident of his victory. On the side of Kumudachandra there were as umpires Devacharya, Bhanu and the poet Sripala, the king's brother. The arbitrators on the side of Devasuri were Utsaha, Rama and Sagara. In spite of the caution given to Kumudachandra by the king of Magadha, the Digambara ascetic was over-confident. On the full-moon-day of Vaisakha of Vikrama 1181 the debate began and lasted for twenty days. The subject of the discussion was whether women were by nature entitled to perform penance and attain emancipation. The Svetambaras were for and the Digambaras against the right of women for emancipation. Devasuri argued that Marudevi and other noble women of old are said to have practised penance and attained Nirvana. In their own time there was queen Mayanall, the mother of Siddharaja, who with her religious devotion had a better claim to Nirvana than any man. This was a very delicate instance, against which Kumudachandra could not raise his voice in the presence of the king, her son. These and other instances were produced by Devasuri in support of his syllogistic argument.

It was decided that Devasuri vanquished Kumudachandra. He was however allowed to go on in his own way without submitting to the conditions of the debate. Speaking of the debate Hemachandra is said to have stated that if Devasuri had not defeated Kumudachandra, the Svetambara sect would have been extinct. The king, his ministers, Ambaprasada and Gangali, his brother Sripala and his subjects were all in ecstasy and proud of Devasuri. With the money reward which the king gave to Devasuri he built Jaina temples in various places and set up the idols of Jina and other Tirthankaras.

In his eighty-third year Devasuri installed Bhadresvarasuri in his place and died on Thursday the seventh of the dark half of Sravana in Sam. 1226.

His birth was in 1143, initiation in 1151 and the position of Suri in 1174.

Hemachandra Suri.

While Siddha of the Chalukya dynasty was ruling in Anahillapura in Gurjara, there was in the village called Bandhuka, a merchant called Chacha whose wife was called Pahini. He had a son called Changadeva. There was at

that time Devachandrasuri, disciple of Pradyumnasuri at the head of the Jainas. Once when Pahini with her son went to the Jaina monastery, Devachandra was struck with the intelligence of the boy whose birth he had prophesied on the basis of a dream which Pahini had revealed to Devachandra. He requested her to hand over the boy to him for his education and training in Jaina religion. Chāṇḍadeva's parents consented and placed him under Devachandra. He was taught Sanskrit logic and grammar and became a remarkable scholar. Later on he was initiated in the Jaina religion and raised to the status of a Suri. He was then called first Somachandra and later on Hemachandra. Siddharaja had a very high regard for Hemachandra and used to consult him on a number of topics of the day. When Siddharaja conquered Malava, he went first to see Hemachandra and receive his blessings after his victorious return from Malava. Once when he paid a visit to Hemachandra's grand library consisting of manuscripts collected from Avanti, and asked Hemachandra about the authors of those manuscripts, Hemachandra praised King Bhoja and showed him the immense number of works which that learned king had written on grammar, rhetoric, astrology, logic, medicine, botany (arut), architecture (vastu), mathematics (anka), omens (sakuna), dreams (svapna), religion, palmistry, astrology, accountancy (ayasadbhava), and politics (arthasastra). Amazed at the monopoly of learning which king Bhoja and his countrymen acquired for themselves, the king asked Hemachandra whether there were no scholars in his own country to rival Malava and requested him to write a work on Sanskrit grammar. Hemachandra said that so long as Panini's admirable grammar is current no Brahman scholar would countenance a new production of grammar. The only course left was to bring the goddess of Sarasvati from Kashmir to the country of Gurjara, to collect manuscripts from all parts of the country and invite scholars to come and settle. The king at once despatched a number of scholars to Kashmir to collect manuscripts, and bring pandits from various parts of the country. Some went to Kashmir to worship the goddess of speech so as to induce her to leave the city of Pravara for Gurjara. A Sarasvati temple was accordingly built and an image of the goddess was set up in Anahillapura. A grand library was set up. A number of scholars were engaged to prepare abridgments of voluminous works, and commentaries on important works that could not be easily understood. In the works that were written anew, a new departure was made. At the close of a quarter of a work a verse descriptive of the reigning king and of his predecessors was added and four such verses at the close of the entire work together with thirty-five verses giving the genealogy of the king and the author. For a period of three years copyists three hundred in number were employed in copying down manuscripts old and new and the manuscripts thus prepared were sent to be preserved and made use of for the spread of learning to places such as Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Lata, Karnata, Konkana, Maharashtra, Surashtra, Vatsa, Kachha, Malava, Sindhu, Sauvira, Nepal, Parasika, Murundaka, Gangapara, Haridvara, Kasi, Chedi, Gaya, Kurukshetra, Kanyakubja, Gauda, Kamarupa, Jalandhara with Sapadalaksh (?), Simhala, Mahabodha, Boda Malawa, Kausika and others.

Hemachandra himself wrote about twenty new works, one of which was on grammar. This tremendous literary activity was the result of the express request of king Siddha who said that what reputation his own scholars achieved in the field of learning was his own immortal fame.

When a report of the progress achieved in literary activity was made to the king, he said :—" Blessed is my country where I have been a fortunate accomplisher of such works."

At this time there came to Anahillapura a Kayastha scholar named Kakala, a scholar, learned in eight systems of grammar. Hemachandra appointed him as a professor of grammar in the college. Professors were rewarded with gold bangles, and successful students with gold ornaments, clothes, chairs (sukhasana) and umbrellas. On the fifth of the white half of every month Kakala held a meeting and answered questions put to him on grammar and other subjects.

Once when Siddha asked Hemachandra whether there was any qualified person trained by him to succeed him, Hemachandra pointed to Ramachandra under his training. When on another occasion Hemachandra narrated the story of the Pandavas' departure to the Himalayas at the close of their life, a deputation of Brahmans waited upon the king and complained that the Jainas were Sudras and that they misrepresented the religion of the Pandavas and regarded the ancient Saiva religion with contempt. The deputation urged the king to question the Jainas as to what religion the Pandavas had and whether the Pandavas did not attain emancipation with their religious belief which was quite different from that of the recent Jainas. The Brahmans affirmed that, as Hemachandra was an honest man, he would give no false reply. Seeing some injustice in the complaint of the Brahmans Siddha sent for Hemachandra and questioned him whether the Pandavas had been baptized in Jaina religion.

Hemachandra replied that it was true that no mention was made of Jaina religion either in the Mahabharata or in any of the Sastras. But there was no reason, he continued to say, that whatever was mentioned was a fact and that whatever had no mention, never occurred. It is said that, when, as desired by Bhishma that his body should be cremated where none had been burnt before, his body was taken for cremation to one of the summits of the Himalayas on the assumption that nobody cremated there, there was an utterance from the sky that in that place had been cremated a hundred Bhishmas, three hundred Pandavas, a thousand had been Dronas and an unlimited number of Karnas. Accordingly who could deny that among the ancients there were a few who shared the views of the Jainas? Truth is as eternal as the Ganges. As to the question whether there was any truth in the religion of the Jainas, it was the business of each inquirer to ascertain it for himself. Even in political matters kings did what they considered as true and good from their own point of view, but not from others' point of view.

When on another occasion a learned Brahman called Abhiga questioned Hemachandra whether it was proper for them to narrate in their work so many erotic stories and whether their readers would control their passion, he replied that

though a carnivorous animal, the lion had sexual appetite only once in a year and that though the pigeon lived upon mild grass and fruits, it had been showing its sexual appetite every day. Accordingly sexual appetite did not depend upon what one ate or thought, but on nature and that nature could be controlled by mind.

At this time there came to Anahillapura a born poet called Devabodha, who belonged to the Bhagavatha sect. Hearing of his arrival Siddharaja consulted his brother Sripala by name and distinguished as a poet, as to how Devabodha could possibly be seen. Devabodha had no desire for money and showed no respect to any king. He would on no account pay a visit to any king. At the suggestion of Sripala Siddharaja sent a messenger to Devabodha to tell him to come and see the king. His reply was that he had seen such big monarchs as the king of Kasi and of Kanyakubja and that he had nothing to gain by seeing a petty king like Siddha. If the king however wanted to see him, he might come and enjoy the pleasure of conversing with the poet, on the condition that the king should sit on the floor before the poet seated on his throne. So haughty was Devabodha. Siddha agreed to the condition and went with his brother poet Sripala and seated himself on the floor before the throne of Devabodha, took part in the conversation between him and his brother and was struck with admiration at the extraordinary poetical talent of Devabodha. Sripala was himself a poet of no mean power. Still Devabodha had a great contempt for his poetical capacity and said that, when Sukra with one eye became a famous poet, there was no wonder that Sripala with two eyes had become a king of poets (Kaviraja), as he was usually called.

It was however found out that Devabodha with all his leaning was addicted to drink and sexual pleasures in which he indulged in secret. When his hoard was exhausted, he succeeded in getting money from Siddharaja and continuing his vicious practice. He however went to Kasi and died there by drowning himself in the Ganges. Hemachandrasuri held the learning of Devabodha in high esteem.

Siddharaja had no sons, but liked to have one if possible. So he went on a pilgrimage to the sacred places of the Jainas in company with Hemachandra. Both walked all the way for days together. The king was astonished at the meagre diet which Hemachandra used to take. It was no more than a little rice-gruel (Achāmāmla). He used to lie down on the bare ground with no sort of bedding or bed sheets. They went to Satrunjayagiri, then to Raivataka, Nemichaitya, Ambasikhara, Avalokana Sringa and other noted places. The more he saw the self-denying practices of Hemachandra, the greater became his respect to him. Then they went to Somesvara temple where Hemachandra also bowed down before the Siva idol along with the king. He said the following in verse at that time:—

“Salutation to thee; thou art the one pure spirit, whatever might be the text, manner, name, and form in which thou art described.”

On his return to the capital he consulted his astrologers as to his successors. When they said that he would have no son, but would be succeeded by his brother's son Kumarapala, he began to hate his nephew. His genealogy consisted of (1) Karna, (2) his cousin Devaprasada, (3) his son Tribhuvanapala, (4) his son

Kumarapala, (5) his son Siddha who was no other than Vijayaśimha. Kumarapala, the son of Sripala, Siddha's brother came to know that the king would not hesitate to murder him. He fled from the country disguising himself as an ascetic with twisted blades of hair. He was still pursued and once he had to take shelter with Hemachandra under a heap of palm-leaf manuscripts; on the second day in the house of a potter in the capital. On the third day he went to one Udayana in Stambhatirtha who on knowing him through his own servant refused to lodge him in his house, apprehensive of the king's displeasure. Hemachandra was then in Stambhatirtha and advised him to leave the country for good for seven years. He had no food for four days then. Hemachandra gave him forty gold pieces and assuring him that in the course of twelve years he would be the king of Gurjara and a mighty monarch, compelled him to go far beyond the border of Gurjara and live somehow or other in any strange land. Having spent about twelve years as an exile, Kumarapala returned to Anahillapura on hearing the news of Siddharaja's death. His brother Kirtipala and his sister's husband Krishna with ten thousand horses joined him. After bowing down to Hemachandra, they all went to the palace where were gathered the leading citizens of the city. The question was which of the brothers deserved the kingdom. On entering into the palace Krishna told the two princes to sit. Kirtipala bowed down to the assembly of the citizens and sat on the floor with his eyes blinking. As to Kumarapala, he went boldly and sat on the throne, shrugging his loose garments. Struck with his manners and attitude, the assembly declared in one voice Kumarapala as the chosen king and crowned him.

His first business was to restore peace in the country and confirm old officials. Next he turned to conquest and led an army to the country called Sapadalaksha. After a hard fight protracted for twelve years, he conquered Arno, the king of Sapadalaksha. His brother Kirtipala invaded Surashtra and subdued Navaghana, the king of that country.

With the help of his ministers, Ambada and Vagabhata, son of Udayana, he conducted the administration of the country as a statesman. He built a number of Jain temples and set up huge Jaina idols at the instance of Hemachandrasuri. Slaughter of animals was strictly prohibited. He never plundered the people of conquered territory. Nor did he take possession of unclaimed property which he distributed on charity. His minister Ambada subdued Mallikarjuna, the king of Konkana and Sahasranavaka, the king of Lata. For these and other conquests he was given the title of "Rajasamhara." The king of Nattala became a feudal chief.

Following the instructions of Hemachandra, he became a Jaina and relinquished Saiva religion.

Hemachandra was born in Samvat 1145, initiated in 1150, elevated to the position of Suri in 1166, and died in 1229.

SOME PALLAVA INSCRIPTIONS.

K. G. ŚANKARA.

1. *Māmaṇḍūr* (8 miles south of Kānchi).—The Māmaṇḍūr cave has a Samskṛt Grantha inscription of 17 lines which Dr. Hultsch, Mr. Gōpinātha Rao, and Dr. Dubreuil found illegible. But the last made out मत्तविलासादिपदम्प्रहसन, and ascribed the inscription to Mahēndravarman I, as he had the titles Matta-vilāsa (Pallāvaram inscription. *Annual Report on Epigraphy—A.R.E.*, 1909, No. 14; Trichi inscription. *South Indian Inscriptions—S.I.I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 33 & 34), and wrote the *Matta-vilāsa-prahasana* (*Trivandrum Samskṛt Series—T.S.S.*, No. 55) My study, from photos kindly lent by Dr. Dubreuil, gave results promising fresh light to a close scrutiny with clear estampages. I read Mahēndra's titles Nitya-vinita (ever-humble) and Satya-sandha (true to his word) (Trichi inscription), thus confirming Dr. Dubreuil's inference. There are also references to Vyāsa, Kavis, Vara, and varṇa, showing that the inscription is a record of Mahēndra's literary and musical work. It, in fact, mentions his farce *Matta-vilāsa-prahasana*, a vṛtti named *Dakṣiṇa-chitra*, and a varṇa *Chandrārṇava* composed by him. The MS. अवन्तिमुन्दरीकथासार says that Mahēndra made gānas, evidently referring to the चन्द्रार्णव, etc. मत्तविलासप्रहसन may mean 'the farce composed by Matta-vilāsa', or 'the drunkard's frolic, a farce,' thus indicating its theme. The inscription refers to Mahēndra's prosperity, and we may perhaps infer that he had not yet been deprived of the Telugu districts by Pulakēśin II. If so, the inscription would date c. 600 A.C. The flow of the lines indicates that the inscription is mostly in verse. I give here the inscription-text, so far as I have made it out:—

- L.—1. [वृ]त्तिमखविलोकित . . स्तव . . खमखिल . . [न]रेन्द्र . .
 2. धर्म . . स्वभावकालमास . .
 3.
 4. सच . .
 5. गुणसर्व . .
 6. च नाशकम् ॥ व्यासकल्पस्य . . मत्तविलासादिपदम्प्रहसन . .
 7. प्राभूत . . समुत्तेजित . .
 8. भ्रमरीवाससम्मदा ॥ या कवि . . कवि . .
 9. धर स्वरवर्णया पुरातपुः कविगिरा . .
 10.
 11. प्रविभज्य . . वृत्ति दक्षिणचित्राख्य . .
 12. कश्चिविविधैः कृत्वावर्ण चन्द्रार्णव . . ॥ अप्राप्तपूर्वत्रिवेष्ट . .
 13. [श्रुतिगुणावकीर्ण] पुण्यसम्पदा . . वृ[ष्टि] . .

14. ॥ संस्था[शीलति] . . स्वयतः . .
 15. [स्कंधाख्येन]चन्द्रले . .
 16. [पक्ष] . . ॥ नित्यविनीत सत्यस . . अनन्यः . .
 17. [श्रित]तरा . . पुरीवर . . वद . . पति . .

2. *Mēlachēri* (South Arcot District).—This inscription is a short verse given below from the plate in Vol. I of *Pallava Antiquities* :—

कारितमिदं नृपतिना चन्द्रादित्येन स(ः)र्व्व[भौ](मे)न (ः)
 श्रीशिखरिपङ्कजेश्वरमिति शैवभामसिंहपुरे(ः)

It is written in a script dating between the reigns of Mahēndra I and Rājasimha. The Chandrāditya, mentioned herein, must be a Pallava, as the temple built by him was called शिखरिपङ्कजेश्वर. So he must be Narasimha I or Paramēśvara I. The latter had the title Lōkāditya (*S.I.I.*—i, 18). It is not likely that he had the title चन्द्रादित्य also. Besides, Chandrāditya was an emperor (सार्वभौम). This would properly apply to Narasimha I, who took the Chālukya capital Bādāmi, rather than to Paramēśvara I, who only repulsed the Chālukya invasion (*ib.* i, 154; ii, 371). So Chandrāditya was probably a title of Narasimha I, and the inscription dates c. 650 A.C. The Simhapura mentioned here the name Mahēndra of some Pallavas, and the title Mahāmēgha of Mahēndra I (Kānchi inscription) indicate that the Simhavishṇu dynasty were, in some way, related to Kalinga, whose old capital, as mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription, the *Silappadhikāram*, and the *Maṇimēkhalai*, was Simhapura, whose chief mountain is Mahēndra, and whose Khāravēla dynasty bore the title Mahāmēgha-vāhana.

3. *Panamalai* (South Arcot District).—Round the base of the rock-built temple on the Panamalai rock there is a Samskrit Grantha inscription, first edited by Dr. Dubreuil, with a faulty text and translation (*Pall. Ant.*, pl. i). The beginning and the end of the inscription are hidden by a structure in front of the temple. Towards the middle, too, a stone is missing. The editor failed to notice that the inscription is in verse. It informs us that Aśvatthāma's son Pallava was the first king of the dynasty, and that Rājasimha, the son of Ēkamalla Paramēśvara I, was an ardent Śaiva, and valiant in battle against insolent enemy kings. But the *Kānchi-Māhātmya* (ch. 30) says that Pallava and Villava were the sons of the Vidarbha King Virōchana, the son of Kṛṣṇa's wife's brother Rukmi. Perhaps the Pallavas claimed Brāhmaṇ ancestry, when the origin was forgotten. Ēkamalla was a title of Paramēśvara I (*S.I.I.* i, No. 24); and परमादीश्वरादात्तजन्मा, supplied from *S.I.I.*, i, No. 25, suggests that Rājasimha's father was named Paramēśvara. That Rājasimha was a Śaiva is well-known (*ib.* i, Nos. 24 & 25; ii, 370; Vēlūrpalaiyam pls., vol. ii, pt. 5). Rājasimha was a distinctive title of Narasimha II. The inscription thus dates between 675 and 700 A.C. The text of the inscription is as follows :—

. . . . नोदपादि प्रथितभुजबलो द्रोणिरेणः पुरारेः ॥
 अश्वत्थाम्नोऽथ तस्मात्रिचितगुरुतपोनिर्मलदादिविरासी-

दाम्नायादंगविद्याविसरश्च महीवल्लभः पल्लवाख्यः(1)
 यस्मादेव(स्तदाद्ये)पथिविहितपदात्पाषणे माननीयी
 मन्दाकिन्या प्रवाहः शशिनश्चमहानन्वयः पल्लवानाम् ॥
 सम्राजामश्वमेधावभूधविरजसां भूभुजां पल्लवाना-
 मरष्टापल्लवानां विमलतरभरद्वाजवंशोद्भवानाम् (1)
 केतोरत्थाणवाहुद्रविणहृतमहीचक्रविख्यातकीर्त्त-
 र्व्येदिवादेकमहोदुहश्चपर(मादीश्वरादात्तजन्मा ॥)
 . . . भुजद्रविणावभासी सत्त्वोर्जितः समरद्व[ष्]टमहाप्रभावा(1)
 यो राजासिंह इति विश्रुतपुण्यकीर्त्तिरुद्धतशत्रुनृपकुल्लरराजासिंहः ॥
 हर्त्ता द्विपद्मांसमुच्छ्रयाणां कर्त्ता च कल्याणपरम्पराणाम् (1)
 चित्तं सदासंभृतभक्तिपूते धत्ते पदं यस्य मृगांकमोहिः ॥
 संरुढाम्ताय[च] . . मयानेकशाखासमग्रः
 शि . . तेः सलकुसुमकृताकान्तिमालम्बमानाः(1)
 सद्वृत्ताम्भोनिषेकैर्दुग्धसततस्तप्य[मा] . .
 यैश्छायाभृ[-ध]मट-जगतिकलियुगग्रीष्मतप्तेपिधर्मः(11)

4. *Kofrankuḍi plates* (Tanjore District).—These (5 in number with 8 pp. written on in Samskrt Grantha and Tamizh scripts) were discovered and will be published by Mr. T. N. Subrahmanyam of Kumbhakōṇam. Here I give only the subject matter. They say that Āśvatthāma's son Pallava was the dynasty founder. After Virakūrchā and others, came king Hiranyavarman. His son was the emperor Nandivarman, who became king, while yet young, after defeating all foēs (आधत्त...युवैवराज्यं... सकलरिपून्विजित्य). His feudatories were Vallabha (Chalukya), Kaṭabhra, Kēraḷa, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, Tulu and Kōṅkaṇa. The Tamizh part dates in the 61st year of கோவிலியநந்தி வீரமலர்மன். The engraver was the son of Viḍēlviḍugu Pallava Perun-tachchan. The name was evidently adopted after the reigning king. The நந்திக்கலம்பகம் gives the title விடேள் விடுகு to the victor of தென்னாறு. Dr. Dubreuil identifies him with Danti's son Nandi. But these plates show the title was used even in the reign of Hiranya's son. So the latter not, as Dr. Dubreuil thinks, Danti's son, was the victor of தென்னாறு. But Dr. Dubreuil rightly gives Hiranya's son, not Danti's son, the reign of 62 years. The plates date between 775 and 800 A.C.

SOME LYRICS FROM THE PURRA-NANURRU.

(6th Century A. C.)

K. G. ŚANKARA. *Limitless Food* (No. 2.)

The earth of atoms all compact,
The sky above it far upraised,
The air that reaches to the sky,
The fire that has its birth in air,
Water, its unrelenting foe,
In nature like these five great elements,
With patience to thy foes, and broad designs,
With strength and fire and grace, O thou endowed!
O King, whose towns with wealth unceasing teem,
And in whose land, the sun, sprung from thy sea,
Dips in thine own foam-crested western wave.
Great king, whose realms the sky alone doth bound,
Wroth with the five who rode mane-tossing steeds,
Till the twice fifty, who usurped the realm,
And golden tumbai wore, had fought and died,
Thou didst limitless fragrant food supply.
With ministers, whose skill no change can know,
Though milk may sour, sun darken, and the four
Vēdas swerve from the right, unshakeable,
Stand long in fame and strength. Like Podiya,
And golden-peaked Himālaya, on whose slopes,
Small-headed fawn and large-eyed female deer
Sleep in the light of triple fire,
Wherein, at eve, rare offerings Brāhmaṇs burn.

Runaway (No. 13.)

Wouldst thou know who this is? He is, no doubt,
Astride the death-like elephant, his broad
Fine chest by arrows torn, aimed so that joints
Of flowered armour, tiger's skin, are shed.
But the elephant, like ships that brave the seas,
And like the moon that swims past countless stars,
While swordsmen hive around, like shoals of fish,
Mahouts unminding, stampedes wild, behold!
O may he, safe and painless, part the king
Of lands by many waters fenced, where fish

Full-grown and liquors strong abound, and where
The plough-men, in their fields, bind up with sheaves
Bright feathers that the woodland peacocks moult!

Proud reply (No. 86.)

Leaning in hut against a pillar strong,
You ask where is my son. I know not where
He now may be. But learn this womb that seems
A cave, wherein the tiger dwelt before
It went its way, the same has given him birth.
So he must appear on the battle-field.

Poor, but proud (No. 159.)

'Since, with my youth, long joyless years are mine,
No death for me'; thus hating life in full,
My mother old with drooping eyes and hair
Like pendant thread, that with a staff for leg
And many small steps, can courtyard scarcely pass;
And my dear, loving wife, careworn and pale,
Her breasts dried up by suckling many babes,
She holds against her waist, and sore distressed,
That nips the tender shoots, sprung from the cut
Uncared for herbs, in saltless water boils,
And, lacking sour milk, without a thought
Of boiled rice, green leaves does chew, and wears
Torn clothes and dusty, yet the god of right
That blames not, as she eats. While these dear hearts
Rejoice, as also my dependant kin,
That suffered from the pangs of hunger keen,
As I spread wide thy fame, who gifts bestow,
Like rumbling rain, that, with a splash, does brench
Dark, beauteous, but through heat unyielding crops,
Sown with wild grain in dry lands wide outspread,
That hunters tilled, well mixed with bushes burnt.
If, keen speared Kumana, thou thus well-pleased
Release me though with less, I glad accept
Than elephant, wild and rare, with tusks upraised,
But given, face turned aside, unwelcome boon.
Such gift I seek from thee, whom I have sung,
O thou, victorious, formed afar, and sprung
From blameless and distinguished line of chiefs.

Futile flower (No. 242).

Since Śattan, strong-speared, who his manhood proved
Against his foes, is dead, no more the young
Wear flowers, nor pluck them bangled girls, nor wears

The bard, by yāzh-head gently taking them,
Nor songstress sweet. Why then dost thou too bloom,
O jasmine, in the lad of Ollaiyūr?

Lost youth (No. 243).

Now we but think and grieve. While girls adorned,
With flowers plucked, wet sandy dolls, and played,
Cool lake beside, the unlearnèd youthful days,—
When, with boys who no guile or hiding knew,
Hands linked, now clasping and now swinging from
The myrtle branching high, I climbed the bough
That, near the bank, towards the water hung;
And, while bystanders gazed and wave drops leapt,
I sudden plunged within the water's depth'
And, with its sand, rose up—those days, alas,
Now only grieve. Ah! whither have they fled?
O aged far we have become, our words
But few, with coughing oft between, and staff,
Sturdy and knobbed, to guide our trembling feet.

Grief futile (No. 245).

However great, how poor my strength of grief,
That cannot free me from my hateful life!
In a bare spot, on the cremation-ground,
Where cactus spreads, on lighted pyre thick-laid
With fuel, on that bright and burning bed,
My love has gone before; but I still live.
The nature of this world, alas, how stange!

Sati (No. 246).

O you, in wisdom great, who cruel seek
To part me from my lord, and not with him,
As you should, bid me go. To widow's life
I cannot be resigned, with squeezed cold rice,
In midst of leaf, untouched by fragrant ghee,
And very white like seeds from, cut by knife,
Cucumber ripe, lined like the squirrel's back,
With white sesamum paste, and vēlai leaf,
Boiled with the tamarind, my only food;
And bed bare stony ground, without a mat.
The pyre of black wood, in cremation ground,
To you may rare become; but, ah, to me
Since my broad-shouldered lord is dead, the lake,
With water full and budless lotus blown,
Petals unclosed, and raging fire are one.

Helpless (No. 255)

Lest tiger come, I dare not cry for help ;
 Nor thee, broad-shouldered, can I lift alone.
 O may unrighteous death, that strikes thee sore,
 Like me, great trembling feel. The hill-side shade
 We will attain. My hand, that bangles clasp
 Unnumbered, grasp and walk a little way.

Joy and tears (No. 277).

The woman old, her hair white like the wings
 Of cranes that gulp up fish, heard that her son
 Had dared the elephant and died ; then felt
 More joy than when she gave him birth, and shed
 More tears than rain-drops fall from bamboo strong.
 That towers above the swaying clump around.

Proud mother (No. 278.)

Hard by a wood, a woman old with veins
 Obtruding, parched skin and shoulders shrunk and thin
 Heard many say her son had weapons lost,
 And fled ; then angry swore, if he had feared,
 Close fight, she would her breasts that gave him suck,
 Cut off ; and, sword in hand, the ruddy field
 Thick with the slain, she searched and found her son
 Stretched there, his head severed. O then her heart
 Rejoiced far more than when she gave him birth.

TIRUMANGAI AZHVAR AND DANTI DURGA.

BY K. G. SESA AIYAR, *Judge, Trivandram.*

THE Tamil passage in controversy, runs as follows :—

மன்னவன் தொண்டையர்கோன் வணங்கு நீள்முடிமாலே வயிரமேகன்
தன்வலிதன் புகழ்க்குந் தகச்சியட்டபுகரத்தாதிதன்னை

My contention is that வயிரமேகன் is used by the Azhvar in these lines in apposition with மன்னவன் தொண்டையர்கோன். Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says that the equation of Vairameghan with Tondaiyar-Kon 'involves a phenomenally unusual construction.' He further says that 'the equation, if not positively unsound grammatically, is unusual according to every canon of literary interpretation.' May I ask why it is phenomenally unusual and what canon of literary interpretation it offends? The learned doctor says that he has the support of several Tamil pandits, including, if he mistakes not, Mahamahopadhyaya Sriraman Swaminatha Aiyar, for regarding Vairameghan and the Tondaiyar-Kon as two different individuals. Is he sure that there are not equally eminent Tamil pandits who as unhesitatingly hold that the Azhvar does not refer to two individuals, but to only one, namely, Vairameghan, the monarch of Thondai Mandalam? Till Pandit M. Raghava Ayyangar wrote his article in *Sen Tamil* a few years ago, was there any doubt among Tamil scholars as to what this passage meant? It never struck them that to regard Vairameghan as placed in apposition with Tondaiyar-Kon was to put a 'phenomenally unusual construction', opposed to 'every canon of literary interpretation.' At least from the days of Periya Achan Pillai, if not even from an earlier date, that is the construction that has been accepted. Periya Achan Pillai may not claim history as his chief strength, as Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar does; but he was certainly a sound Tamil scholar, whose knowledge of Vaishnava *prabhandams* and other sacred literature was accepted to be of such high order as to induce the Acharya that preceded him to choose him as the fittest person to write the *Irupattu-nalayirap-padi* for the exposition of the *Tiruvaimozhi*. The Acharya's commentary has been accepted as the most authoritative exposition of *Nalayira prabhandam* for over six or seven centuries by Tamilians; and it is very strange that no student of Tamil saw anything unusual or against the accepted rules of literary interpretation in Periya Achan Pillai's exposition of the passage in question. Now, if when Pandit M. Raghava Ayyangar wrote his paper, it had been known that Pallava kings themselves, had as a matter of ascertained history, borne the name or title of Vairameghan, it is extremely problematical if the learned pandit would have discarded Periya Achan Pillai's interpretation of the passage. That at that time, that fact had not been discovered will be patent from the testimony of Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar himself who, writing sometime after the learned pandit's article had appeared,

said: "Among the inscriptions so far brought out, we have not often come across the name (Vairameghan); but to the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga II is ascribed this title in the Kadaba plates published by Mr. Rice." In that state of knowledge, the mention of Vairamegha by the Azhwar acted as a red herring across the track; and the learned pandit thought that Vairameghan and Tondaiyar-Kon were not perhaps descriptive of the same individual, as Periya Achan Pillai had stated, but probably referred to two distinct individuals; and accordingly he construed the passage differently. Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar accepted the learned pandit's interpretation; and he now reinforces it by saying that any other construction of the passage would be phenomenally unusual and would be unsound according to every canon of literary interpretation! Other researchers, however, have even in spite of Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, ventured to hold, as Periya Achan Pillai had done centuries ago, that Vairameghan and Tondaiyar-Kon relate to the same person, *viz.*, the Pallava monarch of Kanchi. Mr. Venkayya, in his paper on the Triplicane inscription of Danti Varman suggested that Vairameghan was probably a surname of the Pallava Danti Pottarasar (Ep. Ind. VIII. 290ff). In his report on Epigraphy for 1916, Mr. H. Krishna Sastri wrote:— "From two records copied at Poyyanur and Kilpulam in the North Arcot District which belong to the second year of a king named Vairameghan (Nos. 150 and 152 of Appendix C), it appears as if there was a king of that name also among the Pallavas..... It now becomes therefore difficult to decide whether the Tondaiyar (Pallava) king Vairameghan mentioned by Tirumangai Azhwar is a surname of Danti Varman of the Triplicane inscription or of a king Vairamegha Varman mentioned in Nos. 150 and 152 of Appendix C..... It might be worth noting that the name Vairameghan was adopted by a son or a subordinate of Aparajita, the last of the Ganga-Pallava kings known so far (Annual report for 1913, p. 90)." It may therefore be taken as ascertained or established history that some of the Pallava rulers of Kanchi bore the name of Vairameghan; and according to Periya Achan Pillai's interpretation, the Azhwar refers in this passage by the term Vairameghan to the Pallava monarch or emperor. If the rules of grammar or hermeneutics do not prevent that interpretation, where is the necessity to drag in a foreign potentate who Dr. Krishnaswami alleges invaded and laid siege to Kanchi?

Except that he wants Tondaiyar-Kon and Vairameghan to refer to two distinct individuals, *viz.*, Nandi II and Danti Durga, Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar does not seem to have quite settled in his mind how the Tamil passage should be explained. He has now apparently doubts about his original explanation of the passage, according to which the Azhwar referred to a contemporaneous siege of Kanchi by the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga who as over-lord was entitled to the respectful homage of the Pallava king of Kanchi. With the knowledge gained from the Velurpalaiyam plates, he says 'it is now possible to take it that both Nandi Varma and Danti Durga stood before the god of the shrine in the position of son-in-law and father-in-law, and the deferential attitude of the Pallava indicated

in the verse may be explained as nothing more than the courtesy due to this particular relationship. We have no hesitation, therefore, in asserting our belief... that the verse under consideration has reference to two rulers, the local Pallava ruler of Kanchi and the foreign Rashtrakuta Vairamegha, the former enemy and perhaps at the time the friendly ally and father-in-law of Nandi Varman, the Pallava..... We still hold that the stanza means that Vishnu at Ashtabhuyakaram was worshipped 'on one occasion' by Vairamegha whose fame and forces lay around Kanchi at the time, and was held in deferential esteem habitually by the king, the ruler of the Pallavas.' Now, what does all this mean? Was the alleged siege of Kanchi synchronous with the time when the Azhwar sang the hymn? Was it during the siege that the Rashtrakuta and the Pallava together 'on one occasion' worshipped at the shrine? If so, how can they have been friendly allies at the time? Or perhaps even before this siege the two monarchs had effected between themselves the 'particular relationship' of son-in-law and father-in-law; and so, after all, the 'habitual deferential esteem' in which the Pallava held the Rashtrakuta had nothing to do with the siege or conquest of Kanchi, but was due to the observance of a social convention? Or does the passage really import that at the time it was sung, the Pallava owed political allegiance to a superior potentate? And perhaps the political subjugation of the Pallava was even antecedent to the investment of Kanchi by the Rashtrakuta Vairamegha; for how else could Vairamegha be said to have been held, as Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar says, in deferential esteem habitually by the Pallava king, at the time the former's forces lay round Kanchi? If already the Pallava was subject to and under the protection of Vairamegha, what led to the alleged siege of Kanchi by the latter? Besides what are the words in the passage that yield the meaning that on one occasion the Rashtrakuta king worshipped at the shrine? Was the Rashtrakuta king a Vaishnava? Or did he even belong to the Hindu faith? Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar who accuses others of want of precision does not appear to have been particularly precise in his explanation of the Tamil passage.

Apparently Prof. Krishnaswami Ayyangar regards the siege of Kanchi by Danti Durga as a settled historical fact; for even in his *Short History of Hindu India* he writes in more than one place, without any word of hesitancy, that Danti Durga laid siege to Kanchi (p. 98 & p. 103). Is this siege of Kanchi a historical fact? Apart from the *patigam*, which I repeat, the learned professor has wrongly translated, is there authority for his statement? Perhaps from the Elura inscription (Bom. Gaz., Pt. II, p. 389, Epi. Ind. IX, No. 4) we may infer that Danti Durga subjugated the Pallava kingdom of Kanchi, though I think this is a matter that requires further looking into. It is also probable, according to the Velurpalayam plates, that Danti Varman, the Pallava king, was a grandson of Danti Durga. A war and a marriage, supposing they are facts, do not necessarily imply also a siege; and I venture to suggest that the learned professor is solely influenced by his peculiar understanding and translation of the words of Tiru Mangai Mannan, when he posits a siege of Kanchi by Danti Durga. Prof. Dubreuil thinks it is a

fiction for which the learned professor of Indian History and Archæology in the University of Madras is responsible ; and so far as I know no other archæologist or historian has mentioned a siege of Kanchi by Danti Durga.

Supposing Kanchi fell before Danti Durga and the Pallava was reduced by him to subjection, I still think it is improbable—to my mind it is almost impossible—that the Azhwar's reference could be to any such humiliating event. It is clear from other portions of Periya Tiru Mozhi, that the Pallava kings of Kanchi, as the Azhwar knew them, were in the plenitude of power, and occupied a position of supremacy among rulers. Reference may be made to Parameswara Vinnagara patigam, Tiru Chitrakuta patigam, Tiru Aranga patigam and Tiruvallikeni patigam, where the Pallava monarch is spoken of in strains of praise and in some places, of even extravagant praise. To the Azhwar, the Pallava of Kanchi was the ideal emperor among monarchs, the invincible victor among kings. At his feet kings bowed in homage and his might in war was irresistible. Kanchi was the chief city of the Pallava, and the temple at Kanchi held the idol of his tutelary deity. One can easily understand if the Azhwar in praising the deity at Kanchi also praised the Pallava to whose care and munificence the temple at Kanchi owed its position and splendour, among Vaishnava shrines. But is it probable that on such an occasion he would refer to the siege of the holy city and the humiliation of its guardian by a foreign invader, of whom it is not possible to say that he lived and died in the consolations of the Vaishnava or even of the Hindu religion? Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has the kindness to tell me that I make the grievous mistake of imagining that the Azhwar's object was anything else than to praise Vishnu. I admire the learned professor's clairvoyance. Admitting to the fullest extent that the Azhwar's object in singing the hymn was to praise Vishnu, I fail to see what sort of praise of the deity it will be to say that the great monarch who is the recognized and traditional guardian of the temple where the idol is enshrined lies low at the feet of a possibly Jaina invader who has surrounded the city by his fame and forces !

All anomalies and difficulties vanish if the commentator's explanation that Vairameghan and Tondaiyar-Kon are one to be accepted ; and speaking for myself, I see no reason why it should be rejected. The commentator says that Vairameghan was the family name of the Pallavas of Kanchi ; and I wrote in my former paper that if so, one of three explanations for the adoption of that name was possible. I also said that however the name was derived, it was not improbable, as the commentator says, that it was the family name of the Pallavas of Kanchi, and that Danti Durga in the flush of his short-lived victory or ascendancy over perhaps Nandi Varman adopted the title of the conquered Pallava. Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, with the charity that seems to be so characteristic of the article under reference says 'this is a very sorry argument'. It is obvious it does not satisfy him. He thinks that the occurrence of the name Vairameghan among the Pallava rulers of subsequent times must be explained by reference to that title borne by Danti Durga. May I ask how Danti Durga came to assume that title? It was not obviously his

original name; and some explanation must be offered for his assumption of the title. Will Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar kindly narrate for the benefit of those who like me may seek to be informed of them, the circumstances in which the founder of the Rashtrakuta dynasty took this title? Did it survive to his successors? We find *Vairamegha Vaykkal* (inscriptions Nos. 458 & 465 of 1908), *Vairamegha Chaturvedi Mangalam* (inscriptions Nos. 71 & 84 of 1906) and *Vairameghapuram* (inscriptions Nos. 253 to 258 of 1913) in the Pallava region; is the name *Vairamegha* perpetuated similarly in the Rashtrakuta area? However Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar may feel in the matter, I still think in spite of the absence of that name in the pre-Nandi records, that it belonged to the Pallavas, and Danti Durga adopted it perhaps to symbolize his victory over the Pallava.

Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar asserts that, if the Azhwar was in the first line stating that the Pallava worshipped Vishnu, it is not likely that he would have referred to the long crown, but he would much rather have referred to the lotus feet of Vishnu. I do not know if he intends this argument to be taken seriously. Every student of Tamil knows that among the well-known descriptions of Maha Vishnu in his manifestation as Tiru Vikrama are நீன்முடிமால், நிலங்கடந்த நெடுமுடியண்ணல், கதிர்முடித்திருநெடுமால், நெடியமால், நெடுமால், நெடியவன், நெடியோன் and similar expressions. The term நீன்முடிமால் standing by itself would naturally be construed as referring to Maha Vishnu in the accusative or objective case. Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar calls attention to Tiru Aranga patigam, where the Azhwar describes the Pallava as துளங்கு நீன்முடி அரசர் தங்குரிசில்; but I for one fail to see the relevancy of the citation. *Nil Mudi Mal* is obviously distinct from *Nil Mudi Arasar*; and the latter expression cannot show that *Nil Mudi Malai* in the patigam does not refer to Maha Vishnu and that it should be construed to mean 'wearing a long crown and garland.' But suppose மால் must perforce be taken to mean, in the context, *garland*; what is there to prevent the entire expression வணங்கு நீன்முடிமால் as attributive to *Vairameghan*, வணங்கு being taken to qualify நீன்முடி? The meaning would then be, *Vairameghan*, whose garland the crowns of the kings bowing before him or paying homage to him constitute (*Vide தமிழ்வரலாறு* by Rao Bahadur K. S. Srinivasa Pillai, Pt. II, p. 124). Then, too, *Vairameghan* will be in apposition with *Tondaiyar-Kon*, and both terms will denote the same individual. If to the Azhwar the Pallava monarch was the king of kings (அரசர் தங்குரிசில்) at whose feet many kings bowed in submission (பலவேந்தர் வணங்கு கழல் பல்லவர் மல்லயர்கோன்) it appears to me difficult, not to say impossible, to accept the meaning assigned to the Tamil passage by the learned professor, according to which the central idea is the abasement of the Pallava in his own capital city by a stranger who has suddenly risen from obscurity to power. Even if it were a contemporary historical fact, the Azhwar, it seems to me, would, if he had any delicacy of feeling, have avoided all reference to it; in any event he would not have spoken in terms of eulogy of the invading foreigner.

As regards *Parameswara Vinnagara patigam*, my contention was that the

language of the lyric showed that the Azhwar was not singing the praise of a contemporary Pallava monarch, but of a monarch or monarchs who lived before. Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, while conceding that for various reasons his historical conclusion drawn from this poem is of a 'halting character', seems nevertheless to think that Pandit Raghava Ayyangar's view that the reference in that poem is to a contemporary monarch and that monarch is Nandi Varma. Pallava Malla may not be entirely unacceptable. I pointed out that in various places in the poem where reference is made to the Pallava's deeds of valour, the Azhwar uses expressions like பண்டொருநால், முன்னாள் and அன்று; but these and similar expressions are not, according to the learned professor, inapplicable even in the description of events that have occurred in one's life-time. In support of his statement he refers to a passage in Madhura Kavi Azhwar's eulogium of Nammazhwar, which, however, turns out to be an unfortunate citation. The passage runs as follows:—

கண்டுகொண்டென்னைக் காரிமாறப்பிரான்
பண்டைவல்வினை பாற்றியருளினான்.

I am afraid that Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has misunderstood this passage. He has apparently given a twist to the order of words in the second line, and reading it as வல்வினைபண்டு பாற்றியருளினான், he comments: "The first act of grace of Nammazhwar to Madhura Kavi certainly occurred sometime late in the life of Madhura Kavi himself. If later in life he could have referred to this incident by the term 'pandu', it is hard to understand the impropriety of this term denoting a past somewhat similar in the Parameswara Vinnagaram ten." I am sure this will strike students of Tamil as a strange misunderstanding of the passage. I cannot believe that the learned professor can possibly be ignorant that பண்டைவல்வினை is a classical Tamil expression denoting 'the accumulated load of ancient deeds' or 'the karma of past lives.' Thus in Appar's Devaram:—

1. பண்டைவல்வினை பற்றறுக்கும் வகை உண்டு சொல்லுவன்கேண்மின்.
2. தொல்வினைக்குழிவீழ்ந்து;
3. முந்திய வல்வினைகள் தீர்ப்பான்றன்னை;
4. பழகிய வல்வினைகள் பாற்றுவானை;
5. பண்டு செய்த பழவினையின் பயன்;
6. பண்டையென்வினைகள் தீர்ப்பார் பழனத்தெம்பரமனாரே.

So, in Sundarar's Devaram:—

7. பண்டாழ்வினைகள் பலதீர்க்கும்பரமா;
8. பண்டாழ்வினைகளவை தீர்க்கும்பரமா.

Again in Manikka Vasagar's Tiru Vasagam:—

9. குழைத்தாற் பண்டைக்கொடுவினையோய் காவாய்;
10. முறிசெய்து நம்மை முழுதுடற்றும் பழவினையை;
11. தொல்வினைகெடவுந்தீபற;
12. பழவினைகள் பாறும் வண்ணம்;
13. பழமலம் பற்றறுத்தாண்டவன்.

Instances may easily be multiplied to show in what sense பண்டை வல்வினை and expressions similar to it in import are employed and understood by Tamil poets; and it is passing strange that the learned professor should have mistaken the import of the expression, and thought that பண்டை modified பாற்றி in Madhura Kavi's verse, while in fact it goes with வல்வினை.

I contend that in Tamil usage expressions like பண்டு, பண்டொருகால், முன், முன் நான் and அன்று generally, though not invariably, denote the dim, distant past. I may invite attention to the following quotations as illustration :—

Sambhandar :—

1. பண்டரவு தன்னரையிலார்த்தபரமேட்டி.
2. பண்டரக்கனெடுத்தபலத்தையே.
3. பண்டயன்றிலை யொன்று மறுத்தியே.
4. பண்டெரிகை கொண்டபரமன்.
5. பண்டொருவேள்வி முனிந்துசெற்ற பரிசேபகர்வோமே.
6. தம்பியொடுதாமொருவர் தன்னுனைவிகாதல் துணையாக முன்னான் வெம்பியெரிகானகமுலாவுமவர்.

Tirumangai Azhwar :—

7. விடந்தானுடைய வரவம் வெருவச்செருவில் முன்னான் முன் தடந்தாமரை நீர்ப்பொய்கைபுக்குமிக்கதாளான்.
8. படைத்திட்டதிவ்வையமுய்ய முன்னான்
..... ..தெனியா வரக்கர்திறல்போயவிய
மிடைத்திட்டெழுந்த ருரங்கைப்படையா
விலங்கல் புகப்பாய்ச்சி விம்மக்கடலை
அடைத்திட்டவன்.
9. முன்னான்
வரித்திட்ட வில்லால் மரமேழுமெய்து மலைபோலுருவத்தொரிராக்கதிழுக்கு
அறித்திட்டவன்.
10. பிறையாருஞ் சடையானும் பிரமனுமுன்தொழுதேத்த.
இறையாகி நின்றான்.
11. மால்வரையேழும்
தற்றுக முன்னுற்றிய தொல்புகழோனே.
12. பாண்டேன் வண்டறையுங் குழலார்கள் பல்லாண்டிசைப்ப
ஆண்டார் வையமெல்ல மரசாகி முன்னாண்டவரே.

Sambhandar :—

13. முன் காலனை யுதைத்தவன்.
14. காமனை முன்காய்த்ததுதற்கண்ணுவன்.

Appar :—

15. அன்று முப்புரத்திவளைத்தான்.
16. மார்க்கண்டர்காக வன்று உரம்பொரிதுடைமைகாட்டி யொள்ளாமர்செய்து.
17. அருவரையனை தோளானரக்கனன்றலறிவீழ்ந்தான்.

Manikka Vasagar :—

18. கதிர்முடித்திரு நெடுமாலன்று அடிமுடியறியுமா தாவதனிற் சடுமுறண் ஏனமாகி.
19. ஆவாதிருமாலவிப்பாகங்கொண்டன்று சாவாதிருந்தான்.
20. தக்கனாரன்றே தலையிழந்தார்.
21. பாலகனார்க்கன்று பாற்கடலீங்கிட்டகோலச்சடையர்.

Tirumangai Azhwar :—

22. குலவேழமன்று பொன்றாமையதனுக்கருள்செய்தபோரேற்றை.
23. பார்த்தனுக்கன்று அருளிப்பாரதத்தொரு தேர்முன்னின்று காத்தவன்.
24. பார்மன்னர் மங்கப்படைநொட்டு வெஞ்சமத்து
தேர்மன்னர்க்காயன்று தேரூர்ந்தான்.

Sambhandar :—

25. காய்ந்து வருங்காலனை யன்றுதைத்தவன்.

These instances will suffice to show what sense the expressions பண்டு, பண்டொரு கால், முன், முன்னான், அன்று, etc., convey generally in Tamil poetic usage. Why then should it be imagined that Tiru Mangai Mannan used these expressions in Parameswara Vinnagara patigam in a different sense? If the expressions are understood in their ordinary, approved sense, then it is patent that the Azhwar refers in the several stanzas of Parameswara Vinnagara patiga where they occur, to a Pallava monarch or Pallava monarchs of ancient days whose high achievements had won universal fame and glory.

So far, I have confined myself to the literary side of the question. For his historical conclusion that Tiru Mangai Azhwar flourished in the 8th century, Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar relies solely on what he calls 'the Danti Durga datum' which he sees in the last stanza of Ashtabhuya Chakkarayar patigam, where, as already noticed, the expression Vairameghan occurs. Vaishnava tradition places Tiru Mangai Mannan a considerably long time after Periya Azhwar; and I believe Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's view is also that Periyazhwar preceded Tiru Mangai Azhwar by some appreciable length of time. If Tiru Mangai Azhwar flourished in the 8th century in Nandi Varman's reign, what is the date of Periyazhwar? In Periyazhwar Tiru Mozhi (IV-2-7), the following lines occur:

கொன்னவிற் கட்வேல்கோன் நெடுமாறன் தென்கடல்கோன்

தென்னன் கொண்டாடுந் தென்திருமாலிருஞ்சோலையே.

Here is a specific reference by Periyazhwar to a Pandya monarch, who was apparently a zealous Vaishnava. Tradition associates Periyazhwar with a Pandya of that description, who held the Azhwar in high veneration (cf. பாண்டியன் கொண்டாடப்பட்டாரான் வந்தான்). Who was this Pandya? The Nedu-Maran of the Azhwar cannot be the Saiva saint Ninra-Sir Nedu Maran, the contemporary of Sambhandar, whom Sundara includes in his catalogue of *tiru-tondars*. The Pandyas, who claimed Sundareshwara as their especial tutelary deity, were essentially of the Saiva persuasion, though they were not perhaps anti-Vaishnava. Ko-Maran Nedun Jadaian of the Ānaimalai inscription however appears to have been a staunch Vaishnava. I do not undertake to say that this Nedun Jadaian is the

same as the Jatila Varman of the Madras Museum plates, who, as the plates disclose, was a Vaishnava *par excellence*. Possibly they are different; but he is apparently identical with the Nedun Jadaian of the Velvi-kudi grant. The Ānaimalai inscription bears a date in Kali 3871, which corresponds to 4th November 770 A. C.; and it may not be amiss to assign Periyazhwar to the latter half of the 8th century. If so, it is difficult to see how Tiru Mangai Mannan can also be assigned to that period.

In Nandipura Vinnagara patigam (Periya Tiru Mozhi, V. 10, 7), there appears the line “நந்திபணிசெய்த நகர் நந்திபுரவிண்ணகரம் நண்ணுமனமே”. If the identity of this Nandi can be ascertained, one of the limits to Tiru Mangai Mannan's date can be fixed. Though the Pallavas of Kanchi can be traced back to about the beginning of the 3rd century A.C., it is only from the days of Simha Vishnu (575-600) that the dynasty seems to have occupied a position of eminence. After Simha Vishnu, history records two Nandi Varmans—Nandi II (717--779) usually known as Nandi Varman Pallava Mallan, and his grandson Nandi III (830—854). Of these two, the latter according to epigraphical records was a pronounced Vaishnava devotee. Was he the founder of Nandipura Vinnagaram? If so, we should seek for Tiru Mangai Mannan after the first quarter of the 9th century. In the days of the Azhwar, the Pallava power was in the height of glory, if we may judge by the praise lavished upon the Pallava in Periya Tiru Mozhi. The usurper Nandi II, though he assumed the ambitious title of Pallava Malla, met with too many reverses in battle at the hands of the Pandya, Rashtrakuta and others to deserve the terms of extravagant panegyrics employed by the Azhwar; and during the reign of his successor Danti Varman, the Rashtrakuta Govinda III invaded the Pallava empire; and the latter claims to have levied tribute from the ruler of Kanchi. Nandi III who succeeded Danti Varma, re-established the Pallava power and ascendancy (*vide* the Velurpalaiyam plates); and as there is evidence that he was a devout Vaishnava, he may have like other monarchs of old founded a town after his name and built the Vishnu temple there. There will be nothing strange in the Azhwar recording such an act of merit in a royal Vaishnava devotee and praising him in his lyrics, though they may have been primarily intended for the adoration of Maha Vishnu. I make a suggestion that probably Vairameghan was a surname of Nandi Varman III, and that the Azhwar refers to him when in the Ashtapuyagara patigam he speaks of Vairameghan, the king of Tondamandalam, who by his prowess and glory guards the sanctity of the Chakrarayar temple at Kanchi. Thus, I would tentatively place Tiru Mangai Mannan about 850 A.C. and this conjecture as to the date of Tiru Mangai Mannan will also be in accord with Vaishnava tradition which has always placed this Azhwar a long time after Periyazhwar.

FURTHER NOTE ON THE CUSTOM OF OFFERING HUMAN SACRIFICES TO WATER-SPIRITS.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A., B.L.,

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IN my paper "*On some Vestiges of the Custom of offering Human Sacrifices to Water-Spirits*" which was published in this Society's *Journal* for July 1922, I have adduced some evidence to show that, in ancient times, the custom of offering human sacrifices to water-spirits for the purpose of coaxing them into filling newly excavated tanks with water was prevalent in some parts of Eastern Bengal.

To this evidence I shall now add the following further testimony, which I have recently come across and from which I can conclusively infer that the aforementioned custom was prevalent, in ancient times, in the district of Dacca in Eastern Bengal.

Womenfolk living in the village of Krishnapur in the district of Dacca in Eastern Bengal ceremonially worship a village-goddess named *Sangat Rāṇī* either on a Sunday or a Thursday in the Bengali month of *Agrahāyana* (November-December). She is worshipped with the offerings of three *Chilaiṇiṭhās* (or cakes made of powdered rice), cocoanuts and some molasses, which are partaken of by the celebrant womenfolk after the *pūjā* has been finished.

After the conclusion of this worship, the legend mentioned below is recited by the officiating priest or priestess, and listened to by the celebrant womenfolk. It is not stated whether the priest who officiates at this worship is a *Brāhmaṇa* or the *mater-familias* of the celebrant womenfolk's family. I am, however, inclined to think that, as the worship of this village-goddess *Sangat Rāṇī* appears to be a non-Aryan cult, and as the name of this deity does not occur either in the *Vedas* or the *Purāṇas*, it must be the *mater-familias* who always officiates as the priestess of this cult.

The legend recited is as follows :—A *Rājā*'s son married a grown-up girl who used to worship the village-goddess *Sangat Rāṇī*. On the night of the marriage, she took from the *Caranakulā** a quantity of powdered rice, made three rice-cakes (*chilaiṇiṭhās*) with the same, and, by offering them, duly worshipped that goddess. Her husband surreptitiously saw her when she was performing this ceremonial worship, and called for an explanation from her as to what she had been doing. She described to him the details of this worship, and informed him that she was a votaress of the goddess *Sangat Rāṇī*, and that, as such, she had been worshipping her. But all this explanation did not satisfy him. On the other hand, he grew suspicious about her character.

* The *Caranakulā* is the winnowing fan on which various kinds of auspicious objects are arranged and which is waved before the bridegroom and bride by the ladies of their respective families during the celebration of the marriage-rites.

Shortly afterwards, the Rājā's son, accompanied by his newly-married bride started from his father-in-law's place, and sailed homewards by boat. While coming by boat, he threw all his wife's ornaments into the river. These were swallowed by a huge *boyāl* fish (*Wallago attu*). Returning home, they lived happily for some time. In course of time, a son was born to them.

Shortly after the birth of his grandson, the Rājā had a big tank excavated. But, strangely enough, no water came out of it. One night, he dreamt a dream in which he was told that, if he would sacrifice his newly-born grandson and offer his blood to the water-spirit resident in the tank, water would come out of it.

The Rājā informed his son of this dream and persuaded the latter to agree to the proposal of offering his newly-born boy-baby as a sacrifice to the water-spirit. Accordingly the child was offered up as a sacrifice to the tank-spirit, without the knowledge of his mother. Thereupon the tank became filled with water.

Shortly afterwards, the Rājā gave a great feast to which he invited many people from far and near. For the purpose of providing food for this feast, fishes were caught in the river. Among those caught was found the huge *boyāl* fish (*Wallago attu*) which had swallowed the ornaments belonging to the prince's wife.

Strangely enough, no one could dress this *boyāl* fish for cooking purposes. It was only the Rājā's daughter-in-law who succeeded in cutting it open. On ripping up its abdomen, she got back all her ornaments which had been thrown into the river. Thereafter she went to bathe in the newly-excavated tank. There she found her child, hale and hearty as ever, who had been sacrificed without her knowledge but who had subsequently been restored to life by the mercy of the goddess Sangat Rāṇī. The news that the Rājā's grandson had been miraculously restored to life spread far and wide.

In the meantime, the people who had been invited to the Rājā's great feast refused to come and partake of it. In the night, the goddess Sangat Rāṇī appeared before them in a dream and reprimanded them severely for refusing to partake of it. Thereafter they all came to his palace and partook of his hospitality.*

* For the account of this ceremonial worship, I am indebted to Babu Tārak Chandra Rāy Chaudhuri, B.A., a post-graduate student of anthropology in the University of Calcutta.

THE HOME OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS.

BY T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, *Kumbakonam*.

THE dynasty that held sway over the Dekkân at the dawn of the Christian Era is the Śātavāhanas. This dynasty was studied vigorously some thirty years ago and was afterwards completely abandoned for sometime. Recently in 1917¹ the question was again taken up by Prof. Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar where he only presents the old views of his father the revered scholar Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. Again, Dr. G. Jouveau Dubreuil² took up the question in 1920 and cleared the doubts almost satisfactorily. In some places his work also needs correction. But before we begin to research the materials that go for the compilation of their history, we should mark the position of the Śātavāhanas in the geography and the history of the Dekkân.

The original home of the Śātavāhanas was fixed by some scholars as Āndhradēśa and their capital as Śrīkākuṣam³ which D. R. Bhandarkar identifies near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces⁴. This set of scholars have their authority in the Purāṇas which locate the capital of the Āndhras on the east coast. The Purāṇas give a list of kings who are undoubtedly the Śātavāhanas and call them by both the names Āndhras and Āndhrabhṛtyāhs without making any distinction for the word *bhṛtyaḥ* (= servant) and themselves confuse with each other.⁵ Thus it becomes our first duty to examine and establish the connexion of the two.

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar is the first to raise this question, and he thinks that the Āndhras and the Śātavāhanas are different from one another for the following reasons :—⁶

(a) "In none of the inscriptions (about two dozen in number) engraved during the régime of these kings is there any reference to their alleged affinity with the Āndhras."⁷ They are always referred to as Śātavāhanas.

(b) Contemporary records, as the Hāthigumpha,⁸ Girnar,⁹ and Talaganda¹⁰ inscriptions, also refer to them as Śātavāhanas and never as Āndhras.

(c) Khāravela says that he, "without entertaining any fear of Śātakarṇi, sent a

1. *Indian Antiquary*, 1917. 'Dekkan of the Śātavāhana period.'

2. *'Ancient History of the Deccan.'* Pondicherry, 1920.

3. *Early History of India* by V. A. Smith, 3rd ed., p. 206.

4. *Ind. Ant.* 1918, p. 156.

5. Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, see 'Āndhras'.

6. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol I, pt. i, pp. 21, etc.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

8. Lüder's List, No. 1345.

9. *Ibid.* No. 965.

10. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 24, etc., ed. Kielhorn.

large army to the West".¹ If it really meant the country of the Āndhras he should say to the South.

(d) Almost all their inscriptions were found (near Nasik) in Western India and only four of the later kings were found in the Āndhradēśa.

(e) Almost all their coins were found in Western India.²

(f) And, lastly, their inscriptions are in Prakrit, and "no Śātavāhana inscription written in a Dravidian tongue has yet come to light."³

I also share his opinion that the Śātavāhanas are not Āndhras and that their original home was not Āndhradēśa.

From what we said above we are led to think that they lived in Western India. But, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar argues that their original home was in the Bellāry district for the following reasons:—

(1) In the Hīra-Haḍagalli grant⁴ and in the Myākaḍōni inscription⁵ (both of them were found in the Bellāry district) that portion is called Śātāhani-rāṭṭha and Śātavāhani-hāra respectively. The words *rāṭṭha* and *hāra* denote a province and a district respectively. Like all the early inhabitants lending their names to those countries, Śātavāhanas also lent their name to that part of the land.

(2) Since the Śātavāhanas are different from the Āndhras, where is the necessity to call them by the name Āndhras? He explains that "the Śātavāhanas have to be looked upon as belonging to the tribe of the Āndhras" and "this branch had separated itself early from the main stock of the Āndhras (which was settled in the region of the deltas of the Gōdāvari and Kṛishṇa), even before the time of Śimuka and Śātakarṇi, and settled in the west."⁶

Let us examine how far these statements are true? The Hīra-Haḍagalli grant is of the ancient Pallavas, and so it is after the destruction of the Śātavāhanas and the establishment of the Pallava Empire. The Myākaḍōni inscription is dated in the eighth year of the reign of King Puṣumāyi. Dr. Sukthankar identifies this Puṣumāyi with Vāśiṣṭhiputra, the son of Gautamiputra.⁷ But Dr. G. Jouveau Dubreuil identifies him with the last king of the Śātavāhana line.⁸ Sukthankar says that "the alphabet resembles that of the Joggayyapēṭa inscription of Purisadata."⁷ But "the inscriptions of Purisadata at Joggayyapēṭa have been attributed to the third century (A.C.) by all the authors who have spoken of it, and no one doubts that Purisadata reigned after the Śātavāhanas. The alphabet of the Myākaḍōni inscription is incontestably much more developed than the alphabets of all the other Śātavāhana inscriptions, and very much resembles those of the Chūṭūs and the ancient Pallavas."⁸ Again we do not

1. Lüder's List, No. 1345.

2. Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of Āndhras*, etc. (B. M. 1908) See Coins, 1—90.

3. *A. B. I.*, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 37.

4. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 2.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 153—See also Report on Epigraphy for 1915-16; Madras G. O. No. 99, 29th Aug. 1916, part II, No. 1, page 112. Inscription No. 509 of Appendix B.

6. *A. B. I.*, Vol. I, part I, p. 41.

7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 153.

8. *Ancient History of the Dekhān*, p. 51.

find the usual prefix of Vāsishṭhiputra of the son of Gautamiputra. So, this also belongs to the last days of the Śātavāhana line. Thus the Bellāry district was known by that name only at the beginning of the third century A.C.

According to Dr. Sukthankar, the whole theory rests on the question: 'How the Bellāry district came to be called by that name?' It is certain that the later Śātavāhanas ruled along the east coast of the Dekkān. A large number of coins with "the ship with two masts" on the obverse and "the Ujjain symbol" on the reverse, have been found along the Coromandel coast as far as Cuddalore. These ship coins are special to that part and the "Ujjain symbol" indicates the Śātavāhana dynasty. Prof. Rapson has been able to decipher the inscription on them and read it to be "*Śri Puṣumāvi*."¹ I attribute this also to the last king of the line. Again, we also know of the ship coins of Yagña Śrī on the east coast.²

Thus the inscriptions and coins of the later Śātavāhanas are found only on the east coast and not in the Western India, the seat of early inscriptions and coins. How does this happen? The Junāgaḍh inscription bears the answer to this question. There he says that by his own valour (Svavīryy-ārjjitānām) gained Ākrāvanti (Mālwa), etc., destroyed the Yaudhēyas, "defeated Śātakarṇi, lord of Dakṣhiṇāpatha, but on account of the nearness of their connexion did not destroy him," but himself acquired the name of Mahākṣatrapa.³ An inscription at Kāphēri, which "exhibits the neat characters of Western Kshatrapa inscriptions"⁴ mentions the queen of Vāsishṭhiputra Śrī Śātakarṇi, as the daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Ru[dra].⁵ We know of three Śātavāhanas who bore the name Vāsishṭhiputra, the great Puṣumāvi, Śiva Śrī, and Chanda Śrī. It is impossible to bring in the great Puṣumāvi, because he was the contemporary of Chashtapa,⁶ and so it becomes impossible for him to have married the great-grand-daughter of Chashtapa. So, Vāsishṭhiputra is no other than Śiva Śrī or Chanda Śrī.

The coins of Yagña Śrī "are similar in fabric and style to the Kshatrapa coins,"⁷ and resemble those of Rudradāman.⁸ For this, Yagña Śrī should have some connexion with the Kshatrapas, and it is more probable that his mother was the daughter of Rudradāman. On an examination of the coins Rapson thinks that Chanda Śrī is the immediate predecessor of Yagña.⁹ Thus it is more probable that our Vāsishṭhiputra is Chanda Śrī.

From what we said above we shall propose the following theory: "*About the middle of the second century A.C. the Kshatrapas became more powerful in Western India and conquered the Śātavāhanas. The Śātavāhanas, who once ruled all over the Dekkān, did not want to rule there as feudatories of the Kshatrapas, and so they*

1. Rapson's *Catalogue*, p. 22.

2. *Ibid.*, pl. VII.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 47 and Lüder's List 965.

4. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 43, Bühler.

5. Lüder's List, No. 994.

6. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 366, Ptolemy.

7. Rapson's *Catalogue*, 87.

8. *Ibid.*, pl. VII.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 30 and 32.

moved to the east coast.' In moving to the east they had to conquer many countries, and in a similar way Bellāry went under their sway. Thus, it is more probable that they named the conquered country by their name as is the case of other nations and especially among the Chōlas which can be seen from their inscriptions.

The learned doctor says that the Śātavāhanas have *no* connexion with the Āndhras, but later on says that they are a branch of the Āndhras. For his conclusion, his arguments which I have shown at the beginning of the essay are contrary. If they are a branch of the Āndhras why is not any trace of Dravidian found in their inscriptions? Are they betrayers of their original tongue? Again according to him their migration should be before their history begins, *i.e.*, *circa* fifth century B.C. The Sanskrit works of that time evince that even the Daṇḍakāraṇya was not explored fully and we need say about the Tamiḷ land. Thus it is not probable to suppose that a ruling family migrated to the Mahārāshṭra province from the Bellāry district in the fifth century B.C. when we do not have any trace of Dravidianism in them.

The second reason of Sukthankar is based on the first. Since we have shown that the first is baseless, the second also follows that. We shall now see how the Purāṇas apply the name Āndhras to the Śātavāhanas. I have shown above that the Śātavāhanas ruled the Āndhradēśa from *circa* A.C. 140. At that time we do not know of any Āndhra king, and so we are led to conclude that they lived as feudatories of the Śātavāhanas. We know that the Purāṇas were written only after the third century, and so they were fresh with the Śātavāhanas; and, since they ruled over the Āndhras, they were called by the name Āndhras.¹ In this connexion it should be borne in mind that the inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas are all in Prakrit, and not in the Dravidian tongue, and they imported that language even in the Āndhradēśa, since we find their inscriptions there and those of the ancient Pallavas who ruled there, in Prakrit.

Thus, the Śātavāhanas have no connexion with the Āndhras, and their original home is in Western India. The Jain legends say that Prathishṭhāna (Paithān) on the Gōdāvari is the capital of Śālivāhana.² Ptolemy, the Greek traveller, says that Baithāna (Paithan) is the capital of Siro Puḷomoi (Śrī Puḷumāyi).³ Thus, Paithan was their capital from the ancient times and they have no connexion with the Āndhras.⁴

1. The rule of *Paṭupathi* of the Sanskrit grammarians is applicable here.

2. Jinaprabhā Śrī's *Thirtha-kalpa*. J. R. B. R. A. S., X, 123.

3. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 366.

4. This formed the first chapter of my book *The Śātavāhanas* and the conclusion arrived at here leads us to the elucidation of many intricate points in the histories both of the Dekkan and South India with which I shall deal in the course of the book.

BHASA'S PRATIMA-NATAKA.

BY K. RAMA PISHAROTI, ESQ., M.A., *Ernakulam.*

ACT IV.

(Then enter two maids.)

Vijaya—Here, Nandanikā, speak, speak. All the inmates of the harem led by Kausalya and the rest went to see the *Statue-House* to-day, and there they saw prince Bharatha; but my unfortunate self stood at the door.

Nandanikā—Friend, we luckily saw prince Bharatha.

Vijaya—What did the prince say to the Queen?

Nandanikā—Say? Why, the prince does not wish even to see her.

Vijaya—What a pity! Covetous of the kingdom, she exiled prince Rama and thus ordained widowhood for herself and brought ruin to the world, cruel hearted, indeed, is the Queen, and very wicked her action.

Nandanika—Listen, friend; the prince has discarded the crown offered him by his subjects and has started for the penance grove of Rama.

Vijaya—*(Sadly)* Hem, the prince gone! Nandanikā, let us go and wait upon the Queen.

(Exeunt)

Interlude.

(Then enter Bharatha and Sumantra in a chariot with a charioteer) (1)

Bharatha—The king has gone to heaven followed by his virtue and I now go, accompanied by the tears of the citizens, to that blessed penance grove to see that other moon of the world, named Rama.

Sumantra—Here is the blessed Bharatha, the son of the king who has crushed the honour of the lord of *Daityas*, the grandson of the king who gave his everything for sacrifice, the brother of Rama, the delight of the world, who always pleased his father, following the path worthy of Rama. (2)

Bharatha—Ha! Preceptor!

Sumantra—Prince, I am here.

Bharatha—Where is he, my worthy sire, Rama? Where is he, the successor of his majesty? Where is he, the ideal of strength? Where is he, who has been discarded by the kingdom-coveting Kaikeyi? Where is he, the receptacle of fame? Where is he, the son of the king? Where is he, who follows the path of truth? I wish to see him, my greatest god, who has discarded his prosperity to do pleasure unto my mother. (3)

Sumantra—In this hermitage, prince. Here are Rama and Sita and the

noble Lakṣmaṇa who are the embodiments of truth and good conduct and devotion.*

Bharatha—Well, then, stop the chariot.

Charioteer—As my lord orders (*Do so*) †

Bharatha—(*Getting down from the chariot*) Charioteer, rest the horses a while in a quiet place.

Charioteer—As my lord orders (*Exit*).

Bharatha—Ah preceptor, announce, announce.(4)

Sumantra—What shall I announce, prince?

Bharatha—That the kingdom-coveting Kaikeyi's son, Bharatha, is come.

Sumantra—Enough, prince, of these insulting words about your mother.

Bharatha—Well, it is not proper to speak of others' faults. So, then, announce that Bharatha, the unworthy scion of the Ikṣvaku race, desires audience.

Sumantra—Prince, I am unable to speak thus. I shall simply say Bharatha is come.

Bharatha—No, no. The announcement of the mere name sounds to me as being unexpiated.(5) Are *Brahmicides* announced by another? ‡ So, stop, preceptor. I shall announce myself.

Ho! Ho! Inform, inform the worthy sire, Rama, the obedient son of his father:

Cruel and ungrateful, vulgar and rash—such an one is come, because of his devotion. Shall he wait or go?

(*Then enter Rama with Sita and Lakṣmaṇa*)§

Rama—(*Hearing, gladly*) Sumitri, don't you hear?

Ah, princess of Vidēha, don't you also hear?|| Whose voice is this which resembles my father's, which in solemnity seems even to rival the roar of clouds? And this, creating thoughts of a friend, lovingly forces itself upon our ears of its own accord (6).

Lakṣmaṇa—Sire, on hearing this voice, there is created, in my mind also, the respect due to a loving kinsman. His voice is indeed full and clear and unfaltering and sweet even like the roar of the mad bull. It is indistinctly sweet when in the pharynx unimpeded and hence quick is its passage in the windpipe. And having passed through the various stages, it emerges as so many distinctly articulated sounds.

* C reads स्थिताः ।

† Omit the stage direction.

‡ C reads नपुनः ब्रह्महानानाम् instead of किञ्चानम् ।

§ C reads सीतालक्ष्मणश्च for सीतालक्ष्मणाभ्याम् ।

|| R reads किं also before शृणोषि ।

Rama—Any way, this cannot be the voice of a stranger. My heart sees his restless. Dear Lakṣmaṇa, see who it is.

Lakṣmaṇa—As my sire orders (*walk about*)¹

Bharatha—Ah, how now, nobody gives a reply? Can it be that they have recognised in the coming of Kaikeyi's son, Bharatha? (7)

Lakṣmaṇa—(*Looking*)² Ha, this is the worthy Rama! no, no; the resemblance of form!

Unique is his face, like that of my sire, and delightful like the moon; broad is his chest, like that of my father wounded with the numerous arrows of the enemies of Devas; commanding is his personality; glorious is his figure and he is the delight of the world! Can he be the king, or the lord of Devas, or Sri Krishna himself? (8)

(*Seeing Sumantra*) Ah, here is the preceptor!

Sumantra—Ah, prince Lakṣmaṇa!

Bharatha—Well, this is my sire (9) Sire, I bow to you.

Lakṣmaṇa—Come, come. Long life to you (*Looking at Sumantra*)³ (10) What is this gentleman, Sire?

Sumantra—Prince!

This is prince Bharatha, the fourth in descendant from Raghu, the third from Aja, and the second from thy glorious father, and the brother of him, that ornament of his race, whose brother thou art.

Lakṣmaṇa—Come, come, O Ikṣvaku prince! Dear,⁴ long life unto thee!

Be thou in valour, like your ancestors, unequalled in prowess, who were clever in fighting the Asuras, and whose bows were equal in strength to Vajra! and be thou on earth the seat of all noble virtues, like the famous Raghu who spent all his treasures in Vedic rituals!

Bharatha—I am blessed.

Lakṣmaṇa—Brother, stop here. I shall inform my sire of your arrival.⁵

Bharatha—Sire, very soon do I wish to offer my obeisance; announce quickly.

Lakṣmaṇa—Well (*approaching*) Hail! Victory, sire.⁶ Sire, Here is your younger brother, Bharatha, devoted to his brother, who appears like yourself reflected in a mirror. (11)

Rama—Dear Lakṣmaṇa! Aye, Bharatha has come? (12)

1 C omits the stage direction.

2 C adds गत्वा before विलोक्य ।

3 C omits the stage direction and the vocative तात following.

4 C omits the Vocative वत्स

5 C omits the whole of Lakṣmaṇa's speech and भरत and आर्षे in the next line.

6 C reads उपगम्य for उपेत्य and omits जयत्वार्यः ।

Lakṣmaṇa—Sire, even so.

Rama—¹ Maithili, open your eyes as wide to see Bharatha.

Sita—Dear, has Bharatha come?

Rama—Maithili, even so.

Now do I know how hard it was for my father to act. Such is a brother's love; how much more, then, must have been that of a father?

Lakṣmaṇa—Sire, may the prince come in?

Rama—Dear Lakṣmaṇa, thou wishest to consult my desire even in this affair? Go, welcome and quickly bring in brother.²

Lakṣmaṇa—As my sire orders.

Rama—Or stop thou. Let her herself go, showing a mother's love for the son, and honour him—her whose eyes are broad like the petals of night-lotus filled with dew, and are dropping tears of joy. (13)

Sita—Dear, as you order (*Rising up, walking about, and looking at Bharatha*)³ Hem, has my dear so quickly turned up here from there? No, indeed. Ah, the resemblance.

Sumantra—Ah, here is the daughter-in-law!

Bharatha—Ah, here is the worthy lady, the daughter of king Janaka.⁴

This is that light in the form of a lady drawn out by the plough from the womb of the earth, the summation of the fruit of Janaka's penance. (14) Mother, I bow to thee, I am Bharatha.

Sita—⁵ (*To herself*) Not merely form, but voice also the same! (*aloud*) Dear son, long life to thee.

Bharatha—I am blessed.

Sita—Come, dear son, and satisfy your brother's desire.

Sumantra—Enter prince.

1 C reads अथस्वगच्छामीति here and omits it later on.

2 C omits सत्कुल्य and कुमारः ।

3 C omits this stage direction but reads निष्क्रम्य ।

4 C reads उयंतत्रभवती ।

5 C reads quite different in this context. We give it below :

सीता—गदिरुवंध्व । सरजोऽथेविसो (प्रकाशम्) एदिवच्छमाद, मणोरहपूरेहि ॥

भरतः—अनुगृहीतोऽस्मि । तातश्चदानीं किमुक्तम् ।

भारतः—ताततथा (उपगम्य) अभिवादेति ॥

Translation.

Sita—Not merely form but voice also the same (*aloud*) come dear son and satisfy your brother's desire.

Bharatha—I am blessed, preceptor, what shall I do?

Sumantra—Enter Prince, I shall follow afterwards, etc.

Bharatha—So be it (*approaching*) I bow to you, etc.

This reading seems much better than the one given in the Trivandrum edition.

Bharatha—Preceptor, what wilt thou do now?

Sumantra—I shall follow afterwards; this is my first visit to Ramia after he has known that his father has gone to heaven. (15)

Bharatha—So be it (*approaching Rama*) Sire, I bow to you, I am Bharatha.

Rama—(*Gladly*) Come, come Ikṣvaku prince. May happiness and long life attend you!

Open out your chest which looks like closed doors and embrace me with your sturdy arms. Raise up your face which is like the autumnal moon and gladden this my sorrow-consumed body. (16)

Bharatha—Blessed am I (*Embrace*)*

Sumantra—(*Approaching*) Hail! Victory and long life, prince! (17)

Rama—† Ha preceptor! The benign king who in former days went in martial array with his arms and aerial cars, similar unto theirs, and won their approbation, being referred to as 'He' by both the *Devas* and the *Asuras*,—can he now, being deprived of his body and of your loving and affectionate selves, find pleasure in heaven in the company of the manes, his royal ancestors?

Sumantra—(*Sadly*) ‡ The king's death, your exile, Bharatha's sorrow, and the helplessness of the kingdom,—suffering these manifold insufferables, my life has become a broken thread. (18)

Sita—My beloved is crying and you, preceptor, make him cry more.

Rama—Princess, I shall soon control myself. Dear Lakṣmaṇa, water please.

Lakṣmaṇa—As my sire orders.

Bharatha—Sire, it is not right. We shall attend on thee in order. (19) I am going (*Taking a pot, § going out and entering*) Here's water.

Rama—(*Washing*) Princess, Lakṣmaṇa's work is lightened.

Sita—Dear, has he not also a right to attend upon you?

Rama—Well; let Lakṣmaṇa attend on me here and Bharatha from there.

Bharatha—Be pleased, Sire! Here shall I with my body live and there with my actions. By your mere name is your kingdom protected. (20)

Rama—Dear, son of Kaikeyi; no, not so.

Because of the order of my father have I come to the forest and not, dear brother, because of pride, or fear, or misunderstanding. Truth, I tell you is our family treasure. How then dost thou follow the ignoble path? (21)

Sumantra—Where, then, shall the coronation water be poured?

* This direction must be added. But the two MSS. that I consulted do not give this.

† C adds the stage direction (*Seeing Sumantra*).

‡ C omits this.

§ C omits कलशं गृहीत्वा ।

Rama—Where my mother ordered, there let it be.

Bharatha—Be pleased, O sire, Sire enough of striking in the wound. O thou virtuous, thy descent is also my descent. Your father, that seat of wisdom, is also my father. Ah good man, the sons of the mother do not make man sinful; O thou giver of boon, look, then, on the wretched Bharatha in the proper light.

Sita—Dear, pitiable are Bharatha's words. What may my beloved be thinking?

Rama—Princess! I am now thinking of the king, gone to the abode of gods, who never realized the noble qualities of his son. Having acquired such a treasure of virtue, lie upon it, if fate still exerts itself on noble persons!

Dear brother, O son of Kaikeyi! Thou hast, it is true, pleased me and thou art guileless; and won by your laudable virtues, I am a slave of thy words. But then it is not meet that thou shouldst falsify thy father's words; further, having begotten such as thyself, shall thy father remain untrue to his words?

Bharatha—Till the end, then, of the period of thy exile, let me be here, O king, at thy feet.

Rama—Not so. May the king attain salvation through his virtues. If thou wilt not protect our kingdom, then on my honour I vow.

Bharatha—Alas for a reply. Well, I govern the kingdom on condition.

Rama—Dear, on what condition?

Bharatha—I desire that thou wilt take back thy kingdom entrusted to me at the end of fourteen years.

Rama—So be it.

Bharatha—Sire, heard? Mother, heard? Preceptor, heard?

All—We are all witnesses.

Bharatha—Sire, I wish to get one more boon.*

Rama—Dear, what dost thou desire? What shall I give? What shall I do?

Bharatha—These slippers which serve thy feet, give unto me who am bowing down with my head, so that I may be thy servant, till thou achieve thy purpose (22)

Rama—(To himself) Ah, † But little fame have I been able to get in the course of even a long time; but now Bharatha has got a treasure of it in such a short time.

Sita—Dear, grant Bharatha his first request.

* C reads अन्यदीपि.

† C begins the verse directly omitting स्वगतम् and हन्तभ्योः । and reads एव for अपि in the verse.

Rama—So be it. Dear, receive *

Bharatha—I am blessed. (*Receiving*) Sire, these do I wish to crown.

Rama—Dear Bharatha, do whatever you like.

Sumantra—As my benign sire orders.

Bharatha—(*to himself*) I have won the confidence of my kinsmen and the citizens and the world can now tolerate me. I am again the loving and dutiful son of my father now in heaven ; I have won the esteem of my noble brothers and earned great fame and am object of talk in discussions amongst the virtuous and the contented.

Rama—Dear, thou son of Kaikeyi, the kingdom must not be left to itself even for a moment. So then, return, O prince, even now and be victorious.

Sita—Then, is Bharatha to return even to-day ?

Rama—Enough of over-fondness. Let the prince return even to-day and be victorious ?

Bharatha—Sire, I return even now.

Longing to see you are the citizens waiting in the city. Them shall I make happy by showing this, thy goodwill.

Sumantra—Benign sire, what shall I do now ?

Rama—Preceptor, look after the prince as His Majesty would have done.

Sumantra—I shall try as long as I live.

Rama—Dear, thou son of Kaikeyi, get into the chariot even in my presence.

Bharatha—As my sire orders (*Get into the chariot*)

Rama—Princess, this way ; Lakṣmaṇa this way ; let us follow Bharatha at least to the gates of the hermitage.

(*All exeunt*)

End of Act IV. †

Notes on Act IV.

The fourth act depicts the meeting of the brothers. This meeting is one of the most dramatic in the whole range of the Ramayana. The anxious doubts and fears of Bharatha, the heavy sadness and despondency of Sumantra, the childish simplicity and devotion of Lakṣmaṇa, the serene composure and sweetness of Rama, the maternal fondness and affection of Sita,—all these, the outcome of mutual

* C adds the stage direction (*give*) ; and omits the sentence अनुगृहीतोऽस्मि in Bharatha's speech.

† A couple of months ago I was able to get two manuscripts of Pratima-Nataka. They give some interesting variant in readings, which are given in the foot-notes. The manuscripts of the work of (Bhasa) do not after all appear to be as rare, as the learned editor of the Bhaṣa-Nāṭaka-Čakra seems to imply.

love and solicitude, are so harmoniously fused together in the fire of traditional Dharma, that they finally resolve themselves into an intensely pleasurable bliss of calm. And this is very much enhanced by the tragic note sounded at the beginning and by the subdued nature of the dénouement of the scene.

The act opens with an interlude where a conversation is carried on between the two maids of the harem, Vijaya and Nandanikā. From this it becomes clear that by his noble resolve Bharatha has won the love and esteem of all in Ayodhya, and has made his mother an object of greater hatred. Further, it helps us to fix the interval between acts III and IV. This interval cannot be more than a couple of days, the period required to travel from Ayodhya to Chitrakūṭa, which as we have mentioned elsewhere is not more than a day and a half (*cf.* note 13, Act III).

1. Unlike in the Ramayana, Bharatha is accompanied only by Sumantra. The ministers, temporal and spiritual and the queens do not accompany him. The reason is clear; for Bharatha's object in going to Rama is *not* to bring him back but to live with him. *Or can it be the result of the practical stage necessity?*

2. Note the noble eulogy that Sumantra heaps upon Bharatha. The verse is to be taken more or less as a soliloquy, and herein has he emphasized Bharatha's strength and goodness, devotion and love.

3. Here does Bharatha express his supreme haste to see his noble brother. He seems also to suggest the greatness of his mother's wickedness. In this speech of Bharatha and the following speech of Sumantra, we have the gist of Rama's character.

4. Here begins the second stage in the development of the scene. The conversation between Bharatha and Sumantra as to how Bharatha should be announced reveals the great conflict of emotions in the mind of Bharatha. There is the righteous indignation against his mother for making him an unconscious instrument for her apparently villainous purposes; and sorrow and shame; and fear whether his beloved brother will misunderstand him. All these are strong but yet are subordinated to a sense of virtue and decency, thanks to the innate goodness of Bharatha, and the restraining influence of Sumantra. The final announcement has in it something of a tragic pathos which clearly reveals his intense mental struggle.

5. It is held that he who mentions the name of a wicked man is a sinner. So in mentioning the name of such a person the speaker qualifies it to escape from the sin accruing from it. It is with this view that Bharatha says that he should not be announced by the mere mention of his name. His comparing himself to a *Brahmicide*, one who has killed a Brahmin—and the epithets he heaps upon himself produce the greatest pathetic effect.

6. Note the effect produced on the trio in exile. There is a familiar ring about Bharatha's voice that they cannot recognise it; probably because they never expected a visit from Bharatha. Rama feels, however, a premonition of what is going to happen, as is clear from his confession that there is produced a certain *restlessness* in his mind.

7. Note the effect on Bharatha of the gentle delay in responding to his announcement. There is revealed the evident fear that Rama will never understand him aright and hence he is in great agony. This attitude of Bharatha needs, however, no justification. In fact by this stroke our poet has invested him with a great naturalness. So great has been the injury done to Rama in his name; that he cannot bring himself to believe, cannot expect that he would be better treated; and hence the cruel and pathetic soliloquy.

8. This explanation of Lakṣmaṇa also suggests the view that he does not quite recognise Bharatha (cf. note 10, Act III). He sees great resemblance in the newcomer to his brother and father; and he is impressed with his commanding personality, and his glorious stature; but yet cannot make him out. And hence the doubt expressed in the last *pāda* of the verse, whether the newcomer is a king or the lord of the Devas or Sri Krishna himself.

The last *pāda* may however be interpreted in a different way:—"Who can this king be, the lord of Devas or Sri Krishna himself." If we take this view, we have to assume that Lakṣmaṇa has made out from Bharatha's deportment that he is a royal personage.

9. This statement is to be taken as a soliloquy. And coming as it does, after Sumantra's explanation strengthens our view that the brothers cannot recognize each other.

10. In making this statement Lakṣmaṇa must be supposed to have recognised Bharatha. The resemblance of face and form, the presence of Sumantra, the exclamation of Bharatha, the use of the term Ārya and his performing *Abhivādyā*—these tell him that the newcomer is none other than Bharatha. At once his mind runs back to the tragic incident, and so after bestowing on him the formal benediction he wistfully looks at Sumantra and asks him, 'what is he?' The purpose of this is quite clear. Lakṣmaṇa wants to know the attitude of Bharatha, whether he is the son of his mother or of his father. Sumantra is not slow to grasp the significance of his look and his question and hence says (10) 'This is prince Bharatha, etc. Thereby he suggests that Bharatha is not merely the son of his father, but the glorious descendant of the noble Ikṣvākus. Note specially the two terms *kētu* and *kumara*. These are used to emphasize that Bharatha continues but a prince and that Rama himself is the king. Lakṣmaṇa quite understands him, and now that his suspicions are all removed, he eagerly welcomes him once again with a great outburst of brotherly affection.

The statement of Sumantra is important from another point of view. The order of Rama's predecessors as given here is thus: Dilipa < Raghu < Aja < Dasaratha > Rama < Lakṣmaṇa < Bharatha < Śatrughna. This does not agree with the genealogy given by Valmiki but with that given by Kalidasa in his *Raghuvamśa*; and when we also bear in mind the fact that there is similarity of expressions also, the conclusion forces itself upon us that the one must have borrowed from the other. The reference *here* to have a telling effect, the same must have been described in detail elsewhere. To suppose that Kalidasa must have taken the clue

for his genealogy and description from the drama does not seem to be quite appealing. For, a poet is not justified in deviating from the Pauranic path simply and accept a *passing*, and therefore *secondary*, reference of a dramatist. This, then, necessitates the assumption that both these, the dramatist and the poet must have borrowed from a common source or the former must have borrowed from the latter. If no such common basis is available, then we have to accept the latter view, in which case we have to assume that Bhasa, the famous predecessor of Kalidasa is *not* the author of this drama. This subject we shall take up for consideration on a subsequent occasion:

11. Note how Lakṣmaṇa announces Bharatha. He anticipates that Rama also may have his own doubts as regards Bharatha's attitude and so describes him in such a way as to remove all doubts. For, he mentions in so many words the predominant traits of Bharatha, affection for and devotion to his brother, in the first half of the verse. Then he says in the second half that he is the true brother of Rama. The Sandhi must not be taken in its literal sense only, but as describing a general likeness not merely of form but also of spirit.

12. This statement is quite in keeping with the interpretation we have put for the above. Rama seems indeed to have doubted if Bharatha will remain true to his family traditions. For, unexpected and abundant prosperity is likely to turn the head of even the most virtuous. So the announcement comes as an agreeable surprise, which is expressed to a certain extent in his speech to Sita and subsequently in his soliloquy, '*now do I know*', etc. This is important as showing the excessive brotherly affection of Bharatha. Note the gentle satire on the rather too obedient turn of Lakṣmaṇa's mind.

13. Here is displayed the great shrewdness of Rama who in asking Sita to welcome Bharatha reveals a deep knowledge of the human mind.

14. Note this speech. The noble eulogy he heaps on Sita is worthy of himself and her.

15. Sumantra does not want to be present at once for it may interfere with the meeting of the brothers, by bringing up again the topic of the king's death.

16. Note the statement of Rama. It is such as to make Bharatha banish from his mind all doubts and fears. It puts him at ease.

17. The entry of Sumantra at this stage serves also a dramatic purpose. Though Bharatha has been put at ease, yet a subject for talk is not to be found. Bharatha cannot, indeed, begin with the object of his visit; nor can Rama ask him about it without being rude. This difficulty is obviated by the entry of Sumantra, for this enables Rama to speak about his father. Rama explains what Sumantra was to Dasaratha and this helps as to understand the position of the former.

18. Note the beautiful simile. Sumantra compares himself to a broken thread, a thread broken not once but in four places, and thus suggests that he has no interest in life, and that life has become a burden to him and hence cannot last long.

This statement of Sumantra and Sita's comment thereon pave the way for the introduction of the main subject of the scene. Thanks to the constructive

skill of our dramatist, the scene unfolds itself and the main theme come up so unobtrusively, so naturally. The sight of Sumantra puts Rama in mind of his departed father. This and the sad wail of the devoted old minister steep him in misery, and his eyes are filled with tears. Water is required to wash his face and this brings in the question of Bharatha's right to serve Rama; this supplies a very beautiful and dramatic prelude to the main purpose of the scene. Bharatha, we know, has come there with the fullest conviction that Rama will accede to his desire either to return to the kingdom or allow him to live by his side.

19. Bharatha means by the statement that since he is the youngest of the brothers present there, it is his duty to attend upon Rama. He claims it as a right. Naturally Lakṣmaṇa acquiesces in it and allows Bharatha to do it. In his comment Rama hints at a gentle sneer at Lakṣmaṇa. Sita notes this and hence asks Rama, if Bharatha is not entitled to serve him. This question brings forth from Rama the momentous answer. The idea may be expanded thus: 'Both are entitled to serve me and I allow them both to do so, but with this difference. Lakṣmaṇa is to serve me in the forest but Bharatha in the city, *i.e.*, by ruling the kingdom.' Every impartial critic must admit that the method of introducing the main subject has been exceedingly natural and supremely happy.

20. Bharatha is shrewd enough to catch the true significance of Rama's words and hence his protest. Rama has evidently laid down a division of labour and assigned to Bharatha the work of ruling the kingdom. To carry on his work, Bharatha says, he need not be at Ayodhya, for Rama's mere name is enough to ensure the safety of the kingdom. Hence, says he, 'Here shall my body live'.

21. Note the exceedingly noble reply of Rama. Herein have we the whole secret of his character revealed. Righteousness, obedience and truth—these form the main springs of his action. Following the glorious traditions of his family, following the path of obedience and virtue, Bharatha is bound to govern the kingdom and hence, says Rama,—'How dost thou follow the ignoble path?' Bharatha, however, has no eyes or ears for this aspect of the question; he is full of his own delicate position and of the injustice done to Rama *in his name* and *that by his mother*. The delicacy of his position is still further enhanced, when Rama said in reply to Sumantra that *Kaikeyi's* desire must be fulfilled in the matter of coronation. This serves as a stab to Bharatha and his cup of misery is full and hence the beautiful pathetic strains in his statement. The appeal is so sad, so eloquent, so pathetic that it is capable of moving even a heart of stone; no wonder, therefore, that Rama is visibly affected, but he is bound down by so many ties, that he can do nothing to ease Bharatha's sorrow-stricken heart and give him consolation. He can only pity his father and accuse the all-powerful fate. Here, then, we have indirectly the greatness of Bharatha revealed.

Rama understands that the chief source of Bharatha's sorrow is the fear that he may be misunderstood, and so he assures him in so many words that he is immensely pleased with him and that he is quite guileless. Then he tells him that he cannot return to the kingdom, since he has to maintain the honour of his

father. Bharatha grants so far and so asks him to allow him to be by his side. This request of Bharatha Rama meets by the political necessity of properly governing the kingdom. Even then he has not been able to give Bharatha entire satisfaction and he begins to murmur. Hence Rama is forced to adopt the drastic step by saying, 'I vow.' This is quite significant as showing that Rama cannot advance any conclusive arguments against Bharatha. So he more or less coerces Bharatha into obedience. Bharatha yields to this personal note, but lays down a condition to which Rama agrees. Herein, then, we have more or less a *compromise* effected by meeting half way. This will once again emphasize that Bharatha's point was very strong.

Bharatha is, however, satisfied that he has been able to gain even so much. As if afraid that Rama may go back upon his word he asks the others to be witnesses to Rama's statement. Rama also is glad that he has been able to satisfy Bharatha in such a way and that so easily. Such is the view suggested by the over-readiness that Rama shows in granting Bharatha's request.

22. Note the nature of Bharatha's request; nothing can be humbler than this. The moderns, however, may sneer at this. We would, on the other hand, appreciate this. For, here in this request is epitomized the great lessons of brotherly devotion and affection, of modesty and humility, of respect and reverence for old traditions,—lessons which are pre-eminently Hindu, rather Indian. In spite of his legal right, of his mother's wish, of his father's order, and of his brother's desire, he does not wish to become the king of Ayodhya even during the period of Rama's exile, but prefers to be the regent of Rama's slippers! The moral is clear to every discerning critic, unless he be utterly drowned in modern materialism. Here have we the ideal Hindu prince who places justice and righteousness even above paternal commands. And rightly does Rama applaud him. Indeed, Bharatha deserves even more.

We hope we have said enough to emphasize the more important aspects of this act. We have, indeed, no beautiful scenes, no stirring incidents, no dramatic contrivance as we have in the first or the second or the third acts. On the other hand, this act is very subdued in nature. Subdued are the characters, subdued or suppressed are their emotions, add to this the hallowed and mellowing influence of the penance grove. And no wonder we have not the stir and bustle of an action scene. This may probably account for the sense of disappointment that one may feel on a first reading.

The main interest of this act lies, as we have tried to show, in character delineation. The poet is engaged in the silent work of character unfolding by means of character and passion contrast. From this point of view, this act stands unique in the whole range of this drama.

A word more and we have finished. Can this act be successfully staged? The sylvan beauties of the place, the dramatic entry of Bharatha, and the actual acting of the varied emotions in a *realistic* way—these cannot but produce abundant success on the stage.

REVIEWS.

St. Thomas, the Apostle, in India.

BY F. A. D'CRUZ, K.C.G.

HOW and to what extent the teachings of Jesus Christ spread to the uttermost corners of the globe soon after his death is a fact of the greatest importance in history, for no new gospel has so profoundly influenced the progress of mankind as the preachings of Christ. That such teachings were known in India long before the advent of the Portuguese and that the followers of this religion, though not very numerous, had been forced to confine themselves in the hospitable shelter afforded to them in some parts of the West Coast, where the rulers were more tolerant and did not pursue them with any fanatical hatred, are well admitted facts. The question therefore as to when Christianity was really introduced into India is one of great interest. The explanation that as there was a good deal of commercial intercourse between various parts of the Roman Empire and certain parts of Asia, chiefly through the West Coast, that religion might have been introduced in the course of some commercial mission, no doubt, furnishes a solution, but it leaves us still, and entirely in doubt as to by whom and when Christianity was actually introduced. Mr. D'Cruz in the interesting pamphlet which he has produced has collected together all the evidence, which goes to show, that the propagation of the gospel in India was due to St. Thomas and that his labours were not confined to Northern India as is supposed by some writers and that he came to Southern India and was martyred in St. Thomas Mount. Careful study of the facts set forth by him will prove that he has made out a good case for the conclusions he has arrived at in the book which have also the authority of one important school of writers on the subject.

The monumental work on the subject is likely to be always Dr. Medycott's 'India and the Apostle Thomas.' But the diffusive character of the work, the incapacity of the learned bishop to assign to facts their relative value as historical evidence and his excessive reliance on tradition have, in spite of the extraordinary erudition of the author and his profound study of all existing sources, deprived the book of much of its value as a standard authority. Mr. D'Cruz has rendered a public service, therefore, in gathering together the main facts, for which it is possible to produce evidence and in keeping up the interest in a subject, which is calculated to appeal to the patriotic sentiments and rouse the enthusiasm of the Catholics in India at the present day when there is a strong movement, favoured by His Holiness the Pope and the dignitaries of the Church, for an Indian Branch of the Church Apostolic, capable of resting on its own foundations.

The practice of being accompanied by some one capable of keeping a record of expeditions undertaken by any great ruler or military commander was not common in ancient times nor were they in the habit of maintaining a diary as Julius Cæsar did. In the case of preachers of a new religion, which classed humility among the greatest of virtues, they would naturally be averse to chronicle

their own deeds, nor would they encourage much hero-worship among their followers to publish their doings in their life time. It must also be remembered that the disciples chosen were ordinary men with little or no education, who derived their inspiration from their master. It is therefore not surprising that there are no contemporary records about the work of the apostles who first preached the new doctrine which was handed down by tradition. But before the end of a century or two when memory was to fade, attempts were made to reduce such tradition to writing and we have therefore such writings as "The Doctrine of the Apostles" and of "The Acts of St. Thomas" which have been traced to the second and third centuries respectively, giving the main features of the doctrines they preached and the Mission they accomplished. As these works appear to have been written two or three centuries after the main events they chronicled occurred, there is less likelihood of their being coloured by exaggerations and inventions. Making allowance therefore for the facts that the events were not immediately chronicled and that to a certain extent, the original manuscripts may have been modified in the course of subsequent transcription and transmission, these documents establish the fact that from time immemorial it has been recognized that St. Thomas was the first apostle to bring the truths of Christianity to India. From these books and other corroborative evidence the following definite facts are ascertainable in regard to his mission to India, *viz.*, "that he came to India as the slave of a merchant and presented himself before King Gudnaphar. And there St. Thomas preached in the cities and villages and converted the king and his brother and many other people. After that he went to the city of King Mazdai. There as the result of his converting Mazdai's wife Tertia and a noble lady named Hydgonia, he was condemned to death. He was slain with spears by four soldiers on a mountain outside the city". Now the existence of a king named Gudnaphar or Gondophares has been proved by a series of coins bearing his name which have been discovered since 1834, near Beghram in the vicinity of Kabul at Pathenkote to the north-east of Amritsar in the Punjab, at Kandahar and various places in Sindh and Seistan. The date of the king and extent of his dominions are given in what is known as the Takht-i-Bhahi inscription which is now in Lahore Museum which shows that Gondophares commenced his reign in A.D. 20 or 21 and that in A.D. 46 his dominions included the territory round about Peshawar. This unexpected corroboration of certain facts mentioned in "The Acts of St. Thomas" has made most of the previous historians accept the fact that St. Thomas visited the Court of Gondophares and made converts in Northern India. Whether he visited the South or not will depend upon who the King Mazdai referred to in the Acts of St. Thomas is and where he ruled. Until recently some of the historians identified this Mazdai with king Vasudeva of Mathura, a successor of Kanishka, but there is a mass of evidence now to show that Kanishka ruled in 120 A.D. and that he reigned for 42 years and was succeeded by Huvishka in A.D. 162 who in turn was succeeded by Vasudeva in 182 and that he cannot therefore be the Mazdai referred to. Mr. Vincent Smith who originally

doubted the coming of St. Thomas to Southern India has come to the conclusion "My personal impression formed after much examination of the evidence is that the story of the martyrdom in Southern India is the better supported of the two versions of the Saint's death"—(Oxford History of India 1919, p. 126). "It must be admitted that a personal visit of the Apostle to Southern India was easily feasible in the conditions of the time and that there is nothing incredible in the traditional belief that he came by way of Socotra where an ancient Christian settlement undoubtedly existed."

Therefore there is nothing fanciful in the suggestion of Dr. Medylcott that Mazdai is a corruption of Mahadeo and that it is merely the prefix which kings in India used to attach to their names like the Divus of the Roman emperors.

A mass of facts may be adduced to identify the place of martyrdom of St. Thomas in Southern India. The local colour given to the description of the country in which he was martyred by reference to bullock carts and palanquins and the complexion of the inhabitants adds weight to the identification. It is unnecessary to go into the other large mass of facts and the proofs from tradition which Mr. D'Cruz has given in support of his conclusions. An unbiased reader will consider the following facts to be fairly established, *viz.*, that St. Thomas did visit and preach the gospel in India as known at the present day, that the Apostle visited the courts of the two kings reigning in India, one of whom may be taken for certainty to have been Gondophares in the North and the other who is named as Mazdai probably in Southern India being a contraction of Mahadeo, an epithet ordinarily assumed by kings and that he seems to have been martyred in Southern India on "a mountain outside the city" which may be identified with St. Thomas Mount and Mylapore. Space does not permit me to enumerate the arguments by which these places have been identified but there is strong testimony to support the conclusions arrived at.

There are other points brought out in Mr. D'Cruz's pamphlet such as the transfer of the remains which are of secondary importance as compared with the main facts of the Apostle's visit to and death in Southern India.

It is interesting to note how the existence of the church at St. Thomas Mount and the tradition of the martyrdom of St. Thomas seem to have impressed every European visitor to Southern India even before the advent of the Portuguese and there can be little doubt that the early days of Christianity in Southern India go back to the days of the apostles. The reconstruction of this opening epoch in the history of the Church in India from the slender materials available is an excellent illustration of how ancient books, coins, inscriptions and traditions, if properly co-ordinated, can be used to lift the veil from the past history of the world and give glimpses of remote antiquity which has been almost blotted from its pages. To those inclined to believe in the supernatural, the continuance of the memory of this saint unextinguished through all these ages will be the best proof of his supernatural mission.

P. G. D'S.

Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for the year 1922.

THE report under review marks the close of what may justly be called an epoch in the history of the Department, of which Praktanavimarsa Vichakshana Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A., was the presiding authority for nearly a generation. The all-too brief review of the activity of the Department during that period gives some idea of the magnitude of the burden shouldered by Mr. Narasimhachar and his staff of enthusiastic and willing collaborators in giving to Mysore and the world at large 5,000 new records, apart from 1,000 buildings described, 4,100 coins dealt with, 1,800 palm leaf manuscripts examined, 1,250 photos taken, 120 drawings made, 100 bound volumes of transcripts containing 125 Sanscrit and Kannada works copied for the first time, general index to the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, an Architectural Portfolio illustrating notable artistic Hoysala structures of Mysore, Annual Reports, Index and interesting and useful selections of historical and social information contained in the inscriptions, revision of the Sravanabelgola Inscriptions, and last, but not by any means the least, the large-scale excavations at Talkad, Chitaldrug and Halebid, for all of which a grateful public has never been slow to give expression to their great debt of gratitude. Mr. Narasimhachar, more than any other archæologist of his generation, has, as has been repeatedly acknowledged by savants throughout the world, rendered signal services to the history of Mysore and of India particularly, in the following respects :—

- (1) Hoysala art and its development.
- (2) Placing of the history of the Gangas on a definite footing.
- (3) Discovery of Roman silver and Andhra lead coins, as well as pottery at Chitaldrug.
- (4) Discovery of Bhāsa's Svapnavasavadatta which is being translated in the pages of the Journal of the Mythic Society and Pratijnayaugandharayana, a Jain work Lokavibhaga, the medical work Kalyanakaraka, Alankarasudhanidhi of Sayanacharya.
- (5) Conservation of ancient monuments.

These reports were deservedly ranked as the best in India. An ever-increasing stream of scholars throughout the world were looking forward for the reports from Mysore year after year with eager interest, not without some curiosity as to the quarter in which they were to have a surprise, for it is no strange phenomenon during these several years to have an agreeable surprise in store almost every year. Even the report of his Calcutta tour makes very interesting and instructive reading.

It is much to be regretted that the effects of the war are traceable even here, so that apart from the petty repairs, even the national undertakings of renovating the temples of the Kesava temple at Belur, the Amritesvara temple at Tarikere, and other ones were held over pending an easier financial situation.

The Mythic Society cannot be sufficiently grateful for the several valuable papers he read before the Society, and we are also very grateful to him for the kindly interest which he continues to take in us.

S. S.

Archæological Survey of India.

IN the report under review the first interesting information referred to is that of the Begam-ki-sarai on the old Badshahi highway, now badly in ruins, but which stretched formerly from Attock across India to Bengal, furnished at intervals with wells, kosminars, etc., erected to serve the needs of the traveller. The Gupta temple at Deogarh was also repaired. The practice of using ancient monuments for dwelling and office purposes still appears to continue, witness Gol Gumbaz at Bijapur. The reviewer well remembers how exactly eleven years this Christmas a party of tourists were told of this monument, because it formed the residential quarters of the district judge. Tippu Sultan's Palace which was similarly used for other purposes at our own Bangalore can now no longer be used for 'profane' purposes.

The report gives us an idea of the public support needed to carry out substantial repairs on a large scale, to conserve what should be left as a national heritage to posterity, to conduct excavations in places of world-importance. That is, again, what we have been throughout appealing for, and what we earnestly repeat here.

It is also interesting to observe that Hampe and its neighbourhood are becoming ever more interesting to the visitor, thanks largely to the efforts of Mr. Longhurst in this direction.

With genuine pleasure and gratefulness, let us turn our attention, for a while to the excavations conducted by Prof. Marshall himself at Taxila. The reader is invited to the detailed and instructive account in the report for full information, but we cannot pass on without touching on it however cursorily: Plates 8, 9, and 10 in the report refer to the unique collection of articles consisting of: copper spoons, copper goblets, silver dishes, eye of an idol made of lapis-lazuli and shell, a glass vessel, 5½" in height, made of sea-green glass, etc., 120 copper coins of Gondophares and other Indo-Parthian kings, and a unique Gandhara statuette.

The systematic excavation of the Bhir Mound was also undertaken, leading to a further confirmation of the view that the technical skill exhibited in the jeweller's and lapidarist's arts of the Mauryan age as well as in glass-making had reached a very high pitch of excellence long before the 3rd century B.C.

The Qutb at Delhi, the Saranath excavations, the Nalanda excavations, note of M. Foucher on the sculptured slab at Ghantasala, representing the return to Kapilavastu of the horse and groom of Siddhartha after the latter's 'Great Departure' from home and worldly life, amidst the sorrow and agitation of the household, the excavation of a large apsidal-ended brick Chaitya and a stupa by Mr. Longhurst at Salihundam in the Ganjam District, the discovery of stone axe-heads in the Pakokku District in Burma in association with human remains and fossil teeth—the latter probably the remains of some extinct species of Pliocene horse, form very instructive reading indeed.

Four parts of the *Epigraphia Indica* were issued. In them we have (1) the earliest known copper-plate grant of the Gupta period, (2) the Penukonda plates of Madhava II—which would seem the only genuine copper-plates of the Ganga

kings of Gangavadi, (3) the Anbil plates of Sundara Chola, supplying a genealogy of the Cholas, (4) 13 Kanarese records, throwing light on the history and social organization of the period, 900—1200 A.D., (5) a new dynasty of kings who professed Buddhism in the 8th century, (6) Bangarh grant of Mahipala I, (7) 5 Damodarpur copper-plates, edited by Mr. Basak.

It is needless to mention the other interesting details contained in the volume before us. To hark back, if only for a moment, the expenditure of the department for 1919-20, was Rs. 3,10,348.

Do on conservation Rs. 4,39,958.

Do from special grant Rs. 99,909.

Special charges Rs. 19,216.

This is naturally quite insufficient for the purpose on hand. The munificence of the princes and merchants in the land must come to the aid of the department. It is gratifying to know that H. E. H. the NIZAM has led the way and it is hoped that others will follow the example.

S. S.

Catalogue of the Museum of Archæology at Sanchi, Bhopal State.

SIR John Marshall's addition to the literature on Sanchi is very timely and welcome. We can but pay our tribute to the love of labour exhibited in these pages, and add that others may not be lacking at least in exploiting the same to their benefit: for that is the great reward which is looked forward to by the Director-General.

There are 21 plates deserving of careful study. AS2, in plate 11, plates 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, etc., are interesting.

S. S.

Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 1920.

IT is very gratifying indeed to possess in the Prince of Wales Museum one of the finest collections of coins in India, which was added during the year with the purchases of Dr. Cunha and Major Whittel's collections at a cost of Rs. 9,000. The interest taken by Bombay's Governor in Indian antiquities is largely responsible for the increased grant to conserve monuments in a satisfactory manner. The work in Bijapur, especially to Gol Gumbaz, was 'super-excellent'. The report records very good conservation work carried on throughout the Presidency. We would commend to the Government the idea of archæological sub-overseers, which would place the work of conservation on a more satisfactory footing.

Part II.-A. The Andhau Inscriptions of Rudradaman I. referred to are said to be the earliest funeral stelæ discovered in India, different from the sati-stones and virakals with which we are familiar in mediæval and modern times. The

reader's attention is also invited to Dr. Cunha copper-plates described in the report—space forbids us to deal with them in detail, as also the large number of Muhammadan inscriptions and coins referred to in the report.

Part III. Conservation, and Part IV. Exploration, particularly the latter part makes very fascinating and instructive reading.

The volume is profusely illustrated and forms a very valuable addition to the library.

S.S.

Tales from William Morris. (P.T.I. Book Depot.)

FIVE tales for the young retold by Miss Edgar are collected in this neat, little book. The get-up is excellent, and as regards the selections there can be no two opinions.

NOTES.

Solar Signs in Indian Literature—A Rejoinder.

I am glad that Mr. K. G. Sessa Aiyar has drawn attention to the importance of this question. But I am afraid he has not done me justice when he puts forward the theory about the Balance as *the* evidence on which I rely. I have brought it in only as a supplementary piece of evidence. My main argument is briefly this: The Indian Meshādi Zodiac began from the vernal equinoctial point. This was identified with the first point of the Aśvinī segment, the asterism Aśvinī itself being placed 8 degrees east of this point. The first point of Aśvinī coincided with the vernal equinox about the very close of the fifth century A.D.* This is a matter of simple calculation. There is nowhere in Indian literature any evidence to show that the Meshādi Zodiac began except at the first point of Aśvinī coinciding with the point of spring equinox. Varāha Mihira could not possibly have omitted to refer to an earlier commencement of the Meshādi if there had been one. This is significant. For both in his Brihat Samhitā (III—2) and his Panchasiddhāntikā, he had occasion to contrast the *Aśvinīyādi* with the position of the asterisms in the Vedānga ecliptic and he shows such wide knowledge of writers that had preceded him, that his omission can only mean that the Meshādi did not begin anywhere except at the first point of Aśvinī. This would give us only the close of the fifth century A.D.

Now the Indo-Aryans had contact with the Greeks from the time of Alexander. The inscription of Boghaz Koi of about 1400 B.C., and the researches of Forrer and Jensen are making it more and more evident that there were Indo-Aryan settlements in Babylonia and Asia Minor.† The Babylonians had the Zodiac from before 2200 B.C. The Greeks got it from the Babylonians and had it from about 500 B.C. The question now arises, why could not the Indo-Aryans have borrowed it from these people in the second or the first millennium B.C.? A preliminary question might also be put, why could not the Indo-Aryans have invented it independently? The latter question may be considered first. It was the Babylonians who first divided the belt enclosing the sun's apparent path, into twelve parts beginning from the spring equinoctial point, grouped the stars marking each part into constellations and symbolised and designated each group on the basis of its *fanciful* resemblance to some *Zodion*—a ram, a bull, etc.; any resemblance that might have been originally fancied would cease after centuries, as the equinoxes are shifting backwards and the stars constituting each group would pass over to the next. How then could the Hindus have independently hit upon more or less similar pictures of the groups? Chance cannot

* Vide p. 319, Vol. XI, Mythic Quarterly.

† Vide Dr. Sten Konow's article as against the views of Drs. Oldenberg, Macdonell and Keith.

account for such striking similarities, when there is little in the heavens to suggest them in the first instance, much less to stereotype them in the shifting panorama. When after 2000 years Hipparchus readjusted the groups so as to suit his times, he did not dispense with the picture-signs but retained them to designate the modified groups.

These picture-signs underwent certain modifications in course of time. As for those adopted in India, the following remarks of Max Müller are worth quoting. After quoting the description of the signs as given by Satya, an Indian astronomer referred to by Varāha, he proceeds, "It will be seen that this description of the signs contains none of those indications by which Lassen endeavoured to prove that the Indian pictorial representations were not borrowed from Greece but from Babylon. He might indeed object to 'the pair, one holding a lyre, the other a club,' instead of the Greek twins, but in all other respects the Indian representatives of the twelve divisions are accurate copies of the Greek representatives, such as we find them after the first century B.C."¹

It was indeed possible for the Indo-Aryans to have taken over the Zodiac from the Greeks in the fourth century B.C. or earlier still from the Babylonians, with both of whom they had some sort of contact. But the question is, did they? If they did, why is there not the slightest vestige of an Indian Zodiac commencing with a point earlier than the first point of Āśvinī? We are therefore left to surmise that whatever contact there was between India and the countries to the further west in the centuries prior to the Christian era, it was not sufficient for a conservative and intellectually self-reliant people like the Indians to borrow and adopt an alien scheme into their system.

Facilities for closer intercourse came with free access to the ports of the western coast, due to the subjugation of Surāshtra and Mālwa about 400 A.D. From this time Indians went to Alexandria, not merely for purposes of commerce but also in pursuit of learning and Alexandrian astronomers and astrologers came to India and expounded their systems. The expounders and advocates of the Yavana methods, whether Yavanas or Alexandria-returned Indians, must have held intellectual disputes and discussions in Indian courts for several decades before the Indians, convinced of the advantages of the Yavana scheme, decided to adapt it to their earlier lunar ecliptic and incorporate it into their scheme. This is what I meant by 'clash and competition'—not any 'war, violence or disorder.' So long therefore as we do not meet with any reference in Indian literature to a Meshādi Zodiac beginning some degrees further east of the first point of Āśvinī, especially in passages that refer to the calendar, we have to hold that the Meshādi became current in India only about 500 A.D. What sort of astronomy and astrology the Indians had before the introduction of the Meshādi, I have shown in my articles on 'The Age of the Brāhmaṇas'.

I shall try to meet the other objections raised by Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar.

(1) The argument from Libra is taken from Max Müller. He is, it will be

* 'India—What can it teach us?' p. 324. 1883 edn.

admitted, no mean authority and his view still holds the ground for aught I know. Miss Clerk herself, the writer of the article on the Zodiac in the Ency. Britt. shows the greatest deference to his opinions. He writes, "But what is quite certain is this, that to the time of Eudoxos, 380 B.C., the Greeks, though they had twelve divisions (introduced by Kleostratos of Tenedos, 496 B.C.), had but eleven signs, the two divisions now represented by scorpion and balance, being represented by one sign only, the scorpion with its claws stretching across two divisions. Even Aratus and Hipparchus, 150 B.C., do not know the Balance as a separate sign, and it is first mentioned by Geminus and Varro, about the beginning of the first century B.C.

"Hence the important criterion by which Letronne destroyed the 'presumed fabulous antiquity of Egyptian and other Zodiacal representations, viz., 'in whatever monument or book the Balance occurs as a separate sign that book or monument cannot be earlier than the first century B.C.; and we may add, the astronomy of that country, whether Egypt or India, must have been directly or indirectly under the influence of Greece.'"* The passage from the article 'Zodiac' in the Ency. Britt. is not entirely free from ambiguity. When, several years ago, I read this article and compared it with Max Müller's view, I understood Miss Clerk as only meaning that though Libra as a separate sign is not known to Chaldea, still it must be said to have 'a Chaldean birth-place' inasmuch as we can trace its origin back to one of the pair of scorpions found on Assyrian cylinders, later replaced by the claws and later still by Libra. This is what Ptolemy must have meant.

(2) My view of the week-days is based on Dr. Fleet (one of the greatest authorities on Indian chronology and calendar) whose view is summarised by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar.† The following extracts may be pertinent in this connection: ".....Taking Saturn as the lord of the first hour of the day and giving the lordships of the following hours in succession to the others, he would naturally be the lord of the 8th, 15th and 22nd hours of it; the lordship of the 25th hour would naturally go to the Sun and so on for the rest, so that we get the week beginning with Saturday and ending the following Friday..... When it was adopted by the Christians of the West, the Sunday became the first by an edict of the Christian emperor Constantine in A.D. 321..... So the week began with Sunday, the Lord's Day of the Christians and ended with Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath..... It is thus clear according to him that the Hindus took over, not the astrological‡ week beginning with Saturday but the Christian week beginning with Sunday." And earlier, ".....the week as such got fixed in the present day order in the writings of Firmicus Maternus who wrote between A.D. 334 and 350 and Paulus

* 'India What can it teach us.' 1883 edn., pp. 321 and 322, to which I have referred in my articles in the Mythic Journal.

† "Beginnings of South Indian History" pp. 304-307.

‡ I have used the word 'astronomical' instead, as in those days the two branches of study, for what they were worth, went together

Alexandrinus who wrote in A.D. 378." That Saturday was the first day of the week in Babylonian and Egyptian calendars and how it became the last day with the Jews will be seen from the following extract from Ency. Britannica.*—"According to Dion Cassius, the Egyptian week commenced with Saturday. On their flight from Egypt, the Jews from hatred to their ancient oppressors made Saturday the last day of the week." But "the Jews as well as the early Christians had no special names for the single days but counted their number from the previous Sabbath, beginning with Sunday as the first day after the Sabbath....."† As observed in Chambers's encyclopedia, the week might have probably been *first* suggested 'as a kind of broad sub-division of the periodical month, corresponding to the four phases‡ of the moon'; but the individual names of the week days and their original order owe their origin, as explained in all standard works, to the order of distance of what were in those days treated as planets in the geocentric view. It is this order that is mentioned expressly by Aryabhaṭa§ who states that these seven are *horeśas* (lords of the *horās*) and *dināpas* (lords of the several week-days), beginning with Saturn in the order of their circuit.|| The order suggested by Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar to fit in the week with *ghaṭikās* is ingenious; but I am not aware of any Indian authority for it; nor would there appear to be any justification for jumping from Saturn which is the most distant, to the moon which is the nearest to the earth.

(3) Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar refers to a few works mentioning week-days. But there appears to be no reason to assign to any of them a date earlier than the fifth century, A.D. Hitopodeśa is admittedly later. Vaikhānasa Dharma Sūtra, Dr. Macdonell says, cannot be earlier than the third century, A.D. This is different from saying that the doctor assigns it to the third century. The Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇas are held to have been revised in the fifth century A.D. I have not been able to find where Yājñavalkya Smṛiti mentions Sunday and Monday; but its approximate date, according to Dr. Macdonell, is 350 A.D. It may well be later by many decades.¶ Kālidāsa's date is generally assigned to the fifth century, A.D.

The Tamils (like the Aryans of North India) had opportunities of adopting the solar-signs and the week-days from Babylonia and other western countries in the pre-Christian centuries. But the use of the Sanskrit technical terms like *vāra* in Silappadhikāram and *idaba* (vṛishabha) in Maṇimekhalai would show that these works were written after the Yavana teachings had drifted down to the South from Northern India. B. V. KAMESVARA AIYAR, M.A., M.R.A.S.

* Ninth edition, Vol. IV, p. 665.

† Chambers's Encyclopedia—1892 edn., article 'week'. This is what we find in the 'Gospels.'

‡ The Vedic Śakhas, as I have shown in my articles on the 'Age of the Brahmanas,' recognize only three *parvans*, *śukla* 3 not being noticed.

§ Verses 15 and 16, Kala—Kriya pada.

|| शतेश्वराद्या यथाक्रमं शीघ्राः

¶ Cf. The expression 'Surya-samkramah' in śloka 217, adhy. I, which is generally interpreted as meaning 'the sun's entry into each of the twelve signs.'

We have very great pleasure in recording our thanks to Prof. G. J. Dubreuil of Pondicherry, for adding to our stock of knowledge of Pallava history. Pallava Painting is quite a new subject, as distinct from the architecture and sculpture of the Pallavas. We are told that the frescoes at Sittannavasal, near Pudukota are remarkable artistically, and better than even their sculpture,—much as we have learnt to admire and appreciate the rock treasures at Mahabalipuram and elsewhere. The civilization of the Pallavas during the time of Mahendravarman I is now complete, what with the information we have acquired about dancing, music, and painting?

**Books, etc., purchased or presented during the quarter
ending December 1922.**

Smithsonian Institution, Washington—

The differentiation of mankind into Racial types by Professor Arthur Keith.
The Races of Russia—Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection, Vol. 69, No. 11.
A constitutional league of peace in the Stone Age of America—The leagues
of the Iroquois and its constitution by J. N. B. Hewitt.
Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the year ending 30th June 1921.

Director-General of Archæology, Simla—

Annual report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1919-20.
Catalogue of the Museum of Archæology at Sanchi, Bhopal State.

Superintendent of Archæology, Poona—

Progress report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle for
1919-20.

Director of Archæology, Mysore—

Mysore Archæological Report for 1922.

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Archæological Report of the H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, 1919-20.
Hyderabad Archæological Series No. 5—Munirabad Stone Inscription.

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1920-21.

Superintendent of Archæology, Kashmir.

Report of the Kashmir Archæological Department for the year 1975
(Vikram Era)

Registrar, Calcutta University—

Reports of the two committees appointed by the Senate of that University.

Registrar, Mysore University—

University calendar for the year 1922-23, Vols. I and II.

Assam Government—

"The Thota Nagas" by J. P. Mills, I.C.S.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta—

Memoirs of the 'Ismailitica' by W. Ivanow.
Zoological results of a tour in the Far East by N. Anandale.

By Purchase—

Ancient Indian Historical Tradition by F. E. Pargitor.

Presented by—

Mr. V. R. Thyagaraja Iyer,—

Journal of the Karnataka Sahitya Parishad—

Vol. VI, Nos. 3 and 4.

Vol. VII, Nos. 1 and 2.

Mr. K. G. Sankara Iyer, Kumbakonam.—

"Senthamil" Vol. XX, Nos. 6, 7 and 8.

"Manonmaniyam" by P. Sundaram Pillay.

"Mr. D. Banerji's date for Kalidasa."

Mr. Purnendu Narayana Sinha (author)

"The Chandi or the Great Plan."

Dr. Alfred Hay, M. I. C. E.

Rambles and recollections by Seemen, Vols. I and II.

A History of the British Military Transactions in Indostan by Robert Orme, Vols. I, II and III.

The Land of the Veda by Rev. Peter Percival.

Haunts and hobbies of an Indian Official by Thornhill.

Sketches of the Hindus.

A comprehensive history of India by Henry Beveridge, Vols. I and II.

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[No. 3

**MYSORE AND THE DECLINE OF THE
VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE.**

(A Paper read before the Society.)

BY DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI IYENGAR, M.A., PH.D.

The Position of the Mysore Territory under Vijayanagar.

THE present-day State of Mysore is a product of the nineteenth century and came into existence as a political entity with the fall of Seringapatam and the treaty that immediately followed, concluding the war; but the whole of this block of territory was included in the empire of the Hoysalas in their best days and continued to be under them to the last days of the existence of that dynasty. Hoysala Somēśvara's boundary reached as far south as Trichinopoly and extended northwards to Pandharpur. Under his successors the northern frontier remained the same and the southern frontier stretched southwards at one time to include the whole of the state of Pudukottah and even parts of the Ramnad district. This largest southern extension was attained while the war against the Muhammadan Sultans of Madura was still in progress.* When, as a result of the national war of the Hindus against Muhammadan occupation of the south, Vijayanagar came into existence, rising phoenix-like from the ashes of the empire of the Hoysalas, the block of territory under consideration was distributed among four governments which took in the whole of this block and parts of many other frontier territories besides. These were the four viceroyalties with their headquarters at Āraga,

* See my, 'South India and her Muhammadan Invaders', ch. vi.

Hosapaṭṭaṇa-Halebīḍ, Muḷbāgal and Penugonḍa. Of these four, the first took into it the Malērājya, the Malnad districts of Mysore, and Tulu, the coast districts extending southwards from Goa to Mangalore; Hosapaṭṭaṇa-Halebīḍ constituted the headquarters viceroyalty with the capital located in the royal capital of the Hoysalas, namely Halebīḍ, but with an important outpost in the newly created, though the fast expanding, Hosapaṭṭaṇa, the Vijayanagar of later times. This took in practically the whole of the central block of what is now the state of Mysore. Muḷbāgal was the next viceroyalty which seems to have included in it a considerable part of the Kolar district and the neighbouring territories along the Palar river southwards at least as far as Tiruvallam and Virinchipuram, the headquarters of other older chieftaincies. Penugonḍa in the east took in the outer margin of the Tumkur, and a small portion of the Kolar, districts, and extended its sphere over perhaps the larger half of the so-called Ceded Districts of the present day. This seems to have been the geographical distribution of the territory now comprised within the state of Mysore. We do not hear in this period of the later important viceroyalty of Śrirangapaṭṭaṇam, or of the equally important but somewhat shortlived viceroyalty of Channapaṭṭaṇa. Even the state of Ikkēri as such seems not to figure in the earlier records of this period.

Creation of Srirangapattanam Government.

This division of territory seems to have continued almost unaltered under the first dynasty of Vijayanagar from A.D. 1336 to A.D. 1467. The comparatively weak rule of Mallikārjuna, successor of the great Dēvarāya II, and the constant attacks upon the empire by the Bahmani kingdom on the one side and by the rising state of Orissa on the other, sometimes acting in concert and often without, made the position of the empire difficult to maintain. An officer of the empire springing of a family which had its patrimony in the Chittoor district of the present day, round the towns of Chandragiri and Nārāyaṇavanam, rose into prominence during these troubled times. He gradually extended his authority to take into his sphere the whole of the Vijayanagar viceroyalty of Udayagiri, and placed himself between the enterprising power of Orissa and the more exposed and fertile coast regions of the empire of Vijayanagar in the south. As the empire grew weaker and weaker he seems gradually to have extended his authority so as to bring under his influence the whole of the territories dominated by Kānchī and Muḷbāgal so that in the height of his power his territory extended from Nāgamangala in Mysore, not far from the Kāveri, to the east coast. His general Narasa is found active in the south and seems to have won for his master victories over various chieftains in the immediate vicinity of Madura, so that we may take it that the territory of this rising officer of the empire, Sāluva Narasinga, extended almost from Rājahmundry in the north to Madura

in the south.* While Narasinga had gradually extended his territory and influence in this fashion, the empire suffered the calamity of a usurpation by Virūpāksha, the half-brother of Mallikārjuna ascending the throne by putting aside his two nephews and perhaps even by putting Mallikārjuna to death. Virūpāksha had not the qualities of a ruler that would assure quiet possession even of usurped territory. His administration seems to have been feeble in the extreme, and conducted with such a degree of thoughtlessness that even the part of the west coast which contributed so much to the prosperity of the empire began to fall away from it.† Narasinga let matters reach this pass apparently and usurped the empire under circumstances that would enable him to assume the rôle of saviour of the empire. In the course of this strenuous career which raised him from the position of a petty chieftain to the empire, he had the loyal support of a number of able generals and officers who whole-heartedly co-operated with him. Among them, the first rank undoubtedly belongs to Narasa Nāyaka who rendered yeoman service to the usurper, and retained throughout the confidence and esteem of his master. It was he that was responsible for the extension of Narasinga's authority as far as Madura and he seems to have been equally responsible for a westward extension of the same authority that made Narasa's frontiers reach the Kāvēri in the state of Mysore. In the course of one of his wars he is said to have bridged the rapidly flowing Kāvēri and, after crossing it, to have taken possession of Seringapatam and erected a pillar of victory by the great fame of this achievement.‡ It is this occasion that first brings Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa into notice. Probably Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa remained the seat of a government of an important character and in all probability under a family of chieftains who for some reason or other were regarded as of more than ordinarily high rank. This state of things appears to have continued during the reigns of Narasinga and his son, and of Narasa himself afterwards. When Narasimha II or Vīra-Narasimha, the son of Narasa, ascended the throne in succession to the father, there seems to have been a general revolt of the empire. What exactly might have been the provoking cause of this is nowhere stated clearly as far as we know at present. It seems to have been due, however, to an act of usurpation by this Narasimha, as else there is but little reason to explain a general revolt.§ Narasimha struggled hard and brought back practically the whole of the empire under allegiance to him except the region round Kāñchī and the block of territory in southern Mysore under the chieftain of Ummattūr, by name Ganga-Rāja, a scion apparently of the old dynasty of the Gangas. This

* See my "A little known Chapter of Vijayanagar History," pp. 31-47.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 12-23.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-75.

chieftain is described as "Penugonḍa Chakrēśvara" (ruler of the territory of Penugonḍa), and as possessed of the "Chikkarāja-paṭṭa" (the title of prince). It was probably Narasa who was responsible for raising Ganga-Rāja of Ummattūr to the actual viceroyalty of Penugonḍa and to the extraordinary title of 'prince' to a member not belonging to the royal family. This title was probably a reward for loyal service rendered by this enterprising chieftain in the course of his conquests referred to above. This powerful chieftain, Ganga-Rāja, remained yet unsubdued when Narasimha died after a short reign.

Krishna succeeded to the throne in 1509 and had to reduce this recalcitrant chieftain as the first act of his administration. Having spent the first few months after his coronation in putting the administration in order for his long absence, Krishna started on this expedition towards Penugonḍa. He was able to take possession of Penugonḍa easily and then marched upon Kānchī; and, subduing the petty chieftains on the way, he moved upon the territory of Ganga-Rāja and laid siege to the citadel Śivasamudram. The siege apparently lasted some time and Krishna had to drain off the Kāvēri and take the fortress by storm. The capture of Śivasamudram put an end to Ganga-Rāja's resistance and leaving behind Sāluva Govinda, the Brahman general, to introduce an orderly administration into the conquered territory. Krishna proceeded to Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam and thence to Ikkēri and further onwards to the territory of Bijapur. It is in this campaign of Krishna that both Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam and Ikkēri come somewhat prominently into notice.*

Condition under the Empire.

Neither of these two places, however, figures prominently in the course of the history of the empire. It seems likely that the family of the chieftain of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam entered into marriage relations with the imperial family as Tirumalamba, the chief queen of Krishna, seems to have been of that family. The young chief of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam, probably the heir-apparent, played a prominent part in the battle of Raichur. The Ikkēri Nāyaka-sometimes figures in the history of the later empire. Otherwise, these remained headquarters of governments and do not seem to have been of any greater importance than this.

The Battle of Talikotta.

The battle of Talikotta had the important consequence of shifting the centre of the empire from Vijayanagar. The change of capital had its own consequences of the utmost importance. The most important of these latter was the opening up of the way to the southern provinces for the aggressive activities of the two southern States of the Bahmani kingdom, Bijapur and Golkonda. According to Caesar-Frederick, the battle of Talikotta went against Vijayanagar, chiefly through the treachery of two Muhammadan officers who each commanded a force of 70,000 to 80,000 in the army of Vijayanagar.

* For authorities see my paper "Krishnadevarāya of Vijayanagar," pp. 5-8.

According to the same authority, the town was given up to loot for six months but was not otherwise destroyed to the extent to make it the ruins that they have since become. Tirumala, younger brother of Rama Rāja, returned to the place, and Caesar Frederick has a tale to tell of how he cheated the horse traders of the value of the horses sold to him, particularly those taken from the Vijayanagar armies in the battle. Caesar Frederick himself lived about seven months in Vijayanagar, though unwillingly, on business. It was two years after the battle that Tirumala changed the capital to Penugonda. He is said to have carried 350 elephant-loads of treasure from Vijayanagar which would indicate that even the sack of Vijayanagar by the Muhammadans was not as complete as one would take it from the city having been subjected to a six-months' looting. There were also disturbances in the kingdom owing to the recent death of Sadaśiva, who according to the same authority was murdered by Tirumala's son. The disturbance caused by this perfidious act made the working of the diamond mines impossible and perhaps also contributed indirectly to the choice of Penugonda for the capital. Thus, it appears clear that the transfer of capital from Vijayanagar to Penugonda was a move which did not result immediately from the battle of Talikota but had other important causes to necessitate the change. The capital once changed from the first line of defence laid open the Krishna frontier and naturally proved an inducement to the southward march of the forces of Bijapur and Golkonda either in concert or each one for itself. In the reign of Tirumala, therefore, he had to struggle against internal troubles and dissensions caused by the murder of the legitimate ruler Sadaśiva. He had also to be perpetually active against the aggressions of his northern neighbours of Bijapur and Golkonda. It was as a result of this condition of affairs that, at his death, was brought about a division of the empire which seems to have implied nothing more than a division of the spheres of activity among his three sons. The eldest surviving one Śrīranga succeeded to the empire with his capital at Penugonda. His special sphere must have been the keeping of internal disorders under control and the external aggressions from the Muhammadans in check. He succeeded on the whole in maintaining his position although he had to stand several sieges at Penugonda by the Golkonda forces, and on one occasion in A.D. 1579 fell a prisoner into the hands of Ibrahim Kutub Shah of Golkonda through the treachery of Hanḍe Malakappa Nāyudu, the chief of Anantapur. He obtained release probably as the result of a treaty and continued to rule for another six or seven years till about A.D. 1585-86. His next younger brother Rama was created ruler over the territory above the ghats and was located in Seringapatam as his viceregal capital. It is from this time onwards that Śrīrangapatnam assumes an important rôle, and it is from this viceroyalty

as we shall see presently that the present State of Mysore arose. The third brother Venkata was given the government of the whole of the Tamil country with his headquarters at Chandragiri. These viceroalties involved the exercise of the imperial authority over various provinces, each of which had its own separate governor so that this division may be regarded more or less as a division of the imperial authority rather than that of any distribution of territory. The division shows clearly that the empire of Vijayanagar fell back upon its second line of defence and is a clear indication that the move was of the character of a retreat,—may be, a retreat in good order,—for the time being. Śrīranga died, and his next brother Rama apparently died before him, and the imperial authority again united in Venkata, the last brother, in or about the year A.D. 1585-86.

The change of rulers was taken advantage of apparently by the rulers of Golkonda who laid siege again to Penugonḍa. This time Penugonḍa was saved by the active exertions of Rāṇa Pedda Jagadēvarāyaḷ as he is called. He was given, as a reward for this service to the empire, a new government created obviously on the occasion, with its headquarters at Channapaṭṭaṇa.

It was about 1580 or soon after that the Nāyak of Madura Muttuvīrappa, the Governor of the remotest viceroyalty of the empire with headquarters in Madura, made the first move towards setting himself up, independently of the empire. Venkaṭapati whose sphere of duty it was to control this distant governorship seems to have sent out an expedition to co-operate with the armies of the Nāyak of Tanjore, Achyuta. The two forces co-operated and won a victory against the Pāṇḍya forces at Vallam. Later in the century or early in the beginning of the next, there was another rebellion set up by the Nāyak of Madura and this time Venkaṭapati sent out an expedition under the command of his nephew Tirumala, the elder of the two sons of Rama, viceroy of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam, who apparently predeceased his elder brother Śrīranga who died in 1585-86. His two sons Rama and Śrīranga, being young, lived with their uncle at Penugonḍa, while the administration of the viceroyalty of their father was carried on by a deputy whose name is given in Mysore inscriptions and records as Rēmati or Rēvati Venkaṭa Tirumala instead of carrying out loyally the orders of his uncle seems to have tried to make common cause with the enemy. When, in consequence of this attempted defection, he was superseded in command, he retired to his father's viceroyalty and ruled apparently as viceroy of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam in secret defiance of his uncle, if not in open hostility. Venkaṭa's attention was all taken up with troubles nearer home to pay any serious attention to this sulking nephew; and he had to let him go on so long as he did not make any open movement of hostility. About the year A.D. 1610 Golkonda appeared

to have made a persistent effort to conquer the territories round Penugonḍa and take possession of the capital itself. The Nāyak of Ginjee seems to have also made an effort to turn traitor. Venkaṭa had to throw the latter into prison and keep him there in Penugonḍa. In the course of the next year or the year following, Venkata felt so hemmed in at Penugonḍa that he asked for assistance from the Nāyak of Tanjore. Achyuta, the ruling Nāyak for the time being, a comparatively old man, too pious and devoted to God to take a very active part in these warlike transactions himself, sent his young son, the heir-apparent, a lad of sixteen or seventeen at the head of the whole forces of Tanjore. The prince's efforts were so far successful that the Golkonda forces were beaten back and the siege of Penugonḍa was raised to the great satisfaction of the emperor. This difficulty of Venkaṭa was apparently taken advantage of by the smaller chieftains of the viceroyalty at Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam, among them the most enterprising chief Rāja Oḍeyar of Mysore. Among the petty chieftains who were subordinate to the viceroy at Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam there were several that were discontented for one reason or other, and the leader of these malcontents was Rāja Oḍeyar. There were others not very far placed who played the rôle of loyalists, and thus these chiefs were divided in two camps and were constantly at feud with each other. When the empire was in no condition to send efficient assistance to Tirumala, Rāja Oḍeyar made up his mind to attack the viceregal headquarters itself and take possession of it after a siege. The fall of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam marked the foundation of the State of Mysore as such, but the victor had to play his game so carefully that he could not set himself up as the conqueror in possession of the conquered territory. He was able successfully to play the rôle of a champion of the empire, and, when the siege of Penugonḍa was raised, he was able to appeal to the emperor Venkaṭa and obtain a charter from him confirming the possession of the Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam viceroyalty which had been actually in his possession since its fall two years before. What actually was the relation between the viceroy at Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam and the emperor at Penugonḍa is not clearly detailed anywhere so far, but it is very likely that the discontented nephew showed himself more actively hostile and intrigued with the enemies of the empire, either the Sultan of Bijapur or the Sultan of Golkonda. Else, it would be difficult to reconcile the attitude of the emperor who could have gained nothing by getting rid of a sulking nephew of a viceroy only to put in his stead a rising ambitious chieftain, the limit of whose ambition he could not then foresee. He must have felt that the viceroyalty was from the imperial point of view so very much better in the hands of even an ambitious chieftain whose patriotism was likely to keep the aggressive Muhammadans at arm's length. It was in these circumstances that the State of Mysore was born and received the blessings of the emperor for its prosperous growth.

(To be continued.)

THE LETTERS AND MEMOIRS OF TIPPOO SULTAN.

BY MR. B. M. RANGIAH NAIDU, B.A.

ON two previous occasions the incidents in the life of Tippoo Sultan have been described to the members of the Mythic Society. I take to-day my inspiration from Mr. R. H. Campbell to investigate further about Tippoo Sultan's life, and I intend to place before you the views of several writers who lived during Tippoo's own lifetime and after it, who vied with each other to describe to the world, the various activities of this 'Tiger' of Mysore. It is unnecessary to refer here to the usurpation of the kingdom of Mysore by Hyder Ali and the assumption of the title of 'Sultan' by his son. The perpetuation of a monarchy which raised its edifice on the frail foundations of a suppressed dynasty was a circumstance which perhaps had ample parallels in Asiatic politics, but there is perhaps hardly an instance of usurpation which dramatically supplanted an ancient line of kings, without shedding a drop of blood, shot like a meteor in the sky, and after playing a prominent part in the history of the time, dropped its lustre in the zenith of its glory, into the hands of the very house which had outlived its exile by divine grace, and which was thankfully spared the pain of wading through slaughter by the genius and the friendship and the solicitude of the British.

Any attempt to investigate the romantic causes of the usurpation of the kingdom of Mysore by Hyder Ali who came to prominence by the magnanimity and sufferance of Nanjaraj, the greatest of the Dalvoys of Mysore, would not be complete without a reference to the able and distinguished authors of contemporary writings and to the reports of administrators most of whom had taken part in the issues that ended this usurpation. Foremost among these are the Marquis of Wellesley himself, and his more illustrious brother, Colonel Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the great Duke of Wellington; Lt.-Colonel Mark Wilks, afterwards Resident in Mysore; Colonel W. Kirkpatrick, one of the Commissioners, appointed to make the territorial distribution among the allies; Major Dirom, Deputy Adjutant-General; Lt. Roderick Mackenzie, on the staff of the Military Auditor-General; Capt. Donald Campbell, a prisoner in Bednore who compassed the defection of Ayaz and brought about the easy surrender of Bednore to General Mathews; Theodore Hooke, Sir David Baird's biographer; Capt. Francis Robson; James Mill, the

celebrated historian ; Thomas Pennant ; Colonel Beatson and other anonymous writers, who have written a full account of the sieges and the fall of Seringapatam.

An account of Tippoo Sultan is recorded by James Mill in the following words :—

“ As a domestic ruler, he sustained an advantageous comparison with the greatest princes of the East. He bestowed a keen attention upon the conduct of his government from which he allowed himself to be diverted neither by pleasure nor by sloth. He made a methodical distribution of his time for business with which he was laborious and exact ; but in which his passion for detail made him frequently waste that attention upon minor, which ought to have been reserved to the greatest affairs. He had the discernment to perceive what is so generally hid from the eyes of the rulers in a more enlightened state of Society, that it is the prosperity of those who labour with their hands which constitutes the principle and cause of the prosperity of States ; he therefore made it his business to protect them against the intermediate orders of the community, by whom it is so difficult to prevent them from being oppressed. His country was accordingly, at least during the first and better part of his reign, the best cultivated, and his population the most flourishing in India, while under the English and their dependants, the population of the Carnatic and Oude, hastening to the state of deserts, was the most wretched upon the face of the earth.” (Vol VI, page 150. James Mill.)

James Mill is supported by the letters and memoirs of Tippoo Sultan, which were translated by Colonel W. Kirkpatrick, dedicated to the Marquis Wellesley and published in 1811. These letters, which were addressed to various public functionaries by Tippoo Sultan, were gathered on the fall of Seringapatam from a register of about two thousand letters, referring to the period between 1785 and 1794 with considerable blanks. “In making the present selection from about a thousand letters,” Colonel Kirkpatrick says, “I have confined myself almost entirely to such as either appeared to exhibit the Sultan in some new light ; to unfold some of his political, financial or commercial views ; or to elucidate some historical fact. Those which merely related to the details of ordinary business without eliciting anything peculiarly characteristic of the writer, have been passed over..... I have taken occasion to engraft, besides other original matter, a considerable portion of a highly interesting manuscript, purporting to be a Memoir of Tippoo Sultan, written by himself.” The memoirs form the ground work of a more elaborate history written by Zynulabdeen Shoostry, called Sultan-U-Towareekh, the King of Histories. From these it is interesting to observe how Tippoo Sultan

placed a high premium on discipline both in the office and in the field. A few of the more important letters are extracted herein :—

1. To

MOHYUDDEEN ALI KHAN.

"It has been represented to us that you sit constantly at home, without even appearing at the Kutcherry. This is not well. You must pass a proportion of your time daily in the Kutcherry, and there diligently apply to the affairs of the Sircar, without suffering any one to come to your own house on public business.If you act in conformity with our orders, it will be well; otherwise, you will assuredly incur the penalty therein specified." (31—8—1785)

2. To

MOHAMED MEHDY, BUKSHY OF SERINGAPATAM.

"You must not suffer any one to come to your house; and whatever business you may have to do, let it be transacted in our Kutcherry. If, nevertheless, people should persist in coming to your house, they shall be deprived of their ears and noses. Pay strict attention to this order."

The following is the note on this letter by Col. Kirkpatrick :—

With respect to the punishment appointed for its infraction, it may be presumed, in the absence of any proof of its ever being actually inflicted, that it was held out only *in terrorem*.

3. To

TURBIYUT ALI KHAN.

On being reminded of his previous letters to which no reply was sent, Tippoo says, "That great person (meaning Ali Khan) eats two or three times a day, sits at ease, and amuses himself with conversation. We, on the other hand, are occupied from morning to night with business."

4. To

THE SEVEN SUPERINTENDENTS OF THE POSTS AT SEVEN

CAPITAL CITIES.

"We have fixed the coss at six thousand *guz*, which distance must be travelled by the postman in a *ghurry* and a half (33 minutes and 45 seconds). If the letters appertaining to your Province are not delivered according to this rate, and any delay arises, you must flog the Harkarehs belonging to you."

5. To

CHISHTY YAR KHAN.

"Mahammed Ushruf, the Superintendent of the Dewany Kutcherry of Gooty, wrote to you, by our direction, desiring you to send to him Buswant Rao, the Amil of Beigumpilly, in order to his examining the accounts of the said Amil, and ascertaining his malversations. Instead, however, of complying with his requisition, it appears, to our great astonishment, that you exhibited, on

this occasion, the most senseless and extravagant behaviour; tearing the letter of the Superintendent in pieces and returning it to him in that condition. Such conduct is very remote from what we expected from your good sense; you must instantly, therefore, on receipt of this letter, despatch the said Amil, to Mahammed Ushruf; and take care not to be guilty again of the like improper and rude behaviour, as such proceedings are contrary to our pleasure."

The mild rebuke here administered to a subordinate is certainly not such as could be expected from an alleged tyrant who, it is said, never knew sympathy or self-restraint in his relations with his own people.

Tippoo invited foreign merchants to settle in his kingdom, and in one of the mandates to them, he says "Set out with the utmost confidence of mind for our Presence, accompanied by your family, and such other persons, as may be disposed to come with you. On your arrival here, you shall in all things experience our care and protection, agreeably to your wishes, and be appointed to the charge of the mercantile concerns. A proper place shall be assigned to you for a factory, and such advances of money be made to you as may be requisite for enabling you to carry on your trade advantageously, all the profits of which shall rest with you for the term of two years, during which time also, we promise to grant you an exemption from all duties on your merchandize."

Col. Kirkpatrick observes regarding this concession to foreign traders:—The encouragement here held out to Shaik Ahmed seems to have been abundantly liberal, and shows how much the Sultan had at heart to open a trade with those countries, of which he had no jealousy.

Tippoo is reported to have invited merchants to his capital to plunder them, but if this report be true, he seems to have followed at the time a practice which had long been in vogue, viz., as early as 1659 A.D. for, J. Talboys Wheeler, in his book "Madras in the Olden Times" mentions the details of a cove granted to Peddanaik by Thomas Chambers in 1659 for the maintenance of the force of peons in Madras, which goes on to say, "And if any merchant or inhabitant of this Town shall run away, and any of your people having knowledge thereof shall conceal it, that then you are to bring that party run away again, and correct him that knew of his departure". It is only fair to add that the Company's servants who managed the factory at Channapatnam (Madras) went a step further than Tippoo Sultan and compelled Peddanaik to punish such persons who knew the departure of runaways and to bring the latter back to Madras.

Tippoo usually treated his subjects with greater concern than he was represented to have done. The following letters bear out what Mill so assiduously wrote in his favour, as being the patron of his people. These are also

in consonance with the description of Tippoo Sultan as given to us by our distinguished State Archæologist Rao Bahabur R. A. Narasimha Char.

1. To

ZYNUL ABDEEN SHOOSTRY.

...“Let the grain furnished by such of the ryots as have submitted to your authority be paid for. On the other hand, let that belonging to those ryots, who have adopted a rebellious course, be plundered and applied to the use of your army.”

2. To

MAHAMMED USHRUF, DEWAN OF FYZE-HISAR (GHOOTY)

“You write that, owing to the want of rain, it is to be apprehended that there may be some delay in realizing the revenue. You must write to the Amils of the several Taluks and direct them to distribute grain, etc., in charity. Almighty God will, in His great goodness and mercy, bestow the rain of His bounteousness upon us.”

3. To

MONSIEUR LALLY.

“You must allow no more than a single shop to be opened in your camp for the vending of spirituous liquor; and over that you must place a guard, for the purpose of preventing the sale of spirits to any but the Europeans belonging to you; it being a rule in our victorious army that no shop of this kind shall be permitted to be established in it.”

On another occasion the Sultan commanded Gulam Hyder, Amil of Bangalore, to make the liquor sellers and distillers by written agreement desist from this occupation, and take to other occupations.

Lt. Roderick Mackenzie, who dedicated to Col. John Murray, Military Auditor-General, on the island of Seringapatam in 1792, two volumes of “A Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultan,” (1794) gives the following account of his internal administration:—

“Whilst the Sultan, by the creation of fortresses out of number, daily acquired internal strength, he invigorated his whole system by principles of sound government, and by an economical management of resources to which those of any neighbouring power, if state exigencies are considered, bore no comparison. However bigoted to the tenets of the Koran, the vast number of Hindu temples recently decorated throughout his dominions authorize an assertion that his enthusiasm gave way to his ambition, and that his zeal to propagate the Mussalman faith, did not occasion so many instances of barbarity, as his rage for conquest, and an innate cruel and revengeful disposition. Although parsimonious in a high degree, numbers of his confidential Hindoo servants, who during the war fell into our hands, acknowledged him a lenient and indulgent master; nor have we to boast of many instances

where his people were induced by our flattering prospects of success to throw off his yoke and shelter themselves under the benign influence of Christian Rulers. On the contrary, with the exception of a very few districts, the inhabitants of Mysore have invariably laid waste their country. They destroyed their habitations, and flying in every direction, they drove their cattle into the most hidden recesses, burning their grain, although famine must have been the inevitable consequence."

"Checking the frauds of intermediate agents by severe and exemplary punishments, the Sultan protected his ryots, who were chiefly of the Hindoo religion, from the enormities of black collectors."

This is the testimony of an officer who was on the spot, which must carry more weight than that of a casual observer. Reference may here be made to Rao Bahadur R. A. Narasimha Char's paper on 'Sringeri' read before the Society.*

Tippoo showed a great deal of toleration of the acts of those who contravened his orders: one example may suffice:—

To

ALI RAJA BEEBY.

"We have received your letter by Fakhruddeen, who has also expatiated to us upon your situation. The custom of the world is this. Servants and dependents hold themselves at all times prepared for the performance of services, the execution of orders, obedience and fidelity. Many times have we written to that lady of chaste degree, on the subject of repairing to our Presence, in reply to which you have continually brought forward evasions and excuses, and still continued to do the same. In this case, what is to be done? Be yourself the judge.

Rooe Wurm-Raj, who presented himself before us, was honoured with a grant of the farm of the Taluk of Cherkul, and with other gifts. If you in like manner had come to us agreeably to our orders, you also would assuredly have experienced our bounteous favour. You will learn the remaining further particulars from the letter of Fakhruddeen."

II

I now come to a more vulnerable part of my subject, which has been the favourite theme of writers ever since the fall of Tippoo Sultan, and which has shown no sign of abatement even unto this day. Tippoo's cruelties have been magnified into atrocities and to an extent that it is well nigh impossible to controvert them. The fact is that Tippoo Sultan was nurtured in fanaticism to which he owed his fall. We are told that it was a Fakir who inspired him when only a lad, to raze temples to the ground and build thereon, the holy house of Mohammed. But he was more conspicuous as a fanatic than as

* Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. VIII, pages 26 to 32.

an iconoclast. Here are some of his letters and extracts from his memoirs which incline us to palliate his crimes, on their merits. There is abundant external evidence to put before you to show that Tippoo was not far worse than what his own letters may portray him to be. On this subject, however, the following letters speak for themselves :—

1. To

URSHUD BAIG KHAN, AUMIL OF CALICUT.

"Endorsed is a letter which we have received from Gopa, the Aumil of Koorumnad, relating to the depredations of the robbers and highway men who infest that district. ...Such of the authors of these flagitious proceedings as have been killed are killed. But why should the remainder of them on being made prisoners be put to death? Their proper punishment is this. Let the dogs, both black and white, be regularly despatched to Seringapatam."

This serves as an instance of habitual cruelty repudiated. On a certain occasion, when one Krishna Rao, the Mutsaddy of a Jyshe was bitten by a mad dog, he directed Syed Mahamed, the Killadar of Seringapatam, to instruct Mahammed Baig, the State Physician, to administer to him the proper medicines and to restore him to health. On this circumstance let us record Col. Kirkpatrick's observations :—

"Humanity or sympathy in the sufferings of others was not, it may be safely affirmed, among the Sultan's virtues. His conduct, therefore, on the occasion in question, can only be referred to the vanity, which made him desirous of appearing to know, as well as to direct everything. . . . Syed Mahammed Khan continued to be Killadar of Seringapatam to the period of the capture of that place by the English; and was among the few persons of distinction that survived its fall. . . . The situation held for so long a period by this person, must necessarily have made him a participator in many or most of the cruelties committed within the walls of Seringapatam by the order of his master: he has nevertheless obtained credit for having often granted to the English prisoners confined there, at different times, indulgences by no means authorized by the Sultan's instructions."

It is only right to observe that the Colonel does not give us the facts on which he bases this opinion.

2. To

BURHANUDDEEN.

... "If, however, the garrison will capitulate it will be well; and in this case with the exception of Kala Pundit the rest may be allowed their lives and arms; but the Pundit's person must be secured. In the event, however, of your being obliged to proceed to the assault of the place (Nergund) every living creature in it, whether man or woman, old or young, child, dog, cat or

anything else, must be put to the sword, with the single exception of Kala Pundit."

In regard to this letter addressed to Burhanuddeen, Col. Kirkpatrick says "The spirit of Nadir Shah appears to breathe through every line of the concluding sentence of this memorable letter."

3. In another letter addressed to the same person, he says, "It has been reported to us that the besieged are desirous of capitulating, and have opened a negotiation for the purpose. It is therefore written that, if they will surrender on terms, there is no use in an assault. . . . In the meanwhile you must temporize, and employ every means, fair or foul, which may induce the besieged to surrender the fort, because in an assault many lives would be lost; while a long detention before the place would also prove extremely destructive to the army."

Though it may be true that the Sultan never hesitated to show his irascible temperament, nevertheless he checked his violent spirit by a like sense of consideration to humanity which, as is recorded, he often manifested. Here is another letter:—

TO MEER ZYNUL ABIDEEN.

"You are in conjunction with the Foujdar to make a general attack on the Koorgs; when having put to the sword or made prisoners of the whole of them, both the slain and the prisoners are to be made Mussalmans. In short, you must so manage matters as effectually to prevent them from exciting any further sedition or disturbance."

Tippoo's misguided instincts, led on by an over-abundance of zeal for his religion, made him believe that the subdued people of other nationalities, could only be made loyal and true to him, if they were converted to his own faith. Here was a folly which he never learned to correct, but which paved the way in the latter days of his reign to create a host of enemies among his own subjects who were otherwise contented and loyal to him. This is a weakness, not uncommon at the time, to any ruler of men and a ruler is to be judged by the standard to be set amongst his contemporaries. Tippoo's mannerisms are equally common in his conversations and in his writings. He descended to much vulgarity and looseness in his expressions without discerning that a fastidious posterity may and would judge him as much from his acts as from his writings. Expressions such as "both the slain and the prisoners are to be made Mussalmans."

"Every living creature in it, whether man or woman, old or young, child, dog or cat or anything else, must be put to the sword."

"If people should persist in coming to your house, they should be deprived of their noses and ears."

“There is no regulation issued by us that does not cost us, in the framing of it, the deliberation of five hundred years.”

And several others are sometimes observed by Col. Kirkpatrick, as being “held out *in terrorem*” and sometimes as “breathing Nadir Shah’s spirit.”

All people of all tongues use such expressions in common parlance, as “I will kill you”, “You’ll be hanged”, “I won’t let you go even if you die”, etc. These cannot, however, be taken very seriously. Tippoo’s fault was, perhaps, that he did not show refinement enough expected of a modern prince !

III

Reference will now be made to some portions of his memoirs, or Tarukhe-Khodadady or History of Khodadad Sircar, especially those relating to the relief of Bednore. This is the first campaign which Tippoo Sultan was called upon to undertake after the death of Hyder Ali and his accession to power. The death of Hyder Ali was kept a secret by the sagacity of Purnia who put Tippoo Sultan in peaceful possession of Hyder Ali’s usurped dominions, after putting down some conspirators, who tried to dispossess him and set up a rival. The Madras Government got scent of the death of Hyder Ali and urged General Stuart to attack Hyder’s camp forthwith, but the General flouted the intelligence of his Government and allowed Tippoo to retire to Seringapatam in peace. The Government of Bombay, however, despatched General Mathews to attack Bednore and divert Tippoo from the Carnatic. General Mathews’ infamous campaign proved abortive. It gave to Tippoo Sultan, who had already the upper hand in the Carnatic and had made men like Colonel Braithwaite and Colonel Baillie prisoners, an impetus to the spirit of his military aggrandizement, and belittled both the character and the strength of the British in his eyes. The fragment of the memoirs now available which Colonel Kirkpatrick obtained from Capt. Ogg, an officer on the staff of Colonel Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington), begins only from the events relating to the Siege of Bednore by Tippoo Sultan, after that fort had passed into the possession of General Mathews by the infidelity of Hayat Sab. Col. Kirkpatrick says that the accounts of the first operations against General Mathews is unfortunately wanting. The surrender of General Mathews to Tippoo Sultan is recorded in the memoirs in these words:—

“The assault was made on the fort of Bednore, and on the eleventh day the garrison surrendered upon seven conditions. Article 3 runs as follows:—“Whatever money, goods or cattle belonging to the Sircar, may be in our possession, we will deliver up the same; and if we should take with us to the value of a *Daum* or *Dirm* of money or goods, and if upon search by the people of the Sircar, anything of the kind be found upon us we consent to be considered to be criminals. Inflict whatever punishment you please upon us.” After

their surrender I sent twenty principal men and Sirdars to General Mathews the next day, and asked him why his men had acted contrary to the terms of the capitulation. In reply to this they said that a guard of the Sircar should be placed over them, and a search should be made, and everything taken that might be found. This agreement was obtained in writing. Hereupon, I dismissed the accursed worthless Sirdars: and on the second (or following) day, having surrounded them with guards, I caused them to march from the encampment they then occupied to the vicinity of another spot (which had been appropriated by them) as a burying ground. The Sirdars of the Sircar placing themselves in the road, examined them, one by one, as they passed. The accursed ones were, in consequence, found to have concealed in every seam of their clothes Hyderi Hoons (pagodas) and jewels. They had also made holes in sheep's heads which they had filled with pagodas. Some had concealed pagodas in loaves of bread; others within Hookah snakes, and Hooka bottoms; while several had resorted to the most indelicate means of concealment: all of which were detected by sweepers and other *samries*, appointed for the purpose by the Sircar. Many young, also male and female, natives of the country of the Sircar, were found disguised in the dress of the Nazarenes. These captives of their own accord set up a loud cry by which means about five hundred were discovered. The search being over, I had the worthless Sirdars placed separately, the Nazarene people separately, and the other infidels separately; and as they had not acted conformably with their written engagements, I made the whole prisoners, and distributed them throughout the country. During the investigation, ten or twelve Mussalman women, Syeds and Shaiks, who had been made captives or slaves by the infidel Nazarenes at Surat and Bengal were found among the people. These people being likewise separated from the Nazarenes and restored to their freedom, were permitted to depart."

Tippoo proceeded thence to Kurial Bunder (Mangalore) of which he says: "An ungrateful rogue, who had been honoured with the Government of it, had invited the Nazarenes, and delivered it up to them."

The Sultan, perhaps, intended to leave the memoirs as an heirloom to his posterity, and not as a document for public criticism and judgment of his actions. Otherwise the manner of his writing might have been considerably different. The bigot is mainly there; but we perceive that he did not imbrue his hand in blood in this campaign.

Thomas Pennant who wrote in 1798 two volumes on "The View of Hindustan" also speaks thus of the events which took place in Bednore:—"Tippoo Sultan had in the latter end of the year 1782 made a most destructive inroad into the Carnatic. To divert the ravages of the tyrant was the

object of the Presidency of this coast (Bombay). General Mathews landed at Miraj in January 1783. He carried the opulent town of Onore, which lay on the coast by storm. "Every man," says an actor in the tragedy, "in Onore was put to the sword; the carnage was great; we trampled thick on dead bodies that were strewed in the way. It was rather shocking to humanity; but such are but secondary considerations to a soldier whose bosom glows with heroic glory, and are thought only accidents of course." (Lt. Hubbard's letter.) "From the time of storming Onore, the General's conduct was totally altered. He appeared before Bednore, at the time wholly defenceless. It was then governed by Hyat Saib, a person of consummate abilities and firm fidelity towards his master. He secretly sent Mathews, as soon as he had entered the plains to offer to surrender the place, and to deliver to the English all the treasures on condition that the persons and property of the inhabitants should be secured, and himself continued in the Government under the English with all the power he had under Hyder.

* * * * *

Mathews, now in possession of the treasures of ages, and dazzled by the heaps of gems of Hindustan, such strong temptations rose in view as instantly to dissipate every virtuous idea he might before have possessed. Avarice and rapacity occupied their seats, and he rose like the fiend Mammon with all his attributes. The General seized on all the treasures and imprisoned Hyat Saib. He as suddenly released him, and made to him a pretended restitution of all his wealth.* Strong suspicions of the General's conduct pervaded the army. To allay their murmurs, he prevailed on Hyat Saib to present the troops with about the value of twenty thousand pounds in pagodas. He had also quarrelled with Macleod, Mackenzie, Humberston and Major Shaw. The General now for the first time sent despatches to the Presidency, filled with false statement of affairs, and complaints against the army, from the Generals to the very common men. Mathews did not make a true estimate of this species of common treasure, magazines, stores, etc., his avarice made him neglect his security, yet he weakened his army by making detachments to every place where the prospect of plundering could allure him. Among other places sent a detachment to Annanpur (Anantapore), a strong fort adjacent to Bednore, which Hyder had made the depot of the rest of his treasure. The place was taken by storm. Let Lt. Sheen relate the disgraceful event: "When a practicable breach was effected, orders were issued for a storm and no quarter, which was immediately put in execution; and every man put to the sword, except one horseman, who made his escape, after being wounded in three different places. A dreadful sight presented itself; above

* Lt. Sheen's letter in Capt. Oakes' Narrative, page 77.

four hundred beautiful women,—either killed or wounded with the bayonet, expiring in one another's arms, while the private soldiers were committing every kind of outrage and plundering them of their jewels, the officers not being able to restrain them. The troops were, however, afterwards, severely reprimanded for it."

Thomas Pennant continues the narrative of the siege of Bednore and says further on "It was currently believed that he had sent by his brother to Goa three hundred thousand pounds and a great quantity of diamonds to be remitted to Bombay, and that even on the point of his departure, he had caused the bamboos of his palanquin to be pierced and filled with pagodas. When Tippoo examined the state of his treasury, he grew enraged at this infamous fraud; he declared the treaty void, put the officers and their sepoys faithful to them to the last, indiscriminately in irons, and marched them in that condition in a burning sun to prisons in Seringapatam and other places.

It is evident that the severities exercised by Tippoo after this victory was here the determined resolution of inflicting a just punishment, but, unhappily, he included in it the innocent as well as the guilty. After his defeat of Col. Braithwaite, on the banks of the Coleroon, how different was his conduct: he considered Mathews as the sordid adventurer, Braithwaite as the generous enemy, and treated him and the wounded captives with a humanity that shewed his coolness, and capacity of distinguishing between the one and the other."

We see from the above narratives that Tippoo's conduct towards the English grew very aggressive after this campaign. The defection of Hyat Saib or Ayaz was brought about by Capt. Donald Campbell, a military adventurer, who was shipwrecked and captured on the coast of Goa and made prisoner, and who says in a letter addressed to Warren Hastings on May 3, 1783, as follows:—"I had had several conferences with Hyat Saib before Hyder's death, and endeavoured to suggest to him the advantage which would arise to him from a revolt in favour of the Company. My efforts in these conversations ended ultimately in the most rigorous distress to myself; I was put in irons, and remained so for four months, in a situation only of existence, without any hopes of ever escaping. When General Mathews had stormed the Ghauts Hyat Saib sent for me, and after various struggles, and much indecision, agreed to my proceeding to the English camp; and I conducted General Mathews, almost unattended into Bednore."

How he finally accomplished this defection of Hyat Saib was thus:—

"I reminded him, however, that circumstances were at present widely different from what they then were—that he had got a very different sovereign to serve—that he had no longer the tender father (for so Hyder might have

been considered by him) but Tippoo Sultan, now the master, once the rival whose measures he had always opposed, against whom he had laid a most serious charge, and who, considering the firmness of his nature, could not be reasonably supposed to have forgiven him; and I hinted that whatever external appearance of regard Tippu might, from the political necessity of the moment assume, his temper and spirit of Asiatic policy were too well known to have a doubt remaining, that so far from continuing him in the same power and authority which he enjoyed during the lifetime of his father Hyder, he would, on the contrary, proceed against him with rigour and cruelty.I enforced my arguments with all the power I had: they were supported by the acknowledged character for generosity of the English, and still more by Hyat's apprehensions of Tippoo; and they had their effect. That very night he authorized me to go to the British General, and though he would not commit himself by sending proposals in writing, he consented to receive them from the General." Capt. Campbell says in another place, "When I delivered the cowl to the Jemadar (Hyat) he read it and seemed pleased, but talked of four or five days to consider of an answer, and seemed to be wavering in his mind, and labouring under the alternate impulses of opposite motives and contradictory passions."

Colonel Wilks who published his second volume of the History of Mysore in 1817 makes a passing note of this eventful incident in these words:—"Captain Donald Campbell, a prisoner in irons, was released on the preceding day and sent to General Mathews to propose terms which were to deliver the fort and country, and to remain under the English as he was under the Navab (Hyder) to which conditions General Mathews immediately assented."

Colonel Wilks was not unaware of the defection of Ayaz, for he says later on, "We shall close the subject with observing with reference to the countless treasures supposed to be found in Bednore that, Tippoo Sultan, in narrating with the utmost bitterness the defection of Ayaz, states that he carried along with him a large property in cash and valuables."

The earliest reference to the treatment of the prisoners by Tippoo Sultan is found in a book entitled "The Life of Hyder Ali" published in 1786 in London by Francis Robson, 'late Capt. in the forces of the East India Company'. This author published this book in order, among other things, 'to confute misrepresentations, etc.,' made in a book published by one M.M.L.D.T., General of ten thousand men in the Mogul Empire, etc. He says:—

"Side Saib (Syed Saib), one of Tippoo's generals, advanced and told Colonel Braithwaite that the lives of his party should be saved, and whatever of their baggage that could be preserved from the general plunder, should

be restored to them.As soon as the confusion was a little subsided, Tippoo Saib ordered all the English officers to be brought to him when after examining them, they were sent into the village, accompanied by one of his French surgeons to dress those that were wounded.

The next morning Tippoo sent them a few pieces of fine Calico cloth, to make them clothes; also four pieces of a coarser sort for bandages for their wounds; likewise thirty pagodas, with further assurance, that they should have whatever they wanted." 18-2-1782.

Of the siege of Bednore.—"On the 5th May 1783, all our servants were taken away except one to each officer. On the 6th the subaltern officers belonging to Anantapore were brought prisoners to the barracks in irons. The same day Dr. Carmichael of the Bombay establishment was sent for by the Nawab to visit Brigadier-General Mathews. In the evening the Nawab was so generous as to send us a present of thirty-five small fowls and a few salt-fish to be divided among upwards of eighty officers.

Messrs. Gordon and Brunton had formerly been confined at Seringapatam, where they were treated tolerably well, and for the first six months were not in irons; about twenty months before our arrival at Chittledroog, they were removed to that fort, where they were at first treated remarkably well, having meat and liquor daily served out to them, exclusive of their allowance of rice and pice, and were besides supplied with a plentiful bazaar. The capture of Bednore caused some alteration in their treatment for the worse; but nothing very material took place, till those gentlemen were detected in a correspondence with Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, and in endeavouring to send a letter to us. In consequence of this discovery, they were confined by themselves in a very small dark room, the door of which was only suffered to remain open one hour in the day."

It may be observed that the prison-house in which Capt. Baird was confined, was not the type of a modern day prison, nor was it a dungeon with all the horror of darkness enveloping it. The prisoners confined in the hill-forts of Mysore were released by the treaty of Mangalore, and they were taken charge of by Mr. Sadlier, the Commissioner, who did not complain of cruelty to them.

"On the 8th April 1784, they were overtaken by Mr. Sadlier (a Councilor at Madras and one of the Commissioners) at Sira. This gentleman was requested by one of our officers to use his endeavour with the Bukshy to get all the men taken out of irons, replied thus:—"The situation the troops were then in was the best and securest method of marching them."

Sir David Baird's biographer offers the following tribute to Tippoo:—"During the first day's march Tippoo came up in his palanquin to Colonel

Baillie, and spoke to him in the handsomest manner, complimenting him upon his gallantry, and bidding him keep up his spirits, as his defeat was attributed only to the uncertain fortune of war. He also assured him that it was the intention of his father, Hyder Ali, to render him every assistance, and not to suffer him to want for anything during his captivity, and even went so far as to request Colonel Baillie, if he found at any time any cause for complaint, to send to him, promising to see the grievance, whatever it might be, properly adjusted."

Major Dirom, whom Col. Kirkpatrick calls as a "judicious and interesting narrator", has the following appreciation of Tippoo's treatment of Lt. Nash and Lt. Chalmers, who were released on the appearance of Lord Cornwallis at the gates of Seringapatam in 1792 :—

"On the evening of the 8th February 1792, Tippoo sent for these officers. They found him sitting under the fly of a small tent pitched on the south glacis of the fort, apparently much dejected, very plainly dressed, and with only a few attendants. After giving them the welcome tidings of their intended release, he asked Lt. Chalmers, whether he was not related to Lord Cornwallis and an officer of considerable rank in the army.Lts. Chalmers and Nash, although detained contrary to the rules of war, had not been ill-treated in their confinement. Their baggage and servants were allowed them ; they had a good house, and were not put in irons in the cruel manner in which Tippoo used to treat his prisoners."

Major Dirom notices the system of cruelty that prevailed in those days and records an explanation of the Vakeels of Tippoo Sultan in this manner :— "This system of cruelty which continued to brand the conduct of Tippoo's Government was exemplified in another instance ; ten of the followers of the Bombay troops were taken the day that army fell back to Caniambaddy, and now came into camp, each mutilated of a hand. They said a *Chubdar*, with a silver stick, one of the Sultan's messengers of justice had taken them from the place where they were confined to the public bazaar, where their hands were cut off after which they were dismissed. They were shown to the Vakeels, who after enquiring, said they were caught plundering, but had been punished without the Sultan's knowledge. The Vakeels gave the same answer on being asked with respect to the treatment of our prisoners, and said that the Sultan had never authorized any such severity and could not enquire into all the details of his Government."

Here is probably a solution to the problem whether all the blood that was shed could be attributed to Tippoo Sultan. Sir David Baird, aggrieved though he was, as nobody else was, had the magnanimity and chivalry of a British gentleman of whom his biographer writes:—"As the troops were now

in possession of every part of the ramparts, and it appeared hopeless for the Sultan to make further resistance, General Baird sent forward Major Allan to offer protection to all persons, Tippoo himself included (for General Baird did not believe the story of the murder of the English Soldiers, knowing the mendacity of the natives, who may be interested in doing mischief)."

The following remarks are offered as a foot-note to the opinion held by General Baird by his biographer:—"Although General Baird could not bring himself to credit this report, it eventually proved to be true. Capt. William Macleod who conducted what in Indian phraseology is called the intelligence department of Government subsequently made an official report upon the subject to General Harris.

Eight of those who suffered death were men belonging to the 33rd who had lost their way on the night of the Sultan Petta Tope affair, a fact ascertained by Colonel Wellesley, who sent some of the officers of the regiment, by whom the body of one of the men was identified, a peon having undertaken to show where the European prisoners were buried. These unfortunate captives, it seems, were murdered at night, in parties of three at a time—the mode of killing them was by twisting their heads, while their bodies were held fast, and thus breaking their necks. It seems therefore not improbable that much of the desperation of Tippoo which has been dignified into heroism arose from the consciousness of what he himself deserved, should he fall into the hands of his enemies."

The charge of desperation appears exaggerated.

In the "Narrative Sketches of the Conquest of Mysore," a book published at Lyceum Strand in 1800, by an anonymous writer, who says that "many particulars of these sketches are personal communications from gentlemen who were actors in the scenes described", the following passage occurs:—"When it was reported to him that our parallels and approaches were unusually crowded with Europeans, he did not express the least apprehension, or take any other precaution, than by desiring the messenger to return to the west face with orders to Meer Goffar with the troops near the breach to keep a strict guard. This order was not, however, closely attended to, for during the Sultan's absence leave was given for more than two-thirds of the people on duty to eat their rice, which had been dressed for them at some distance within the works; and this circumstance exactly falling in with the calculations of our general in deciding upon the hour of attack, materially contributed to its success, for none of the troops thus absent had returned to their quarters till it was too late. The Sultan was so infatuated as not to entertain an apprehension of the catastrophe which befell him: he considered himself as in a state of perfect security in his capital, where he retained all his family and

treasures, instead of sending them off to remote strongholds, where they might at least have been reserved from a victorious enemy. His principal people and all the inhabitants possessed the same confidence, so that no preparation had been made for concealment or flight.

A great volume of incorrect ideas, mainly due to want of accurate knowledge, has spread about Tippoo Sultan. For example, one writer says that the prisoners were killed by the poison of the milk of the cocoanut juice; another says that the Raja of Mysore was carrying on the profession of a potter at the fall of Seringapatam when he was raised to the throne; yet another says that Tippoo, in a fit of desperation, might have ordered the murder of British prisoners before his fall. That these are unfounded are clear from the foregoing account. It will be useful to remember the times when India was thrown into a number of petty states and principalities, ruled by tyrants whose might only was right, but who never tried to consolidate what they acquired by conquest and who incessantly depended for the stability of their position upon the strength of their arms. This was not peculiar to India alone but was a common feature of the period. The love of personal security of the monarch waived all considerations of justice and humanity whenever that security was threatened either by local or outside influence. Not that Tippoo must be exonerated from the blame of being a cruel Sultan, but that his cruelty, if any, arose out of circumstances and the necessity of the hour which influenced him to a greater or less degree. He might have been a kind ruler, and a more circumspect ally, if his fanaticism and rage for conquest had left him free to walk in that path but the fates seemed to have decided otherwise and his fall was the inevitable consequence of his own acts.

PERIYAPURANA OR THE LIVES OF THE GREAT SAIVA DEVOTEES.

[This is a continuation of the article that appeared in Vol. XII, pages 194—202.
The author proposes to issue these as well as the lives of the Vaishnava saints
in book form under the title South Indian Saints. Any publisher wishing
to undertake the publication may apply to him through us.]

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INTRODUCTION.

A wise personage has stated that a man is a cut diamond of many facets and that he has to polish every one of them by well-regulated thoughts, emotions and acts.

To attain the first, one may bear in mind the dictum of "plain living and high thinking" and live a life of simplicity regulated by lofty thoughts and high emotions.

Human actions are to be controlled and guided by high moral ideals and then only can we have human beings attaining perfection in this direction.

But as regards *Bhakti* or devotion an aspect in human evolution one cannot say too much even if he exhausts his whole stock in the attempt.

It has been laid down by the wise sages of old that the surest, easiest and swiftest way to union with God to part no more is the way of *Bhakti* or devotion to absolute absorption in the object of devotion. It is said that a true *Bhakta* or devotee forgets everything but the object of his love and remains absorbed and merged in it for infinite length of time.

"ROME WAS NOT BUILT IN A DAY" is a saying every school boy knows. So it is plain that nothing can be attained by a single leap or bound at least by average human beings. So it is absolutely necessary to provide them with steps to lead them on to perfection. With this aspect of the problem in view certain great sages, instead of quietly merging themselves in the supreme being of infinite bliss, came into the midst of ordinary men and women and set them examples in true *Bhakti* by their unparalleled devotion to the objects of their love.

Convinced of the fact that a repeated study of the lives of *Bhaktas* would draw out of the readers the latent *Bhakti* and make it grow and grow till the requisite limit is reached to merge in the one infinite bliss, the lives of most of the SOUTH INDIAN SAINTS are sketched in the ensuing chapters.

Kalikkāma Nāyanār.

(Be moderate in your sleep.)

In a place called Tirupperumaṅgalam in the Chōḷa kingdom there lived a Veḷḷaḷa named Kalikkāma Nāyanār. He was the hereditary commander-in-chief of the royal army and a loyal devotee of Īswara to boot. The famous saint Sundaramūrti Nāyanār had sent his Īswara as a mediator between him and his Paravaiyār when they had differences; and when Kalikkāma Nāyanār heard of it he condemned his action as quite unbecoming in strong terms. Such a one prompted by and coming under the influence of the love for a woman did not deserve to be a devotee of Siva he used to say.

This news reaching the ears of Sundaramūrti Nāyanār made him appeal to Īswara who thereupon desired to make the two devotees fast friends and therefore made Kalikkāma Nāyanār suffer unbearable pain in the stomach.

While he was writhing in agony, Īswara approached him and said that the pain would disappear only by the treatment of Sundara Mūrti.

As Kalikkāma Nāyanār would have no such help and perish if need be from the pain, Īswara approached Sundara and sent him to cure his rival devotee.

When Kalikkāma Nāyanār heard of the approach of his hated rival, he thought that it would be better to perish at his own hands rather than be cured by him. He therefore took a sharp knife, cut open his abdomen and died.

His wife and others of his relatives also were about to put an end to their existence when they were told that Sundara had arrived at the gates. Without informing him of the action of Kalikkāma Nāyanār they brought him inside. When he asked them as to where his friend he came in search of was, they pointed out Kalikkāma Nāyanār's corpse and said that he was all right and was sleeping soundly.

When Sundara approached him and saw that he had perished at his own hands, he too tried to put an end to his life when Siva appeared then and caught hold of his uplifted hand.

Kalikkāma Nāyanār was restored to life by Siva who thereupon saluted Sundara. The two then became great friends and visited several religious centres in company.

Returning to his place after taking leave of Sundara, Kalikkāma Nāyanār devoted the rest of his days in attending to the repairs of the temple at Tiruppuṅgūr and feeding of the devotees of Siva and after death reached the abode of eternal bliss.

Appoorthyadigal Nayanar.

(*Do not utter words of deceit.*)

Once there lived in a place called Tiṅgalūr in the Chōḷa Kingdom a Brāhmin devotee of Iṣwara named Appoorthy Nāyanār. An admirer of the head and heart of the devotee Tirunāvukkarasu Nāyanār, he gave his worthy name to his children, cattle and utensils also. He conducted many charities in his name and several indeed were the rest-houses built in his honour.

The weary travellers resting in them had cool drinks and light refreshments supplied to them in the name of the saint Tirunāvukkarasu Nāyanār.

On one occasion the saint himself, in whose name and honour the several deeds of charity were being done, visited a rest-house and was surprised to see it running in his name.

He hailed a passer by and learned from him about the several other charities and philanthropic institutions running in his name. He desired to meet the donor and ascertain from him the motive with which he was doing such things.

Finding out his residence, he approached the same, and, as a devotee of Siṣa, he received a warm welcome at the hands of our Appoorthy.

Without disclosing his identity Tirunāvukkarasu asked him as to why he was running the charities not in his name, but in the name of another.

Appoorthy in reply eulogised the merits of Tirunāvukkarasu and expressed his surprise at the ignorance of a devotee of Siṣa like him about the same.

When he asked him subsequently as to who he was, Tirunāvukkarasu disclosed his identity and explained to him at length about his temporary adherence to the faith of *Sāmanas* and the resultant ailment cured subsequently by his return to the true faith.

Feeling great delight in each others' company, the two devotees of Iṣwara spent many a happy hour discussing questions on *Bhakti*.

One day Appoorthy Nāyanār had made arrangements to feed Tirunāvukkarasu in his house. When the meals were ready, Appoorthy sent his eldest son to bring a leaf from his garden. There a serpent stung him, but the lad, the true and worthy son of a true and worthy devotee of Iṣwara, hastened inside with the leaf and after handing it to his mother fell down and died.

The death of her son did not grieve the lady in the least. What affected her most was that Tirunāvukkarasu would not take the meals prepared if he came to know of it.

So she kept the corpse concealed in a corner of the house and invited Tirunāvukkarasu for meals as if nothing had happened.

Tirunāvukkarasu however felt that everything was not all right. As all the members of the family were to be seated together for meals, he enquired

as to who Appoothy's eldest son was and desired him to come before him to receive his blessings first. Appoothy's wife could not avoid giving out the truth, and she explained how her eldest born was a corpse in a corner of the house there.

Having rebuked her mildly, he proceeded forthwith to the Siva temple in the place. There placing the corpse of the lad before the deity, he prayed to Īswara fervently, and, as a result of his prayer, the lad came back to life and saluted Tirunāvukkarasu and his parents!

They all then returned to their house and sat to enjoy a hearty dinner.

Kadavrakon Nayanar.

(Do your actions with a will.)

In the place called Conjeevaram in the country of Tondamāns there was born in the dynasty of the Pallavas a true devotee of Īswara named Ayyaḍigal Kāḍavarkōn Nāyanār. He desired very much that all creatures should be made both here and hereafter and reach in the end the region of eternal bliss. He also wished to subdue the other countries to turn those following the false faith on the path of true faith which was being followed by only the true devotees of Īswara. Many kings came under his sway, accepting him as their suzerain lord and king. A few years of administration of the kingdom made him think the position to be the source of bliss not unalloyed and consequently to renounce it in favour of his son and to betake himself to a life of pilgrimage to famous religious centres to worship Īswara and gain merit.

He visited the famous temples like Chidambaraṁ, etc., causing repairs to them and serving Siva's devotees whenever and wherever he met them. In each place he visited he sang the glory of Īswara in verse. After years of pure and religious life he was gathered by Īswara to the region of his *Bhaktas* to enjoy eternal bliss there.

Poosalar Nayanar.

(Do not fall from the stage gained.)

Once there lived in a Tiruninravūr, in the country of the Tondamāns, a Brāhmin devotee of Īswara named Poosalār Nāyanār. He was serving the devotees of Siva to the best of his abilities and was furnishing them with everything they stood in need of.

Once he desired to have a temple erected for Siva. He went through the length and breadth of the land in search of wealth for the purpose; but to no purpose. He at last made up his mind to build one in his mind since he could not erect one in this physical and tangible world.

Having gathered the necessary materials mentally, he engaged a large number of artizans, masons, workmen and so on with the aid of that wonderful sense, only on an auspicious day and hour. His mental edifice was finished

to his entire satisfaction and he had resolved to instal his deity in the proper place in the temple on the ensuing day.

Meanwhile one Kāḍavarāyar had erected a grand temple at Conjeevaram spending vast wealth and he also had arranged for the installation of the deity with the proper rites and ceremonies on the very day fixed by our Poosalār Nāyanār.

God Siva appeared to Kāḍavarāyar in his dream and told him to postpone his installation ceremony of the deity in the temple at Conjeevaram since he had to be present in the temple built at Tirunindravūr by his devotee Poosalār on the day he had selected.

Filled with astonishment, Kāḍavarāyar made a journey to where Poosalār Nāyanār lived, to see the wonderful temple built by him for Iswara.

Arriving at Tirunindravūr he looked for the temple everywhere in vain. Questioned as to who Poosalār was and where he lived he was told that he was a Brāhmin devotee with no fixed place to live in.

Going to him, Kāḍavarāyar prostrated before him and asked him as to where his temple was. When he, opening wide his eyes with astonishment, told him of his mental edifice, Kāḍavarāyar felt the force of his devotion before which *his*, he thought, paled into insignificance.

We need not add that Poosalār installed the deity in his mental temple at the proper time and was blessed by Siva with his presence.

Tirugyaṇasambandamurthi Nayanar and his followers.

(Do not forget charity.)

Once there lived in Shiyāḷi a Brāhmin named Sivapādhahridayar. He had a wife named Bhagavatiyār and they were both devotees of Siva. He desired to have a son who would put down the false faiths that had taken root in the land and substantiate the true faith. To gain his desire, he prayed fervently to Iswara who, in response to his prayers, granted him a son who was named Tirugyaṇasambandar.

Brought up tenderly the child grew into an attractive and intelligent one often crying without any visible cause.

One day it accompanied its father when he went to the tank to bathe. Left on the banks it began to cry for its *father* and *mother*, to wit Siva and Umā; since it was really a soul born as such being sent by Iswara in whom he abode.

Even as a mother who would hasten to nurse her hungry child, Umā under directions from Siva hastened to nurse the child crying on the banks of the tank in which Sivapādhahridayar was bathing.

When Sivapādhā came out of the water on the bank, he saw milk in the mouth of his child and thought that some untouchable might have nursed it and felt angry at it for having allowed it!

When threatened to be punished if it did not instantly point out the person who nursed it, the child pointed out Siva and Pārvati, on their bull in the sky and said in metre that it was they who nourished him.

Sivapādha first and the others afterwards, when they heard of the same, were filled with astonishment at this marvellous phenomenon brought about by the boy devotee.

From that day forward the glory of Iswara shone through him. He performed miracles after miracles. His contemporaries Tiruneelanakka Nāyanār, Muruha Nāyanār, Siruttopṇar, Appar and others visited him and bore his company.

The then Pāṇḍyan king was a follower of the faith of the *Samanas* but his wife Maṅgayankarasi aided by prime-minister Kulacherai Nāyanār was a devotee of Iswara. These wanted to destroy the faith of the *Samanas* and re-establish the true faith of the followers of Iswara through the help of Tirugyānasambandar.

To set the skill of the *Samanas* against that of our Tirugyānasambandar, Lord Siva caused the Pāṇḍyan king to suffer from a burning sensation all over his body. This was also partly to make him suffer for the attempt of the *Samanas* to destroy Tirugyānasambandar by fire.

On the advice of Maṅgayārkarasiyār the king promised to stick to the faith of the side that could cure him of his ailment.

The *Samanas* tried their magical arts but the king's malady grew worse and he had to receive the help from the other side, namely Tirugyānasambandar, who was able to effect his cure.

The king put the parties to further tests to find out the true faith and the *Samanas* failed to stand them, while Gnānasambandar took out of fire a piece previously consumed by it while the *Samana* chiefs were not able to do any such thing! Further a Cudjon leaf bearing words of potency from the *Samanas* when thrown into a river was carried away by the current while a similar one thrown into the same stream by Tirugyānasambandar went up the stream clearing its waters!

Convinced beyond doubt that the *Samana's* faith was not the true faith, the Pāṇḍyan king embraced the faith of Siva's devotees to the intense delight of his wife and his prime-minister Kulacherai Nāyanār.

Shortly afterwards our Gyānasambandar married and with his wife, relatives and all those who graced the marriage occasion entered the temple and was absorbed in the body of Iswara to lead the life of eternal bliss.

On the gōpura of the Ādhipurīswara temple, Tiruvorriyūr (Chinglepu district), right of entrance, is a record of Vijayaṅḍagōpālādēva, 15th year (2nd Sept., 1264) for feeding in the *Tirugyānasambhāṇḍar Matha* at this place,

Tiruneelakantayalpa Nayanar.

(Grow paddy to be independent.)

Once there lived in Erukkathampādi in the Chōḷa kingdom a devotee of Siva named Tiruneelakantayāḷpa Nāyanār. He used to sing to the tune of musical instruments the glory of Īswara in all the temples he visited.

Having visited all the temples in the Chōḷa country, he went to Madura in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom to sing the praise of the deity there; when his songs of praise were finished our Nāyanār was taking rest. The deity, filled with delight at the exquisite melody of the devotee coupled with deep devotion towards Him, appeared to all his other devotees in their dreams and directed them to bring him to his presence on the next day.

When the devotees in a body approached him and told him of Siva's directions he hastened with them to the temple there, and again sang in praise of his Lord Siva.

A voice was heard from space giving directions to give our Nāyanār a golden seat which was duly obeyed! Seated on that seat of distinction, he sang and sang about Siva and His glory.

Departing from Madura, he visited many other sacred temples and at last reached Tiruvārūr. There a special entrance into the temple was created for him in the north by God and having entered the temple through it, he praised in melody the glories of Īswara!

After having spent a pretty long time there, he went to Shiyāḷi to meet his teacher Tirugnānasambandamūrthi. Having worshipped him he never parted from him but enjoyed the rare privilege of singing his master's songs to the tune of his stringed instruments.

Finally he gave up his earthly elements at a place called Tirunallūr-Perumanam and reached the feet of Siva.

Tiruneelanakka Nayanar

(Do not commit despicable acts.)

Once there lived in a place called Sāthamaṅgai a Brāhmin named Tiruneelanakka Nāyanār who was a devotee of Siva and an admirer of other devotees like himself. He considered it his duty to entertain the devotees of Siva. That was worth living for and worth dying for he used to maintain.

One day he went into the village temple to worship Īswara there and his wife also went with him carrying the materials for worship. When they were in front of the deity, the lady noticed a spider crawling over it. To remove it from the dearly loved object, she blew over it with her breath.

Not understanding the depth of love which prompted his wife to do such a thing, Tiruneelanakka Nāyanār found fault with her for having polluted the

sacred image with her breath. Not satisfied with mere scolding, he said that he had given her up and would have nothing in future with her.

After her husband's departure from the temple in high displeasure, his wife did not dare to go back to her house but slept in a corner of the temple itself.

While Tiruneelanakka Nāyanār was sleeping in his house, Siva appeared before him in his dream and showed him his whole body which was full of eruptions except for the portion from which the spider was driven away by his wife's breath !

Hearing from Lord Siva Himself of the deep devotion of his wife towards Him and His grace unbounded for her our Nāyanār was filled with joy. Early in the morning he hastened to the temple and after worshipping the deity returned home with his wife.

Shortly after, he met Gyānasambandamūrti Nāyanār who sang praising Tiruneelanakka Nāyanār and his devotion to Īswara.

When Tiruneelanakka Nāyanār, full of love and gratitude for Sambandamūrti, desired to accompany him in his religious tour, he did not permit it. Staying at Tiruvārūr in obedience to Sambandamūrti's order, he was worshipping his sacred feet mentally which act raised him eventually to the regions of eternal bliss.

Kungiliakkalaya* Nayanar.

(Do not sell grain at a heavy price.)

Once there lived in Tirukkaḍayūr in the Chōla kingdom a Brāhmin devotee of Īswara named Kalayar. He was in the habit of burning incense before Īswara in the temple of the place every day. Sometime after, he was afflicted with poverty ; and yet he did not give up this practice but was burning the incense daily as usual getting the money necessary by disposing of everything he had.

When everything he had was disposed of, his children and others depending on him for their livelihood could not get food. On one occasion they all had to starve for two days together and that made our Kalayar's wife part with her marriage-string to buy the wherewithal to keep their bodies and souls together. With the gold string in his possession Kalayar was going to the bazaar to buy foodstuffs in exchange for it when he saw a bag of incense kept exposed in a shop. Powerless to resist the desire to buy that instead of the foodstuff, he exchanged the same for the gold string, and instead of returning to his house went straight to the temple and burnt the incense there thrilling with pleasure.

Having waited for a sufficiently long time expecting the return of her husband loaded with foodstuffs, the poor woman and her sons and relatives went to sleep away their hunger and weariness.

When they awoke refreshed next morning they found to their intense astonishment wealth and plenty everywhere in the house! The miracle thus brought about by Īswara would be clear to our readers.

Kalayar himself was directed by Siva in his dream to hasten home and lead the life of luxury and ease for evermore.

Sometime after, coming to know that the Liṅgam at Tiruppanandāl was in a leaning posture and that all attempts made by the king of the country to set the same erect had proved ineffectual, Kalayar went thither and by virtue of his intense devotion succeeded in effecting what the king was unable to do! We have in the temple at Tiruppanandāl model figures of this devotee along with his wife and son.

Having returned to Tirukkaḍayūr he spent the last days of his life there. After having entertained the saints Sambandar and Tirunāvukkarasu and obtained their blessing, he eventually reached the sacred feet of Īswara.

On the north wall of the first *prākāra* of the Arunajāṭṣwara temple at Tiruppanandāl (Tanjore district), is an inscription which records a gift of land for offerings to the images of Tirukkaḍayūr Kuṅgiliyakkalaya Nāyanār, who is said to have turned the face of the deity to its normal position from which it had previously been diverted by the Lord's desire to save Tataki's shame, and other Saiva devotees in the temple at Tiruppanandāl!

Kulachirai Nayanar.

(Do not walk in unapproved path.)

In a place called Maṇamēркуḍi in the country of Pāṇḍyan (now in the Tanjore district), there lived a devotee of Īswara by name Kulachirai. It mattered not for him whether one was high born or low born, good or bad. If he but put on the marks of a Siva's devotee or sang verses in his praise he was sure to be welcomed by him. The devotees going to him either singly or in company were received with great reverence and looked after. During his lifetime, many a devotee was fed and clothed and in other ways also helped.

The one delight of this Kulachirai Nāyanār was the contemplation of the glory of Īswara.

He was the prime-minister of the Pāṇḍyan King Neḍumārār and the queen Maṅgayarkarasiray who was also a devotee of Īswara had, on various occasions, the earnest co-operation of this saintly being in most of her undertakings.

He worked hard to undermine the then rapidly spreading *Samana* faith and in establishing on a firm basis the true faith of Siva's followers throughout the length and breadth of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. In this connection he invoked the blessings of Tirugyanasambandar who after having defeated

the *Samanas* had them impaled to serve as a warning to all the followers of the false faith.

His deep devotion to Siva and his devotees and his earnest work in the cause of the religion of Siva procured him Siva's grace and blessings. Having lived a life of real service to Īswara and his followers, he reached the realms of bliss eternal and was assigned a place there with the other *Bhaktas*.

Mangayarkarasiyar.

(Indulge not in the play over water.)

The name of this female devotee and some of her doings have been touched upon when detailing the life of Neḍumāra Nāyanār in a previous chapter. She was the daughter of king Chōḷa and the wife of the famous saint Neḍumāra Nāyanār. Her teacher Sambandar had sung in praise of her zeal and devotion to Īswara at Tiruvārūr. Having done her best for the spread of the true faith of the followers of Siva, with the aid of her husband in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, and after having cut the religion of the *Samanas* (Jainas) at its roots, she had attained salvation.

Nedumara Nayanar.

(Let there be no weakness in your speech.)

In Madura, the capital city of the Pāṇḍyan line of Kings, there lived one by name Kūṇ-Pāṇḍyan. Coming under the influence of the *Samanas* (Jainas) he embraced Jainism. A born hunchback he was nicknamed Kūṇ-Pāṇḍyan meaning the Pāṇḍyan hunchback. On account of his extreme good fortune he had for his wife Maṅgayarkarasi, the daughter of the King Chōḷa, and for his minister Kulachirai Nāyanār whose life has been sketched before.

At the request of these two, Sambanda Mūrthi, the famous devotee of Īswara, visited him, touched him with his holy hand and smeared the sacred ashes over him at which his hump on the back disappeared! From this incident and ever afterwards he was given the name of Nedumāra Nāyanār.

He fought bravely with the Kings from the north, who attacked him in the battlefields at Tinnevely, and won a great victory over them. Having renounced the *Samana* faith, which he was convinced was not the true faith, he embraced the true faith of the devotees of Īswara. After a pretty long reign, during which he did much to spread the new faith he had embraced, he was gathered to the abode of the true *Bhaktas* of Īswara.

Gananatha Nayanar.

(Stop not good actions fearing bodily pain.)

There lived in former days in Shiyālī a Brāhman devotee of Īswara named Gananāthar. He was in the habit of rendering service to the devotees of Īswara and worshipping the presiding God of the place. He would also

influence others and make them open flower gardens to be of use for making garlands for Īswara to wear. Many were induced to open rest houses for Siva's devotees who were also given free food and clothing. Arrangements were also made to light in the temples innumerable lamps which act was considered to be specially pleasing and acceptable to Siva.

Ever ready to do service to Siva's devotees, he not only revered the devotees but also induced many to become devotees of Īswara like himself.

His admiration for Sambandar and his devotion to Īswara was so great that he became his ardent worshipper. In course of time, the merit acquired by him in the service of Īswara grew strong enough to uplift him to higher regions to enjoy eternal bliss there.

Ilayankudimarar.

(Cease not to exert with a will.)

In a place called Ilayāṅkuḍi there lived an agriculturist, Māranār by name, belonging to the Veḷḷala caste. He was a deep devotee of Siva and had pledged to feed to the best of his ability other devotees of Īswara whom he might meet.

Many were fed and clothed while he was in affluent circumstances with the fullest help from his wife in his laudable undertaking.

Desiring not only to subject the couple to a test but also to proclaim to the world the strength of their will in this direction, Siva slowly but surely brought about the loss of everything that Māranār stood possessed of.

Selling this to meet the expenses of one day and selling that to meet the expenses of another day our Nāyanār lost almost all of his property and yet he did not give up feeding any devotee of Siva whom he could meet.

One day it was raining heavily and he could not go out of his hut. As there was nothing inside the house to satisfy the hunger, the couple had made up their minds to remain foodless. After the night had fallen, feeling thoroughly tired out with hunger, they bolted the entrance door to their hut and were about to retire for the night—if lying on the floor may be called by that dignified expression—when a tap was heard from outside. Hastening to the door, our Nāyanār quickly withdrew the bolt and opened it. When he saw a devotee of Siva—who was none but Siva himself in disguise—standing outside drenched to the skin and shivering with cold and hunger, he was deeply moved. Having taken him inside, he managed to make him as comfortable as his poor circumstances would permit him.

When he found that his guest was very hungry, he did not know what to do. There was nothing in the house and getting help from others was out of the question. There was only one course left to procure food for the

poor devotee of Īswara and that was to gather the grain that had been sown in his field that morning and make the best use of it possible, and he did that.

Going to the field, he found it knee deep in water. Gathering in the basket he had brought the paddy floating on the water, he hastened home and handed it to his wife to prepare food with it.

A portion of the hut provided them with the materials to kindle a fire and ere long the grain was fried and turned into rice which was soon cooked. A few greens from the backyard skilfully managed furnished a side-dish for the rice.

When the poor meal was ready, the devotee was roused from his seeming slumber and requested to partake of the meal when lo! the couple found in the place of the devotee Lord Siva Himself in his wonderful effulgence and glory!

Having blessed them and after having promised them eternal bliss after death, Lord Siva disappeared into darkness again.

Amarneethi Nayanar.

(Feed others before feeding yourself.)

In a place called Paḷayārai in the Chōḷa Kingdom there lived a wealthy devotee of Īswara named Amarneethi belonging to the Vaisya community. His one delight consisted in finding out the needy devotees of Siva and relieving their wants. Many were the devotees fed and clothed by him. On one occasion at a place called Nallūr near Pāpanāsam in the Tanjore district a sacred place for the worship of Siva, he had a choultry built wherein the devotees of Īswara were freely fed during the festival of the deity.

One day Īswara, disguised as a Brāhmin bachelor, with the necessary appendages came to that choultry. Amarneethi, with a smiling countenance and filled with pleasure, welcomed him and requested him to partake of the dinner getting ready for the Brāhmin devotees by specially engaged Brāhmin cooks.

The bachelor accepted the invitation but desired to have a bath in the Kāvēri river first. So he entrusted one of the two towels he had with him to our Amarneethi Nāyanār with special injunctions to take particular care of the same since it was not only very precious but also was dry to be ready for use in case the one he had round his loins was wet on his return from the river after bath. Amarneethi kept the same in a particular place and was attending to his work till the bachelor returned.

Soon after his return when Amarneethi requested the bachelor to come for meals he said that his loin cloth was wet and desired to have the dry one left with him. Amarneethi searched for it everywhere in vain. It had disappeared in a miraculous manner!

At a loss to know what to do, he came back to his guest and told him of the loss of the loin cloth left with him. Though he was ready to give any kind of cloth he might choose to ask in place of the one lost, the sham bachelor would not be pacified. He accused our Amarneethi of having purposely cheated him of his loin cloth under cover of one bestowing loin cloths on the devotees of Iswara. His pretence of such an action was only to get his loin cloth which he knew was priceless.

What would Amarneethi do? To pacify his guest, he promised to do whatever he asked him to do.

The bachelor at last relented and consented to take in place of the cloth cost, one that would be equal in weight to it.

Questioned as to how the weight of the cloth lost was to be determined, the guest produced another he had with him and which he said was an exact replica of the lost one in every respect.

A scale was then produced and in one pan this cloth was placed and on the other another piece of loin cloth. Finding the cloth of his guest heavier, Amarneethi placed cloth after cloth to make the weight equal but to no purpose! Then everything which Amarneethi possessed was thrown into the scale pan and yet the cloth belonging to the bachelor was found heavier.

Then at last with the permission of the guest, Amarneethi, his wife and son stood on the scale pan praying to the Almighty that if they were true in their devotion they must come out successful; and then only the weights on both the pans were found to be equal at which every one marvelled and began to praise Amaraneethi!

Meanwhile the bachelor had disappeared and in his stead there stood Lord Siva Himself in all His glory!

Having blessed His devotee, his wife and son with the boon that they might remain for ever in His presence on mount Kailās, He vanished from view and we need not add that His devotee also vanished with Him in company with his wife and son as the scale began to soar high in the air to reach the abode of Siva in Kailās!

Eribhakta Nayanar.

(Tread on the path of virtue.)

Long ago when Karūr was the capital city of the Chōḷa Kingdom, there was a devotee of Lord Pasupathiswara of the place wherein the temple cars had *yantras* to put up flags and screens. He was ever ready to succour the devotees of Iswara whenever they were in difficulties. He would cut in two those who gave offence to any of the devotees of Siva.

During his time there was a *Bhakta* named Sivakāmi-Āṇḍār who

was in the daily habit of weaving garlands of flowers to decorate the image of Pasupathīswara.

One day he went out as usual and after his daily bath entered the flower garden and filled his crib with the choicest flowers. Having suspended the basket at the end of his stick, he was walking briskly towards the temple to get the garlands ready in time to be used in decorating the deity. This happened on the last day of the *Navarātri* festival.

The royal elephant was coming towards him and in a vicious mood it wrenched the basket of flowers from him and scattered the contents about.

Blazing with anger Sivakāmi Āṇḍar ran after the elephant with a view to take revenge on it; but urged by the drivers it was too quick for him and soon was lost to the view.

While he was bemoaning the mishap full of grief for having been deprived of the pleasure of decorating his deity with garlands of flowers on that day Eribhakta Nāyanār chanced to go over there.

Moved with pity at the distress of this staunch devotee of Īswara Eribhakta, the moment he came to know of the cause of his distress, drew out his weapon of chastisement and ran in pursuit of the state elephant.

Overtaking it shortly, he fell upon it and caused severe wounds. Provoked by this unexpected attack the elephant turned round upon Eribhakta who however succeeded in cutting off its trunk which resulted in its death. He then killed the drivers also before his anger cooled down.

Meanwhile the news of the destruction of the state elephant and its drivers was brought to the King Puhazhthunai who waxing wrath advanced against the offender with a mighty army.

Arriving at the place of occurrence he noticed only Eribhakta, contrary to his expectation of a mighty warrior, commanding a big army! When he was told that Eribhakta was the offender, he was filled with apprehension and fear. He knew that he was a deep devotee of Siva and that he would not have killed the elephant unless it had deserved death.

Thanking his stars that it was not worse than what it was and that his elephant by having killed this devotee also had not made him a greater sinner, he dismounted from his horse and approached Eribhakta. Making a low obeisance to him, he begged his pardon and obtained from him particulars concerning the slaughter of the elephant and its drivers.

When the charges against the elephant and its drivers were made known to him the King felt his sin so much that he desired Eribhakta Nāyanār to put him also to death handing him his sword for the purpose.

Fearing that the King in his then state of repentance might kill himself with his sword, Eribhakta took it from him and praised him highly for his

conduct. Then feeling that he had offended a King, who was of such noble qualities and virtues, Eribhakta wanted to kill himself using the King's sword to atone for the fault committed. But the King succeeded in preventing him from doing so.

Then there came a voice from the sky which said that the scattering of the flowers by the elephant and the subsequent events were brought about by Īswara himself to show to the world the intense devotion towards him and his devotees of the two saints—Eribhakta Nāyanār and Sivakāmi Āṇḍār.

By the grace of Siva the basket was found to be full of flowers and the elephant and its drivers were restored to life and activity !

Enadhi Nayanar.

(Do not neglect the study of scriptures.)

There lived in Yēmānūr in the Chōḷa Kingdom a saint named Yēnādhi Nāyanār. He was a specialist in the art of fencing with swords and he devoted what he got by imparting that knowledge to others for the benefit of Siva's devotees.

There was in that place another master in the same art of fencing named Adhisooran and he too was following the profession, but his income was very poor when compared with that of his rival Yēnādhi Nāyanār.

Filled with envy Adhisooran one day advanced against Yēnādhi with a number of skilled fencers and Yēnādhi's disciples and relatives skilled in the use of the weapons of warfare mustered in strong numbers to give battle.

Then Adhisooran proposed that only the victor in the ensuing battle should be the instructor in that place in the art of fencing. Yēnādhi Nāyanār consenting, *ukase* went forth from both sides to commence the battle. Adhisooran sustained defeat at the hands of Yēnādhi Nāyanār and fled from the field of battle. This defeat only made him sullen and miserable and in the end he made up his mind to kill Yēnādhi by cunning. He sent word to him secretly and challenged him for single combat with him at a retired spot. Yēnādhi readily fell in with the scheme, preceded by his rival and was awaiting his arrival there.

Meanwhile Adhisooran coming to know of the fact that Yēnādhi would not harm a devotee of Īswara assumed the guise of such a one behind a coverlet to be dropped at the opportune moment and advanced towards him. When Yēnādhi stepped forward to slay him at the right moment, the coverlet was skilfully dropped by Adhisooran who appeared before him in the guise of a devotee of Siva. He stayed his hand which was about to slay the man before him but he was himself slain by his opponent. Be it also said here that Yēnādhi, considering the fact that Adhisooran by the mere fact of

assuming the guise of a devotee of Siva had actually become such a one, made a show of resisting his rival since he would, if he slew him unresisting, have become a sinner who had killed an unresisting rival.

This unparalleled noble act of Yēnādhi carried him to the lotus feet of his deity Iswara.

Rudrapasupathi Nayanar.

(Be careful in choosing your friend.)

In a place called Talayūr in the Chōla Kingdom, there lived a Brāhmin devotee of Iswara named Pasupathi. With his mind always centred in the deity of his heart's devotion and love, he was always in ecstasy the fruit of the selfless *Bhakti* or devotion to the ideal perfected being, called Iswara.

To test the strength of his mind and to train it to remain fixed on the image of his Lord, he used to subject his body to hardships of different kinds. His one desire was to make the mind chained as it was to God, deaf to external impacts like the bodily pains or the objects of attraction to the senses. He would be fain deaf to the 'Bellowing of the wild elephants or the buzzing of the silver fire-fly' as one has graphically put it.

To gain the end in view, he in seasons of biting cold would remain for hours together plunged to neck in ice-cold water of tanks and rivers. His mind, accustomed as it was to ignore communications of discomfort from the body, would not feel anything at all but the feelings of ecstasy resulting from its union with God it was contemplating incessantly. To help him in keeping the mind chained as it were to Iswara, he would, even when in water, be repeating the sacred incantation going by the name *Rudram* delighted in by Iswara.

This one-pointed devotion is said to have gained for our Pasupathi eternal bliss—the goal of all *Mukthas* or souls of liberated human beings.

Kurruva Nayanar.

(Do not rob others' property.)

In Tirukkaḷandaipathi there lived a devotee of Iswara named Kūrruvar. He knew the right mode of pronouncing the *pañchākshara* or the word of five letters delighted in by Siva who bestowed on him vast wealth, a powerful army and unparalleled valour in fighting.

He fought with many kings and had won victories after victories. He had everything but the crown of a ruler and he determined to have even that. He approached the *Dikshadars* of Chidambaram and asked them to crown him a king. They said in reply that they would crown only a descendant of the Chōla dynasty of kings.

Having appointed one among them to guard the crown, they proceeded to the kingdom of king Chēra.

Meanwhile, Kūrruvar fell asleep in deep dejection after having prayed fervently to Īswara that dances at the holy Chidambaram.

Filled with pity at the deep dejection in which his devotee had fallen, Siva appeared before him in his dream and gave him his sandals.

Having placed them on the throne in place of the ruler our Nāyanār was carrying on the administration of the country.

After having visited several places held sacred to Siva, he eventually reached the realms of eternal bliss.

Seruthunai Nayanar.

(Do not injure others.)

At one time there lived in Tanjore city, under the sway of the Tondamān rulers, a Vellāḷa devotee of Īswara named Siruthunai Nāyanār. Once he came to the famous religious centre Tiruvārūr and was for some time engaged in the services of Vanmeeka Nāthar, the presiding deity of the temple there, and was executing repairs to that temple.

An ardent worshipper of Īswara, he one day noticed the queen of the royal devotee of Siva-Kaḷarchiṅga Nāyanār inhaling the fragrance of a flower intended for the use of Siva. He grew angry at this act of hers since he considered it highly sacrilegious and taking out his knife cut off her nose.

Having accumulated great merit by various acts of unselfish devotion he at last secured the holy feet of the Almighty.

Kochchaigan Chola Nayanar.

(Drink several literature deep.)

Once there was a wild garden near a place called "Chandra Tīrtham," now a tank within the temple at Sriraṅgam, in the country of the Chōḷa line of kings. In that garden, there was a *Jambu* tree yielding white fruits of the species.

On one occasion, a Siva-Liṅgam had appeared on the surface of the earth in the shade of this tree. A white elephant had come to know of this, and was in the habit of worshipping it daily, bringing water in its trunk for bathing it and bringing flowers from the trees and plants for decorating it. Because of these doings of the elephant the place came to be known as *Tiru-Ānai-kāval*.

A garden spider, living on the *Jambu* tree desiring to prevent dry leaves falling from the tree over the Liṅgam it loved dearly, wove a web over the same on a particular day. When the elephant noticed it, it brushed it aside with its trunk considering it to be an undesirable thing.

The spider wove a web for the second time thinking that the first one

was destroyed by the elephant not wantonly but in a careless mood. When it found that even its second work was brushed aside, it grew angry. It managed to enter into its trunk and bite the elephant therefrom, and as a result of its bite in the tender parts, the elephant died having dashed its trunk in the ground.

The elephant reached the abode of Siva on account of the merit it had gained by the worship of the Liṅgam while the spider that had perished by the last dying action of the elephant was born as child to the king and queen of the Chōḷa kingdom named respectively Suḷadēvan and Kamalavathi, who were worshipping Natarāja in the temple at Chidambaram for a long time.

There was also a short history attached to the birth of the child. While the queen was in labour pains, the astrologers had said that a few minutes' delay in the birth of the child would make the child famous by the peculiar conjunction of the planets then.

The birth of the child was delayed a few minutes by force which resulted in the child being born with red eyes! The queen seeing the child with red eyes said that her child was *Sengannan* and breathed her last. He was then given the name uttered by its dying mother namely "*Sengannan*" or "the one with red eyes."

This child grew on apace and at the proper age remembered its past life as a spider. Having built many temples in his kingdom and dedicated them to Siva, inclusive of the one at Jambukēswaram he worshipped Natarāja also at Chidambaram, gave gifts of houses to the worshippers of Natarāja there, and after death gained salvation and a place near the person of Iswara.

The ancient Tamil work "*Kaḷavazhi Nārpaḍu*" consisting of 41 stanzas is said to have been composed by a poet of the Chēra king Kaṇaikāḷirumpoḷai when he was defeated and imprisoned in the battle at Kazhumalām (Shiyāḷi in the district of Tanjore) by this Chōḷa king Kōchcheṅgannan in order that the Chēra king may be released from jail and that on hearing the poem Kōchcheṅgannan was pleased to order the imprisoned king being released forthwith!

On the west wall of the second *prākāra* of the great temple at Jambukēswaram near Trichinopoly is a record of the Pāṇḍya king Kō-Māravarman *alias* Kulasēkharadēva, dated in his tenth year (5th January 1278 A. D.) referring to a street called after the presiding God there who transferred a spider into this king!

Sittattai Sivanpal Vaithar (Yogis or devotees with minds centred in Siva.)

(*Be not led by women.*)

Who has his mind centred in Iswara incessantly? The answer to this query is given below.

The *Yōgis* of old have stated that the suppression of the inspiration and expiration is the first step to be taken by one aspiring to this title. The inspired air should be retained poised in the centre which is, in philosophical parlance, said to be the *Nāḍi Sushumna*. The mind ought to have been weaned away from the objects of senses and centred in only one. He should also hear and know the sound emanating from the six main centres of the body and comprehend their presiding deities and worship them. He should then develop the thousand-petalled centre by proper cantations which would give him immortality and eternal bliss.

Tiruvārur Pirandar. Those born in Tiruvārur.

(*Forget not past friendship for trifling mistakes.*)

Siva, one of the trinity of the Hindus, has his *Ganas* or hosts and hosts of attendants. How does he recruit souls for this magnificent assembly? His process seems to be simplicity itself. Every soul had at first a place in the bosom of *Īswara*. Therefore each one has had past friendship with him. The difference between devotees and others is that the former knows this relationship while the latter do not.

All those that are born in the centre *Tiruvārūr*, specially favourable for the drawing out the past memory and do not lose sight of their kinship with *Īswara*, become Siva's *Ganas* or followers after departing this life.

Muppozhudhum Tirumeni Tinduvar (Priests)

(*Do not by avarice lose even what you have.*)

At the time of the Genesis and of the cosmos five great *Rishis* were born out of darkness. They were the followers of Siva from the very commencement. Their names were Kausikar, Kāsyapar, Bhārathwājar, Gauthama, and Agasthyar.

These five '*Ādhi Saivas*,' or the first followers of the faith of Siva, are the first persons that went by the name of Muppozhudhum Tirumēni Tīṇḍuvār.

Those that have the characteristics of any one of them in full may come under such a classification of *Bhaktas* or devotees.

Muzhuniru Poosiya Munivar (Holy-Ash Wearers)

(*Resolve upon good deeds.*)

At the beginning of the creation, there arose out of the causeless reservoir behind, three *Vibhuthas* or prosperities. They were called *Kalpam*, *Anu-kalpam* and *Upa-kalpam*. These three prosperities are represented by holy ashes prepared or taken before Siva, or one's preceptor in religion. Those that wear these properly when pure come under this classification of *Bhaktas*.

**Appalum Adichandhar (Those that gained Salvation before and
after these Saints)**

(Do what is regarded as proper by the world.)

Who are those that come under the distinction of Appālum Aḍichāndhār? The wise have laid it down as given under :—

Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya were the three rulers of the country of the Tamilians. The devotees that had during their time gained salvation came under this classification of *Bhaktas* as also the followers of Siva described in the life of service of *Tiru-Tonḍar*. Further the *Bhaktas* who had gained salvation immediately before and after this famous saint devotee (Sundarar) are also called Appālum Aḍichāndhār.

ON A BIRD-MYTH FROM THE DISTRICT OF SYLHET IN EASTERN BENGAL.

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THE Indian Cuckoo (*Cuculus micropterus*) is a bird which is familiar to the people of Bengal. It is also well known in other parts of India. It is commonly found in Bengal and Northern India, the Himalayas, and Central India. It extends through Assam and Burma to the Malay Peninsula. A few of the vernacular names of this bird are very curious. In Bengali it is called "*Ban Katha Kan*" or "*Ban Kota Ko*" which, rendered into English, means "O daughter-in-law, speak out." The people residing in and about the Mussoorie Hills call this bird by the name "*Kyphul pakka*" which, I think, most probably means "What fruit has ripened?" To the denizens of the Chumbi Valley, this bird is known by the appellation of "*Kupul pukki*" which is, to my mind, identical with the name given to it by the people of the Mussoorie Hills and has, therefore, the same significance in English. The names by which this bird is known to the inhabitants of Bengal and the Mussoorie Hills have been derived from its fine melodious call-note to which they bear a striking similarity. Most likely, this bird is alluded to by Bishop Heber when, in his celebrated poem *An Evening Walk in Bengal*, he says:—"And what is she whose liquid strain thrills through yon copse of sugarcane? I know that soul-entrancing swell! It is—it must be—Philomel!"

In the district of Sylhet in Eastern Bengal, this bird is called the "*Kāṇṭhāl pākhi*" or "the Jack-fruit Bird". It is so called because it appears and begins to utter its fine melodious whistle in the Bengali months of Baisākha (April-May) and Jaishṭha (May-June), that is to say, just during the time when the jack-fruit begins to ripen. Its call-note is heard till the month of Śrāvaṇa (July-August).

Whenever this bird utters its call-note, little children, in the district of Sylhet in Eastern Bengal, recite, at the top of their voices, the following verse:—

"*Kāṇṭhāl pākhi nāiora jāitey*
Bhāikey Khāila banera bāghey"

OR

'When the "Jack-fruit Bird" was going to (her) paternal home,
(A) tiger of the forest killed (*lit.*, ate) (her) brother.'

This verse alludes to the following myth which is connected with this bird and which is current in the district of Sylhet in Eastern Bengal:—

In the ancient times, the "Jack-fruit Bird" was a human being. A middle-class householder had a son and a daughter. The daughter was the elder of the two children. She was married to a person whose house was situated at a great distance from her paternal home. After her marriage, the brother and the sister did not meet each other for a long time. Therefore, one day in the months of Baisākha (April-May) and Jaishṭha (May-June) when the mangoes and jack-fruits had ripened, her

brother, accompanied by another man, went with some presents to his sister's husband's house. She was greatly delighted to see her brother after such a long time and expressed a desire to pay a visit to her parental home in order to see her parents. Having obtained the permission of her parents-in-law, she, accompanied by her brother, started homewards. She was carried in a palanquin by bearers, while her brother trudged on foot alongside the litter. The road homewards lay through a mountainous tract of country. On both margins of this road there lay impenetrable forests. These deep jungles were uninhabited by human beings but were infested by wild beasts of prey. There were no villages close by these forests. While they were going along this road, a tiger came out of the forest all of a sudden. Seeing the tiger, the palki-bearers fled away, leaving the little brother and sister to their fate. Having been deserted by the palki-bearers, the brother and sister clasped each other's neck and stood their ground. The tiger, however, seized the brother and killed him, while he did no injury whatever to his sister, clasping her deceased brother's neck. She wept bitterly for some time and, then, died of a broken heart. Hearing the sister's heart-rending cries, God took pity on her and transformed her into a bird. To this day, however, she gives vent to her deep feelings of grief at her brother's tragic death, by flying about and singing the following verse:—

Kāñjāla pākhi nāiora jāitey.

Bhāikey Khāila banera bāghey."

It is further stated that many women living in the district of Sylhet, on hearing the "Jack-fruit Bird's" call-note, still weep in remembrance of their deceased brothers.*

The most noteworthy feature of this interesting bird-myth from Sylhet is the fact of God's metamorphosing the girl into a bird.

I do not know, however, whether there are similar instances, in Indian folklore, of human beings, especially female ones, having been transformed by God into birds.

[Should persons interested in the study of Indian folklore come across instances of bird-myths similar to that from Sylhet, which may be current in other parts of Eastern Bengal or, for the matter of that, in Western Bengal and other parts of India, it is highly desirable that they should record the same and communicate them to the writer of these pages.]

If we, however, examine the folklore of the Malays, we find that there are several instances of such metamorphosis in their bird-lore. Among these is included the following pathetic bird-myth:—

There is a species of ground-pigeon which the Malays call *Tekukur*. Regarding this bird, the undermentioned myth is related by them.

Once upon a time, a girl lived in the forest with her parents and little sister. When she grew up, she became very anxious to accompany her father to the forest a patch of which he was engaged in clearing for a rice-plantation. But her parents put her off several times on various excuses. This displeased her so much that, one day, she took off her bracelets and ear-rings and, putting them behind the door

* *Vide* the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabāsī* (published from Calcutta) for Śrāvaṇa, 1329 B.S., (July-August 1922), pp. 554-555.

and placing her little sister in a swinging cot, transformed herself into a ground-pigeon and flew away to the clearing. Arrived there, she informed her mother of the place where she had kept the bracelets and ear-rings, as also of the fact that she had put her little sister to bed in the swinging-cot. Hearing these words, her mother became greatly astonished, hurried home, and, to her great sorrow, found that her daughter had disappeared. When she returned to the bird, the latter repeated to her mother the same words once more, and finished them by cooing like a dove. The sorrow-stricken parents tried their best to capture her. But all their efforts to do so proved fruitless as the bird flew off further and further, eluding their pursuit.¹

Take the case of another bird—the night-jar. The Malays call it *Burong cheroh*. This name is derived from the word *Cheroh* which means “the process of pounding, for the second time, the unhusked rice in a mortar with a pestle”. The Malays imagine that this bird’s call-note resembles the slow measured thud of a pestle as it falls inside the cavity of the mortar. This fanciful idea has given rise to the Malay myth that the night-jar was originally a woman. While she was husking rice by moonlight, she was metamorphosed into this bird, because she had quarrelled with her mother.²

Then again a certain species of honey-bird or bee-eater is called *Burong sepah putri* (or “princess’s betel-quid”) by the Malays. It is remarkable for the brilliant metallic lustre of its plumage. This name is derived from the following myth which is related by the Malays in connection with this bird: Once upon a time, the Owl (*Ponggok*) loved the Princess of the Moon (*Putri Bulan*), and proposed marriage to her. She agreed to marry him provided he gave her time to finish her quid of betel without anybody disturbing her. Her request was granted. But, before finishing it, she flung the quid down to the earth where it assumed the shape of the honey-bird in question. She, then, asked her lover to search for it. But he was unable to find it. Therefore the proposed marriage fell through. It is for this reason that the Owl, in the words of the Malay proverb, “sighs longingly to the Moon”.³

The Argus Pheasant (*Argus giganteus*)—called *Knan* by the Malays of Malacca and Selangor—is stated by them to have originally been a woman. She was subsequently transformed into this bird for some unknown reason.⁴

There is yet another kind of bird which the Malays call *Baran-Caran*. They recite the following myth in relation to this bird. It was originally a midwife. After having once been employed by some people, they refused to pay her wages promptly and put her off from time to time. On the last occasion that she was refused payment, she lost all patience and burst into a volley of abuse levelled at her employers. While she was doing so, she was metamorphosed into this bird whose querulous call-note is said to resemble the shrill voice of the old woman with which she demanded the payment of her just dues.⁵

1 *Malay Magic*. By N. W. Skeat, London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1900, Pages 126-127.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 121-122.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 122.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 123.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

I think that the foregoing examples from the folklore of the Malays will suffice to convince the reader of the fact that the fanciful idea of certain women having been metamorphosed into different kinds of birds is one of the noteworthy characteristics of their bird-lore. I, therefore, desist from adducing further instances thereof.

Then returning to India, we shall examine the folklore of the hill tribes of Assam. Take, for instance, the Garo tribe. They are a branch of the Tibeto-Burman family and number a little more than one hundred thousand souls. They live in the dense irregular mass of hills of low elevation which are situated to the west of the Khasi Hills.

On examining the folk-lore of this wild tribe, we find that there is current among them the folk-tale of "*The Story of the Doves*." It is to the following effect:—

A rich man had four daughters of whom the eldest two were named Awil and Sangwil. They were very much disliked by their grandmother who often made false accusations against them to their parents. In consequence of these lying complaints, their mother used to beat them mercilessly.

Having, one day, heard a false accusation against them from their grandmother, their mother confined Awil and Sangwil in a room and kept them starving for a long time. Getting disgusted with this cruel treatment at the hands of their mother, the two sisters metamorphosed themselves into doves. At first, they flew to their mother who was working in the field and, in cooing notes, informed her of the wrongs that had been done to them on the lying complaints of their grandmother. The same thing they repeated to their father who had gone to the market.

Having heard the doves' notes of complaint, the parents hastened home and were grieved to find that their two eldest daughters had disappeared. Returning to the birds, the sorrow-stricken parents told them to re-assume their human forms. But they refused to do this.* [With the rest of this folk-tale, we are not concerned for the purposes of this paper.]

It will be seen that this folk-tale bears a striking similarity to the Malay myth about the girl who was transformed into the ground-dove.

I have not been able to come across any similar myth about the metamorphosis of a girl into a bird, in the folk-lore of the Khasis, the Nagas, the Kukis and Lushais, the Mikirs and other hill tribes of Assam.

Then going to Europe, we find that, in the mythology of the ancient Greeks, there are a few instances in which girls were transformed into birds.

Chief among these is the metamorphosis of Alcyone or Halcyone, daughter of Æolus. She had married Ceyx who was drowned while he was going to consult the Oracle. The gods informed her, in a dream, of her husband's tragic death. When, on the next morning, she discovered her husband's body lying on the sea-beach, she was stricken with violent grief and cast herself into the sea. Thereafter she, with her husband, was metamorphosed into birds of the same name who keep the waters calm and undisturbed when they build their nests on the surface of the sea and sit on them.

* *The Garos*. By Major Playfair. London: David Nutt, 1909, pp. 119—128.

[Mark the remarkable similarity between this Greek myth and that from Sylhet. In both of them, the gods take pity on the sorrow-stricken girls and, in order to relieve them of their grief, transformed them into birds.]

Then again there is the Greek myth relating to the metamorphosis of the girl named Philomela into that "light-winged Dryad of the trees"—the nightingale. The legend runs thus:—

Tereus, king of Daulis and son of Ares, married Procne, daughter of Pandion king of Attica. On one occasion, Tereus falsely informed his wife's sister Philomela that Procne was dead, while the latter had only been concealed. Procne, however, came to know of the deception that had been practised by her husband upon her sister and, out of revenge killed her son Itys, and fed Tereus with his flesh. Thereafter she fled with her sister Philomela. But Tereus pursued them. During the course of this pursuit, the gods metamorphosed Philomela into a nightingale, Procne into a swallow, and Tereus into a hoopoe.

[Note the one point of similarity between this Greek myth and that from Sylhet. In the former, the girl Philomela is changed into a well-known singing bird of Europe—the nightingale; while, in the latter, the sorrow-stricken girl is metamorphosed into that familiar and highly-prized song-bird of the Indian country side—"the jack-fruit bird" or the Indian cuckoo.]

In discussing the subject of myths about the metamorphosis of girls or maidens into birds, we are naturally led to the theme of Swan-maidens who are, in reality, women dressed in feather tunics.

Myths or legends of these Swan-maidens are current in Sweden, Russia, Germany, and the Shetland Islands—in fact, throughout Europe, Asia and Africa.

The story radical of myths or folk-tales of the "Swan-maiden Type" is as follows:—

1. A man sees a woman bathing, after having doffed and placed her charmed feather-dress on the shore.
2. He steals this dress of feather; and she falls into his power.
3. He marries her; but, after some years, she succeeds in recovering her feather-dress, and she flies away.
4. As a rule, he is unable to recover her.

The most notable instance of a myth of the "Swan-maiden Type" is to be found in the tale of Hassan in the *Arabian Nights*. In this story, it is stated that, on unlocking the forbidden door, he sees ten birds who are, in reality, ten beautiful maidens dressed in feather-suits. These feather-dresses are put off by them when they bathe.

Various and manifold are the guises assumed by these bird-maidens. In Finland, they assume the form of geese; in other places that of ducks; in Bohemia, Persia and the island of Celebes (in the Indian Archipelago), that of doves, amongst the Magyars and in South Smaland, that of pigeons; and in Guinea and amongst the American Indians, that of vultures.*

* *An Introduction to Folk-lore*, by M. R. Cox. New edition, London: David Nutt, pp. 120-121. Also vide C. S. Barne's *The Handbook of Folk-lore* (Edition of 1914), p. 344.

THE AGE OF BHARAVI AND DANDIN OR THE LITERARY HISTORY OF THE PALLAVA PERIOD.

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THE date of the Poet Bharavi has not hitherto been determined to any precise degree. Scholars have come to the opinion that he lived after Kalidasa, but they could not tell how long after Kalidasa he came. This does not help the student of literature very much, because students of literature are not sure about the date of Kalidasa himself who is placed in various periods from the first and second century B.C. to the period of Chandragupta II and Kumaragupta of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty and that of Yasodharman who rose to power after the Guptas. But they were sure about the latter limit of his period. The Aihole inscription of the W. Chalukya, Pulakesin II dated A.D. 634 says that the fame of the author of the charter of Ravikirti in poetry was equal to that of the famous poets Kalidasa and Bharavi. The genuineness of this inscription¹ has not been questioned by any scholar and therefore the date of Bharavi was considered by all scholars to have been before the date of Ravikirti, who was a contemporary of Sri Harsha, Bana and Mayura. But they could not say how long before Sri Harsha Bharavi lived. The epigraphical evidence about the date of Bharavi has not been exhausted with Ravikirti's prasasti in the Aihole inscription. A number of copper-plates belonging to the dynasty of the W. Gangas, while referring to the king Durvinita² says that he had commented on fifteen sargas of

1 येनायोजिनवेदमस्थिरमर्थविधौविवेकिनाजिनवेदम् ।

सविजयतां रविकीर्तिः कविताश्रितकाळिदासभारविकीर्तिः ॥

2 *Epigraphia Carnatica, Tumkur, 23.*

अविनातिनामाश्रीमत्कौगणिमहाराजः तस्यपुत्रः पुत्राडराजप्रियपुत्रिकापुत्रः विजृम्भमाणशक्तित्रयोपनिमित्त
समस्तसामन्तमण्डलः अण्डव्यालत्तूपौरुळरेपेन्नगराथनेकसमरमुखमखतुतप्रधानपुरुषपशुपहारविधसविहस्ताकृतकृता
न्ताभिमुखः शब्दावतारकारदेवभारतीनिवद्धहृत्कथः किरातार्जुनीयपञ्चदशसंगदोकाकारदुर्विनीतनामा ॥

Mysore Archaeological Report, 1916, p. 36.

श्रीमत्कौगणिमहाराजस्य अविनीतनामः पुत्रेण पुत्राडराजस्कन्दवर्म प्रियपुत्रिकाजम्भना स्वयुरु गुणा
नुगामिना पित्रापरसुतसमार्वाजितयापि लक्ष्म्या स्वयमभिप्रत्यालिङ्गितविपुलवक्षस्थलेनविजृम्भमाण शक्तित्रयोपन
मितसमस्तसामन्तमण्डलेन अण्डव्यालत्तुचूरुळरेपेन्नगराथनेकसमरमुखमखातुतप्रपातशूरपुरुषपशुपहारविहस

Kiratarjuniya and translated the Brihatkatha into Sanskrit. On the authority of these inscriptions the date of Bharavi could have been settled with greater precision. But there was a school of Epigraphists beginning with the late Dr. Fleet who held that all these W. Ganga inscriptions which mentioned the work of Bharavi were forged and therefore not genuine. This conclusion of theirs was based upon several grounds, one of which was that according to them the poet Bharavi could not have lived before the king Durvinita. Arguing along this strain they had to dismiss a number of copper-plate charters as forged which otherwise even according to them contained genuine historical information. But all scholars were not convinced about this reasoning of theirs. Mr. Rice, the late Director of Archaeology, Mysore, and Mr. R. Narasimhachar whose experience in the line can be said to be second to no one, thought otherwise. They maintained that those inscriptions were genuine and Bharavi according to them had to be placed much earlier than where the other scholars were prepared to place him. He must have been at least contemporary with Durvinita if not earlier.

Again as regards the country where Bharavi lived, there was an equal amount of uncertainty. There was a vague belief that Bharavi must have belonged to the south of India but this belief was not based on any very sound basis. From the way in which Bharavi has described the Sahyadri mountains and the western ocean, some scholars have concluded that he must have belonged to the Mahratta country. This argument can never be very convincing. If, on the strength of the accuracy of Bharavi's description of the Deccan, he is to be considered as a man of the Deccan, we cannot say where Kalidasa is to be placed from a reference to his works in which he has described the several parts of India in the Raghuvamsa while describing the various tracts conquered by Raghu and in the Meghaduta where he traces the course to be followed by the "cloud messenger."

Fortunately for us tradition has not been entirely silent about Bharavi and his life. The following story about Bharavi is given by Mr. L. R. Pangarkar, B.A., in the introduction to his edition of the Kiratarjuniyam. Bharavi was ground down by poverty and being ever immersed in poetic life was often troubled

विहस्ताकृत कृतान्तास्मिन्नेव शब्दावतारकारेण देवभारती निबद्धवङ्कथेन किरस्ताज्जुनोय पञ्चदशसर्गटीकाकारेण
दुर्विनीतनामधेयेन ॥

The reference to Sabdavataara in the above extracts was thought to mean that Durvinita's preceptor was the author of Sabdavataara i.e., Pujiyapada. But from the second of the two above extracts it is plain that the expression Sabdavataara-kara refers to Durvinita himself and not to Durvinita's preceptor. Durvinita must have also been the author of a Sabdavataara.

by the furious remarks of his wife. She once reproached him for his dulness in as much as he did not bestir himself about money and the poet, goaded by necessity and the constant reproaches of his wife, at last set out to try his fortune by seeking royal support. When he had gone a few miles, he saw a beautiful tank. Fatigued by the labours of the journey, he stopped there and wrote the verse सहस्राविदधीतनक्रियां on a lotus leaf. The king, who happened to be near the spot as he had left his palace on a hunt, met the poet and, being very much struck by the beauty of the verse, ordered the poet to see him in his palace at a particular time and galloped off. But the poet mean-looking and dressed in rags could not get admission to the royal presence and went back home in despair. The king however had the verse painted in gold in his private chamber. The story goes on to say how on a particular occasion the king was about to kill his own wife and son while they were asleep as the result of a mistake on his part and was prevented from doing so by reading the verse which was painted in gold before him in that chamber. After that incident the king himself sent word to the poet and made him the poet-laureate of his Court. Again, Bharavi's name is inseparably associated in popular tradition with the name of another famous poet Magha, the author of "Sisupalavadha". Both the poets have drawn their subject-matter from the same source,—the Mahabharata. The arrangement and the order of the descriptions in both the epic poems run on almost the same lines as will be evident by a comparison of the various cantos and their subject-matter. Above all, there is some mystery in the names of these poets. The sole ambition of Magha seems to have been to eclipse the reputation of Bharavi. Bharavi or the bright sun, as the word signifies, is known to lose much of his brightness in the month of Magha and hence Magha is said to have assumed that name simply to indicate that Bharavi turned pale before him. The tradition is evidenced by the following bhatu verse:—

तावद्नाभारवेर्भाति यावन्माषस्यनोदयः ।

उदितेचपुनर्भावे भारवेर्भावेरिव ॥

The date and place of Bharavi have thus been uncertain. But all these doubts are bound to be set at rest by the discovery of the manuscript of a work called "Avantisundari" by the Madras Oriental MSS. Library. This discovery was made by the Curator and his learned and enthusiastic personal assistant, whose tours have been fruitful in the discovery of very many valuable works which have been thought to be irrecoverably lost.

The work that concerns us at present is the Avantisundarikatha of Dandin. This is a Champu which describes the story of the Dasakumara Charita,

ascribed to Dandin. From what the work says we are led to conclude that the author of the work was Dandin himself. The whole of the first Pariccheda of the six which have been discovered contains an account of the family to which Dandin belonged, the circumstances in which he wrote the work.³

3 अवन्तिसुन्दरीकथा—

अस्तिप्रासादविस्तारग्रस्तव्योमान्तरापुरी ।
 काशीपुराख्याकल्याणीकुमुभाङ्कुम्भजन्मनः ॥
 यातत्यविगलद्भोगै रसख्यवसुभिर्जनैः ।
 भोगवत्यमरावल्योन्यकुर्वाणवर्गविता ॥
 तस्याञ्जश्रेष्ठुधन्वातध्वस्ताखिलविपल्लवः ।
 पल्लवेषुमहोपालःसिंहविष्णुरितिश्रुतः ॥
 गरिम्णास्यावरान्सर्वानोजसाजङ्गमानपि ।
 योविजिग्येभुजद्राघीविभुश्रानुभयानपि ॥
 अदृष्टपूर्वगन्धर्वः तंसभासदमेकदा ।
 उदञ्जलिर्महोपालमुपवीणयदायया ॥

दनुजपतिहृदयभूधर

विभेदविशातशक्तिनखकुलिशम् ।

अगदुदयहेतुविष्णोः

अवतुवपुनोरसिंहवः ॥

श्रुत्वांनमस्युदारार्था कुतूहलखलीकृतः ।
 अत्रवीरद्वन्द्वकेनेयं निर्मितावर्णपद्धतिः ॥
 इत्युचिचानंप्रत्युच्चैर्गन्धर्वस्तनरेश्वरम् ।
 देवस्वनुगृह्यतोऽसिंश्रूयतामवधानतः ॥
 अस्त्यानन्दपुरं नामप्रदेशपश्चिमोत्तरे ।
 आर्यदेशशिरोरत्नयत्रासन्बहवोनृपाः ॥
 ततोभिनिस्तृताकाचित्कौशिकजङ्घसन्ततिः ।
 सुरलोकादिवायान्तीपुण्यतार्क्षसरस्वती ॥
 नासिक्यभूमावौत्सुक्यन्मूलदेवनिवशिताम् ।
 प्राप्याचलपुरं.....रामधिवसत्यसौ ॥
 तस्यांनारायणस्वामोनाम्नानारायणोदरात् ।
 दामोदरइतिश्रीमान् आदिववाभवत् ॥
 समेधावाकविर्विद्वान्भारविःप्रभवंगराम् ।
 अनुरुध्याकरोन्मैत्रीं नरेन्द्रेविष्णुवर्धने ॥
 क्षुदाविष्टेनतद्विष्टमामिषंभृगयान्तरे ।
 अनिष्टशिष्टंहाकष्टेनाभोज्यमभुज्यत ॥

In this account Dandin says that Bharavi was one of his ancestors and narrates a beautiful story about him. In the city of Kanchi in the south of India there was ruling a king of the Pallavas called Simhavishnu who was a great patron of scholars. One day a stranger Gandharva appeared before his

अगच्छन्तिवपित्रोः सत्रपःतीर्थयात्रया ।
 परं.....मापेदेतस्यापिशुभजन्मनः ॥
 सद्दुर्विनीतनामासीदन्वर्थाभिधानवान् ।
 तस्यान्तिकेवसत्यपः तेनार्यैयमुदीरिता ॥
 इतिश्रुत्वामहोशलः तदालोकनलोलुपः ।
 अनेकश्रामुखाकृष्टमकरोदमुमत्मासात् ॥
 स्वविशेषैरुविगतः तमाचारैरतोषयत् ।
 अभूषयन्नभूपाऽभगायैश्चसुभाषितैः ॥
 नृपनिर्वन्धनिर्दिपेप्रकृष्टविभवेगृहे ।
 बहूतःपैतृकांश्चततस्यासात्तनयत्रयम् ॥
 मनोरथाह्वयस्तेषामध्यमोवैश्वर्धनः ।
 ततस्तनूजाश्चत्वारःस्रष्टुर्वेदाश्वाभवन् ॥
 श्रीवीरदत्तश्चैवामध्यमोवैश्वर्धनः ।
 यवीयानस्यचआध्यागौरीनामाभवत्प्रिया ।
 ततःकथंचित्सगौरी द्विजाधिपशिखामणेः ॥
 कुमारदण्डिनःमानंव्यक्तशक्तिमजीजनत् ।
 सखालएवमात्राचपित्राचापिव्ययुज्यत ॥
 अयुज्यतगरीयस्यासरस्वत्याश्रुतेनच ।
 सविक्रियेपुरेतःमिन्परचक्रोपरोधतः ॥
 सचचारशुभाचारः सर्वांमुर्वीमुदारधीः ।
 अथाश्रमेध्वर्धायानः शास्त्रेषुचकृतश्रमः ॥
 पश्यन्पुण्यान्यरण्यानिन्यवसद्विसान्वहन् ।
 अथाहूतःक्षीर्ताशेनप्रशान्तोपद्रवेपुरे ॥
 ससुहृद्बन्धुमध्यस्थः सभेजेनिजमास्पदम् ।
 एकदावास्तुशास्त्रज्ञः तत्क्षकर्मविचक्षणः ॥
 नृपतिकश्चिदभ्येत्यप्रणिपत्योपतस्थिवान् ।
 अनल्पकल्पितःक्षित्राः विकल्पाश्चित्रकर्मणाम् ॥
 अत्रत्वष्टामुनैवेत्थं तत्रस्वास्तमशांसिषुः ।
 सतुशिल्पिवरस्तेषामाक्षिप्यस्तुतिमात्मनः ॥
 मूर्धन्याञ्जलिमावन्धन्नथदण्डिनमभ्यधात् ।
 अस्मिन्विशाप्यमसाकं अनुग्राह्योसियचङ्गं ॥

court and bowing to him repeated a Sanskrit verse in praise of Vishnu in his man-lion incarnation. When the king listened to the lofty sentiments expressed in the verse he enquired of the stranger with great curiosity who was the author of the piece. The Gandharva replied to him, "in the north-west

प्रार्थनावितर्थाकतुं प्रभवोनभवादृशाः ।
 महामलपुरदेवस्वैरवारिधिमन्त्रिषा ॥
 आस्तमुकुन्दस्तानन्दं फणाद्रहवमन्दुरं ।
 भञ्जःकेनापितस्यासात्कारेणमुरद्विषः ॥
 मणिवन्धोमहाबाहोः समयासन्धितोऽधुना ।
 तदालोकितुमर्हन्ति भवन्तःसाधुदानवा ॥
 यतावताप्रयासेन प्रसादातिशयोस्तुनः ।
 श्रुत्वासेनापतेःपुत्रःकलाग्रीश्लेषेशलः ॥
 पार्श्ववर्तीपरामैत्रीं विभ्रद्गण्डनमभ्यधात् ।
 आर्यसंभाव्यतामस्यस्वपतेर्वचनंत्वया ॥
 अपिचसृष्टृणीयतेसुहृदामपिदर्शनम् ।
 मित्राणिमातृदत्ताद्याःकरेभ्योद्विजोत्तमाः ॥
 त्वदर्शनार्थमायाताः तस्मिन्सज्जिदध्वमी ।
 इतिश्रुत्वाततःप्रीतः तंविस्तृज्यपरैरहनि ॥
 सुहृद्भिस्सहतंदेशययौतेनचशिल्पिना ।
 अथोत्तरङ्गमङ्गालीविलसद्बाहुलोलया ॥
 नृत्यन्तमिवगन्भीरमम्भोराशिददर्शसः ।
 ततस्तागरकलोलक्षितक्षोदान्बुलुम्बिना ॥
 सेव्यमानसुखामोदक्षारिणावनवायुना ।
 तत्रोदारमुदापश्यददूरेराशमन्दिरम् ॥
 गच्छन्वेलापधेनाथप्रपेदेमन्दिरहरेः ।
 तरङ्गबाहुसंवाह्यचरणानुरुहद्वयम् ।
 उदन्वतामुदाविष्टोददर्शमुरशासनम् ।
 प्रविश्यप्रतिमान्यर्णगत्वा निर्वर्णयन्नयम् ॥
 नाध्यगच्छत्सुसंहत्वासन्धानंमणिवन्धने ।
 तस्या.....तत्त्वष्टुःतक्षकर्मणिशिक्षया ॥
 विस्मितायस्मितकुवञ्जसैदर्शयतिस्मसः ।
 तस्मिन्कालेजलोद्देशेदृशमुक्तवारिजम् ॥
 उदयारुणमार्ताण्डमण्डलाकारिवारिधेः ।
 तत्तुप्रत्यक्षमेवैषांतरङ्गप्रेषितंहरेः ॥

there is a town named Anandapura, the crest-jewel of the Aryadesa where ruled many kings. A family of Brahmins of the Kausikagotra migrated from the place and settled at Achalapura. Narayanasvamin, a member of this family, had a son named Damodara, who became a great scholar and was known as Bharavi. He became a friend of the king Vishnuvardhana. Once he accompanied Vishnuvardhana on a hunting expedition and while in the forest was obliged by him to eat animal flesh. He then set out on a pilgrimage to expiate his action and finally settled in the court of Durvinita. He is the author of this verse, which I have now repeated." On hearing this, the king desired to see the poet and induced him to come to his court by many invitations (Srimukha). The poet delighted the king greatly by his writings (Subhashitas). He was made to live in a respectable dwelling assigned to him by the king and followed the profession of his fathers which was poetry.

This very interesting extract is important in more ways than one. It

चरणाम्बुहस्पर्शात्सद्योविद्याधरोऽभवत् ।
 ततःकिरीटीकेयूरीकृपाणीकवचीचसः ॥
 भूत्वातपस्वीभूतेशंप्रणम्योदपतादिवम् ।
 दृष्ट्वादण्डिनमाचष्टलेहादिष्टतमःसुहृत् ॥
 गौरीपुत्रोपिनन्वेतत् विस्पष्टदृष्टवानिति ।
 पश्यन्नाश्चर्यरूपतं चिन्तयित्वाकिमित्यसौ ॥
 कौतुकाकृष्टदृष्टिभ्यःतेभ्यः संभाव्यमभ्यधात् ।
 पद्मसंवन्धिनो नूनममुनामुनिशापतः ॥
 पथीभूयप्रमुक्तेन भाव्यदिव्येन केनचित् ।
 ब्रधवादेवमारारध्यप्रसादान्मुरशासनम् ॥
 अत्याहितमिदमेतुमत्यर्थमहमुत्सहे ।
 ततःस्वभवनंगत्वाददर्श ... मुपेयुषे ॥
 कथयामासतत्सर्वभूतार्थभूतभावनः ।

पृथुकान्तिमवन्ति सुन्दरीति ।

प्रथितां विक्रमरक्तराजहंसाम् ॥

सरसां रहसिप्रियामिवाद्रां ।

उपलेभे पुरुषोत्तममप्रसादात् ॥

मुक्त्वा शय्यां मिलितपुलकव्रातमुत्थाय भूयः ।

प्राप्तानन्दो रतिसमये प्राप्त नां क्रियाणां ॥

सप्रारेभे सपदिसकलां स्वप्नलब्धां सुहृद्भ्यः ।

शुश्रूषुभ्यः पृथुमथ कथां विस्तरेणाभिधातुम् ॥

॥ इत्यवन्ति सुन्दरीकथासारे प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ॥

has established the synchronism of three kings: Simhavishnu of Kanchi, Durvinita and Vishnuvardhana. All the three names are famous in South Indian history. Simhavishnu of Kanchi was a king of the Pallava Dynasty whose descendants had supreme political control over the major portion of South India for well-nigh three centuries. He is known from inscriptions to have seized the country of the Cholas after defeating a hostile confederacy of the Malaya, Kalabhra, Malava, Chola, Pandya, Simhala and the Kerala kings. Durvinita who appears in the present work as another contemporary of Bharavi seems to be the king of the W. Ganga dynasty of that name. In fact there is only one king of that name so far known in the whole range of Indian history. From his inscriptions we gather that his tutor was the famous divine who was the author of the *Sabdavatara*, the celebrated Jain grammarian Pujyapada. Some inscriptions make Durvinita himself the author of a *Sabdavatara* (vide note 3, Mysore Archæological Report 1916 p. 36). Durvinita is also said to have translated the *Brihatkatha* and written a commentary on fifteen sargas of *Kiratarjuniya*, the poem of Bharavi. Neither of the two works of Durvinita has come down to us. Of these, his translation of *Brihatkatha* seems to have been into Sanskrit from the original Paisachi. Durvinita is mentioned in Nripatunga's *Kavirajamarga* as one of the distinguished early Kannada writers.

But his work which is of the utmost interest to us is the second, that is, his commentary of fifteen cantos of the *Kiratarjuniya*. There cannot be greater praise bestowed on the merits of a poet than that his work should be commented on by the talented sovereign whose protégé he is. This position Bharavi seems to have occupied. Our extract says that Bharavi did not continue in the court of Durvinita for long, but that he was induced to leave it and settle at the court of Simhavishnu, the Pallava ruler of Kanchi.

Now we have to find out who was the other royal contemporary of our poet that is mentioned in the poem. His name was Vishnuvardhana. There were many kings of this name in South India. But the king referred to in the extract seems to be the younger brother of the famous western Chalukyan emperor Pulakesin II., the conqueror of Harshavardhana. This Vishnuvardhana is popularly known in inscriptions as Kubja Vishnuvardhana. As a general under his elder brother Satyasraya Pulakesin II., he conquered many countries and captured Vengi from the Pallavas. There he later on founded the dynasty of the Eastern Chalukyas after declaring himself independent of his elder brother. But the incident mentioned in the present work and his coming in contact with Damodara, the Bharavi of our story must have taken place while he was still a prince fighting his elder brother's wars. The way in which he treated the poet affords an interesting contrast to

the way in which he was honoured in the courts of his contemporaries. Simhavishnu and Durvinita, with both of whom he came in contact.

We do not know whether Bharavi was the author of any works other than Kiratarjuniya. The verse that is quoted in Avantisundarikatha and which aroused the curiosity of Simhavishnu is not to be found in the poem. We cannot say whether it is a fugitive verse of the author or whether it has been taken from any other work written by him. There cannot be the slightest doubt that Kiratarjuniya became very popular throughout India very soon after it was written as verified by the tradition above quoted about Magha. We are not in a position to say whether the sculptor of the elaborate sculpture on the whole side of the hill at Mamallapura (Mahamallapura) representing the penance of Arjuna and his encounter with Siva in the guise of a Kirata was influenced more by the story as it was narrated in the Mahabharata or as it is depicted in the immortal "Hunter and the Hero".

After Bharavi the MS. of Avantisundarikatha gives the history of the family of Bharavi. He had three sons of whom Manoratha was the second and the family increased through him. Manoratha had four sons resembling the four Vedas of whom the youngest was Viradatta who was a good philosopher. He had by his wife Gauri, a son called Dandin. Dandin lost both his parents while still young. He acquired great scholarship and proficiency in the Vedas. When the city of Kanchi was besieged by enemies and was reduced to great straits he left it, and wandered over the country, visiting many hermitages (asramas) mastering the sastras and seeing the sacred forests.

After peace was restored in the city he was invited back by the king and returned and once more joined his relations and friends. After this the work narrates the following incident: One day an artist who was well versed in architecture and sculpture came to the king and bowed down. The officers of the court introduced him to the king and said that the artist had executed several exquisite sculptures. The artist saluted him with due humility and said "if you want to honour me, you should not refuse this request of mine. At Mahamallapura there is the God Mukunda on the shore of the sea. His wrist was broken by somebody, and I have rejoined the same. The work deserves to be seen by you and judged as to its merits. The son of the commander-in-chief a friend of Dandin who was skilled in the arts exhorted him to accept the invitation of the artist and take along with him his relations and friends like Matridatta, who had come from the Keralas.

Dandin, pleased with the invitation, left Kanchi the next day accompanied by his friends and the artist. He saw on his way the ocean constantly

agitated by the waves. Not far from the beach he saw the place of the king. Proceeding along he went to the temple of Hari (Vishnu) whose feet were washed by the waves of the sea. He approached the idol and examined it thoroughly but could not discover where the wrist of the idol was joined. At this the artist with a smile in his face showed it to him and Dandin was astonished.

After this the work passes on to give the account of a miracle, in order to begin his subject proper, the story of Avantisundari. As the poet was standing before the God and examining the sculpture, a lotus which had just blossomed was thrown at the feet of the God by the waves of the sea. When it touched the feet of the God, it was changed into a Vidyadhara. The Vidyadhara bowed before the God and flew to the heaven. Dandin and his friends were greatly surprised at the miracle and he thought that if he meditated upon God he would be pleased with him and reveal the story of the miracle. He did accordingly and the God, pleased with his devotion, revealed to him the story of Avantisundari. Before discussing about the new information here given about Dandin, let us examine what we already know about his identity and history. There is a tradition⁴ that Dandin wrote three works and it is nowhere recorded which were his three works. The two Sanskrit works Kavyadarsa and Dasakumaracharita have been known to be his works and they have been published and have gone through several editions. Of these the Kavyadarsa is a great authoritative work on poetics. It is quoted in a large number of later works. This work is not entirely devoid of any reference to the date and place of the author. In verse 114 canto III of the work, he gives as an example of a Prahelika the following verse :—

नासिक्यमध्या परितस्तुर्वर्णविभूषिता ।

अस्तिकाचित्पुरीयस्यामष्टवर्णाह्वानृपाः ॥

Commenting on this verse an early commentator of the work, Tarunavachaspati has the following passage :—

काञ्चीनगर्या पलवानामक्षितिपतयः सन्तिविवाक्षतः ।

From both the verse and the commentary we gather that the reference is to the famous city of Kanchi ruled by the Pallava dynasty. Again in canto II verse 279 of Kavyadarsa we have the reference⁵ to the Saiva king, whose name has been variously read as Rajavarman and Ratavarman. We can gather from the way in which the king is introduced that he must have been

4 त्रयोदशयस्त्रयोदेवास्त्रयोवेदास्त्रयोरुणाः ।

त्रयोदण्डिप्रबन्धाश्च त्रिपुल्लोकेषु विश्रुताः ॥

5 इति साक्षात्कृतदेवे राज्ञोऽश्रीराज(त)वर्मणः ।

प्रीतिप्रकाशनंतच्च प्रेयस्त्वयगम्यताम् ॥

a contemporary of the author. This led to the identification of the king by Mr. R. A. Narasimhacharya with Rajasimha Narasimha Varman II. the Pallava king of Kanchi. Again Professor Rangacharya, the editor of the critical edition of the *Kavyadarsa*, mentions in connection with canto I, verse 3, a tradition that the work was composed by Dandin for giving lessons in rhetoric to a royal prince of Kanchi. The prince was according to Mr. R. A. Narasimhacharya probably Rajasimha's son. From these data Dandin's period was concluded to be the last quarter of the seventh century.

The other work attributed to Dandin is the *Dasakumaracharita*. This is a long prose romance dealing with the story of the romantic adventures of ten princes. This work has been very popular for a very long time among the scholars throughout India and there are also several commentaries. Scholars have no tradition about the author of this work except that he was called Dandin. One of the commentaries says that the author came to be called Dandin on account of the beauty of the first verse⁶ in his *Dasakumaracharita* in praise of God Vishnu wherein the word "Danda" occurs a number of times. Again the latter portion of the *Dasakumaracharita* or the *Uttarapithika* as it is called is not believed to have been written by the author of the other portion, but to have been filled up by some later author. But in spite of the widespread prevalence and popularity of the work there have been scholars who doubted whether the author of the *Kavyadarsa* could have been also the author of the *Dasakumaracharita*. As an example of this school of opinion one may refer to the note on "who wrote the *Dasakumaracharita*?" by Mr. G. J. Agashe of Poona. *Ind. Ant.*, Volume 44, page 67. There the writer tries to make out a case that the author of *Dasakumaracharita* could not have been Dandin, the author of the *Kavyadarsa*. The *Dasakumaracharita* abounds in passages, the like of which according to the tenets of the *Kavyadarsa* should not occur in good poetry. Referring to this, the author of the above note has the following: "Not to mention the tiresome description and reiteration of what in the author's time were considered feminine charms, we have explicit mention of sexual intercourse in no fewer than ten places in the *Dasakumaracharita*. One of these ten passages is so outrageously obscene that it cannot but bring a blush to the cheek of every cultured reader. Now I venture to ask if it is conceivable that an author, who, as an authority in rhetoric, wrote like an angel of

6 ब्रह्माण्डच्छत्रदण्डः शतभृतिभवनान्मोरुहोनाल्लदण्डः ।

क्षोणानौकूपदण्डः क्षरदयरसरिस्पट्टिकाकेतुदण्डः ॥

ज्योतिश्चक्राक्षदण्डः त्रिभुवनविजयस्तम्भदण्डोऽङ्गिदण्डः ।

तेजस्त्रैविक्रमस्तेवितरतुविबुधद्वेषिणां कालदण्डः ॥

righteousness, should or could have so far forgotten himself as to violate in practice what he taught in poetry." The writer also quotes various instances of harshness of expression and grammatical inaccuracy. He thinks that in an examination of the *Dasakumaracharita* it is possible that one may be able to collect much more material to confirm doubts as to the identity of the authors.

But the discovery by the Madras Library of the present manuscript sets at rest all these doubts. The work describes the same story which is described in the *Dasakumaracharita* and in addition has many other small anecdotes. An examination of the style and diction of this work would convince any reader that it is not liable to attacks similar to those levelled against the *Dasakumaracharita*. It is a *Champu* work (partly prose and partly poetry). But as chance would have it, the manuscript that has been discovered is not complete but breaks in the middle and has many lacunae. From the beautiful language in which it is written and the autobiographical sketch prefixed to it there cannot be any doubt that the present author is the same as the author of the *Kavyadarsa* and that the *Dasakumaracharita* was written by some later and inferior poet. Rajasekhara refers in a verse to three works written by Dandin and this is bound to be one of the three. But one has to be able to say when *Avantisundarikatha* was lost and *Dasakumaracharita* began to be considered as Dandin's work. The earliest mention of *Dasakumaracharita* as a work of Dandin seems to be in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There is a translation of the *Dasakumaracharita* into Telugu written by one Mulaghatika Ketana. This work was dedicated to the famous Telugu poet Tikkana, who wrote the *Nirvachanottara Ramayana* and translated fifteen parvas of the *Mahabharata* into Telugu which had been left incomplete by Nannaya. Tikkana was a contemporary of the Telugu Chola chief Manma-Siddha as well as of the Kakatiya king Ganapati and of the Chola sovereign Kulottunga Chola III. Therefore the author of the Telugu *Dasakumaracharita* also must have lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. He is popularly known in Telugu as Nutana Dandin or Abhinava Dandin for his translation of the *Dasakumaracharita*. This proves that by the scholars of the middle of the thirteenth century, *Dasakumaracharita* was considered to be a work of Dandin. From this it is plain that *Avantisundarikatha* must have been lost or forgotten some time before the middle of the thirteenth century and in its place the *Dasakumaracharita* began to be considered as Dandin's work.

Now what was the third work of Dandin referred to by Rajasekhara? Tradition has not left any clue of it. But the exertions of recent scholars has brought it to light. Among the works noticed in the *Peripatetic Party's*

report of the Madras Library is a *Sringaraprakasa*, by Bhoja, which seems to be a hitherto unknown work of the famous king of Dhara "Bhoja" and deals with the subject-matter of *Sringara* in an exhaustive manner and quotes profusely from many works, some of which are now lost to us. One of these is Dandin's *Dvisandhana*. The work combines in each stanza the incidents of the stories of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. This *Dvisandhana* seems to be different from the work of the same name of Dhananjaya, one of the court poets of Munja of Dhara, the uncle of Bhoja, the author of the present work.

The whole of the previous discussion would lead one to think that the age in which Bharavi and Dandin lived must have been one of intense religious and literary activity. But the names of any famous literary worthies of this period have not come down to us. Nevertheless a careful study of literature and a critical examination of the dates of the authors may bring to light the names of some more poets who lived during the age of Bharavi and Dandin and in the country of the Pallavas, *i.e.*, South India. The Indian Antiquary some years ago published several articles from the pens of able sanskritists and archæologists about the relative chronology of Bhamaha and Dandin. Of these one set of scholars whose ablest representative might be said to be Mr. R. Narasimhacharya of Mysore held that Bhamaha was earlier than Dandin and that Dandin has in various places of his *Kavyadarsa* controverted the views of Bhamaha. He quotes in favour of his view the ancient commentator of the *Kavyadarsa* Tarunayachaspati from whom we have already quoted. But the opponents of this school whose ablest representative one might take to be, Mr. Pathak, held that Bhamaha was later than Dandin. Their chief reasons for this view were that Bhamaha quotes a Nasakara in his work whom they identify with Jinendrabuddhi, the author of the *Kasikavirvarana-Panchika*, who lived about the middle of the eighth century. Also they find in the work of Bhamaha, criticism of the views of Dandin and quote to illustrate this the respective views of Bhamaha and Dandin about the varieties of the *Alankara Upama*. Bhamaha maintains that *Upama* should not be divided into several categories as *Nindopama*, *Prasamsopama*, etc., and that all such varieties should come under *Samanyaguna*. The school see in this a criticism of Dandin who gives a long list of varieties of *Upama*. Mr. Narasimhacharya conclusively proved in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, that the *Nyasa* quoted by Bhamaha could not have been Jinendrabuddhi's and that Sanskrit grammarians knew several other *Nyasakaras* before Jinendrabuddhi. But the other objection about Bhamaha's criticism of the views of Dandin seems to be still valid. Similarly the view that Dandin criticizes Bhamaha in his work seems to prove that both Bhamaha and Dandin were contemporaries.

The whole discussion of the relative chronological positions of Bhamaha and Dandin has been very ably dealt with in a pamphlet entitled "Bhamaha" by Pandit A. Anantacharya, late of the Mysore Archæological Department. He quotes various arguments to show that Bhamaha could never have lived later than Dandin whose work, according to him, must have been written to criticize Bhamaha. "Throughout his treatment the general rule with Dandin seems to be to disapprove wherever possible the views and classifications of Bhamaha and to maintain the contrary view. To quote only a few instances where Dandin has done this, one might examine Dandin's definition of Kavya, treatment of the Nayaka, Nataka, the Vaidarbhi and Gaudi Ritis, the classification of the Alankaras, the definition of ojas". To determine the dates of the two authors the able writer makes use of the orthodox method of the Tarkikas who use the four sorts of evidences Spashtalinga, Aspashtalinga, Ubhayasadhana and Pratipaksadhana. From this discussion he comes to the conclusion that Bhamaha could never have lived later than Dandin. If he could not have been later, then he must have lived either before or in the time of Bhamaha.

Dealing with Prahelikas Dandin quotes a full verse of which only a portion has been made use of by Bhamaha in illustrating the Doshas. Both Bhamaha and Dandin cite another stanza in illustration of Preyolankara. The author from this and many other arguments says "from the comparative study of Bhamaha and Dandin indulged in by us till now, one may be tempted to say that they criticized each other as leaders of two rival schools". This suggestion would be absurd, according to this writer on the face of it, when he considers the southern origin of Dandin and the Kashmirian origin of Bhamaha. The commentary on Bhamaha quotes Rudrata whom it is attempted here to identify with the Rudracharya of the Kudimiyamalai music inscription, the tutor of the Pallava king perhaps Mahendravarman I.

The arguments which the writer brings forward to prove the priority of Bhamaha to Dandin are not convincing. Dandin mentions by name the Maharashtra Mahakavya Setubandha of Pravarasena about whom Bhamaha is silent. From this it can by no means be affirmed that Bhamaha was earlier than Pravarasena. Another argument is that Bhamaha mentions the older view of Indian astronomers that the earth moves. This, according to the writer, would establish the priority of Bhamaha to Aryabhata. But this view was held by many other astronomers who were distinctly later than Aryabhata like Brahmagupta (seventh century) and Bhaskara (twelfth century). Bhamaha's ardent support of the realistic school of Vedanta whose existence is recognized by the great founder of the Advaita school of Vedanta in his Sariraka Bhashya and which marked the reaction that set in against the teaching of Buddha leads

according to our author, to a time earlier than Sankara. Here it ought to be said that the realistic school continued in existence even after Sankara and that even the priority of Bhamaha to Sankara would not establish his priority to Dandin, because Sankara is now accepted by scholars to have lived in the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth century *i.e.*, later than the date of Dandin.

The fact that Bhamaha was very conversant with the story of Chanakya, the Brihatkatha of Gunadhya and the story of Vatsaraja only shows that these were very popular subjects for literary composition during this period and also the newly discovered work of Dandin deals with all these subjects.

Bhamaha quotes several authors as well known in his time like Medhavi, Ramasarma and Sakavridhi and their works like Achyutottara, Ratnaharana, Rajamitra, and Asmakavamsa. Of these Ramasarma appears to have been a contemporary of our poets and his work was the Kavya Achyutottara. Bhamaha quotes with approval this work in several places and recommends his readers to refer to the work. He also in a few places criticizes the work. While dealing with the subject of Prahelika Dandin employs the same words as Bhamaha and goes on to enumerate an extensive classification of that style. Dandin does not mention the name of Ramasarma, while Bhamaha does so. From this it cannot be argued that Dandin did not know the verse. On the other hand it seems to add strength to the argument that Dandin, Bhamaha and Ramasarma were contemporaries.

Another contemporary of these authors was Matridatta who is called a friend of Dandin. He is said to have come from the Kerala country and been residing at the Pallava Court in the time of Dandin. But we do not know of any work of this Matridatta.

Bhamaha wrote also another work in addition to his Kavyalankara *i.e.*, his commentary on the Prakrita Sutras of Vararuchi. The opinion of some scholars that Bhamaha was a Buddhist is untenable because he himself in various places of his work has criticized the tenets and dogmas of Buddhism. Bhamaha does not afford any other clue as to his age and parentage. He merely says that he was the son of Rakrilagomin. The suffix Gomin of his father's name was considered to be a honorific suffix to certain Buddhist proper names and meant "Revered" and from that the son of Rakrilagomin, Bhamaha was considered to be a Buddhist.

The Trivandrum Sanskrit series has published a burlesque "Prahasana" called "Mattavilasa". The book⁷ says that its author was a king called

⁷ *Mattavilasaprahasana of Mahendravikramavarman.*

सूत्रधारः ॥

भाषाविषयः क्रियागुणकृतानां श्रित्यभेदान्तं भावविशेषादनेकरसतां त्रैलोक्ययात्रामयम् ।

नृत्तनिष्प्रतिबद्धबोधमाहिमायः प्रेक्षकश्च स्वयम् सव्याप्तावनिभाजनं दिशतु वो दिव्यः कपालीयशः ॥

Mahendravarman, of the dynasty of the Pallavas of Kanchi, that he was the son of Simhavishnu, and had the titles Avanibhanjana, Mattavilasa, Gunabhara and Satrumalla. These terms leave no doubt about the identity of the author who was Mahendravarman I. of Kanchi who was a great patron of arts and had the cave-temples like those of Mahendravadi, Mamandur, Trichinopoly, Pallavaram, excavated. He also seems to be the king referred to as having inscribed the musical treatise on the whole side of the hill of Kudimiyamalai. This treatise, according to the colophon⁸ was composed by some king, who was the pupil of Rudracharya. From the alphabet in which this inscription is written, which resembles very closely the alphabet of the Trichinopoly inscription of Mahendravarman I, archæologists have come to the conclusion that Mahendravarman I was the author of the treatise. Mr. Bhandarkar, the editor of this inscription, says in his article "It is impossible to say whether this Rudracharya be the same as Rudrata, mentioned by Matanga as an author on music". *Ep. Ind.*, XII, page 231. But the identity of Rudracharya and Rudrata seems to be more than merely probable. We have the example of a later Rudrata who lived in the court of the Hoysala king Vira Ballala II. The tradition is that his full name was Rudrabhatta, and that on one occasion the king extorted from the poet the promise that he

नटी—

X X (सरोषम्) अय्य । किंचिरस्सकालस्सजोव्वणगुणभर मत्तविलास प्रहसनंदसेटुं आअदोसि ।
छाया ।—आर्य । किंचिरस्सकालस्स यौवनगुणभर मत्तविलासप्रहसनंदशयितुमागतोसि ॥

X X X X X X X
सूत्रधारः—भवतिश्रूयतां । पल्लवकुलतिलकधरणिमण्डलकुलपवर्तस्यसर्वनयावीजितसमस्तसामन्तमण्डलस्य
अखण्डलसमपराक्रमश्रियः श्रीमहिमानुरूपदानविभूतिपरिभूतराजराजस्य श्रीसिंहविष्णुवर्मणः पुत्रः
शत्रुवड्वर्गनिग्रहपरः परिहृतपरतन्त्र तयामहाभूतसधर्मा महाराजः श्रीमहेन्द्रविक्रमवर्मानाम ।

अपिच

प्रज्ञादानदयानुभावधृतयः कान्तिः कलाकौशलं सत्यंशौर्वममायता विनयश्चैवम्प्रकारागुणाः ।
अप्रापस्थितयः समेत्यशरणयातायमेकंकलौ कल्पान्तेजगदादिमादिपुरुषसंग्रभेदाश्च ॥ ३ ॥

X X X X X X X
भरतवाक्यं ॥—

शश्वद्भूलैः प्रजानां बहुविधिहुतामाहुतिजातवेदाः ।
वेदान्विप्राभजन्तां सुरभिदुहितरो भूरिदोहाभवन्तु ॥
उक्तःस्वेषुधर्मेष्वयमपि विगतव्यापदान्द्रतारं ।
राजन्वानस्तुशक्तिप्रशमितरिपुणाशत्रुमहोन्नलोकः ॥ २३ ॥

8 The colophon of the Kudimiyamalai Music inscription.—*Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 23.

श्रीरुद्राचार्यशिष्येण परममाहेश्वरेण राज्ञाशिष्यहितार्थकृताः स्वरागमाः ॥

should remove the letter *bha* from his name and should be known as Rudrata, his famous namesake and predecessor. On this analogy Rudra, Rudrata and Rudracharya seem to be one and the same individual. The Kudimiya-malai inscription says that Rudracharya was a great authority in music and that he had many pupils including a king of the Pallava dynasty among them. Rudrata like Bhamaha and Dandin was the author of a Kavyalankara. But he seems to have lived half a century prior to both of them in the time of Mahendrarvarman I, the son of Simhavishnu, whose Court was adorned by Bharavi. He might have known personally and been familiar with the latter if Bharavi had lived long enough. Dr. Peterson in the introduction to the edition of Vallabha-deva's Subhashitavali notes the possibility of this identity of Rudrata with Rudrabhatta and refers to the work *Sringaratilaka* composed by him.

The series of dramas which have been published at Trivandrum as Bhasa's seem to belong to this period. Svapnavasavadatta although it answers in several points the description of Bhasa's drama does not seem to be the whole of it. It and several other works of the series appear to be abridged editions of the works of Bhasa and some other famous authors like Sudraka, abridged for the purpose of staging before the court of some king. This king seems to have had the title Rajasimha,⁹ as is evident from the colophons of several of these dramas. This Rajasimha seems to have been another name of the Pallava king Narasimhavaraman II who reigned during the last decade of the seventh century and was a descendant of Mahendrasarman, the author of *Mattavilasa*. These dramas bear a strong resemblance to the *Mattavilasa* with which they have some common characteristics. Mr. L. D. Barnett in his note in the J.R.A.S. for April 1919 suggests that the dramas seem to have been the work of an anonymous author in the court of the Pandyan sovereign Termaran Rajasimha who seems also to be related to the Pallava Rajasimha. But the evidence points more to the Pallava than the Pandya court for the authorship of these dramas. Even if they are taken to have been written in the Pandya court the dramas must have been written during this period.

Again several manuscripts of *Mudrarakshasa* found in South India have the name of Dantivarman in the last benedictory verse.¹⁰ This was variously

9 इमां सागरपर्यन्तां हिमवद्भिन्ध्यकुण्डलाम् ।

पृथ्वीमिकातपत्राङ्गां राजसिंहः प्रशस्तुनः ॥

10 *Mudrarakshasa*.

राक्षसः—तथापीदमस्तु भरतवाक्यम् ।

वाराहीमात्मयोने स्तनुमवनविधावस्थितस्यानुरूपं ।

यस्यप्रान्दन्तकोटिं प्रलयपरिगताशिश्चिभूतचात्री ॥

म्लेच्छैरुद्विज्यमानाभुजयुगमधुनासंश्रिताराजमूर्तेः ।

सश्रीमद्भुभृत्यश्चिरमवतुमर्हो प्राथिवोदन्तिवर्मा ॥

read as Rantivarman and Avantivarman. But these do not seem to be the proper readings. Many old and reliable manuscripts of the *Mudrarakshasa*, examined in Malabar, have the name Dantivarman in the place of Rantivarman or Avantivarman. This Dantivarman seems to be identical with the Pallava sovereign of the name who ruled about 720 A.D. These are some of the great literary worthies who lived in the period and whose names have been possible for us to know. But there must have been many more whose names have been forgotten. Many of the inscriptions of the Pallavas are written in beautiful Sanskrit verse. There must have been several good poets among the composers of these inscriptions. But we do not know what works they wrote.

The age that produced such great worthies of Sanskrit literature has not been without the production of a proportionate quantity of valuable literature in the Dravidian languages. This was the age in which lived several great Saiva and Vaishnava seers. The devotional songs of the Saiva saints comprised in the *Tirumurai* contain the works of several poets who lived at this period. In fact three out of the four *Samayacharyas* of the South Indian Tamil Śaivas, Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar belong to this age. These three together wrote a considerable portion of the Saiva Prabandhas. Of these Appar, or Tirunavakkarsar as he is called, is said to have converted the Pallava king Mahendravarma who was originally a Jain into Saivism. Another saint Sambandar or Tirugnanasambandha was a contemporary of Siruttonda Nayanar who is said to have been a general under the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I and to have accompanied him in the campaign against Vatapi. Sundara, the other saint, is said to have lived a generation later in the Pallava, Pandya and Chera courts. The list of Saiva saints contains the names of at least three who appear to have been Pallava sovereigns, Narasingamunaiyarayar, identified with Narasimhavaram I, Aiyadigal Kadavarkon Nayanar and Kalarsinga Nayanar.

At least one of the twelve saints of Vaishnavism and the last of them in point of chronology lived during the period of the Pallavas. This was Parakala or Kalidhvamsin, as he is known in Sanskrit or Kaliyan or Tirumangai Alvar, as he is known in Tamil. He has referred to the achievements of several Pallava kings in his songs. He also refers to a king called Vairamegha who is said to have made grants to Vishnu temples and besieged the Pallava capital Kanchi. This Vairamegha seems to be the Rashtrakuta king Dantidurga who had that title. Parakala therefore lived during the Pallava period. He is called Chatushkavi-Sikhamani and Shatprabandhakrit and wrote more extensively than any other of the twelve Vaishnava saints.

The Tamil poem *Nandikkalambakam* was dedicated to the Pallava king

Nandivarman II who defeated his enemies in the battle of Tellar. The poet Perundevanar, the author of the Bharatavenba, lived in his time as he refers to him in the Udyogaparvam of his Bharatam. He should not be confounded with the author of the invocatory stanzas to the various Tamil classics which have been known collectively as the Sangam works who is also said to have written a Bharatam in Tamil.

Thus the age and country which produced Bharavi and Dandin is very important in the history of Aryan culture. It produced very great poets, dramatists, rhetoricians, sculptors, musicians and authors. All these were, of course, due at least to a little degree to the cultured taste and patronage of the Pallava sovereigns. Such civilized tastes and patronage of culture cannot be expected of a nomadic tribe of Parthian origin who came all the way from Parthia to the southern extremity of the Indian peninsula destroying everything that they found on their way. They are said to have vanquished the ancient tribes of the peninsula and become rulers and not to have left their mark either on the civilization or the literature of the country. It has been attempted in this paper to show how much both the civilization, literature as well as the religion of the country owe to them and how indelibly they have left their mark on its history. The mistake arose out of the mistaken relation between the South Indian Pallavas; or the Kadavas or Tondaiyar as they were known indigenously, and the Pallava kings on the north-western frontier of India of Parthian origin.

THE DEVA DASIS OF INDIA.

BY THE HON. MR. T. V. SESHAGIRI IVER, B.A., B.L.

THE penalty we pay for two of the most prominent defects in our national character is heavy. The failure to keep a record of our social and political institutions has been a serious misfortune. The free play we have given to imagination regarding ordinary incidents of life, thereby giving them a colour and a setting which have effectively cast a thick veil over their reality is another evil. The result is, our history is often guess work; not infrequently we rely on surmises for reconciling seeming incongruities and for finding reasons for many of the prevalent formulae and practices.

In this article, I propose to trace the origin of an institution which is shrouded in mystery. Apparently it has a long past. I refer to the community of Dancing Girls. It is a well-known class in the South, and I believe it is recognized as a separate class in the North also. The Bairavis and Shevadasis of Bengal belong to that class. The Bairavis of Bombay claim the same privileges as their sisters in Madras. The statement sometimes indulged in that the old long past witnessed unalloyed purity in every department of life is not quite accurate. The Rig Veda, the *Vajasaneya* Samhita refer to the profession of Dancing Girls. Manu's condemnation presupposes the evil (IX 259). The jataka of the Buddhists has allusion to them. We occasionally come across tell-tale narrations in the Epics and in the Puranas, which show that our forbears were not wholly free from human frailties. In many Puranas, the story of the churning of the ocean finds prominent mention. The tradition is that both the Devas and the Asuras wanted the elixir of life. It was believed that this would ensure eternal youth and life. The hunt after it has just begun in the West. The quest after such an alluring idea will never abate. In India, the contending parties petitioned the higher powers for the boon. The prayer was answered. The elixir and other valuable and coveted treasures were obtained. Maha Vishnu, Indra and others divided them among themselves. Mahadev, to save the others from destruction, agreed to swallow the poison and was none the worse for it. The Apsaras came out of this process; and they were given permission to lead a life of unfettered freedom. This, briefly, is the Puranic story. Even amongst the most orthodox, there are people who regard this as an allegory; without meaning any offence to the religious minded, I shall treat it as such in this article.

Probably the story points to the first attempt made in India, on a large scale, to cross the seas. All the principal gods are mentioned as having taken part in it. Mahalakshmi symbolises material wealth and prosperity. The horse and the elephant indicate the advent of a new mode of warfare. The science of medicine was reborn, and had for its leader a new professor probably from beyond the seas.

Only the riddle of Mahadev swallowing the poison is not easily solved. It may be that this bravest of the brave was willing to undergo all the privations incident to piloting a bold enterprise, with a view to others benefiting by it. He was apparently the leading spirit and captain of the ship. He was content to count as his reward the success of the undertaking. He stipulated for no *quid pro quo*.

The subject I am concerned with relates to the Apsaras. It is said they were handsome. To-day the unkindest way of snubbing an ugly woman is to say "what an apsaras?" A large number of them were brought ashore. These sea-nymphs requested the Devas and the Asuras to take them in wedlock. That was refused, probably because they did not belong to the races inhabiting this land; ever after, they came to be known as *sadarana* women, i.e., women who belonged to no man in particular. The Bombay people call the dancing girls *Visva yoshithas*, women common to all in the world. It looks as if these women were from a different land. Very likely they were slaves and were purchased: may be they chose of their own accord to follow these people from a new country; it was on this account that the caste-ridden Devas and Asuras refused to take them in matrimony.

I have authority which to some extent supports me. In the Ramayana reference is made to the presence of these people in the asramas of rishis. They are mentioned as being present in the palaces of kings. In *Yagnyavalkya Smriti* there is a reference to them. I had occasion to examine the text when I was a judge of the High Court and my recollection is that this great *smriti* writer regarded them as beyond the pale of the four castes. That is an indication that they were not children of the soil. They were content to accept India as their future home. I am sure that the cult attracted others and the diminishing ranks were replenished by home recruits. It is doubtful whether foreign blood in the most diluted form is now to be found in their veins. That is not unnatural. Even to-day you will find among them more colour and a softer skin and better complexion. But that would not bespeak their foreign origin. Very likely those that claim to belong to that class now are unmixed Indian stock. I am only concerned with the institution as it sprang up and not with its later transformation. It is not difficult to suppose that the earliest among them at one time did belong to a different country. They have their own laws of inheritance. Descent is traced through the mother, naturally; and the property, in the first instance, goes to the daughter. It is taken by the sons only if there are no daughters.

It now remains to account for their connection with temples. Mr. William Crooke writing in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* thinks that their connection with temples began about the ninth or tenth century A.D.; very many of our temples were built about that date. I am inclined to think their connection with religious institutions must have been earlier. Once again I draw inferences and do not state facts. My idea is that when the ancients found that these women were unacceptable as wives, and that consequently there would be danger to society by their being allowed to roam at will, they believed a check upon their unfettered life might be devised by asking them to attach themselves to religious institutions,

The aim in view was that by continued presence in temples, where good men and women congregate, these unfortunate women might be induced to change their mode of life and to become votaries of God. This may account for their dedication. Unfortunately these pious hopes were not realized. Instead of reforming themselves they dragged down others with them. They now go to the temple not to worship, but to tempt unwary young men. This is due to the fact that the custodians of the temples have not enjoined strict rules of decorum and of discipline on these women. These institutions intended for the reformation of the bad and the evil-minded have turned out to be the means of ruin for not a few.

At one time, I was inclined to think that these dancing girls began life as religious votaries; I remember to have written on the subject from this point of view. I then argued that in course of time they must have degenerated, owing to lack of supervision and control. But legal treatises and puranic legends seem to suggest that the process has been different; they were bad from the beginning; they were intended to be reformed; but they have grown worse since. This is my reading of an institution which at present is an eye-sore to society. Many attempts are being made to reform them: and I know that these women have banded themselves into organizations for improving their condition. It is the duty of Indians to lend a helping hand to these people who for no fault of theirs find themselves in a not very enviable position. I hope it may be possible for scholars to follow up the suggestions I have made in this article. I hope those that do me the honour of reading this article may find better materials for arriving at a right conclusion on this subject. None will be more pleased than myself, if I am proved to be in the wrong.

NOTES.

The Story of Jivandhara in Kannada Literature.

IN Volume XII, pp. 317-320, of this Journal, Dr. Hultzsch has mentioned the Sanskrit and Tamil works giving the story of the Jaina prince Jivandhara with their probable periods. It may be of some interest to the readers of this Journal to know that there are also some works in Kannaḍa literature dealing with the same subject. As far as I know, there are three works in Kannaḍa giving the story of Jivandhara : (1) Jivandhara-charite, (2) Jivandhara-sāngatya and (3) Jivandhara-shaṭpadi. All the three are poems written by Jaina authors.

The first work, Jivandhara-charite, was composed by Bhāskara in A.D. 1424. The author says that he was of the Viśvāmitra-gōtra and the son of Basavānka. As he states that he composed the work in the Śāntīśvara-basti at Penugonḍa, it is very probable that he belonged to that place. The work, written in *Bhāminī-shaṭpadi*, consists of one thousand stanzas and is divided into eighteen *sandhis*. The author tells us that his work is a translation of the Sanskrit Jivandhara-charita of Vādibhasimha-sūri.

The second work, Jivandhara-sāngatya, so called because it is written in the *sāngatya* metre, was composed by Bommarasa in about A.D. 1485. The author was the son of Bommarasōpādhyāya and the great grandson of Vādibhasimha-Nēmi-chandrāya, and belonged to Terakapāmbi, a village in the Guṇḍlupēt Taluk of the Mysore District. He states that his great grandfather, having defeated hostile disputants at the court of the Vijayanagar king Dēva-Rāya II (1419-1446), was presented with a certificate of victory by that king. The work, consisting of 1449 stanzas, is divided into 20 *sandhis*. The author also wrote another Kannaḍa poem named *Sanatkumāra-charite*, which relates the story of another Jaina prince of the name of Sanatkumāra, son of king Viśvasēna of Hastināpura.

The third work, Jivandhara-shaṭpadi, which is also written in *Bhāminī-shaṭpadi* like the first, was the composition of Kōṭīśvara, who flourished in about A.D. 1500. It is satisfactory to note that the author, unlike the usual run of poets, gives a few interesting details about himself. His father was Tammaṇa-seṭṭi, the general of Bayidūr in the Tuḷu country, mother Rāmakka, elder brother Sōmēśa, younger brother Durga, and *guru* (preceptor) Prabhāchandra, the disciple of Paṇḍita-yōgi of Beluḡuḷa (Śravaṇa Belgoḷa). He was the son-in-law of Kāmaṇa-seṭṭi, the royal merchant at the court of Sangītapura, the Sanskrit for Hāḍuvaḷḷi in South Kanara. His patron was the ruler of Sangītapura, Sangama, the son of the vanquisher of warriors the Maṇḍalēśvara Haivanṇipa. It was at the instance of his patron that he wrote the work. I regret I am not in a position to give the exact number of *sandhis* and stanzas in the poem as unfortunately the palm leaf manuscript of the work that I came across was incomplete, containing only 9 *sandhis* and 118 stanzas in the 10th *sandhi*.

R. NARASIMHACHAR.

Human Sacrifices to Water Spirits.

BY L. A. CAMMIADÉ, ESQ.

IN the July number of this Journal Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra has drawn attention to various legends current in India on the subject of human sacrifices to water spirits. He points out that, in India as in other parts of the world, there is a belief that every river or stream has its indwelling spirit who needs human victims but that in consequence of Dravidian influences the belief has undergone a modification to the effect that in order to obtain water for a newly dug pond, tank or well, the spirit who dwells in it must be propitiated by human sacrifice. In support of this view he gives six legends, two of which are current among the Santhals, two among the Bengalees, one from the Bombay side and one from the Central Provinces.

It would be of value if these six legends could be supplemented by others from purely Dravidian parts of India such as Mysore and the Madras Presidency. That such legends do exist may be seen from the following extract taken from an account of the Empire of Vijayanagar written by Fernando Nuniz, a Portuguese merchant or traveller who visited Vijayanagar about the year 1536 :—

"The king also made in his time a lake for water which lies between two very lofty hills. The king commanded to throw down many great rocks into the valley, but everything fell to pieces, so that all the work done in the day was destroyed each night, and the king amazed at all this, sent a call to his wise men and sorcerers and asked them what they thought of this thing. They told him that his idols were not pleased with this work, it being so great and he giving them nothing, and unless he spilled there the blood of men or women or buffaloes that work would never be finished. So the king sent to bring hither all the men who were his prisoners and who deserved death and ordered them there to be beheaded, and with this the work advanced."

Another Portuguese, Domingo Paes, who visited Vijayanagar about this same time, confirms this account but with slightly different details.*

"The tank burst two or three times, and the king asked his Brahmans to consult their idol as to the reason why it burst so often, and the Brahmans said that the idol was displeased and desired that they should give him the blood of men and horses and buffaloes; and as soon as the king heard this he forthwith commanded that at the gate of the Pagoda the heads of sixty men should be cut off and of certain horses and buffaloes, which was at once done."

This is the only instance of the existence of the modified legend in Southern India that I can recollect at present. But many more and perhaps better instances of the legend may be current. Readers of this Journal would render service if they would communicate them to this Journal.

Meanwhile I may mention that the legend in its primitive form is not unknown in the Madras Presidency. Five miles from Madras on the banks of the river Adyar is a hillock known as the Little Mount with a cavern said to have once

* ["A Forgotten Empire," Sewell, pp. 245 and 365]

been occupied by the apostle Thomas. An annual fair and festival is held at this place. It is commonly believed that invariably some one gets drowned in the river during the festival and that the corpse when recovered bears the black imprint of a hand at the place where the evil spirit struck its victim.

It may have been noticed that at Vijayanagar the sacrifice was offered not because water could not be found but because the work undertaken by the king for storing the available water was being constantly overthrown. The belief that the water spirit will overthrow all important works erected within its domain unless and until it has been propitiated by human sacrifice is widely prevalent throughout the Madras Presidency. I have known three instances where it has interfered with bridge construction.

The first case that came to my notice was in the Tinnevely District in the extreme south of India. I was camping on the banks of the Tamaraparni at Ambasamudram where a railway bridge had recently been built when I heard a rumour that the builders of the bridge had offered human sacrifice before starting work. I tried to ridicule the idea of English railway engineers offering any such sacrifice, but was told by my informants with an air of superior knowledge and as a final argument that the bridge could not possibly have remained standing unless human sacrifice had first been offered.

The next case was in the Godavari district. The railway bridge that spans the river at Rajahmundry is a mile and a quarter in length. The European bridge contractor had the greatest difficulty in getting his coolies to start work, because he would neither himself sacrifice to the river nor would he even indirectly be a party to any kind of sacrifice intended to insure the stability of the bridge. Finally it was arranged that he was to give his coolies money and a holiday in order that they might obtain protection for their own individual lives at least. A sacrifice of sheep was held to suffice for this purpose.

The third case arose in the capital town of Madras. About three years ago preparations had been begun for enlarging the Wellington bridge which spans the Cooum on which Madras stands when a rumour spread that the bridge engineers intended to sacrifice a child to the spirit of the river. The rumour gained such credence that many harmless people were attacked by the infuriated mob and some were beaten to death in the belief that they were trying to kidnap children for the sacrifice.

Before ending, I think it is necessary to lay stress on the fact, that in the three cases just mentioned, as also in the case that happened at Vijayanagar, human victims were considered necessary merely because of the magnitude of the trespass that was being committed into the domains of the water spirit. For lesser trespasses the spirit, like all others of its class, will with great reasonableness accept lesser sacrifices. Thus in Madras when a well is being dug a cock will appease the spirit. In order that there may be no misapprehension on the part of the water spirit the sacrifice is offered only after water level has been reached.

TIRUMANGAI ALVAR AND DANTIDURGA.

BY RAO SAHEB DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI IYENGAR, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S.

IN the January number of the Journal (Vol. xiii, No. 2, pp. 580-588) my esteemed friend Mr. Sesha Ayyar offers further arguments in support of his position regarding Dantidurga. I shall not follow my friend in all the nuances of the style of his controversy and shall content myself merely with noting down a few points in regard to each one of the issues raised by him.

1. In regard to the interpretation of the passage under dispute I still hold my original interpretation as the more natural. There is a certain amount of unwarranted assumption, unless it be a result of psychological research, in regard to the history of this interpretation. My attention was first drawn to the question of Tirumangai Ālvār by the late Mr. Venkayya in the course of a controversy which had arisen on the late Mr. Sundaram Pillai's 'Some Milestones in Tamil Literature' published sometime in the year 1892—1893. I have understood the passage exactly in the way that I do now all through this long period. My attention was drawn to Periya Āchan Pillai's interpretation some time before I wrote the article on the subject to the Indian Antiquary, years after. Pandit Raghava Ayyangar had written his article by then and had done me the honour of a special reprint with some additions and modifications in handwriting. I have always acknowledged my indebtedness to others whenever I adopted their conclusions. In this case I felt I had no reason to do so, and hence it is not right to say that there was no doubt about its meaning till the learned Pandit's article appeared in the *Sen Tamil*. Pandit M. V. Ramanujachariar, the Translator of the Mahabharatam in Tamil, who came to see me a few weeks ago on other business, interpreted the passage in the same way as I did, when I put the stanza before him and asked him to give me the meaning of it. He has not followed the controversy and has none of the prepossessions connected therewith. I have no pretensions to any clairvoyance and cannot speak for all the Tamil Pandits, eminent or other. I am content with the humbler position that my interpretation of the passage has the support of some pandits who presumably know a certain amount of Tamil. The Vairamēgha datum was known both to me and to Mr. Venkayya ever since, though we adopted different interpretations years after. It is just possible for Periya Āchan Pillai to have erred in a detail like this, as it is admittedly in the case of many another scholar and commentator of equal eminence in the world of letters, Sanskrit and vernacular. And such an error does not take away from the character for scholarship of the scholars concerned. It is just possible that he was led to the particular interpretation owing to his ignorance of who Vairamēgha actually was. When Dantivarman Pallava had assumed the title Vairamēgha whatever be the origin or reason, it is not difficult to understand that others that followed him in the same royal family assumed the title, or even that a commentator who came a few centuries

after did regard it as the family name of the Pallavas. But that will not justify our assuming that the title was assumed by any Pallava previous to this Dantivarman. It is possible ; but many things could be argued on possibilities as in fact anything could be said to be possible.

2. The Kadaba plates ascribe to Dantidurga Rāshtrakūṭa, the title Vairamēgha, according to Mr. Rice, the late Dr. Fleet, and Dr. Lüders. How or why he assumed the title Khaḍgavalōka, or his successors any number of other titles of a similar character we do not know. We have this specific fact that he had this title in the Kadaba spurious plates. That he did attack Kānchī is stated not only in the Ellora inscriptions and the Kadaba plates, but also in the Talagaon plates of Krishna I. The Bhagumra plates of Govinda III go farther, and the sixth śloka has a clear reference to his occupation of Kānchī.

My esteemed friend has stated in the course of the article, " Professor Dubreuil thinks it is a fiction for which the learned professor of Indian History and Archaeology in the University of Madras is responsible " ; and so far as my esteemed friend knows, " no other archaeologist or historian has mentioned a siege of Kānchī by Dantidurga ". The siege as siege is perhaps not mentioned. But the following remarks of Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, the Carmichael Professor of Indian History at the Calcutta University, who edits the Bhagumra plates, are appropriate. From verse 6, if we notice the *double entendre* clearly intended, we learn that Dantidurga I reduced the lowermost, that is the southern country, then turned his armies against Madhyadēśa and finally conquered the city of Kānchī. I set below the sloka itself in original.

Kṛtvāspadam hrdayahāri jaghanyabhāgē

Svairam punar vimardya madhyadeśam !

Yasyāsamasya samarē vasudhānganāyāḥ

Kānchipadē padam akāri karēṇa bhuyāḥ !!

3. The next point is my want of precision in regard to the meaning that I ascribe to the words. The meaning ascribed continues exactly the same that it was before, *viz.*, that Vairamēgha's forces and fame lay around Ashṭapuyakaram of Kānchī and that this Vairamēgha was entitled to deferential treatment of the king of the Tonḍaiyar. The new light that the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates throw upon it is such as to dispel the inference that " the traditional guardian of the temple where the idol is enshrined *lies low at the feet* of a possibly Jaina invader who has surrounded the city by his fame and forces." The siege of Kānchī or the attack on it must have taken place before Dantidurga got into occupation of Kānchī. The new information of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates is that Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the ruler of the Pallavas, married, in all likelihood, a Rāshtrakūṭa princess by name Rēvā. This new fact perhaps explains what took place between the two rulers after Dantidurga came into occupation of Kānchī. The marriage could not have come about unless the two rulers entered into a treaty and agreed to be friends, and a marriage could easily follow as concluding the treaty as in so many other known cases in history. We had not known hitherto that there was anything like a

permanent occupation of Kānchī; from that the inference is inevitable that a treaty was entered into between the two powers. Such a contingency was very likely in the historical circumstances attending the two rulers at the time. Both of them were usurpers, both of them perhaps had reasons to be cautious against not only external enemies but also internal; and nothing would assure their position better than to come to terms with the habitual dynastic enemy. The Chālukyas were all along the enemies of the Pallavas, and the overthrow of the Pallavas by the Rāshtrakūṭa naturally made the Rāshtrakūṭa become heir to the foreign policy of his predecessors. One good way of settling it from the point of view of Dantidurga,—the last Chālukya was yet alive, was to secure the alliance of the Pallavas. My explanation of the passage has just undergone the change that this new fact necessitates—which change does not modify the character of the interpretation in the least, but only provides an explanation of matters remaining not clearly explained. If this is want of precision of which I am charged with accusing others, I leave them to the enjoyment of their own well-formed opinions. I have not the slightest objection to “other researchers” being as unprecise and inaccurate as they care to be. Where I have, for one reason or other either, to adopt their views or consider them and set them aside, I have necessarily to investigate the matter closely and have to point out inaccuracies or errors, such as they appear to me, as a matter of course. It is of the essence of the work, and nobody need be worried for a matter like this, as errors of this character are not so much beyond commission even by careful workers. The statement of the Ājvar that the two together worshipped at the particular shrine need not necessarily involve my much esteemed friend’s interpretation with the new light that the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates throw upon the question of one of them “lying low at the feet” of another. Nor is it a bar if Dantidurga Rāshtrakūṭa had been a Jaina by persuasion. That he was a Jaina, my esteemed friend has yet to prove. In regard to the name Vairamēgha being found associated with towns, villages, and canals is explained adequately by the title Vairamēgha attached to Dantivarman Pallava and his successors. That such have not been met with in the Rāshtrakūṭa country is no evidence that the title was not assumed by a Rāshtrakūṭa ruler even for the first time. As far as my comparatively restricted knowledge of Rāshtrakūṭa and other territories goes I have not come upon any monument of the kind incorporating any of the titles of the Rāshtrakūṭas, a feature which that dynasty exhibits in a particularly profuse fashion.

4. In regard to the interpretation of my venerable friend Rai Bahadur Mr. Srinivasa Pillai, that interpretation would have readily suggested itself if the word வணங்கும் had a subject expressed, like புவனவந்தர் or other like quoted in the paragraph.

5. In regard to the other passage where my friend differs from me in respect of the meaning of பண்டு meaning a remote past time, I beg leave to point out that a slight difference of application is possible between the two words பண்டு and பண்டை. The quotation that I gave in illustration contains the word கண்டு in the first line which

requires as a metrical necessity பண்ணு in the second line, without my giving unnecessarily "a twist to the order of words." Without any twist whatsoever my meaning would still stand whether the word is the first or as it is in the text, or whether it is put in the order in which my friend puts it in prose order for me. All the elaborate string of quotations there becomes superfluous as I was not asserting that பண்ணை, even பண்ணு, did not have the meaning of a remote past, but said that it could be used for a past not so remote as it was taken to be.

6. Coming to the constructive part of my friend's argument two points emerge for consideration. The reference to a Nedumaran by Periyālvār, and a reference to Nandi in one of the tens of Tirumangai Ālvār. The name Nedumaran is so common among the Pandyas, in fact it means no more than "the great Pandya" that it could be ascribed to several on authority, and this particular datum is not so specific as to make Tirumangai Ālvār's date turn round it till we get more of a specific lead. In regard to the second, this fact is not clear, but we may concede that a king by name Nandi probably a Pallava king did some work of devotion in Nandipuravinnagar. My friend shows an inclination to identify this Nandi III who "according to epigraphical records was a pronounced Vaishnava devotee". I am not sure of the epigraphical records under special reference here. The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates describe Nandi III as a 'Saiva'.* The Bāhūr plates give no indication this way. The Tanḍantottam plates would support this position if the interpretation suggested by Rai Bahadur Krishna Sastri turns out correct. He has offered the suggestion only tentatively and the Nandivarmā referred to there seems to be no other than Nandi II. In any case it is not enough of an authority to make this assertion, while the work Nandi Kalambaham gives an unequivocal indication that Nandi III was a Saiva. Beyond this I have often heard it said by people knowing Nandivanam, the village more formally called Nandipuravinnagaram, that the village was named after the temple and the temple itself came to possess the name as that of the forest region where Nandi, the bull of Siva, performed penance and obtained the beneficence of Vishnu. That is sufficient explanation of the work of devotion by Nandi. But even admitting that the Nandi referred to there is one of the Pallava kings, the chances are that it was Nandi II rather than Nandi III.

I shall be glad to accept the identification both of the particular Nandi and of the actual date given by my friend on a little more of a specific lead being offered.

* Haracharapa sarjothamsa chinnēna mūrdhna
Mukuliṭa karapadmo vandate Nandivarmā,

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO

THE EDITOR,

The Journal of the Mythic Society,

Bangalore.

SIR,

I have read with great interest the very interesting discussion that has been going on between Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar and Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar in the issues of your journal as regards the date of the Vaishnava Alvar Tirumangaiyar. May I with your kind permission offer the following observations in connection with the discussion?

The stanza on the God of Ashtabhuja at Kānchī is regarded as yielding what has been called 'the Vairamēghan datum.' Unfortunately the stanza in question appears to admit two interpretations. According to Mr. Sesha Aiyar and Rao Bahadur K. S. Srinivasa Pillai, Tirumangai Ālvār in this stanza refers only to one individual, namely the Pallava king of Kānchī. In this view they appear to have followed the lead of the late Mr. Venkayya (so far as the interpretation goes) who, in his paper on the Triplicane inscription of Dantivarman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 8, p. 290), suggested also the identification of Vairamēghan of the Ālvār's stanza with Dantivarman. Pandit Raghava Iyengar and Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar have however found two distinct individuals in the stanza and take the reference to Vairamēghan as referring to the Rāshtrakūta Dantidurga who, according to the Kadaba Plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol 4, p. 334), was surnamed Vairamēgha.

It is now necessary for us to determine who this Vairamēgha is. Though the stanza in question is capable of being interpreted in two ways the Ālvār could not have meant the reference to both a Pallava and a Rāshtrakūta king. The elements that cause the confusion are the reference to Vairamēgha in the Kadaba plates and the statement in Periyāchanpillai that Vairamēghan is the family name of the Pallavas. If we agree with the learned commentator that Vairamēgha was the family name of the Pallavas, it becomes difficult for us to verify the same. There are hundreds of surnames and family names that we come across in the Pallava copperplates and stone inscriptions all over the Pallava territory but in none of them do we come across this term Vairamēgha as having been the family name of the individual kings or dynasty, though the birudus of Mahēndravarman and Narasimhavarman, such as Mahāmēgha and Śrīmēgha occurring in the Trichinopoly Inscription and the Inscriptions of the Seven-pagodas, might perhaps be construed to suggest that in a similar way Vairamēgha was also a sur or family name of the Pallavas.

As against this we have the explicit reference in the Kadaba Plates that Dantidurga was surnamed Vairamēgha. The genuineness of the Kadaba plates

as regards the names it enumerates need not, we are assured, be doubted. For Dr. Lüders, in editing the Kadaba plates, has remarked that the fact that no birudu of Dantidurga has turned up till then is not a matter of surprise as *Dantidurga was the first to acquire the supreme sovereignty as well as to assume birudus*. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 4, p. 134). On this authority, we may suppose that Vairamēgha is a characteristically Rāshtrakūta title assumed by Dantidurga; we must now find out how it came to be popular in the Pallava land and still surviving in names like Vairamēgha tank, Vairamēgha Chaturvēdimangalam, etc. The most natural explanation that suggests itself is the importation of the name into the Pallava genealogy as a result of a marriage alliance which might have been preceded in all probability by a Rāshtrakūta invasion of Kānchī during the time of Dantidurga. On this last point it may be stated that the invasion (though not a siege which is part of an invasion) of Kānchī is not a fiction. I will quote only one verse from two of Indrarāja III's plates bearing on Dantidurga's conquests. Verse vi of the plates reads as follows:—

“Krtvāspatam hrđyahari jaganyabāgēsivairam punarmrdu vimardya
Madyadēsam

Yasyasamasya samarē vasudānganāyā *Kānchīpatē* padamakāri karēna būyah”
(*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. ix, p. 24.)

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, whom we may regard as both a historian and an archæologist, in editing the plates writes on this verse as follows.—“From verse vi if we notice the *double-entendre* so clearly intended, we learn that Dantidurga first reduced the lowermost that is the southern country, then turned his arms against Madyadēsa and finally conquered Kānchī.” We do not know anything further than this and if this conquest of Kānchī is a fact we may presume that a siege was part of the campaign as Kānchi was reputed to be memorable in those days for her impregnable ramparts. Though we do not know the exact course of events that followed we may suppose that the result of the campaign was unfavourable to Nandivarmanpallavamalla, the Pallava ruler, and the treaty that must have followed was probably cemented by a marriage alliance by which the Pallava king married one of the Rāshtrakūta princess. This Rāshtrakūta wife who gave birth to Dantivarman is alluded to in verse of the Vēlūr-Pālayam plates.

“Tasyāmbu rasērivavāhinīnamnātasyanāna guṇaratnadāmnā
Dirasya bubrdvaralabda janmā *Revēvarēva* mahishibabūva”

It is not improbable to regard that the son born to the Rāshtrakūta queen of Pallavamalla was deliberately according to Hindu custom named after the grandfather as Danti, which is a characteristically Rāshtrakūta name. That he had as a second part of his name the birudu Vairamēgha like his maternal grandfather is also exceedingly probable. This is also confirmed by two of the Uttaramallur Inscriptions (Nos. 61 and 74 of 1898) dated in the ninth and the twenty-first year of Dantivarman, which mention the name of the tank as Vairamēgha tatakam evidently named after the surname of Dantivarman.

From all this we are led to conclude that the Vāiramēghan referred to by Tirumangai Ālvār was really Dantivarman, the son of Nandivarmanpallavamalla, through Rēva, the Rashtrakuta queen. In this case Periavachanpillai's remark that Vairamēgha is a family name of the Pallavas should be understood to mean as applying to the later Pallava line from the days of Dantivarman as from that time the name Vairamēgha becomes familiar in the contemporary records. It is also probable from the description of the stanza that the Ālvār was probably a contemporary of Danti who also is described as a most devout worshipper of Vishnu (Bahur Plates, verse 9). Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar and Mr. Srinivasa Pillai (History of Tamil literature, Part II, page 128) regard Tirumangai Ālvār as the contemporary of Nandivarman III, though there is no room for regarding him as a devotee of Vishnu. On the other hand the Nandikalambaham written during his reign describes him as "he who never forgot Siva" in verse 96 of the manuscript edition. ("சிவனை முழுதும்நவாத நெஞ்சினன்")

If the above given explanation is accepted, there will be no difficulty whatsoever in the stanza that have been perplexing scholars for the last quarter of a century. The late Mr. Venkayya first correctly identified the 'Vairamēgha' of the Ālvār's stanza with the Pallava king though he was not aware that it was essentially a Rāshtrakūta surname that travelled into the Pallava country and adopted into the dynasty since the time of Dantivarman. In mentioning the surname Vairamēgha for Dantivarman, Tirumangai Ālvār was only hinting at his descent from the glorious Rāshtrakūta line. The Vairamēghan of Inscriptions Nos. 150 and 152 of 1916 was probably a later member of the family of Dantivarman, who has nothing to do with the Vairamēghan of Tirumangai Ālvār's stanza, as the paleography would seem to suggest.

Camp 1/3, Raghava Mudali Lane,
Saidapet, 31—1—23. }

K. R. KANNABHIRAN.

THE PURĀNĀS.

BY V. VENKATACHALLA IYER, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

THE Puranas are a part of the sacred heritage of the Hindus. Most of them have now been printed, but they are not easily procurable. Our country does not possess the advantage of institutions of the nature of Free Libraries.* Very few even among Pandits have any appreciable knowledge of the Puranas. In the case of most of these Puranas they probably do not know more than the names. In the case of some of these they are probably familiar with extracts compiled for special purposes, such as quasi-religious readings intended for devotional gatherings in Karthika and Magha months. A systematic examination of these works has never been undertaken by those competent to do it. For individual effort the labour would be immense. Organized labour in this field, for pure love of research, is not in consonance with the habits or temperament of the race. On the other hand, it should be recognized that the higher promptings, if any, are stifled by the chill penury of this unfortunate class of learned men. The average Pandit lives from hand to mouth; and, however great his scholarship, society does not recognize that he has any claim on it.

Western civilization has done a great deal for this country, for which we should feel grateful from generation to generation. Much that was good, much that was desirable in our culture, was however inevitably swept away; and it is doubtful whether what is gone will ever be replaced. It is gratifying to observe that latterly titled chiefs and ruling princes among Hindus are not very slow to appreciate or forward movements for the promotion of studies in indigenous literature, science, and art, and that they have awakened to a sense of their own responsibilities in this matter.

A serious drawback to Sanskrit research has been the utter absence in native thought of the idea of indexes or tables of contents. These simple devices for minimising labour, and husbanding time, were unknown in ancient India. Sanskrit authors never troubled themselves with these details nor even cared to date their compositions.

In modern editions of ancient works tables of contents are prefixed, as often as not, but indexes are still conspicuous by their absence. Such helps are badly wanted in the case of the Puranas, and, when provided, will help to dispel much of the obscurity in which these treatises are now enwrapped.

* In Mysore there are several free libraries—*Ed.*

The average Hindu knows very little about the Puranas, their composition, their contents, or their value as civilizing or humanising influences. He has very exaggerated notions in these respects and it is nobody's concern to tell him that he is mistaken, even if one should be in a position to correct his impressions.

The purpose of the Puranas, as to what they should expound, is summed up in a well-known verse found in Amarasimha's 'Namalinganusasanam' in the following form :—

सर्गश्चप्रतिसर्गश्चवंशोमन्वन्तराणिच ।

वंशानुचरितंचेति लक्षणानाम्तुपञ्चकम् ॥

That is to say, 'the creation, the destruction and renovation of worlds; the genealogy of Gods and heroes; the reigns of the Manus, and the transactions of their descendants'.*

† Dr. Wilson says 'that great variety prevails in this respect and few contain historical or genealogical matter'. He is of opinion that they contain the whole body of Hindu theology. But the fact remains that the five topics of which each Purana should treat do not admit of much theology in the true sense of the word. Their province is occupied with cosmogonic myths, myths about Gods and Goddesses, with the addition of what is handed down from ancient times as the history of Manu's generations.

Mr. F. E. Pargiter, now retired from the Bengal Civil Service has, if I may say so with respect, correctly pointed out that it is probable that the Puranas were originally written in Prakrit; and that at a later period they were done into Sanskrit.

They were written for the average man. The period when they were recast was the time when Buddhism had passed the meridian and was felt to be on the wane.

This was the period when Brahmin orthodoxy left no stone unturned in its campaign against the faith and practice of Buddhism. Every effort in every line of activity was made by Brahminism to gain the upper hand.

The Puranas were part of the machinery devised by orthodox Brahminism in this onslaught against Buddhism. The idea was to assimilate into the Brahmin system whatever was good in the faith or practice of the Buddhists and to make it appear that all this was, all along, almost from creation, recorded in the sacred books of the Brahmins and inculcated by their ancient masters, and that there was nothing new in any opposing creed.

Some of the major Puranas appear to have been re-written with the set purpose of promoting ignorance and superstition: of enslaving the minds of

* } See Dr. Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary. Voc: पुराणम् Purāṇam.

†

the people : of preventing them from thinking for themselves : and of giving currency to a religion, which, while pretending in theory to contain within itself the principles of emancipation, is calculated in practice to sink one deeper and deeper into the quagmire.

Fetish worship of every sort is advocated with energy and earnestness.

An elaborate programme of debasing rites, one at least for each day of the year, has been worked out.

It is a mixture of light and darkness, of dirt and deity.

The idea of godhead is such as is embodied in an anthropomorphism of a gross character.

The gods are many and varied, but they have one common characteristic of being morally depraved. Each god has his cult which is diligently inculcated.

The parables constructed to point the moral for instruction are often of a character calculated to make a strong appeal to criminal impulses and instincts. They are at times of a revolting nature, while the levity of the mental equipment of the authors is laid bare in its true colours. Criminal ideas, as passing fancies, may not always provoke criminal acts. But, when treated in a realistic fashion and worked into a theme, they are capable of stiffening the criminal impulses of some sections of mankind. It is like the danger that has been found associated with cinema films of a certain class which the administrations of some countries have found it necessary to proscribe.

A Brahmin youth violates his newly widowed mother and that at a time when she is in an untouchable condition. His sin is washed away by bathing in a certain stream.

A libertine dressed in dandy fashion wends his way to a harlot's house. On the road, the Pansupari held loosely in his hand drops down into a gutter. The man cries out कृष्णार्पणमस्तु. For the merit of this pious wish he obtains the royalty and throne of Indra.

Happiness in this world, and beatification in the next, are easily obtained by bathing in streams, by fetish worship, by feasts and fasts, and not necessarily by prayer, penance or tribulation. For theology in the higher sense, something that would bring comfort to the mind or peace to the soul, something to ennoble, something to visualise the better self, it is not to those books that we should turn.

The Puranas are all stated to be the work of Vyasa, at least the more important of them. They are placed in two classes : the Mahapuranas and the Upa-Puranas. The number in each class is traditionally accepted as eighteen.

The claim of some to be ranked as Mahapuranas has sometimes been questioned. Some Puranas are of a huge volume. The Skāndapurana reckons

about eighty thousand verses. Next to it stands the Pādma. On the other hand we should mention the instance of the Vāmana Purana (a very minor performance) admitted to take its place as a Mahapurana. The Upa-puranas form a supplementary course.

A third class of Puranas exists and requires to be mentioned. These works are known as Sthalapuranas. They are rank forgeries. Each place of pilgrimage, each important shrine, has its Sthalapurana, alleged to have been the work of this or that rishi of ancient sanctity. Some of them claim to be portions of one or other of the Mahapuranas. Notwithstanding their pretentious claims, they are works of no authority; and, for the present, may be left out of consideration altogether.

It is not possible to fix the dates of these Mahapuranas from the present state of our knowledge of the subject. Any approximation can at the best be only wide of the mark. Three of these puranas should be mentioned in particular. Dr. Wilson says that it is the opinion of some that the (Srimad) Bhagavatapurana is spurious and modern. There is no doubt that such a belief exists among the better informed of the Pandit classes.

It is supposed to be the handiwork of a great scholar, Mahamahopadhyaya Vopadeva, the author of the Mugdhabodha, a system of Sanskrit grammar, which has successfully eliminated many of the complications of Pāṇini's science. He is believed to have been the Laureate Sanskrit Pandit at the court of one of the kings of the Muhammadan dynasty of Gulbarga; the Srimat Bhagavatam is, as to much of it, a copy of the Devi Bhagavatam.

Dr. Wilson states that the 'Brahmavaivartapurana' is also of very modern origin.

I wish to add that perhaps the most modern of all the Mahapuranas is the Bhavishya Purana, in which Vyasa foretells the future to the end of the eighteenth century A.D. We find embodied in this Purana, extracted from the Christian Bible, short accounts of the ante-diluvian patriarchs from Adam and Eve, the narrative of the deluge, the part played by Noah (written नूहः) in it, and the subsequent re-peopling of the earth by Noah's generations.

The history of the Afghan and Mongol dynasties who ruled at Delhi and of the Great Moguls is duly 'foretold'.

Tamerlane or Timur Lung is named Timira Linga.

Sivaji (written as Sévaji) and Aurangzeb are duly noticed, as also the incursions of Nadir Shah.

The story of the rise and development of the East India Company's settlement at Calcutta, and of Government under Parliamentary authority, is also part of this revelation.

Vyasa's opinion upon any subject must indeed be of unquestionable

authority. It is only proper, therefore, that the reader should know that, according to this revelation, the British race was directly descended from an ancient stock of monkeys who had obtained great boons for the future from Rama, the Avatar, as a reward for the assistance rendered by them to him in his expedition against Ravana.

Whether the author of this Purana intended it as a burlesque or not, we must admit that he had a lively sense of humour. He entered into the spirit of this branch of literature. He knew that the Puranas of the earlier periods were quite as much fabrications as his own. The regard that he had for these works is reflected in his own methods of treatment. Apart from that, his purpose was to bring Vyasa up-to-date, and we cannot say that he failed in his endeavour.

The Agnéya Purana is unique in its enterprise. It appears to have been conceived as an abridgment of other Puranas. In addition, it admits much matter that does not fall within the province of a Purana to record. Among the topics of this Purana we find an epitome of the Ramayana, as also of the Mahabharatha: lectures on astronomy, astrology, architecture, iconography and military engineering. We find also poetics, rhetoric, dramaturgy, linguistics, grammar, and, for wonder, a dictionary of synonyms and homonyms copied from Amarasimha's 'Namalinganuṣasanam.' It is a sort of "Enquire within for everything", "a Chambers' miscellany", an Encyclopaedia. The pity of it is that it should be palmed off on suffering humanity as a Purana; and, what is worse, that it should be admitted to the rank of a Mahapurana. Works of this character only accentuate the levity with which the members of the sacred colleges treated the artlessness and simplicity of the ignorant masses.

It should not be supposed that all the volume of matter that we now find in each Purana was really there from the start. As usual in Sanskrit literature, extensive interpolations have, from time to time, helped to make these compilations ponderous. It is not ordinarily known that huge frauds have been perpetrated in the manufacture of these works. Chapters of great number and great length are found plagiarised from one Purana and incorporated entire into another, *verbatim et literatim*. The Puranas were brought into existence in days when it was extremely difficult to multiply copies. Each locality prided itself on the possession of a particular book. Authors knew very well the difficulties in this respect that possible readers had to contend with. Every endeavour was made to make each Purana self-contained, as far as possible, and this was done with the minimum of literary effort on the part of the author. Page after page was transcribed entire from some other Purana, with head lines and the names of the interlocutors mostly changed. The reader thus found his Purana as complete as possible. The author had the satisfaction

of knowing that his literary larceny could not ordinarily be discovered in the conditions which existed.

It may appear strange and paradoxical that each one of two Puranas should copy from the other. And yet it is true. This happens when a portion of Purana A is copied into Purana B, and some other portion of Purana B is copied into Purana A.

If all spurious and irrelevant matter is removed from each of the Puranas, much expense of publication would be saved, much deception would be put an end to, much waste of time obviated.

These peculiarities of Puranic texts came to be known to the present writer by the merest accident. In looking for information on a certain topic, in more than one Purana, for the purpose of comparative study, he was surprised to find that what met his eye in the second Purana was an exact copy of what he had read in the first.

Some attention bestowed on Puranic texts, from time to time, disclosed information which the writer thought fit to note for his own use. Many would be glad to obtain the same information without having to pass through the painful experiences of the writer. A transcript from the writer's notebook is therefore given hereunder, in the hope that learned readers, in the course of their studies, will be able to add to the list from time to time.

In the several cases of copied Puranic matter, it is not easy to state, without an exhaustive study, which Purana supplied the original. Some indications in the way of clues are met with occasionally. The question in each case, however, would require thorough investigation and patient comparative study, if it is particularly worth while to find a correct solution. In the subjoined notes where it is stated that Purana A has copied from Purana B, that statement should not be taken to be absolutely correct. For, extended research may show that the truth is the other way about and that Purana B has copied from Purana A. The primary value of the note is restricted to the information that the matter of the particular topic is identical in language, in the two or more Puranas, that *one* of them has copied from *the other*, or both have copied from a third source.

It should also be pointed out that, even after some reliable data are obtained in this line, it would be hazardous to attempt to fix the priority in time of composition as between two or more Puranas, on the basis of such results. For, there is always the possibility, and often the probability, that the Purana into which some matter is transcribed from another Purana was really anterior in time in its origin, but that the copy in question was an interpolation of a later period. The probable period of each Purana must therefore be fixed, if possible, on other data and other considerations.

The edition of the Skanda Purana referred to in the following notes, is the excellent copy published in seven volumes by Kshemaraja Srikrishnadasa Śrēsthīn of Bombay. So also the Matsyapurana. The Padma copy is the publication of the Anandasrama of Poona in four volumes.

Transcriptions, Repetitions, or Copies.

(1) Skandam, Vol. II, Book IV, chapters 14 to 28, same as in the Padmam, word for word and verse for verse. Chapters begin and end in identical language. Interlocutors same. These chapters comprise जालन्धरोपाख्यानम्, कलहोपाख्यानम् and चोलराजोपाख्यानम्.

It transpires that the first verse of जालन्धरोपाख्यानम् in both Puranas refers to the previous chapter as having treated of ऊर्मिमाहान्त्यम् but this sequence does not appear to be the fact in the Skanda Purana. Possibly the Skanda chapters were borrowed from the Padmam.

(2) Skandam, Vol. II, B. IV, chapters 29 and 30. The first verse of chapter 29 is the same as the first of Padmam, Vol. IV, chapter 114. The two Skanda chapters 29 and 30 are epitomised from Padma chapters 115, 116 and 117 by leaving out some verses and repeating the rest. It is clear the Skanda text here is copied from Padmam by an Āsvāsāntha verse occurring in the middle of chapter 29, Skanda.

(3) Skandam, Vol. II, B. IV, chapter 13. सत्यभामापूर्वजन्मवृत्तान्तम्, etc., has been extracted entirely from Padmam, Vol. IV, chapters 90 to 93. The Skandam retains 54 verses out of 126 of the Padmam. That the original is the Padmam is clear from a comparison of the texts. Interlocutors same.

(4) Skandam, Vol. II, Book IV, chapter 34, repeated from Padmam, Vol. IV, chapter 97. Verses rearranged. Interlocutors same. Last Vrittam of the Padmam paraphrased into an Anustubh in the Skandam.

(5) Skandam, Vol I, Book I, chapter 33.

Padmam, Vol. IV, chapter 147. The Padma text has adopted this chapter from Skandam. The episode in Skandam occupies 63 verses. That in Padmam 47. About 16 verses left out and the remaining repeated from Skandam.

In both, the chapters are continued according to the context in each.

(6) Skandam, Vol. II, Book IV, chapter 12.

Padmam, Vol. IV, 47 :—a few verses common.

(7) Skandam, Vol II, Book IV, chapter 32, and a portion of chapter 33, are repeated in the Padmam, Vol. IV, chapter 25, with this difference that a portion of chapter 33 of Skanda appears as the first portion of Padmam, chapter 125 and that a portion of chapter 32 of Skanda appears as the second portion of Padmam, chapter 125. There is a third portion in Padmam 125, not found in Skandam here and a portion of Skandam 33, not found in Padmam,

(8) Skandam, Vol. V, chapter 3 and a little of 4.

Padmam, Vol. III, chapter 14, रक्तजस्वेदज Episode; chapter 3, and 7 verses of chapter 4 of Skandam repeated in Padmam, chapter 14, which is very long and deals with other matters also.

(9) पृथुपाख्यानम् Skandam, Vol. VI, chapter 336; Padmam, Vol. 1, chapters 27 and 28. The account in the Skandam closely follows Padmam which is more elaborate. Several verses common. Several left out from Skandam. Rest paraphrased.

(10) Skandam, Vol. VII, chapter 166. सावित्रीसत्यवधुपाख्यानम् copied into the Mahabharata, more verses added in the Bharata.

(11) Skandam, Vol. V, Book III, chapter 21 *et seq*; Padmam नर्मदाखण्डम् many verses in common. त्रिपुरोपाख्यानम्, chaps. 26 to 28, Skandam:—Several verses appear in Padmam which is briefer (Vol. I, chapter 14 and 15). *Note.*—The Skanda version is fuller and more desirable.

(12) Skandam, Vol. V, Book III, chapter 29. A few verses of this repeated in Padmam, Book I, chapter 16.

(13) It appears that the Narmada Khandam of Padmam is abridged from the Rēva Khandam (Vol. V. Book III) of Skandam.

(14) Mahabharata, Book I, chapter 116, (about Mandavya) is copied from Skandam, Vol. V, Book III, chapter 198.

(15) The 108 names and seats of the Devi, *vide* Skandam, Vol. V, Book III, chapter 198, are repeated in the same form in the Matsya Purana.

Padma and Matsya Copies.

Matsya, chaps. 5 and 6	...	Copied in Padmam	Vol. 3, chap. 6
" " 7	...	"	" 3, " 7
Matsya, chaps. 8 to 12 and about 9 } verses in chapter 13	... }	"	" 3, " 8
Matsya, chaps. 14 to 17	...	"	" 3, " 9
" " 18 to 21	...	"	" 3, " 10
" " 22	...	"	" 3, " 11
(A few of Matsya verses left out; a few original verses found in Padmam.)			
Matsya, chap. 23 and the first 54 } verses of 24	... }	"	" 3, " 12
Matsya, chap. 43, from 6th verse to end		"	" 3, " "
Matsya, chap. 44 from 14th verse to } end; chap. 45, chap. 46, chap. 47 } from 1 to 127 verses, and again } from 168 to 181	... }	"	" 3, " 13

Matsya, from chaps. 55 to 60, inclusive	Copied in Padmam	Vol. 3, chap. 24
Matsya, from chaps. 61 to 65, except as to a few verses of chaps. 64 and 65 left out	"	" 3, " 22
Matsya, chaps. 69 and 70	"	" 3, " 23
" " 71 and 72	"	" 3, " 24
" " 73 to 92	"	" 3, " 21
" " 100 to 102	"	" 3, " 20
" " 103	"	" 1, " 40
" " 104	"	" 1, " 41
" " 105	"	" 1, " 42
" " 106	"	" 1, " 43
" " 107	"	" 1, " 44
" " 108	"	" 1, " 45
" " 109	"	" 1, " 46
" " 110	"	" 1, " 47
Matsya, chaps. 112, except as to a few verses at end left out	"	" 1, " 48
Matsya, chaps. 113/114 consist of excerpts in some disorder taken from Padmam, which here is briefer	"	" 1, " 3/4/5/6
Matsya, chap. 121/122; several verses common with	"	" " " "
Matsya, chap. 146, from verse 41 to end of that chapter; chaps. 147, 148, 149. [About तारक: Taraka. In places the Padma version is briefer. Some Matsya verses left out. Some varied]	"	" 3, " 39
(Copied closely in Skandam)		
Matsya, chap. 150 except a few verses included in	"	" 3, " 39
(But all the verses up to No. 50 repeated in Skandam. From the 51st to 93rd, bulk of the verses repeated in Skandam. From 94th down to end of chapter closely copied in Skanda. The whole chapter in Matsya comprises 243 verses.)		

Matsya, chaps. 151-152-153. (Repeated in Skandam with occasional variations and addition of extra original verses.) These chapters left out in Padmam except closing verses of chap. 153, i.e., slokas 222 to 229.	Copies in Padmam	Vol. 3, chap. 39
	"	" " " "

Matsya, chap. 154.

The bulk of the verses from 1 to 31	...	"	"	"	"	40
From sloka 32 to 444, Padma copy is close, except as to a few verses left out. From 445 to 486 left out from the Padma copy. From 486 to end, that is 588, Padma copy continues. The original and the copy on this particular topic both end here.		"	"	"	"	40

(The bulk of the verses from 1 to 31 not copied in the Skandam which has its own matter up to 45th verse. From there the Skanda copy is resumed.)

Note.—In the three instances collated next above, it is a *common copy between the Matsya, Padma, and Skanda Puranas.*

Matsya, chaps. 161 and 162 (except a few verses at close)	Vol. 3, chap. 42
" " 163 from verse 25 to end	" " " "
" " 164 to 167 and 168	" " " 36
" " 169 to 173	" " " 37
" " 174 to 178	" " " 38
" " 186 to 194 (except 1st 7 verses in 186) Padmam.	" 1 " 13 to 21

Note.—So far as at present known to this writer, 208 out of 520 Folio pages of Matsyām repeated in the Padmam.

Narasimha Puranam and Padmam.

Narasimha Puranam, chap. 1	Much of this chapter Repeated in Padmam up to verse 35 and from there closely to end ...	Vol. 1, chap. 1 & 2
" " 2	Several verses	" 3, " 3
" " 3	Most of the verses	" 3, " 3
" " 4	Several verses	" 3, " 3

Narasimha text— chap. 64 from 8th verse to 60
 betrays copy from
 Padmam.

Some verses between
 61 to 95 ... „ 4, „ 81
 And again from 96 to
 end ... „ „ „ „

Matsya Repeated in the Mahabharata.

ययात्युपाख्यानम्, from verse 53 of chap. 24 of Matsyam to end of chap. 42 of Matsya, transcribed into the Bharata, Book I, chaps. 69 to 87, chapter for chapter. Some extra verses added in the Bharata in almost every chapter about 23½ pp. of Matsya copied into the Bharata.

Padma Repeated in the Mahabharata.

(1) Chap. 81 of Vol. III, i.e., Vana Parva of Bharata (Calcutta edition) ...	Padmam, Vol. I. Chap. 10
„ 82 up to 40 verses ...	„ 11
„ 82 from 40 to 52 ...	„ 12
„ 82 from 52 to 88 ...	„ 24
„ 82 from 88 to end ...	„ 25 to end.
„ 83 from 1 to 110 ...	„ 26
„ 83 from 111 to end ...	„ 27
„ 84 „ 1 to 34 verses ...	„ 28
„ 84 „ 35 to 81 ...	„ 32
„ 84 „ 82 to end ...	„ 38
„ 85 ...	„ 39 whole

(2) Chaps. 4 to 12 of Vol. VI, Bhishma Parva
 Geography... Chapters 3 to 9.

(3) अगस्त्योपाख्यानम्, chapters, 100-105 and 2 verses of 106 of Calcutta edition, Bharata, copied from Padma.

(4) The Bharata, Book 13, chap. 98 (अन्नदानप्रशंसा), copied with occasional transpositions of words from Padma, Vol. 4, chap. 27.

Note.—Bharata, Book 13, chap. 98 is again copied in the same book in chap. 235.

(5) Padma. Vol. IV, chap. 28.

Verses 1 to 4 reappear in the Bharata, Book 13, chap. 100 (Dravida copy).

Verses 5 to 19 reappear in chap. 93 Bharata (Dravida copy).

The Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

The description of the actual rite of the Aswamedha in the Mahabharata,

Book 14, was copied from the corresponding passages of the Ramayana. The Bharata specialist was evidently pressed for time. He appropriated the Ramayana matter, but had recourse to a trick, which is as amusing as it is paltry.

Sanskrit being a highly inflexional language, the position of the words in a sentence does not alter the sense of the passage, and there is hardly anything like syntactical regulation. The Bharata writer of the Aswamedha portion, re-arranged the words of several of the Ramayana slokas in such a way as to put the readers off the scent and manufactured his Aswamedha all right.

The Uttaramayana.

A late fabrication. Contains some matter copied from Narasimha Purana, some from Padma Purana, etc.

To make a comparative study of the Puranas, to determine their proper place in Sanskrit literature, and to extract from them whatever may be of permanent value, it is necessary to form a school of Pundits working under systematised supervision. Every Purana and Upa-Purana requires to be carefully and accurately indexed.

Next after that, a common concordance for all these Puranas would have to be constructed as preparatory to further study. It is not until then that we can obtain tangible results in this branch of research. We shall then know how much of these books is genuine, how much is spurious, how much should be preserved as valuable, and how much can be suffered to perish, without detriment to the advancement of knowledge.

It is a work that would require a large monetary endowment; but the money would be well spent and the labour well bestowed. The task would, when cheerily taken in hand and duly brought to a close, redound to the glory of the prince or nobleman on whom the grace may descend.

REVIEWS.

"Life and Times of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI" (in Tamil)

BY A. V. VENKATARAMA AVYAR, ESQ., M.A., L.T.,

Assistant Lecturer in History, Queen Mary's College for Women, Madras. [Re. 1.]

IN this work the author has digested the materials scattered over nearly thirty-eight different sources, as enumerated in the list of books consulted, concerning one of the very ill-lighted periods of South Indian history and interpreted them as we should expect from a scholar of the author's culture and patient industry. What most appeals to the reader is its Tamil garb. Those going through the periodical lists of new publications registered in the several provinces that appear in the several Government Gazettes must be painfully aware of the paucity of similar efforts in the vernacular and though to English readers the addition of maps, charts, genealogical tables and such other devices for the better understanding of the subject is a familiar feature, they are welcome innovations in the field of vernacular publications, and to present-day readers are almost indispensable.

The study of the reign of this great Chalukya king is important as filling a gap in the history of South India in the pre-Muhammadan period, about which European orientalists are not tired to note the paucity of materials or the comparative unimportance of that which they have recovered. But a perusal of the brochure under notice will show full well that this king's reign was neither uneventful nor unimportant. It gives us an idea, a fairly clear idea, of the character of a purely Indian administration of the country prior to the introduction of foreign influence into it.

The period covered by the reign of this prince (1076 to 1127) corresponds approximately with the time of the labours of the great Vaishnavite reformer of South India Sri Ramanuja who lived from 1017 to 1137 and as such must be of interest as affording an insight into the condition of the country and manners of the people of that time. In that light the fifth or the last chapter of the book affords very inspiring reading.

That the dry bones of archæology which was, till recently, and is even now very often, employed in the amiable task of conjectural fixing of problematic chronologies should have been made to yield a vivid and readable picture of the state of the country, its people and its government at this period is a service for which all true lovers of the real Indian History should thank the author. But we, in the Kannada country, of which Mysore is at present at any rate the crest-jewel, cannot avoid a regret that this account was not written in Kannada by a Kannada man as this sovereign's greatness reflects the glory of the Kannada country.

The author's style is literary without pedantry. It is easy, yet dignified. We commend the work for the acceptance of the Tamil reading public with a hope that the author will give us more such pictures of our past national life which we are sure was neither tame nor inglorious.

B. R.

Annals of the Mysore Royal Family.

WE beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the two volumes in Kannada of the Annals of the Mysore Royal Family presented to the Society by the courtesy of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. Of the two volumes, Vol. I was published in 1916 and contains the important events of history connected with each of the ruling monarchs of the Royal Family of Mysore from the time of the founder of the family in A.D. 1371 down to the overthrow of Tippu Sultan and the installation of His Highness the Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur III in A.D. 1799. The Annals are based on materials recorded in a Kannada manuscript written about the middle of the 19th century by order of His Highness and deposited in the Palace Library.

The book is written in a popular and attractive style, the language being chaste and intelligible. The outstanding events of the reign of each king are so well brought out that their perusal not only rouses curiosity and enthusiasm but also patriotism and pride. There are twelve chapters in the book, each containing the leading events of each king. At the commencement of each chapter the date of the birth and installation of each king, the names of his consorts and of the issues he had by them are given which serve as a good introduction to the subject. The entire volume is full of information so interesting and inspiring that every Mysorean that reads it is fired with a genuine pride in the glorious achievements of the scions of the Mysore Royal House and is animated by a lively sense of patriotism for the country of his birth that can boast of such a brilliant record. Though Mysore is such a compact little State as compared with the vast continent of India that surrounds it, yet it is astonishing how its historical vicissitudes closely follow those operating on the vaster area with evolutions characteristic of national growth and decay.

Deeds of chivalry and valour, acts of benevolence and piety, policies and problems dictated by far-seeing statesmanship and deep administrative insight and events that lead up to culminating prosperity on the one hand and that bring down to harrowing adversity on the other are as striking in the history of the Mysore kings as they are of emperors and rulers of the Indian Empire. Mysore history is not a history of dull and dead uniformity but is full of varied changes making it as interesting as that of any other country.

The conspicuous examples that have contributed largely to this great historical tradition of Mysore are those of Yadurayar, the founder of the royal family, of

Raja Wadiyar, Ranadhira Kanteerava Narasaraja Wadiyar, Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar and Krishnaraja Wadiyar III. But above all these stands the shining example of devotion, self-sacrifice, foresight, courage and will of Maharani Lakshmammanniavar, whose masterly policy restored Mysore back to its ancient rulers and made it possible for us to enjoy the blessings of the rule of their successors at the present time.

Volume II of the Annals was published last year and follows the style and tenor of its companion volume. It gives a rousing picture of the wonderful forbearance, suffering and passive heroism displayed by this Maharani who was the saviour of Mysore in its direst hour of need and is replete with every detail of the pious deeds of the sage-like king, His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur III and of the administrative work of the British Commission that ruled Mysore from A.D. 1831 to A.D. 1881. Reference is also made with becoming gratitude to that high minded British justice that gave back Mysore to the descendants of its ancestral rulers in A.D. 1799 and that prevailed again against odds in A.D. 1881.

The volumes before us are veritable mines of information and give a lucid and succinct account of the historical events of Mysore up to the Installation of His Highness Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur, the late lamented father of our present beloved Maharaja, His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur IV. No Mysorean can fail to read them with sustained pride and interest from cover to cover and all Kannada knowing people will find them not only edifying historically but also informing as standard literature.

Rajakaryaprasakta Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, the retired Palace Controller, has edited the volumes and a more capable, loyal and patriotic gentleman could hardly have been appropriately selected for the task. He has taken considerable pains in ransacking the libraries of the Palace and the Government and piecing the necessarily fragmentary information he could glean from them with other available sources and presenting us such a readable historical account of Mysore. As a great, loyal and devoted servant of His Highness the Maharaja, he has now the pride and consolation of having earned the approbation of his royal master by publishing these books. In addition, he has also the satisfaction of bringing out a work that will stand as a monument to his devoted service to his king and country.

The volumes are very neatly printed at the Government Branch Press at Mysore with fifteen illustrations in Vol. II.

B. P.

**Journal of the Department of Letters,
Calcutta University—Vol. IX.**

THE Journal before us maintains the high level set by its predecessors in the field of Indian research. Prominent amongst the articles in this issue are "Ancient India" by Professor Sylvain Levi and "The Expressiveness of Indian

Art" by Dr. Stella Kramrisch. Those of us who have had the opportunity of hearing them in the Daly Memorial Hall will gladly welcome these papers which make very instructive reading. Professor Levi rightly points out how it is necessary for the West and the East to co-operate with each other for their mutual good. While paying a just homage to the valuable part played by India in the past, the professor unhesitatingly invites the reader's attention as to how India has suffered in the past by isolation. As regards the paper on Indian Art, it is impossible in this short review to touch upon the several phases of the subject dealt with by Dr. Stella. Beginning with a preliminary survey of the development of art in general, the learned doctor explains the distinctive characteristics of Indian art and the meaning which the Indian artist conveys by his representations. Then come in order the relation of creative art to nature, influence of myths over the development of forms, space, rhythm and evolution in Indian art.

The other papers in the Journal are not less interesting and instructive. An attempt is made by Dr. Hemachandra Rayachaudhuri to draw up an outline of the political history of India from the accession of Parikshit to the coronation of Bimbisara. The sources relied on are the Vedas, the Brahmanas and the Upanishads. In view of the fact that among Hindus it is the practice for one's descendants to be named after him, it is doubtful if it is possible to identify the particular personages and build up a history on a reference to the mere mention of the names in the works relied on. But let us hope that we will be nearer the truth than before by the lead given in this paper. We invite also the particular attention of the readers to Mr. B. N. Bhattacharya's "A Brief Survey of Sahitya Shashtra" which deserves serious study. The other articles by Dr. Sushil Kumar De and Messrs. Bruce Hannah and Aroon Sen are examples of earnest and scholarly endeavour.

T.S.

Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.

For the year ending 31st March 1921.

THE report is a record of satisfactory work in spite of the frequent changes in the personnel of officers of the Department. The Superintendent was able to spend on tour 176 days in the year and to inspect some of the monuments in the Ahmadnagar District which had not been visited before. The results of the exploration work conducted in the course of these tours are given in part IV which is well worth study. Under original research, we are told that the Superintendent's article on the comparison of the letters of the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela and the Nanaghat inscription of Queen Nayanika was completed and will be published in the Memoirs of the Archaeological

Survey of India. We eagerly look forward to this promised publication as also the monograph on the monuments of the ancient Chedi country for which materials are stated to have been discovered during the recent tours. It is observed that the grant of the Government of India for conservation work has fallen down by Rs. 8,500. We cannot but too strongly emphasize the importance of the work of conservation of ancient monuments which is the one and the only way of preserving ancient art intact. We hope the Government of India will be able to make a more liberal grant during the coming years when they will not have the necessity of facing deficit budgets under improved conditions.

T.S.

"South Indian Shrines".

BY P. V. JAGADISA AVVAR, ESQ.

THE book before us is an enlarged and revised edition of a book under the same title published some time ago by the same author. We need not say that the author has taken great trouble in bringing together the scattered *Sthalapuranas* of the several shrines. The present edition is of particular interest to the people of Mysore as, unlike its predecessor, it deals with some of the important shrines and archaic temples in Mysore. The book will serve as a valuable guide to the European tourists towards a better understanding of Hindu ideals.

Considering the number of plates used and the bulk of the book, its price, viz., Rs. 6 a copy is very moderate. Publishers are Vest & Co., Madras.

T.S.

Subscriptions and Donations received during the quarter ending March 1923.

Messrs.	Name.	Vol.	RS.	A.	P.
	P. S. Govinda Rao, Mysore	XIII	..	3	0 0
	A. S. Woodburne, Madras .. ..	..	..	3	0 0
	T. Abdul Khader, Tumkur .. ..	..	..	3	0 0
	H. K. Veerabasaviah, Kolar Gold Fields..	..	..	3	0 0
	B. Krishna Iyengar, Secunderabad .. ..	..	..	3	0 0
	K. Devanathan, Bangalore .. ..	..	..	5	0 0
	A. Madhava Iyengar, Bangalore .. ..	..	..	5	0 0
	Col. P. A. Skipwith, Bangalore .. ..	..	..	5	0 0
	M. Arunachala Iyer, Bangalore .. ..	..	..	5	0 0
	Thomas Leishman, Bangalore .. ..	..	..	5	0 0
	H. Lubeck, Bangalore .. ..	..	..	5	0 0
	B. A. Saletore, Udipi .. ..	..	..	3	0 0
	J. A. De'Rozario, Bangalore .. ..	..	..	5	0 0
	Dr. J. J. Sudborough, Bangalore .. ..	..	..	5	0 0
	B. Venkoba Rao, Bangalore .. ..	..	..	5	0 0
	Dr. H. E. Watson, Bangalore .. ..	..	..	5	0 0
	K. Chandy, Bangalore .. ..	..	..	5	0 0
	K. P. Menon, Bangalore .. ..	..	..	5	0 0
	B. Subrahmanya Iya, Mysore .. ..	..	..	3	0 0
	Rev. M. B. Taylor, Bangalore .. ..	..	..	5	0 0
	B. Balaji Rao, Bangalore .. ..	..	..	5	0 0
	P. Narayanasami Iyengar, .. ..	..	..	3	0 0
	K. Krishnamacharya, Tirupati .. ..	..	..	3	0 0
	V. H. Vader, Chikodi Post .. ..	..	..	3	0 0
	T. S. Ramanathan, Sattur .. ..	..	..	3	0 0
	Librarian, Indian Teachers' Association, Bangalore	..	..	3	0 0
	Chief Secretary to Government for the copy sent to Private Secretary to the Dewan, Bangalore	5	0 0
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	M. S. Ramachar, Kolar	3	0 0

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	E. P. Metcalfe, Bangalore ..	XII & XIII	..	8	0 0
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	Peace Memorial Association, Anantapur	3	0 0
	K. Matthan, Bangalore	5	0 0
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	H. V. Narayana Rao, Bangalore	5	0 0

**Books presented or purchased during the quarter
ending 31st March 1923.**

The Government of Mysore, (Muzrai Department)—

Sacred Books of the East, Vols. 1 to 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23 to 30, 32 to 50.

Sri Ramachandra by Annie Besant.

The Great War by Annie Besant.

The Elements of Church History by the Rev. B. Rice.

Early Christianity by S. B. Slack, M.A.

The Varieties of Religious Experience by William James.

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Mysore—

State Administration Report for 1921-22.

Census Superintendent in Mysore—

Census Report of Mysore, 1921, Parts I and II.

The Palace, Mysore—

Annals of Mysore, Parts I and II.

Mysore State Papers, Parts I, II and IV.

The Registrar, Calcutta University—

Report of the Registration Fee Committee.

Report of the Government Grant Committee.

Minutes of the Senate Meeting of the Calcutta University held on 18th November and 22nd December 1922.

Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. IX.

The Registrar, Madras University—

University Calendar for 1923, Vol. I.

Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior—

Gwalior Fort Album.

Superintendent of Archaeology, Trivandrum—

Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. III, Part I. Stone and Copperplate

Inscriptions of Travancore with 26 plates by K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, B.A.

Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Circle, Poona—

Progress Report of the Archaeological Department, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1921.

Superintendent, Government Printing, Madras—

Ananda Ranga Pillay's Diary, Vol. VIII (from May 1751 to December 1753).

Smithsonian Institution, Washington—

Documents relative to the Origin and History of the Smithsonian Institution by William J. Rhees.

Biographical sketch of James Smithson 1897.

The Natives of Kharga Oasis, Egypt, by Dr. R. Ales Hrdlicka.

Archaeological Investigations in New Mexico, Colorado and Utah by J. Walter Fewkes.

The Races of Russia by Ales Hrdlicka.

Archaeological Investigations at Paragonah, Utah.

Upper Yukon Native Customs and Folk-lore.

Preliminary Survey of the Remains of the Chippewa Settlements on La Pointe Island, Wisconsin.

Smithsonian Geographical Tables by R. S. Woodward.

Geology and Paleontology by B. K. Emerson.

Journal of Proceedings of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the years 1887-88, 1888-89, 1889-90, 1890-91, 1891-92, 1893, 1894, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1909, and 1911 to 1921.

Annual Reports of the Smithsonian Institution for the years 1916 to 1920.

Administration and Activities of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1917.

The differentiation of mankind into racial types by Arthur Keith.

Two types of South Western Cliff Houses by J. Walter Fewkes.

New archaeological lights on the origins of civilization in Europe by Sir Arthur Evans.

The Art of the great Earthwork Builders of Ohio by Charles C. Willoughby.

On the Race History and Facial Characteristics of the aboriginal Americans by W. H. Holmes.

A constitutional league of peace in the stone age of America—(The league of the Iroquois and its constitution by J. N. B. Hewitt.)

The origin and beginnings of the Czecho Slovak people by Jindrich Matiegka.

The opportunity for American Archaeological Research in Palestine by James A. Montgomery.

Ojibway Habitations and other structures by David J. Bushnell, Jr.

History in Tools by W. M. Flinders Petrie.

Excavations at Tell-El-Amarna, Egypt, in 1913-14 by Ludwig Borchardt.

Presented by—

Mr. D. B. Ramachandra Mudaliar (Author)—

History of the Mudaliars in Kannada.

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Poona (Author)—

"Studies in Bhasa."

Mr. A. V. Venkatarama Ayyar, M.A., L.T., Madras (Author.)

The life and times of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI. (in Tamil)

Mr. Jamshedji Edulji Saklatwalla, Bombay—

Research into Early Iranian History from the Epics of India—

Pre Achaemenian Zoroastrians in Hindustan by Eruch Ardesar Parakh.

"Omar Khayam" by J. E. Saklatwalla.

G. C. Wolfe, Esq, C. B. E. (Author)—

Collection of War Medals and Decorations.

The Cambridge University Press—

Vijayadharma Suri—His life and work, by A. J. Sunawala.

Mr. P. V. Jagadisa Ayyar (Author)—

South Indian Shrines (Revised edition).

By Purchase—

Cave Temples of India by James Fergusson and Burgess.

Tree and Serpent Worship by James Fergusson.

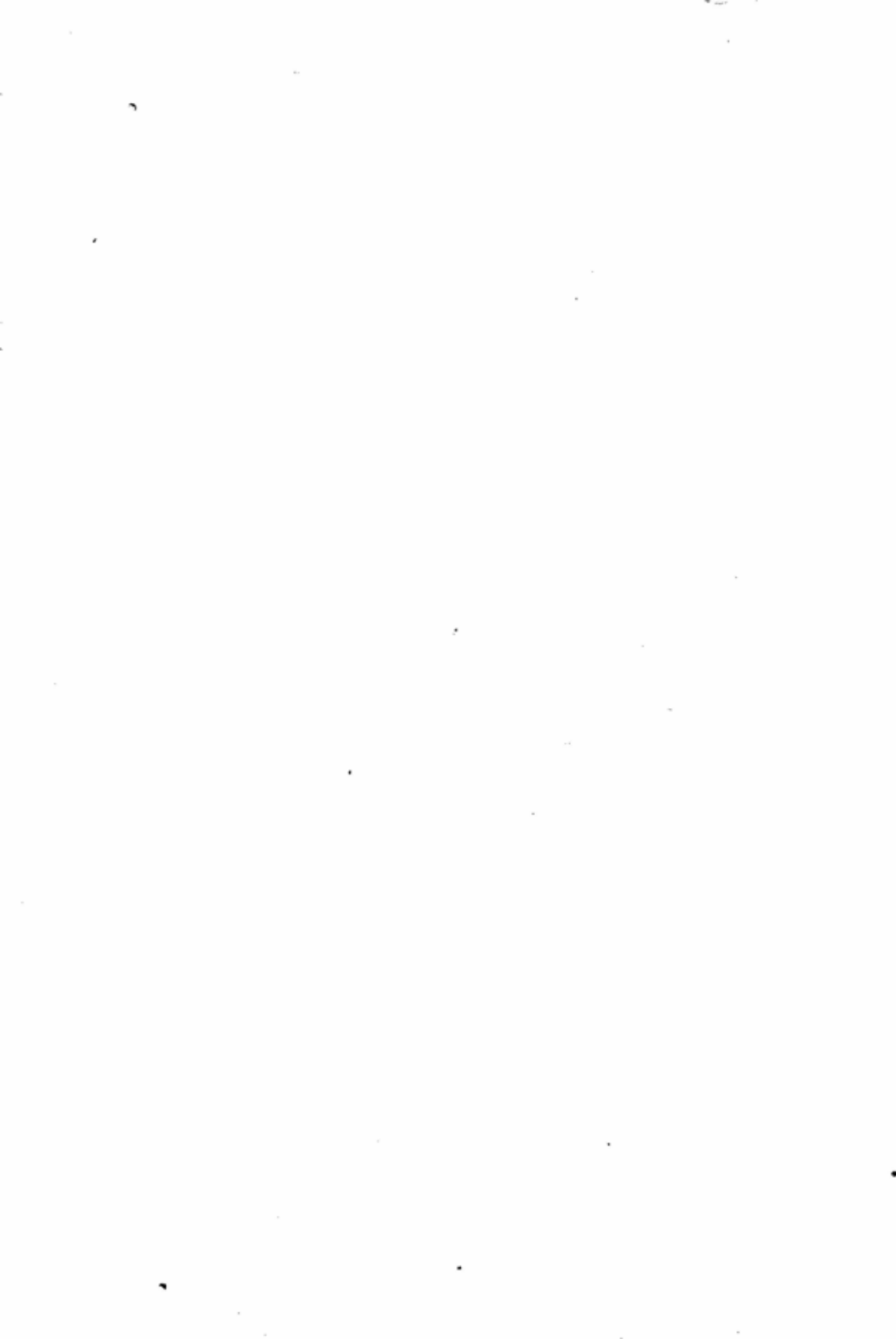
An Historical Disquisition of India by William Robertson.

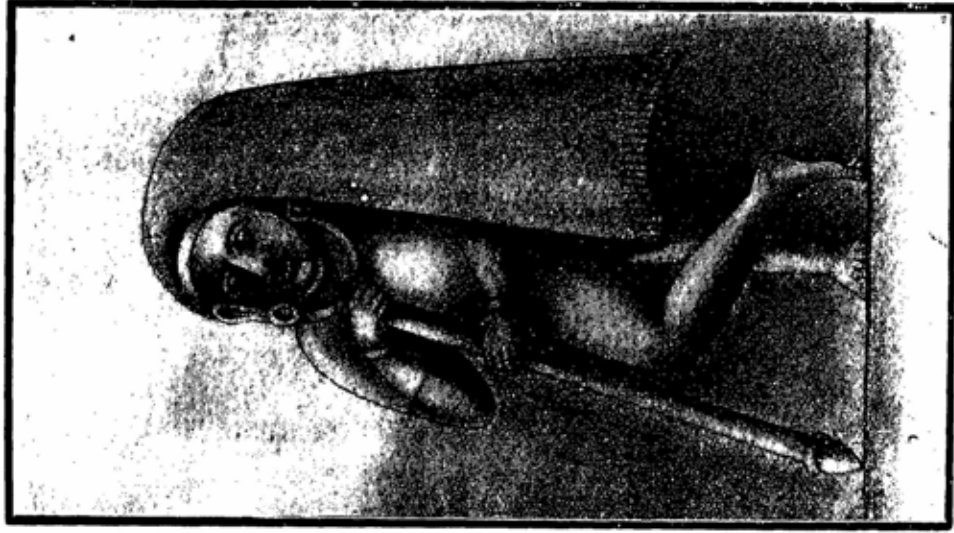
History of Hindu Civilization by Ramachandra Ghosh.

A note on the Ancient Geography of Asia by Nobin Chandra Das.

"Greek Refinements" by W. H. Goodyear.

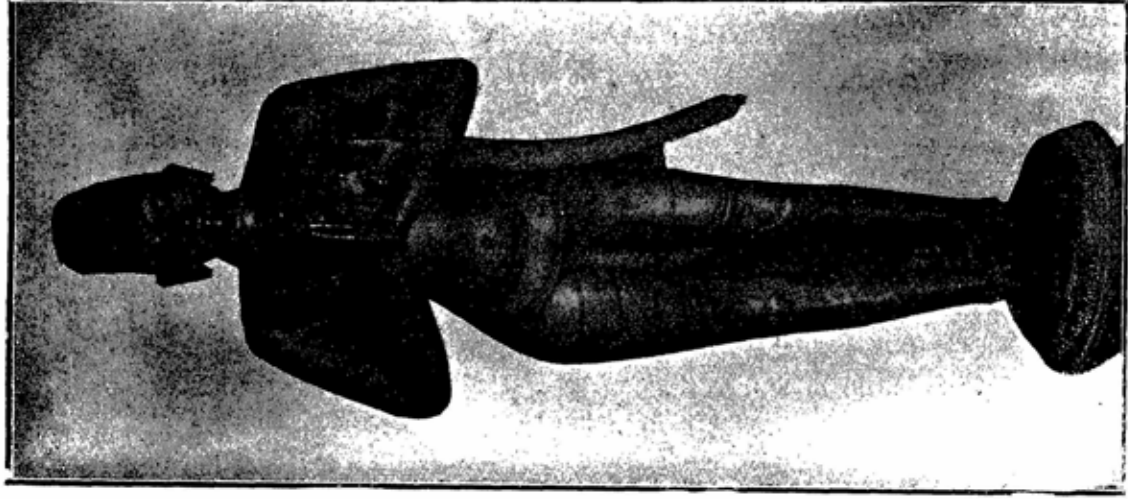
Mythic Society's Journal, Vol. VIII, No. 3, and Vol. IX, Nos. 1 and 2.



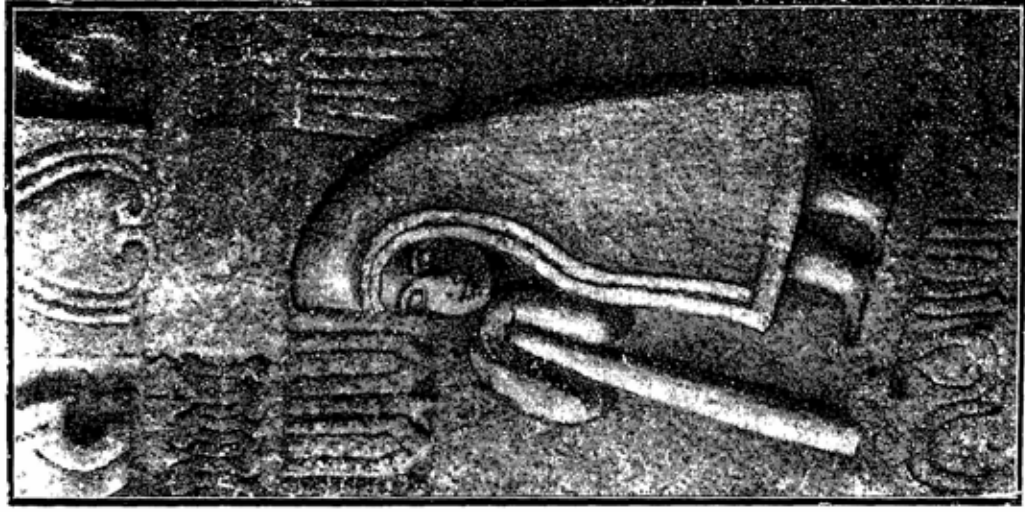


KEMPE GOWDA I
(Founder of Bangalore)

As carved on a wall in the Ulsoor Temple



KEMPE GOWDA II
Portrait Statue in the Sivaganga Temple



KEMPE GOWDA III

*As carved on a Pillar in a Pavilion attached to
the Somasvara Temple at Magadi*

The
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[No. 4

THE KEMPE GOWDA CHIEFS.

By B. PUTTAIYA, ESQ., B.A.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

KEMPE GOWDA is a great historical name in Mysore and a household word cherished with pride and veneration in the tract of country over which the family held sway. This tract was known as Yelahanka *Nad* or Yelahanka country from the fact that the originator of the family first settled at Yelahanka, now a small town eight miles north of Bangalore. After gradually extending his power all round, Kempe Gowda styled himself Yelahanka *Nadu Prabhu* or the Lord of the Yelahanka country. This title was successively assumed by his successors so that this line of chiefs became known as Yelahanka *Nadu Prabhus*.

These chiefs ruled as vassals of the Vijayanagar kings paying tribute to them until their power waned. Thereafter they paid their tribute to the Mahrattas and the Musalmans before they were finally overthrown by the Mysore Rajas in 1728 A.D.

Tradition says that one Ranabhire Gowda, a native of Alur village near Conjeevaram, migrated with his seven brothers and their families in seven carts and settled down at Avati, a village near Devanahalli, about 25 miles

north-east of Bangalore. The reason for the migration is stated to be, according to one account, famine* ; but according to another,† it was for the sake of preserving the purity of his family stock by safeguarding the chastity of his daughter, Doddamma, from the molestations of a vagabond chief who was harassing her that Ranabhire Gowda took to flight. God aided the fugitives in a miraculous way in effecting their escape safely ; for when their further progress on the way was barred by the river Palar which was running in full flood, Doddamma invoked the aid of the family God and prayed that if she be virtuous, Mother Ganga might be gracious to her and show her a way out ; whereupon the waters subsided and left a dry bed till the family crossed the stream. It then rose in flood again barring the way effectually against the enemies who were pursuing the family.

Whatever the reason for the migration, it appears that sometime after they had thus settled down at Avati village, the brothers separated from one another, each to find out a new settlement for himself. Jaya Gowda, the youngest, settled at Yelahanka and lived there for 15 years, i.e., from A.D. 1418 to A.D. 1433. It is from this Jaya Gowda that the famous Kempe Gowdas were descended.

There are many chiefs in the line who bear the surname "Kempa." There is a reason given for this. Jaya Gowda's son Gidde Gowda had no son and he vowed to his family Goddess Kempamma that if by her grace he were favoured with a son, he would distinguish the child's name by the appellation of her revered name. His prayer was fulfilled by Divine Grace and he named his son Kempananja Gowda.‡ Many of his successors, out of gratitude to the Goddess who saved the family from extinction, similarly adopted the practice of prefixing their name with the word "Kempa" so that persons bearing the same name occur very frequently in the genealogy. But the names of three Kempe Gowdas among all the others stand forth pre-eminent. For the sake of convenience, they will be designated as Kempe Gowda I, Kempe Gowda II and Kempe Gowda III and though some confusion is caused on account of the identity of names in assigning the achievements of each chief bearing this name to the right man, yet the narrative of each chief's rule as gleaned from the available sources may be stated to be sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes.

Kempe Gowda I.

Kempe Gowda I, who ruled from A.D. 1513 to A.D. 1569, is the most famous of the trio. He was much favoured by the Vijayanagar kings,

* *Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II, Historical Memoir of Bangalore.*

† *Mysore Gazetteer, 1897, Vol. II, p. 20.*

‡ *Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II, Historical Memoir of Bangalore.*

Krishnaraya and Achutharaya. He founded modern Bangalore by erecting a mud fort in A.D. 1537. It is said that one day while he was out on inspection he entered a village called Sivanasamudram, 10 miles from his capital, and struck with the site as being ideally situated for a city, he decided to build his future capital on that spot. The foundation was laid in an auspicious hour and the fort was completed with four batteries. It is said also that at this spot he saw a hare suddenly attack his dog. The strange event at once convinced him that it indicated warrior ground fit to raise a fort upon.* This tradition is not inconsistent with that associated with the founding of capitals of large kingdoms on warrior ground, such as, Dorasamudra, Hadinad, Vijayanagar and elsewhere.

It may be stated here in passing that the Bangalore which he thus built was not the traditional City of Beans, as many imagine. The true "City of Beans" or rather the true "Village of Beans" is a village situated three miles north of the present Bangalore near Hebbal where the village Kodigehalli now stands, which used to be known as "Hale Bengaloor" or old Bangalore. Nor is it likely that the king who was served with cold boiled beans and who named the village after those beans is Kempe Gowda as is generally believed but, if at all, it is Veera Ballala Raya II, a King of the Hoysala-Ballalas, who lived about 300 years before Kempe Gowda. Even this story is now discredited on account of the discovery by Mr. Narasimbachar of an inscription dated about A.D. 900 at Begoor, a village 8 miles south of Bangalore, in which the word Bengaluru or Bangalore occurs, from which he infers that the story which connects Ballala Raya with Bangalore may be given up.† Though the romance that has clung to the name of Bangalore has thus disappeared, yet it is not improbable that there was some glamour connected with the name at that period, because Kempe Gowda preferred to name the new village he founded as Bangalore. It is still pronounced and written in Kannaḍa as Bengalūru (ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು).

The erection of a fort by Kempe Gowda pleased his liege lord Achutha Raya immensely, and he granted him the enjoyment of 12 hoblis (groups of villages) yielding a revenue of 30,000 pagodas. These were annexed to Bangalore and the money derived therefrom was employed for charitable purposes. Kempe Gowda thereafter extended the town, opened out the pettas, encouraged the artisans and merchants to settle there and made it his capital. A pathetic story of self-sacrifice is told in connection with the erection of the main gate of the fort which is worth recording. It appears that the gate used to come down during the night every time it was set up during the day.

* Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II, *Historical account of Hallasoor*.

† Mysore Archaeological Report, 1914-15, p. 16.

Kempe Gowda was puzzled as to the reason of this strange phenomenon but one day he had a dream in which he was told that, if he offered a human sacrifice, the gate would stand. He was in a dilemma and was worrying himself as to what to do, when his daughter-in-law, Lakshmamma, who had heard of the dream, offered to sacrifice herself before the gate but the father-in-law would not assent to such a proposal. But Lakshmamma unable to look on indifferently at her father-in-law's uneasiness, worry and loss, stole out once at mid-night and presenting herself before the gate of the fort, offered up prayers to bestow fame on her father-in-law and beheaded herself. Thereupon the gate stood and Kempe Gowda moved by Lakshmamma's godlike nobility of mind and self-sacrifice built a temple for her at Koramangala, a village east of Bangalore, near Ulsoor, installed her effigy there and arranged for her worship which is conducted even to this day.*

Kempe Gowda was a pious man, a great devotee and a generous donor. He built a number of temples at Bangalore which are even to this day great places of pilgrimage and endowed them with liberal grants of villages, lands and *agraharas* for their perpetual worship and up-keep. All of them are wonderful works in design and execution and strike the imagination by their magnitude. The Gavi Gangadharesvara temple and the village of Gavipur in which it is situated were built by Kempe Gowda and also the large perennial lake, Kempambudhi tank near the temple, which he named after his family goddess Kempamma. The picturesque scenery and the natural beauty amidst which, the temple, the lake and the village nestle, arrest the attention of visitors and impress them with the grandeur of the place. The temple is erected over a cave in a rock. In the compound of the temple stand two stone umbrellas, a stone trident and a stone drum representing the emblems of Siva who is worshipped in the temple. They are all over 12 feet high, standing on a rock apparently without any foundation, each being cut out of a single piece of stone, as though to testify to the God's grace with which Kempe Gowda was favoured in erecting the temple.

A little to the right of this temple is the well-known Basavangudi temple where Basavesvara, a colossal bull over 11 feet high is worshipped. It is recumbent in posture and beautifully cut out of one huge rock standing upon another rock. This temple was also built by Kempe Gowda. God is stated to have appeared to him in a dream and desired him to build the temple. There is a small tank behind the temple from which the river Vrishabhavati is supposed to rise and flow from under the feet of the bull westwards, according to an inscription on the pedestal of the bull.† Kempe Gowda threw a bund

* Mr. V. S. Saminatha Mudaliar's Kannada pamphlet on Ulsoor Temple, 1906, p. 4.

† E.C.Bg. 70. ಈ ಬಸವೇಶ್ವರನ ಪಾದದಲ್ಲಿ ವೃಷಭಾವತಿ ಜನನಿ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮವಾಹಿನಿಯಾಗಿ ನಡೆಯಿತು.

across this river near Gavipur and built the Kempambudhi tank referred to above.

In the vicinity of Basavangudi, Kempe Gowda built four smaller shrines to the guardians of Basavesvara, viz., Dodda Vighnesvara, Anjaneya, Nandisvara and Mallikarjuna. Vighnesvara, the elephant God, is over 13 feet high and is carved on a huge rock; so also the other Gods which are all of great magnitude.

Besides these temples, the Somesvara temple at Halsoor and the Channigarayaswami temple in the fort were also built by Kempe Gowda. As in the case of the temples at Gavipur and Basavangudi, the Ulsur temple is said to have been built as a result of a dream in which God appeared and directed Kempe Gowda to erect the temple with the money found buried under the earth. Kempe Gowda accordingly dug the earth at the spot mentioned by the God and found a *lingam* and a large sum of money with which he set up the *lingam* and built a temple over it. He allotted liberal grants for the performance of the worship of the *lingam* and built a village round the temple and granted houses to Brahmins.*

Annual festivals which attract a large concourse of people are regularly held in all these temples even to this day. Kempe Gowda endowed them with allowances and liberal grants for meeting the expenses of the annual festive celebrations. In addition to the temples, he constructed three *Agraharams* or rows of dwelling houses as gifts to a number of Brahmins who undertook to offer worship to the Gods above stated.†

He erected the four famous watch-towers, one in each of the four directions of Bangalore, to indicate that the City he intended to build would in time to come extend as far as those towers in all directions—a prediction now come true. The towers occupy such conspicuous positions around Bangalore and are so beautifully built as to arrest the eye at once. One watch-tower is on a rock on the Ulsoor tank bund on the east and another is likewise on a beautiful chain of rocks on the bund of the Kempambudhi tank on the west. A third towards the north is on the road to Hebbal near the Hebbal rifle range and the other to the south on a rock in the Lalbagh. At the foot of the watch-tower in the Lalbagh is erected a tablet commemorating Kempe Gowda's reign and his prediction as to the future extension of Bangalore.

The village and the sacred hill of Sivaganga came into Kempe Gowda's possession in A.D. 1550. When Kempe Gowda paid a visit to this sacred hill, he was inspired with pious and devout feelings and built a number of smaller temples, towers, choultries and rest houses and made arrangements for regular

* Vide Footnote on page 730.

† Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II, *Historical Memoir of Bangalore*.

worship and the celebration of annual festivals. Large improvements to the main temple at much expense were also effected and a big hall was built for the transaction of public business which is even now known as Kempe Gowda's *Hazara* or audience hall. His portrait statue with hands folded in devout fashion is in the principal temple. An inscription, dated A.D. 1608, states that the statue represents "Kempaya Gowda, son of Kempanacheya Gowda of Bengaluru, who is always making obeisance to the feet of the God Ganga-dharaswami."* Four other inscriptions are to be found on bells presented to the temple by Kempe Gowda and the members of his family. For a description of the Sivaganga Hill, the reader is referred to Mr. Narasimhachar's interesting account in his Annual Report for 1914-15, pages 11 and 12.

Kempe Gowda was apparently in great power and influence by this time for he overstepped his limits as a feudal chief and established a mint and coined the Pagodas (Varahas) of Bhire Devar, his family God, without the permission of the Vijayanagar king, thus incurring the latter's displeasure. He was consequently imprisoned by Rama Rayar at Anegondi for five years, his territory being annexed and otherwise disposed of. But Kempe Gowda regained the favour of the king through his friends and won back his territory after paying a heavy fine for his crime. He lived for five more years after he regained his liberty leading a life of charity and justice as before. He died in A.D. 1569, having ruled for a period of 50 years excluding the period of his imprisonment.

Kempe Gowda was by birth a devotee of Bhire Devar which was his family God but latterly he adopted the worship of Shiva as he considered that there was no difference between Shiva and Bhiredevaru who was the son of Shiva. The fact that he built a temple to Vishnu in Bangalore Fort shows his cosmopolitan spirit. In his time, he suppressed the family custom of cutting off the two ring fingers of the women of his household considering this observance incompatible with his dignity and high respectability as Lord or *Prabhu* of a large tract of country. In order, however, to keep up the traditional custom and to honour the ancient religious observance, he ordered the votive offerings of gold and silver fingers in place of those of flesh and blood.

From the foregoing account it will be seen how great Kempe Gowda I was. From a small settlement in the village of Yelahanka, he enlarged his territories all round reclaiming jungles and founding villages. He also built

* "ಸ್ವತ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀ ವಿಜಯಾಧಿಪದಯ ಶಾಲಿವಾಹನಶಕ ವರ್ಷಗಳು ೧೫೩೧ ನೆಯ ಕೀಲಕ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಕಾರ್ತಿಕವಿಷುಕ ೧೦ ರಲ್ಲಿ ಬೆಂಗಳೂರ ಕೆಂಪನಾಚೇಗೌಡರ ಕುಮಾರ ಕೆಂಪಯ್ಯಗೌಡನು ಗಂಗಾಧರಸ್ವಾಮಿಯ ಪಾದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಮಾನಮಸ್ತುರ" From the date given, viz., A.D. 1608 it is doubtful whether this statue represents the original Kempe Gowda I, because Kempe Gowda I ruled only till A.D. 1569. But from the pedigree given, viz., that he was the son of Kempanacheya Gowda, it would be Kempe Gowda I, unless there was another Kempanacheya Gowda descended from the original Gowda of the same name.

for himself a capital at Bangalore, laying there the foundation of a big and thriving city. Bangalore began to play a leading part in his day and after being considered to have been an impregnable fortress in important battles, it is still the centre of attraction for business men, tourists, generals and princes and others who come to Bangalore for a change of air as a health resort. Kempe Gowda was a devout and pious soul, favoured by the visions of divine grace. His building activities were not confined to the foundation of cities only. He built and endowed numerous temples, towers, tanks and *Agraharas*. His catholicity was praiseworthy; his rule for an unbroken period of 50 years was marked with charity and justice. It is small wonder then that the memory of such a great man is even now cherished by all people with great respect not different from veneration, and is kept green in the sacred temples and tanks that he built. Though a portrait statue of his is to be found in Sivaganga, yet Bangalore is all the poorer for want of the visible representation of his likeness. Bangalore, which is now the political and commercial capital of the State and which is throbbing with the pulsation of all activities of the modern civilized world, had its future greatness foreshadowed in the vision of the great farmer chief who left a tangible record of it in the four watch-towers he erected in the four corners of Bangalore. It is therefore very desirable that Bangalore should be adorned with his statue. It is a matter of much gratification that Mr. S. K. Narasimhaiah who has recently published a readable account of Kempe Gowda in Kannada is already interesting himself in the movement and it is to be earnestly hoped that his efforts would be crowned with success.

Kempe Gowda II.

The next chief of importance, equally famous for his great and meritorious deeds, is Immadi Kempe Gowda or Kempe Gowda II, son of Kempe Gowda I. He is stated to have ruled Bangalore for 55 years and managed both Bangalore and Magadi for 14 years and finally retired to Magadi on his defeat at Bangalore in A.D. 1638 where he died twenty years later.* If this be true, his reign would be an extraordinarily long one of 89 years, i.e., from A.D. 1569 to A.D. 1658, which looks improbable. As if to support this improbability, a palm leaf manuscript recently discovered mentions that Kempe Gowda II was the grandson of Kempe Gowda I and that his father was one Giddappa Gowda who ruled from A.D. 1556 to A.D. 1577.† But the inscriptions that have been discovered so far make no mention of Giddappa Gowda but clearly state that Kempe Gowda II was the son of Kempe Gowda I and the grandson of Kempananje Gowda.‡ As we cannot obviously discard the evidence of

* *Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II, Historical Memoir of Bangalore and Magadi.*

† “ತಾರ್ವಿಕ ವಿಠಲಿ ಕುಮಾರು ಗಿತ್ತಪ್ಪಗೌಡ್ಕ, ಪುರುಷಮುನಕುನಚ್ಚಿ ಧರ್ಮಮಾತೆಗೆ ರಾಜ್ಯಮೇಲಿ ಶಾಲೀವಾಹನ ಶಕ ೧೪೯೯ ದೇಗಿ ಈಶ್ವರ ಸಂವತ್ಸರಮುನಂದಾ ವಿಠಲಿ ಕೊಮಾಳ್ಕು ಯಿವ್ವಡಿ ಕೆಂಪೇಗೌಡ್ಕ ಕು ಪಟ್ಟಮುಗಟ್ಟಿ ದೈವಾಧೀನುಲ್ಲರಿ.”

‡ E. C. Inscriptions, Magadi 1 and 2 dated A.D. 1630 and A.D. 1670 respectively.

the inscriptions, we cannot but accept that Kempe Gowda II lived and ruled for 89 years unless there be other Kempe Gowdas and Kempananje Gowdas between Kempe Gowda I and Kempe Gowda II.

Immadi Kempe Gowda like his father achieved fame by founding new villages and extending his territory, building more temples and tanks and making gifts of lands and houses to the Brahmins who were to maintain the charities by pious worship. Of these the Kempapura Agrahara near Bangalore and Ivarakandapura Agrahara near Hassarghatta were the most important grants made in A.D. 1605.

Kempe Gowda improved the Somesvara temple built by Kempe Gowda I at Ulsoor by constructing seven enclosures with a shrine in each. He imported the celebrated Jakanachary (probably a descendant of the famous sculptor of the same name) from Beloor, according to tradition, and caused him to carve on all the walls the episode of the marriage of Parvati Devi with Siva called *Girija Kalyana*. The carvings consist of numerous sculptures and figures of the Gods and Goddesses who attended the marriage including Brahma and Vishnu and the thirty-three crores of Devathas or inhabitants of the celestial world. The details of the assemblage at the ceremony are all carved in stone with a wealth of elegance, ornament and realism that one is astonished at the wonderful skill displayed in carving such intricate details on hard stone. Kempe Gowda gave grants for the performance of the worship of the God and granted houses to Brahmins. A sculpture on one of the walls is supposed to be a representation of Kempe Gowda. Mr. Narasimhachar says that the temple is a good specimen of Dravidian architecture with a lofty Gopura.* He dug a tank near Kempapura Agraharam at Bangalore and named it after his forefather Gidde Gowda. This is

* There is a conflict of opinion as to which Kempe Gowda it was that built the Somesvara temple at Ulsoor. In the Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II, under the chapter headed "Historical Memoir of Bangalore," it is stated that "Emadi Kempe Gowda erected the Someswar Pagoda near Halasoor and endowed it with some allowances" but in the same Memoir under the heading "Historical Account of Halasoor and Pagoda" it is stated that "Kempe Gowda who was the headman of the village of Yellahanka.....cut down the jungle.....invited the son of Jakanacharyexpended great sum of money on building a Pagod, with seven enclosures with temples." Mr. Rice has followed both these versions ; for on page 22 of the Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II, 1897, he states that "Immadi (Immadi or the second) Kempe Gowda.....erected the Somesvara pagoda at Halasur," which agrees with the former account while on page 72 of the same volume he has published an account that mainly agrees with the latter account. In a Kannada pamphlet published in 1906 by one Mr. V. S. Saminatha Mudaliar of Ulsoor on "The Origin of the temple of Sri Somesvara Swami of Ulsoor" it is stated that Jayappa Gowda built a wooden temple, that his son Giddappa Gowda pulled down the wooden structure and built only the *Garbhagriha* (inner shrine), that his son Kempananje Gowda erected the present beautiful *Mantapa* and *Nava-ranga*, and Sri Kamakshiamma's temple and towers, that his son Mummadi (?) Kempe Gowda constructed the *Prakara* (compound) and the main gate and that his son Jaya (?) Kempe Gowda built the lofty tower over the gate. Mr. S. K. Narasimiah on the other hand states in his book

the tank which now supplies water to the Binny Mills. It is never known to have run dry. He also built another tank named *Caranji Kere* or Tank of the Fountain so called from a fountain in the bed of a tank from whence he brought water to the Bangalore Fort. The Fort Centre Road running from the south gate of the fort near the City Institute straight to Basavan-gudi and Tata's Silk Farm traverses the bed of this tank. In A.D. 1623 he got possession of Magadi and Savandroog in the following manner:—Having learnt that Savandroog and the territory round Magadi which had been administered by the Viceroys of Vijayanagar Kings had been usurped by one Talari Gangappa Naik on the death of Viceroy Chikka Raj who left no male issue, he collected a force, marched against him and killed him and took possession of the country. A story is told that Ganga solicited the aid of Kempe Gowda promising to give him the fort he had built at Magadi, should they both succeed in subjugating the hill fortress at Savandroog. Kempe Gowda agreed to this stipulation and marched with an army from Bangalore in A.D. 1605 and joined Ganga at Gudemaranahalli from whence they proceeded to the lower fort of Magadi where Immadi Kempe Gowda treacherously put Ganga to death in the gate of Jeebi Durvaja. When Ganga was giving up the spirit he told Kempe Gowda that God would take vengeance upon him for deceiving him and asked him to set up a stone image of him on the tomb as a token of his repentance. Accordingly Kempe Gowda had a stone image of Ganga placed on the tomb.*

Kempe Gowda improved the mud fort at Magadi, established a town there on a large scale peopling it with merchants and tradesmen. He repaired the fortress of Savandroog, and strengthened it with an adequate garrison under able commanders. This hill is $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of Magadi and is 4,024 feet above the sea level. Its bottom is four miles in circumference. It is split into two peaks on top—one white in colour and the other black. There is a Basava on one of the highest peaks. On the top of each peak there are open spaces containing fruit trees and water chasms. The garrison consisted of 8,000 strong under four commanders. He managed this country along with Bangalore for 14 years and thereafter retired to Magadi on the capture of Bangalore by the Muhammadans in A.D. 1638. The cause of the capture is stated to be that a local chief, Raja of Sumakee Bagoor and Kempe Gowda

"Magadi Kempe Gowda", 1922, page 62, that the present large temple, tower, *Prakara* (compound), Navaranga and Sri Kamakshiamma's temple were all built by Immadi Kempe Gowda while Mr. R. Narasimhachar merely says in para 8 of his Annual Report for 1910-11 that "this large temple, which is a good specimen of Dravidian architecture with a lofty *Gopura*, is said to have been built in the 16th century by Kempe Gowda, a sculpture at the end of the wall to the right of the inner entrance being shown as representing him."

* Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II, *Historical Memoirs of Magadi*.

having quarrelled, the former went away to Bijapur to Ali Adil Shah and brought Ranadulla Khan with a numerous army. The latter besieged Bangalore Fort and took Kempe Gowda prisoner, but he was subsequently released on his promising to pay an annual contribution. Thereupon Kempe Gowda fled with his family from the fort of Bangalore and resided in Magadi under the protection offered by Savandroog. He ruled there for 18 years more paying a yearly tribute to the conquerors of Bangalore. From this time onwards, he and his successors came to be familiarly known as Magadi Kempe Gowda.

After settling down at Magadi he conquered Hulikal, Huliurdurga, Utridurga, Bairandurga and Kunigal and vanquished Srirangaraya of Seringapatam and brought a large booty of horses and elephants. He built the temples of Narasimhaswami and Veerabhadraswami at the foot of the Savandurga hill to its south and also a town called Nelapattana (meaning town below the hill) around them. Learning that Magadi was a sacred place as having been the abode of a sage Mandavya, he improved the Sri Ranganathaswami temple. Many inscriptions have been found round about Magadi recording the grants made by him of villages to Brahmīns for conducting worship in the various temples. He devoted the revenue derived from his territory for building temples, tanks and other public charities and he ruled the country with great justice and charity and achieved great fame. The statue that is found engraved on one of the stones in the Halsur temple is supposed to be his.

After Kempe Gowda II, there were a few among his successors who were also called Kempe Gowdas. All were equally devoted to God and did many charitable deeds. Of these, his son named Mummadi Kempe Gowda was a most pious man. He gave a number of villages and *Agraharas* in charity to the Brahmīns in order that they might continue the worship of the Gods, and granted them several allowances also. He was a very charitable ruler. In his reign a famine occurred and all the ryots flocked to him for protection and said that if no rain came down in a day or two, they would leave the country and take shelter elsewhere. Whereupon he pacified them and prayed to God so intently on behalf of his people that rain came in torrents the next day and relieved the situation. From thenceforward the people called him "Male Kemparaya" (meaning Kempe Gowda who brought down rain) in remembrance of his pious and virtuous character which called forth rain from the clouds. He built a temple Prasanna Veereshvara Swami and a large tank Kempa Sagara near Magadi where there is an inscription dated A.D. 1676 (Ma. 5). The tank has three fine sluices in the form of four-pillared Mantapas. He ruled from A.D. 1658 to 1678.*

* *Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II, Memoirs of Bangalore and Magadi.*

Kempe Gowda III.

His grandson and the last of the illustrious rulers of this family was Kempe Gowda III or Mummadi Kempaveerappa Gowda to give his full name. He ruled from 1705 A.D. to 1728 A.D. He erected near Magadi the famous temple of excellent workmanship to Eswara in 1712 A.D. Mr. R. Narasimha-char describes this temple in his Report for 1914-15 as follows:—"The Someswara temple situated about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west of Magadi is now in ruins though built so recently as A.D. 1712 by Mummadi Kempaveerappa Gowda.* A fine Mantapa to the left of the temple is known as Kempe Gowda's *Hazara* or hall and another to the right as dancing girls' *Hazara*. On one of the pillars of the front verandah of the latter hall is a figure about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high of an old man wearing a cloak and leaning on a staff. This is said to represent the original Kempe Gowda, the progenitor of the Yelahanka family of chiefs. A long inscription was discovered on the back inner wall of Garbhagriha. It is dated A.D. 1715 and records the grant of four villages by Kempe Gowda III at the time of the setting up of the *linga*....The temple has small towers at the four corners of the enclosure and a large pond, *Kalyani*, at some distance in front. To the south-west of the temple outside the enclosure is a fine shrine of Basava with a good tower situated on a lofty boulder. It is known as Shikara Basava, and is a prominent structure. A flight of 50 steps leads to it and the Nandi is worshipped by Lingayats on marriage and other occasions." Kempe Gowda also installed for worship the images of Cheluvarayaswami in Cheluvarayapete to the south of Magadi with the assistance of Srirangacharya who had come from Srirangam and of Varadarajaswami at Baichapura. The latter was built in order that his mother who was too aged to pay a visit to Kanchi where the principal deity was Varadaraja, might worship the same God here. He established five *lingams* in five different places and granted several allowances for the feasts connected with those Gods. There is a Lingayat Matha known as Mummadi Gowda's Matha in the same village with a *Gaddige* or a tomb of Lingayat Guru in it. Mummadi Gowda most probably refers to Mummadi Kempe Gowda or Kempe Gowda III, who may have built the Matha. It is said that the chiefs of the Yelahanka family built 300 such Mathas in and around Magadi and endowed them. They also built and endowed Siva and Vishnu temples. The Lingayat Matha at Kempasagara is a fine building said to have been built by Kempe

*It is a matter for thankfulness and congratulation, however, that the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore have since granted a sum of Rs.2,000 to supplement the collection of Rs. 3,500 made by a local committee presided over by Mr. Karnic Krishnamurthi Row, who is the descendant of the minister of Kempe Gowda. This money is to be utilized for the repair of the temple and for the improvement of its surroundings. The Government have also sanctioned a grant of Rs. 25 per mensem for the conduct of regular daily worship in the temple.

Gowda. One of the pillars of the front verandah has a figure about 1½ feet high of Kempe Gowda exactly similar to the one at Somesvara temple at Magadi. He granted to His Holiness the Sringeri Swami the village of Seege Kuppa in A.D. 1724. He was a great patron of letters and many Pandits were at his court. A poem called *Veerabhadravijaya* composed by one Ekambara Dikshitar was dedicated to him and contains some account of his family and a description of God Veerabhadra's festival. It is mentioned in this work that Kempe Gowda conquered Shahji and put to flight Kantirava Narasaraja Wadiyar of Mysore.

Being conscious of the increased activity of the Mysore Wadiyars who were gradually extending their territory by vanquishing the local Pallegars and knowing that the Nawabs of Sira had an eye upon his kingdom, Kempe Gowda III extended and improved Nelapattana the town situated in the wilderness to the south of Savandurga and made it almost inaccessible to the enemies. It occupied an area of 10 square miles and was teeming with a varied population and palatial houses of the royal family and other officers extending from the top of one of the peaks down to the Veerabhadra temple at foot. It was defended by three forts and the hill by two forts with numerous bastions. The outermost fort was guarded by eight commanders with all ammunition and army in readiness.

Kempe Gowda usually stayed at Magadi with a small retinue transacting the business of the State but whenever he had an inkling of the approach of the enemy, he used to seek shelter in Nelapattana arriving there by the main gate of the fort towards the north-east. There was only one secret passage upwards to the white peak from Nelapattana which was narrow and precipitous. About half way up the pathway there was a deep chasm crossed by a plank placed across it. In war time, the plank used to be removed leaving the chasm open so that as the enemy approached one by one, he was hurled to the unknown depths. It was a natural obstruction to the ascent of the Droog. The bastions of the fort in the hill command a fine view of the surrounding country offering advantage to reconnoitre the movement of the enemy. Near these bastions, he built powder magazines, armouries, food stores and audience chambers and secreted his invaluable treasures in them. All his faithful officers lived in the third fort of Nelapattana at the entrance of which he built a beautiful temple of Sri Kasi Visvesvara. The entrance to the fort and the Visvesvara temple are intact now but the ruins of the town which reveal its former glory are overgrown with jungle. On the site of the town are even now to be seen a large number of ponds and wells bearing witness to the existence before of dwelling houses of the town.*

* Mysore Archaeological Report and Mr. S. K. Narasimiah's *Kempe Gowda*.

The ancestors of Kempe Gowda were devotees equally of Siva and Vishnu and made no distinction between a Shiva and a Vaishnava. Consequently there was hearty co-operation and unanimity among all classes of his subjects. Kempe Gowda was no exception. But when unfortunately on account of his intimacy with a Lingayat woman by name Bhargavati he became a Lingayat and changed his Gotra from Chaturtha into Sadasiva,* there was a split among some of his high officers, who were of both sects. Dodda Krishnaraja Wadiyar of Mysore became aware of this internal dissension and under the pretext of admiring and rewarding the fine horsemanship of one Muddappa Gowda, the fourth of the Hulikal Chiefs and cousin of Kempe Gowda in the collateral line, sent for him to Mysore and bestowed upon him the name of Muddukrishnaraja Gowda after his own royal name and directed him to pay him a tribute of 500 pagodas. Shortly after, the Mysore king sent an invitation to Kempe Gowda himself to go to Mysore with a white elephant which he had in his possession but Kempe Gowda refused to do so.† Dodda Krishnaraja Wadiyar thereupon sent an army in secret under Dalvai Devarajaiyya who, with the help of the treacherous officers, stole into the fort by making a hole in the wall near Channarayana's gate and captured Kempe Gowda's most faithful and capable commander by name Veerabhadra Naik. The Gowda's army fought valiantly but to no purpose. Kempe Gowda who was in Magadi having learnt of the capture of Veerabhadra Naik entered Nelapattana through the secret door and prepared himself to fight the Mysore army but was captured by the Dalvai. Then the Gowda's armies stationed all over the fort, joined together and fought gallantly but being unable to get reinforcements which the Mysore army easily got, were utterly defeated. The Mysore Dalvai then took possession of Nelapattana and Savandroog and carried away all the treasures accumulated there for over 200 years and removed Kempe Gowda, his faithful commanders and some chief officers and their families to Seringapatam in 1728 A.D. and put them all in restraint. He was never released and thus ended the great chief's rule.

The Magadi territory became Mysore territory thenceforward. Nelapattana became a heap of ruins. Kempe Gowda's piety, devotion and selfless rule were so beneficent that the site occupied by Nelapattana though surrounded by a fearful forest is even now a smiling land with trees and flowers, roots and edibles, the abode of many varied birds, and a quiet retreat. Annual feasts are held in honour of Gods Veerabhadra and

* "తవారత క్షింతకక్షింత కాలమున స్వేన యాకంపవరప్రగ్నండ్లు లింగాయత రివభక్తరాజ్యేన భగవాన్ కి యనేదాన్ని యుంజుకొని కొన్ని దినమునవ్యేన మురగివడేరనే జంగమునిజాత లింగధారణము జేసింపికొనిరి. మోదలియుండిన జతుర్భగ్గోత్రమనేదాన్ని విడిచి సదాచివగోత్రమని వ్యసద్ధి బొందుతని వట్టిరి" —

Telugu Palm-leaf Manuscript.

† Telugu Palm-leaf Manuscript.

Narasimhaswami and many devotees flock there. The whole tract appeals to the imagination by its past glory and its present peaceful repose. The site of the Droog and the ruins of Nelapattana impress one with the greatness of Kempe Gowda, his heroism and prowess and inspires pride, reverence and patriotism bringing to mind the great deeds wrought by the heroic chief.*

Autograph Letter.

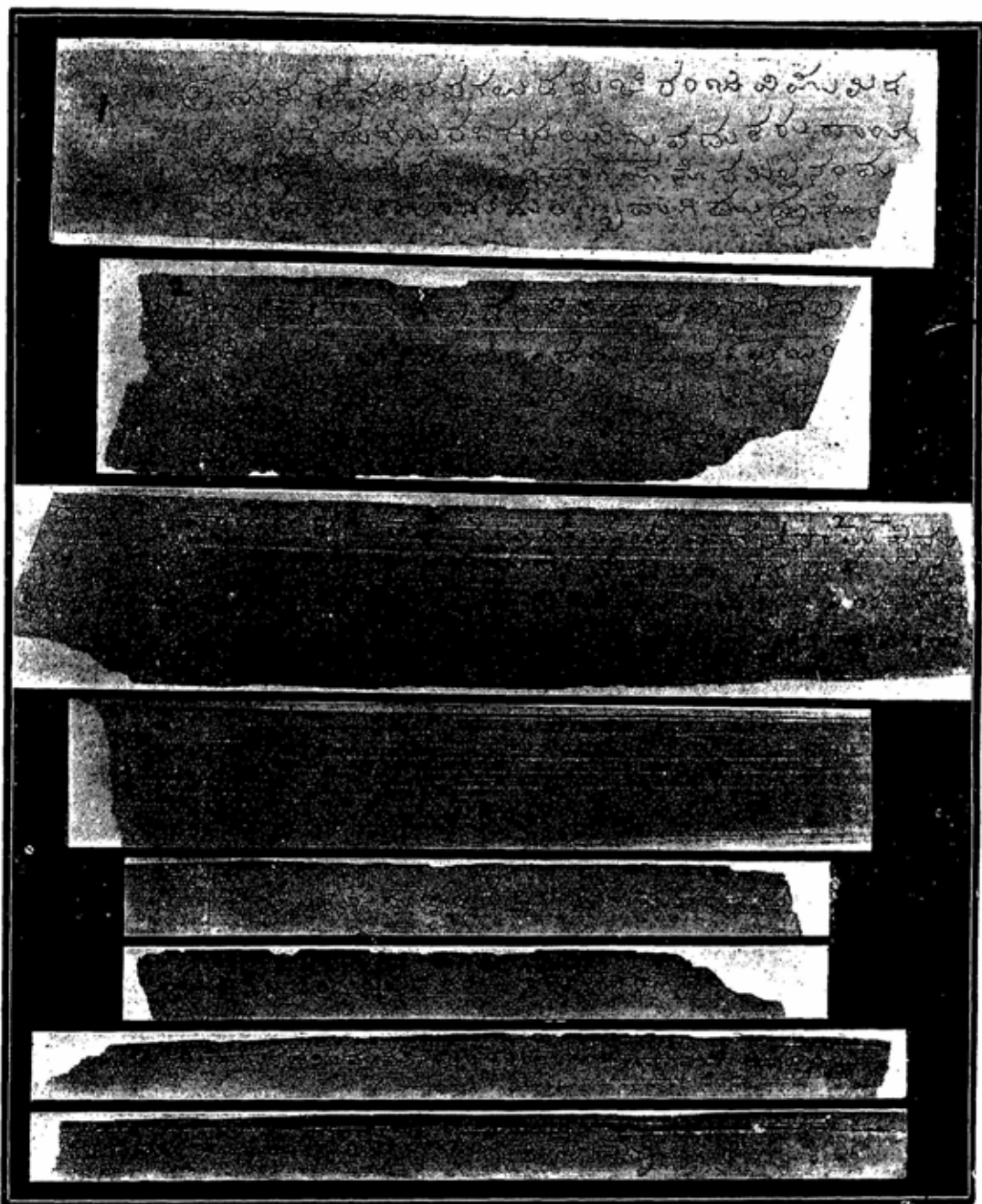
I have been lucky in discovering a palm-leaf manuscript containing a pathetic letter written by Kempe Gowda III from his prison at Seringapatam to his cousin Krishnaraja Gowda of Hulikal near Magadi and sent to him by a confidential servant. Considering the greatness of the chief and the miserable plight to which he was reduced, the pathos of the letter is really heart-rending. It runs as follows:—

"Our blessings to you. We are doing well at Seringapatam up to this 10th lunar day of the dark fortnight of *Phalguna*. Write to us about the welfare of you all. As you know we are subjected to this misfortune by the sport of God Somanatha. Our health is at present in a bad state and there is every likelihood of death overtaking us soon. There does not appear to be any chance of recovery. As you are the only heir in our family, I send you by Soma the chief insignia of royalty. Be prudent and after making enquiries as to the state of our health, have the necessary obsequies done. Other matters that ought not to be committed to writing you will learn from Soma. Send some of your friends here.—*Kempayya*."

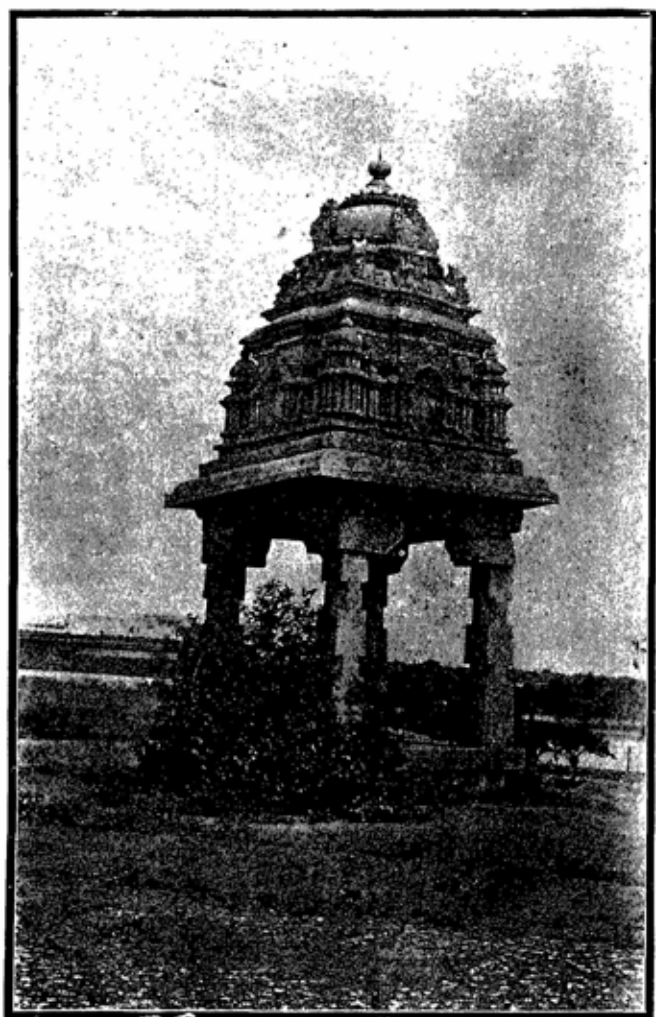
The signature of the chief "*Kempayya*" occurs at the end. The palm-leaf was sent to me by Mr. Chikkappayya, the present Pallegar of Hulikal, who is the direct descendant of Krishnaraja Gowda to whom the letter is addressed. It is a valuable find and a priceless heirloom. I have shown it to Mr. Narasimbachar who has translated and published it in his Annual Report for 1922 on page 14. This record wakes up so many memories of a glorious past in which the three illustrious chiefs played such noteworthy parts that it cannot but be prized as a treasure by the generations to come. I intend therefore to present it to the local museum in the name of Mr. Chikkappayya for preservation as a precious relic of the ancient history of Mysore.†

* Telugu Palm-leaf Manuscript and Mr. S. K. Narasimiah's *Kempe Gowda*.

† "ಶ್ರೀಮತು ಕೆಂಪವೀರಪ್ಪ ಗವುಡರು ಚರಂಜೀವಿ ಹುಲಿಕಲ್, ನಮ್ಮ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ್ವರಾಜ ಗವುಡರಿಗೆ ಮಾಡುವ ಆಶೀರ್ವಾದ ಅವಾಗಿ. ಈ ಪಾಲ್ಕುಣ ಬು. ಗಂವರಿಗೆ ಶ್ರೀರಂಗಪಟ್ಟಣದಲ್ಲಿ ನಾವು ಕ್ಷೇಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಇದ್ದೇನೆ ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಇರುವಂತ ಸಕಲರು ಸಹ ನಮ್ಮ ಕ್ಷೇಮಕ್ಕೆ ಬರಸಿ ಕಳುಹಿಸುವದು. ತರುವಾಯ ನಮಗೆ ಸೋಮನಾಥನ ವಿಲಾಸದಿಂದ ಈ ದುರ್ದಶೆ ಬಂದು ಇರುವುದು ಸರಿಯಷ್ಟೆ. ಈಗ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಹಕ್ಕೆ ಬಹುತರ ಉಪದ್ರವವಾಗಿ ಇದೆ. ಸೋಮನಾಥನ ಸಾಧನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಐಕ್ಯವಾಗೋಣಾಗೆ ತೋರುತ್ತ ಇದೆ. ನಿರ್ವಾಹ ತೋರಲಿಲ್ಲ ನಮ್ಮವಂಶಕ್ಕೆ ಬಾಹ್ಯರು ನೀನೆ ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಮತ್ತೆ ಬೇರೆ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ನಮ್ಮಬಳಿಗೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಸೋಮನ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಪಟ್ಟದ ಆಯುಧ ಶಿಖರ ಸಹ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಕಳುಹಿಸಿ ಇದ್ದೇನೆ ನೀವು ಬುದ್ಧಿವಂತರಾಗಿ ಕಾಲಾನುಗುಣವಾಗಿ ಇದ್ದುಕೊಂಡು ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಹಕ್ಕೆ ವಿಚಾರಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಆತರುವಾಯ ಆಗತಕ್ಕ ಕೆಲಸಗಳನ್ನು ಆಗಮಾಡಿಸುವದು. ಕಡಿಮೆ ವಿಚಾರ ವಾಲೆಮುಖಾಂತರ ಬರೆಯತಕ್ಕದ್ದು ಅಲ್ಲವಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಸೋಮನ ಬಾಯಿಮಾತಿನಿಂದ ಎಲ್ಲ ವಿವರವು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ವಿವರ ನಮ್ಮ ಮನಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ತರೋಣಾಗೆ ಮಾಡಿಸುವದು. ನಮಗೆ ಆಪ್ತರಾದವರನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಕಳುಹಿಸುವುದು. —ಕೆಂಪಯ್ಯ."



AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF KEMPE GOWDA III
Written from his prison at Seringapatam about A.D. 1728



KEMPE GOWDA'S TOWER
ONE OF THE FOUR TOWERS BUILT BY KEMPE GOWDA I
TO MARK THE LIMITS OF BANGALORE CITY
This one is on the Ulsoor Lake to the North-East

Genealogy of the Chiefs.

A brief reference to the pedigree and chronology of the Yelahanka chiefs may now be made. As has already been said, much confusion is caused by the chiefs bearing the same name so that we are apt to go wrong not only in making up an accurate succession list but also in referring the various incidents and events in the lives of the Kempe Gowdas to the particular chief to whom they properly belong. But from the fresh information that has come to hand by means of two records that throw a flood of light in this respect, a fairly accurate list may be attempted. One of the records is known as "The Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II" written in 1807 which records the oral tradition extant at the time. It contains a fairly exhaustive account of the Memoirs of Bangalore and Magadi and gives the line of chiefs who ruled at Bangalore and Magadi before those places passed into foreign hands. The pedigree given in this Memoir continues the line given in the Mysore Gazetteer which is the other record by three more chiefs. In the Mysore Gazetteer the line starts from Jaya Gowda (A.D. 1418-1433) and goes down four steps to Kempe Gowda II with Gidde Gowda (A.D. 1433-1443), Kempananche Gowda (A.D. 1443-1513) and Kempe Gowda I (A.D. 1513-1569) intervening. But in the Bangalore and Magadi Memoirs, the line is further continued three steps down from Kempe Gowda II (A.D. 1569-1658), viz., Mummadi Kempe Gowda (A.D. 1658-1678), Doddaveerappa Gowda (A.D. 1678-1705) and Mummadi Kempaveerappa Gowda (A.D. 1705-1728) with whom the line ended. Thus according to these two records the line consisted of 8 chiefs beginning from Jaya Gowda in A.D. 1418 and ending with Mummadi Kempaveerappa Gowda in A.D. 1728 giving a total of 310 years during which the chiefs held sway. This pedigree tallies with that given in a Sanscrit work called *Veerabhadra Vijaya*, composed by Ekambara Dikshit who was the court poet of Mummadi Kempaveerappa Gowda, the last chief of the line, though it makes no mention of the first three chiefs mentioned in the above records. It corroborates also the pedigree made up from the inscriptions by Mr. Narasimhachar and published on page 14 of the Annual Archaeological Report for 1922 so that with the help of all these four records we can draw up an accurate genealogical table of the Chiefs who actually ruled. The pedigree given in *Veerabhadra Vijaya* gives a few more details of the brothers of the ruling chiefs which serve the important purpose of interpreting some inscriptions in which the names of these brothers appear. The full genealogical tree of the chiefs as revealed by these up-to-date discoveries is therefore as follows:—

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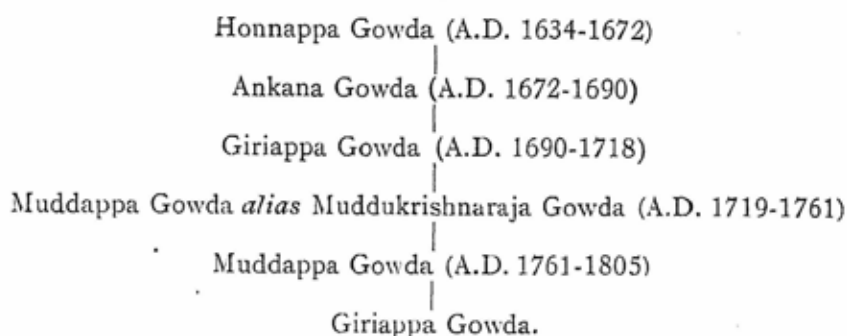
I secured recently through the help of a friend a palm-leaf manuscript consisting of eight leaves, the first six written in Telugu and the remaining two in Kannaḍa. The former gives the pedigree of the Yelahanka chiefs with some details of each chief. But the pedigree and the dates do not at all tally with those given in the Gazetteer, Inscriptions, Memoirs or *Veera-bhadra Vijaya* referred to above. Mr. Narasimhachar to whom I showed the manuscript discusses this question on page 15 of his Report for 1922 and also gives the principal contents of the manuscript.

Collateral Branch of the Yelahanka Family.

However, some important information which was not hitherto known has come to light by means of this manuscript. It is that—(1) Tiruvenkatacharya, the family guru of the chiefs, became a Sanyasi under the name of Dodda Parakalaswami and resided in the Matha at Seringapatam and (2) that Immadi Kempe Gowda finding that there was some misunderstanding between his two sons Mummadi Kempe Gowda and Honnappa Gowda divided the kingdom between the two and made the latter ruler of Hulikal in 1634 A.D.* The family thenceforward divided into two branches, the Hulikal branch

* ಮಾಗಡೀ ಇಮ್ಮಡೀ ಕೆಂಪೆಗೌಡರಿಗೆ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಕೆಂಪೇಗೌಡರು ಹೊನ್ನಪ್ಪಗೌಡರು ಇನರಿಬ್ಬರು ಮಕ್ಕಳಿದ್ದರು. ಹೊನ್ನಪ್ಪಗೌಡರಿಗೂ ಇವರ ಅಣ್ಣಾದಿರಿಗೂ ಮನಸ್ತಾಪವೆಂಬುದ್ದರಿಂದಾ ಇಮ್ಮಡೀ ಕೆಂಪೇಗೌಡರು ತಮ್ಮ ಮಾಗಡೀ ಅರವತ್ತು ಸಾವಿರ ಶೀಮೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಲಿಕಲ್ಲು ಬೈರವನದುರ್ಗದ ಆಯಿದುಸಾವಿರ ಶೀಮೆಯನ್ನು ಭಾಗಾಮಾಡಿ ಹೊನ್ನೇಗೌಡರಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಕೆಲವು ದಿವಸಗಳಮೇಲೆ ಸ್ವರ್ಗಸ್ವರಾಡರು.—Kannada Palm-leaf Manuscript.

becoming a collateral branch of the Yelahanka family. The pedigree of this collateral line as given in the Kannaḍa portion of the palm-leaf and which had not been known and recorded before is as follows :—



The present survivor of this branch is Mr. Chikkappayya who calls himself Pallegar of Hulikal from whom this palm-leaf and the autograph letter of Kempe Gowda referred to above were obtained.

Another fact which is brought prominently to notice in this palm-leaf manuscript is that the chiefs though born as disciples of Bhiredevar and Saivites had come under the influence of Vaishnavites so that Immadi Kempe Gowda built the central hall of the Ranganatha temple at Magadi at the instance of his family guru Srinivasadesikacharya. Honnappa Gowda of Hulikal branch had Annayyacharya as his guru. Dodda Veerappa Gowda made arrangements for the conduct of pooja by Brahmins at the instance of his guru Tiruvenkatacharya. Kempaveerappa Gowda set up Cheluvarayaswami at Cheluvarayapete to the south of Magadi with the assistance of Srirangacharya and built the temple of Varadarajaswami at Baichapura with the assistance of his guru Raghavacharya.*

On the whole, it may be said that the discovery of the palm-leaf manuscript and the palm-leaf letter of Kempe Gowda has served to extend our knowledge of the evolution of the religious faith of the chiefs, of the causes that led to the downfall of the line and of the existence of the collateral line of the family that survives to this day. The manuscript further enlightens us that Hyder levied a tribute of 1,000 pagodas from the son of Muddukrishnaraja Gowda and Tipu annexed the territories in A.D. 1793 but on the fall of Seringapatam in A.D. 1799 Dewan Purnaiya granted him in A.D. 1804 a Sannad to the effect that land of the revenue value of 24 pagodas was bestowed upon him. This grant was renewed and perpetuated to his son and successors and is even now in the enjoyment of the family of which Mr. Chikkappayya of Hulikal is the present survivor.

* Telugu and Kannada palm-leaf manuscripts.

Authorities.

The only source of information about the Kempe Gowdas that was hitherto available was the Mysore Gazetteer of Mr. Lewis Rice published in 1897. The account given there is necessarily short and is based on oral tradition and on the limited information furnished by some inscriptions which mention the names of some members of the pedigree and record the grant of lands, etc., for the worship of the Gods. Since then Mr. Narasimhachar made further investigations while on tour in Magadi and Bangalore districts and secured additional information by collecting evidence on the spot. Some new inscriptions, copper-plate grants and manuscripts were also secured by him. To his research we owe the detailed description of the temples built at Magadi and Savandroog and the pedigree made up by the inscriptions as given in his Annual Reports for 1914-15 and 1921-22. From the Sanscrit work called "Veerabhadra Vijaya" composed by Ekambara Dikshitar of which mention has already been made, corroborative evidence as to the genealogy of the chiefs has been secured. From the "Memoirs of Mysore" described as "Extracts from the Memoir of a geographical, statistical and historical survey of the Mysore Dominions commenced on the partition of Mysore in 1799" and stated to have been recorded in 1807 much detailed information as to the doings of the chiefs, and their chronology has been secured. These records together with the palm-leaf manuscripts obtained from Mr. Chikkappayya of Hulikal referred to above have enabled us to recount the outstanding events in the reign of each of the leading Kempe Gowdas and to give a fairly complete genealogical tree of the family from its origin down to its overthrow, authenticated by dates not hitherto available. The accounts furnished by these sources have been further supplemented by some more material gleaned from the Kannaḍa work on Kempe Gowda published this year by my friend Mr. S. K. Narasimiah, the well-known enterprising local merchant. The description of the town of Nelapattana and of Magadi built and fortified and extended by Kempe Gowdas II and III are taken from his work.

Conclusion.

But with all the new information that these records have furnished, it must be admitted that a history of the period in the modern sense of the term giving an account of how Kempe Gowda ruled, how the people fared under his regime and the nature of the society in his time is yet to be reconstructed. No doubt the country was in a primitive condition then and each Kempe Gowda was busy clearing the jungles, founding new villages and consolidating the territory gained. The chiefs employed the wealth amassed by them in the erection of temples, tanks and *agraharams* that stand even

now as monuments of their piety and devotion. Unlike other heroes whose career is only too familiar to us in history who succeeded in founding kingdoms by leading mainly a life dedicated to plunder, rapine, force and terrorism, this House has been distinguished for piety, charity and generosity no less than for personal prowess and martial spirit. Leading peaceful and pious lives, dedicating their service to the God of their adoration and favoured by His grace, owing dutiful allegiance to the sovereign power and winning its approbation and reward in return for faithful service rendered, the Kempe Gowdas have won an enduring name and fame as testified to by the many rock-cut temples, caves, tanks, forts and inscriptions they have left behind them as monuments of their beneficent rule.

MYSORE AND THE DECLINE OF THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE.

(Continued from the last issue.)

BY DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI IYENGAR, M.A., PH.D.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

The Death of Venkata, and the War of Succession.

THE emperor Venkata died in A.D. 1614 and this brought about a war of succession which arose out of Venkata's nomination of his nephew as his successor. Venkata had married four or five queens and none of them had a son. One of them, however, a princess of the family of the Gobbūri chiefs, seems to have brought up a boy-child and claimed him as her own son. The boy was allowed to grow up without Venkata making any effort to prevent the growth of this imposition as he seems never to have believed that the boy was her own son. About the time of his death he nominated his nephew Śrīranga, who seems to have already for some time enjoyed the title Chikka-rāya or Yuva-rāja (heir-apparent). This Śrīranga was the second son of Venkata's elder brother Rama, the viceroy of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam. He seems to have remained at court ever since the death of his father and it is just possible he was nominated Chikka-rāya while yet the putative boy had not come into existence. However, it happened that Venkata allowed the pretence in regard to the latter to be kept up without putting an end to it in time. His nomination of Śrīranga therefore inevitably led on to the war of succession as soon as some powerful person or party should espouse the cause of the putative son. The Gobbūri chief Jaggarāya (not to be confounded with Jagadēvarāya 1) seems to have been either a brother or the father of the Gobbūri queen of Venkata. He seems to have taken up the cause of the putative prince, but was unable apparently to assert his claims with success while Venkata was alive or even soon after. Śrīranga therefore quietly succeeded to the throne and perhaps ruled for a year, it could hardly be longer. Jagga had by this time gained the support of some adherents and when he was ready he managed to confine the emperor and his family composed of his wife, three boys and two girls very closely in his palace and arranged to get all of them assassinated. A loyal officer Yāchama by name, somehow got wind of this plot and began to counteract this move, at least to the extent of securing one of the sons alive, so as to thwart Jagga of the fruits of his treacherous deed, if he could not prevent

the deed itself. He was not apparently in possession of sufficient strength to prevent the atrocity, but succeeded in smuggling the second of the boys out of prison through the assistance of the washerman in the service of the royal family. Yāchama looked out for assistance and could find only the Nāyak of Tanjore sufficiently well-disposed to the emperor to champion the cause of the young boy as against the traitor Jagga and his allies, prominent among whom were the Nāyaks of Madura and Ginjee. Yāchama therefore carried the prince successfully into safety to Tanjore; prince Raghunātha of Tanjore moving forward to receive him at Kumbhakonam took him to his father's capital. All the chiefs of the empire with the exception of Mysore and Ikkēri took up the cause of the traitor Jagga, whose allies included a contingent of the Portuguese as well. Tanjore alone espoused the cause of the emperor and a hard-fought battle at a place called Toppūr, a little way above the Grand Anicut of modern times, was fought. The imperial cause won and the fugitive prince Rama was anointed emperor at Kumbhakonam by Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore.

In this war of succession Mysore remained discreetly aloof. Two alternative explanations of this aloofness seem possible. One is a feeling of disaffection towards the empire, for which *prima facie* there is no reason. The second explanation may perhaps be that Mysore had to keep on the watch against the movements of Bijapur in the north to take an active part on one side or the other in the war of succession. This was probably the more likely explanation as Rāja Oḍeyar had really every reason to be grateful to the emperor and had apparently nothing to gain by acting against the emperor. Whatever was the reason Mysore kept out of the war. Rāja Oḍeyar, the ruler of Mysore, quietly went on consolidating his newly acquired territory, and when he died later on, in the reign of emperor Rama, he bequeathed to his successor Chāmarāja the nice point for decision as to what exactly his attitude should be towards the emperor. The succession war left the empire greatly weakened; and the emperor with the assistance of Tanjore had to carry on a war against each one of the principal chieftains of the empire to bring him into allegiance with but little success as the disintegrating tendencies were too strong for his immediate success to have lasting influence. Chāmarāja Oḍeyar carried on the consolidation work of his grandfather a stage further by taking advantage of the distress in which the empire was during the whole period of his reign. He gradually extended his conquests across the Kāvēri and after a series of wars acquired practically the whole of the viceroyalty of Channapaṭṭaṇa. This he was enabled to do as Rama's successor Venkata, another collateral cousin made the empire, if anything, weaker. The aggressive activity of the Muhammadans grew with years and

the union of the Channapaṭṭaṇa viceroyalty with the territory of Mysore had the advantage at any rate of placing a strong power on the flank of march of aggressive Bijapur. With the accession of Kanṭhīraṇa Narasa, Mysore activities grew more vigorous and he carried the frontiers of Mysore past the foothills on the south coming directly into contact with the territory of the Nāyaks of Madura, thus initiating the period of constant war between Mysore and Madura. A few years after the accession of this Mysore ruler the feeble emperor Venkata died, and Śrīranga, the third of the name in imperial succession ascended the throne. On his accession the empire adopted a more vigorous policy which carried him successfully forward during the first five or six years.

Śrīranga, and his effort to revive the dying Empire.

It was this Śrīranga, according to Jesuit testimony, that could look a little farther ahead and plan out a policy for bringing about a union of all the great feudatories in an effort to bring about a combination for the purpose of reviving the somewhat moribund empire. The Golkonda and Bijapur activities which had become fitful owing to the Moghul activities in the Dakhan had now begun to be somewhat more vigorous and the periodical invasions against Penugonḍa had made the position of the imperial headquarters at Penugonḍa wellnigh impossible. Śrīranga's predecessor Venkata, it seems, was responsible for the transfer of capital from Penugonḍa to Chandragiri. This meant that Chandragiri became the habitual residence of the emperor. It was probably in this Venkata's reign that Chāmarāja of Mysore was allowed to absorb the Channapaṭṭaṇa viceroyalty without a protest from the emperor. When Śrīranga therefore ascended the throne he had to curb the ambition of Mysore and keep it within bounds. He could perhaps be certain only of the active loyalty of Tanjore. Ginjee was fast falling into the hands of the Muhammadans and Shahji's activities on behalf of Bijapur were already bearing substantial fruit. He had therefore to work vigorously for securing the support of the Nāyak of Madura, at the time the great Tirumala Nāyaka. The success or failure of the imperial ambition for Śrīranga depended upon the attitude of Tirumala towards Mysore on the one side and towards the empire on the other. At this critical juncture for the emperor, Mysore proved to the country a broken reed to lean upon and Madura deliberately adopted a policy of hostility to the empire. Śrīranga, the emperor apparently began his reign under hopeful auspices notwithstanding the efforts of Golkonda to dispossess the empire of as much of its territories in the Carnatic below the ghats as she could lay hands on. From the commencement of the seventeenth century the struggle had been in the region between Krishna and the Pālār. The Golkonda aggressions began

with the struggle for the possession of the Konḍaviḍu district soon after the death of the great Krishnadēva and gradually extended in two directions, one along the coast as far as Udaiyagiri and Nellore, and another through the interior, which had advanced successfully as far as Gaṇḍikoṭṭa from which Penugonḍa itself could be attacked. The accession of the last Mir Jumla to power in Golkonda was marked by more vigour in the operations in this region. Mir Jumla was so far successful in his efforts that he began to regard this part of the Carnatic almost as his own fief, and made every effort to extend it not only in the south, but even in the north, so much so that the province actually extended from Rajahmundri southwards to Kālahasti. This extension of the territory of Golkonda made the position of the emperor in Chandragiri itself dangerous and the capital had again to be shifted to Vellore. Early in the reign of Śrīranga Vellore had to stand a siege in which he had the assistance of Sivappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri, in all probability under the rule of his predecessor. For the time the Golkonda forces were beaten back from the walls of Golkonda, Śrīranga felt he could go farther afield. It was apparently then that he clearly adumbrated his policy of bringing all the greater viceroys under allegiance to him in a common effort at dislodging Golkonda and Bijapur from their newly-won possessions.

During the period that Golkonda was advancing along the coast, Bijapur had constantly striven to acquire possession of the southern Mahratta country and extended her authority along the coast through the Malai and Tuḷu Rājyas of Vijayanagar. They successfully extended their overlordship as far south as Mangalore in this region. They then advanced through the plain districts of Mysore forming the province of Sira which was gradually extended southwards to take in practically the whole of the districts of Tumkur and Kolar and thus opened the way for the further advance into the plains of Arcot or further south according to circumstances. The accession of Shahji to the councils of Bijapur at this time supplied the organizing capacity that before was wanting and the efforts of Golkonda thereafter became more sustained and assumed a definite shape. About the time that Golkonda laid siege to Vellore, Bijapur seems to have made a dash upon Ginjee and this combined action seems to have been brought about through the countenance, if not the active support, of the Nāyak of Madura. That probably is what the Jesuit letters complain of as the unpatriotic and ungrateful attitude of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura. This was further complicated by Moghul operations in the Dakhan which assumed greater vigour in the later years of the reign of Shah-Jehan when Aurangazeb became viceroy of the Dakhan. It is during this period of respite when the attention of Golkonda and Bijapur alike were turned towards the Dakhan that Śrīranga could formulate his

schemes with good chances of success. Such a scheme was frustrated by what took place in Bijapur and Golkonda on the one side, and Madura on the other. Through the efforts of the enterprising minister Mir Jumla a marriage alliance was brought about between Golkonda and Bijapur so as to enable the two to act together in the pursuit of a common policy and consequently, Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura, instead of supporting the emperor wholeheartedly in his effort at reviving the empire, found it prudent in the circumstances to thwart the ambitions of the emperor and play into the hands of Bijapur, out of hostility to the advance of Mysore. The emperor therefore found too little support among his great viceroys for the plans that he had formed of reuniting the empire, and, finding that nobody was hearty in his support, he had to spend a few years as a fugitive in the forests on the borders of the territory of the Nāyak of Tanjore, wherefrom he appealed to Mysore for assistance. According to Jesuit authority the Mysore Rāja gave him asylum and treated him well for a few years, not to further the objects of the emperor, but to satisfy his own ambitions. The emperor had therefore to flee again for safety, which safety he found ultimately in the court of the usurper Śivappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri.

**The relation between Madura and Mysore, the guiding
feature of this period of history.**

During the whole period of activity of emperor Śrīranga, the ruler of Madura was Tirumala Nāyaka and his successor Chokkanātha. Mysore was under Kanṭhīrava Narasa and Doḍḍadēvarāja. The Nāyakships of Ginjee and Tanjore were gradually losing their importance; the first of these was occupied by the Bijapur troops and were handed over to the administration of Shahji; the second was under Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, with whom ended the Nāyakship, through a war that came on between Tanjore and Madura early in the reign of Chokkanātha. This war put an end to the Nāyakship of Tanjore, which ultimately passed into the hands of the Mahrattas as well. During the whole of this period Madura was the leading southern power as yet nominally feudatory to the empire, but hankering after complete independence. This idea of independence seems to have taken hold of the Nāyaks of Madura beginning Muttuvīrappa onwards. We have the earliest indication of this tendency soon after the accession of emperor Venkata I, in whose reign Madura found occasion more than once to exhibit this tendency. One such occasion led to the practical independence of the Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa viceroyalty and ultimately to the foundation of the state of Mysore under the present dynasty. Throughout this period Tanjore stood fast in her loyalty to the empire, and when the war of succession followed soon after the death of Venkata, Tanjore was practically the sole power that stood loyal. Among the

various chieftains who ranged themselves against the empire, the Nāyak of Madura was the leader. It had come therefore to be more or less the accepted policy of Madura to be hostile to the emperor long before the accession of Śrīranga. In the interval between the war of succession and the accession of Śrīranga, Bijapur aggressions through what is now the state of Mysore had become a normal feature and by opposing this aggression of the Mussalman power Mysore grew gradually in power, so that when Chāmarāja slowly absorbed the viceroyalty of Channapaṭṭaṇa, the empire looked on, as a strong Mysore was an effective barrier to a considerable extent against the aggressive activities of Bijapur. The empire had its own wars to carry on to keep the aggressions of Golkonda in check. Golkonda was so far successful that during the first decade of Śrīranga's rule she had mastered possession of the whole of the coast region extending almost from Madras northwards, and the empire was confined to the central block of territory round Vellore and Chandragiri. Mysore stood firm perhaps as far east as the river Kāvēri. Between the frontier of Mysore and the actual boundary of the imperial territory such of it as remained under the emperor—was a stretch of country which had come into the possession of Bijapur under the administrative organization of one of their ablest viceroys, Shahji the Mahratta. It was about this time that Śrīranga matured his plan of uniting the remnants of the Vijayanagar empire with a view to effective action against the aggressive Muhammadan powers of the north, a policy which was not without elements of success in it, if only Mysore and Madura could have thrown in their lot loyally in support of the empire. The main question to decide therefore for the two great feudatories of Śrīranga was, what exactly was to the best interests of each in the circumstances. The alternatives before them were to throw in their lot with the empire and make a common stand, or each one to pursue its own policy to serve its own particular interests and leave the empire to its fate. Whichever of the alternatives happened to be chosen by the parties concerned, the ultimate idea must have been the ensuring of their existence and prosperity. Would Mysore live and thrive better as a member of the empire of Vijayanagar or as a separate state? Would Madura go on and prosper better as a member of the empire or by herself alone? These were the questions that had to be answered in the adoption of a definite policy. In order to answer these satisfactorily, they would have had to estimate the possibilities of success of the combination to bring about which Śrīranga was then labouring. Any combination that the Hindu powers might effect would bring on as a natural consequence a combination of the two Muhammadan states of Bijapur and Golkonda. As a matter of fact through the exertions of Mir Jumla a marriage alliance had been brought about between the states,

and the prospects were that they would adopt a common policy against the Hindu powers of the south, as it was absolutely necessary for them to do in regard to the Moghuls under Aurangzeb in the Dakhan. It might well have appeared to the southern feudatories that, in the face of this combination between the two Muhammadan states, the projected combination of the Hindu states had little chances of success, but at the time such a conclusion would be reckoning without Aurangzeb in the Dakhan. The period of the greatest activity of Aurangzeb against Bijapur and Golkonda was just opening. It would be very difficult to imagine that Mysore and Madura had not a clear notion of the impending danger against the Muhammadan states. A combination therefore of the Hindu states had in it the chances of success. The real difficulty against such a combination was the hostility of interests between Mysore and Madura. Could the two work together for a common purpose? That depended upon what the common purpose was and what the actual interests were that had to be sacrificed in the pursuit of this common object. The common object was the support of an empire which at the time might be regarded as effete. The interests that had to be sacrificed were the possibility of aggression and acquisition of more territory by each of the principalities for herself. If this policy of aggrandizement could be given up, enlightened self-interest and patriotism alike would have clearly indicated the policy of union as the course of action to be adopted by the two rival principalities of Mysore and Madura. This was not apparently what appealed to them. The fugitive Śrīranga in Mysore was made use of, for only as a cloak, for the aggrandizing schemes of Kanṭhīrava Narasa. We have so far come upon no evidence of the emperor having been in Mysore as a fugitive, but the Jesuit authorities state it clearly, and it is just possible in the circumstances that the Mysore authorities thought it more prudent to omit reference to this incident which could not redound to the honour of the ruler of Mysore for the time being. Kanṭhīrava Narasa's assumption of independence, at least an attempt at such, is dateable at 1648, when he issued a grant without any reference to the ruling emperor for the time being. The year 1646, the year in which the empire was at its worst, Śrīranga had to stand a siege in Vellore by the whole of the Golkonda forces. The siege was raised through the active exertions of Śivappa Nāyaka, the general of Ikkēri. Perhaps it was this distress of the emperor that gave the occasion for the attempt of Kanṭhīrava Narasa. It is soon after this that we hear of the dash of Bijapur upon Ginjee. This operation on the part of Bijapur, with Mysore in its flank, would be ordinarily difficult to understand unless it had the countenance or active support of Madura. The complaint of the Jesuits that Tirumala Nāyaka invited Bijapur probably has reference to this period.

Mysore adopted a policy which was hardly sympathetic to the empire and the imperial ambitions of Śrīranga. The Madura Nāyak adopted a policy of active support to the enemies of the empire for which the only explanation possible is his fear of the aggressions of Kanṭhīrava Narasa, and therefore of hostility of interests as against the empire. Thus the two powers concerned adopted a policy, which the hostility of interests between them dictated, and that policy proved unfavourable to the schemes of revival of the empire.

With the accession of Kanṭhīrava Narasa in Mysore, the Mysore frontier had been brought to be co-terminous with the northern frontier of Madura through the conquest of the Channapaṭṭaṇa viceroyalty in the previous reign. The first article of the foreign policy of Mysore must have been to keep on the watch along the whole length of the Bijapur frontier with a view to prevent the possible aggressions from that side. On the other side the frontier extended along the foot-hills from Dharmapuri and Omalūr through Dhārāpuram to Palghat, an uncertain frontier and open to constant attacks from the Nāyak of Madura. Therefore, so far as the Madura Nāyak was concerned, a most vulnerable and the really dangerous frontier happened to be this northern frontier and the most essential element of the foreign policy of the Madura Nāyak was to keep the ambitions of Madura within bounds along this frontier. This would justify, if not necessitate, an attempt at concerted action between Bijapur and Madura as against Mysore. If, therefore, the emperor sought asylum in Mysore and if as the Jesuit letters say clearly Kanṭhīrava Narasa gave that asylum, the Nāyak of Madura would be driven by that very act to seek the co-operation of Bijapur. That perhaps was what accounts for the somewhat strange and thoroughly unpatriotic policy that the great Nāyak of Madura pursued at this time. It was already pointed out that Śrīranga must have become a fugitive after the successful resistance to the Golkonda forces at Vellore. He must have sought and obtained asylum of Mysore sometime after, and this must have brought about the combination between Tirumala and Bijapur, which exhibited itself in Bijapur activities round Ginjee. There was for the time Tanjore between the outermost possession of Bijapur in Ginjee and the Nāyak of Madura. This principality in the course of the next decade of Kanṭhīrava Narasa's rule managed to maintain its independent existence by keeping up a double front successfully against Madura and Bijapur. Kanṭhīrava Narasa was apparently very active between the period 1650 to 1659, a period during practically the whole of which the Moghul operations in the Dakhan were the most active under the personal direction of Aurangazeb. The activity of the Moghuls in the Dakhan must have diverted the attention of the Muhammadan states and left the immediate south open to the aggressive activity of Mysore. Kanṭhīrava

Narasa took full advantage of this enforced quiet on his northern frontier by carrying on a series of successful operations not only to secure his frontier along the line already indicated which at a later period of history Sir Thomas Munro believed was the natural frontier separating Mysore from the territory of Madura. This assumption of hostility against Madura in a definite form by Kanṭhīrava made the position of the emperor in Mysore unacceptable to him and made him move out of the shelter of Mysore to the protection of the Nāyak of Ikkēri ultimately. That gave a new stimulus to the forces hostile to Mysore, who could now find a justification for their hostility to Mysore by the pretext of their acting on behalf of the emperor. In the last years of the reign of Kanṭhīrava Narasa and of Tirumala Nāyak of Madura, the wars became more frequent and were conducted with unusual barbarity. It is these wars that are described by contemporary European authorities as the "Wars of the Noses". It seems to be that the Mysorean forces set an example by cutting off the noses of their enemies, who fell into their hands alive or dead. The Madura forces retaliated with equal barbarity and on one occasion they are supposed to have chased the Mysore armies to the walls of the capital... It is even said that Kanṭhīrava Narasa himself was mutilated by being stripped of his nose! This so far rests upon the evidence of the Jesuit letters only. Such barbarities are not usually ascribed to either armies in connection with their other wars which were many and might even be said to be frequent. We have not come upon any record of this on the Indian side either by the one party or by the other. It is impossible to say that such barbarities were not perpetrated as the Muhammadan historian Ferishta records a similar incident on the occasion of the siege of Bider by the Kuṭb-Shahi forces of Hyderabad. The "Naigwaries" as they are called are described to have brought in noses and ears of their victims in their nocturnal attacks, in all probability to earn the stipulated rewards, and no such is stated to have been offered either by Mysore or by Madura. We have however to remain content till more evidence speaks definitely one way or the other. In his last war against Madura, Kanṭhīrava Narasa advanced up to the walls of Madura itself when Tirumala Nāyaka was in his last illness. The capture of Madura was averted by the timely intervention of the forces of Ramnad, and the Mysore forces were beaten back successfully within the frontiers of Mysore. It was after this and in the reign of Doḍḍadēvarāja of Mysore that a combination was brought about among the chieftains of the empire who took up ostensibly the cause of the emperor and made a joint attack upon Mysore. The series of hostile operations which became consequent on this culminated in the defeat of the combined forces at Erode in the last years of the reign of Dēva Rāja when Chikkadēvarāja from his retirement at

Tirukkanambi offered to lead the Mysore forces against their enemies. In this battle figured practically all the chieftains of the empire other than Mysore, and that was the last battle for the empire. The victory of Mysore in this battle put an end practically to the imperial ambitions of Śrīranga, and although he lived on for six or seven years more, he was able to do no more to bring him any nearer to the object that he set before himself in life. The revival of the empire therefore was baulked by the efforts of Mysore and Madura each of which pursued its own policy of ambition and aggression occasionally setting up the emperor as a cloak to their own ambitions. Both of them came out of the struggle victorious from the point of view of their individual interests. The empire was no more, and either of them could regard itself as an independent state. With the accession of Chikkadēvarāja, Mysore could regard herself independent both in form and in fact, and so could Madura after the first few years of Tirumala's successor Chokkanātha.

The Moghul Conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda.

At the period to which we have arrived, the Vijayanagar empire as such was no more a political entity, the only two Hindu states that stood out of it were Mysore and Madura. The viceroyalties of Ginjee and Tanjore had been absorbed by the Mahrattas in the great viceroyalty of Shahji which at this period was in the hands of his second son Ekoji otherwise called Venkaji. The Mahratta power was rising to its zenith under Sivaji. The coast portion of the empire as far as Madras had been absorbed into the territory of the Sultans of Golkonda. The possessions of Bijapur were perhaps vaster than those of Golkonda, but she was troubled by the activities of Sivaji in the north-western part of her dominions. The Moghul activities in the Dakhan which began in the last years of the sixteenth century under Akbar had gradually been extending so that the Dakhan viceroyalty grew so much in extent and importance that it became the palatine viceroyalty of the great Moghuls throughout the long reign of Shah-Jehan, who himself had been the Moghul viceroy of the Dakhan before. The Dakhan viceroyalty gradually extended its authority and ultimately succeeded in absorbing the territories of the Nizamshahi kings of Ahmednagar and came into touch with the frontiers of both Bijapur and Golkonda in the north, and the Mahratta state of Sivaji in the west. In the last decade of his reign Aurangazeb was the viceroy of his father and was always inclined to pursue a policy of active aggression against the Muhammadan powers in particular, and of the rising power of the Mahrattas, though all through this period he under-estimated the character of the rising power of Sivaji. In all his activities he was hampered by cross-currents of princely interests at headquarters, so that Aurangazeb had not exactly his own way. He had therefore to pursue a policy of diplomacy

as against the court, so shaping his course of action as to lead on to extorting the assent of the emperor to his definite policy of aggression, ending in the absorption of the two Muhammadan states. On the other side he had to pursue a policy of division of interests between the two southern states and sowing dissension among those loyal officers who were working in the interests of their masters, the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda. By persistent efforts, both diplomatic and war-like, Aurangzeb was very near the accomplishment of his object when he was called away to the north to play his part in the war of succession which ended in his accession to power and the imprisonment of his father. The first twenty years of his reign were occupied with various other items of work that did not give him time enough to pay personal attention to the affairs of the Dakhan. The armies were sent under imperial princes and generals always in twos, owing to the haunting suspicion that his own sons might do unto him what he did to his father. Even where he sent generals he sent them in pairs always with the set purpose of assured division of interests. Therefore during these twenty years of his reign, an active policy in the Dakhan culminating in the absorption of the Muhammadan states was not possible. Another factor that contributed towards the same end was the ceaseless activity of the Mahratta Sivaji, and his diplomacy which made him an ally of one of the Muhammadan states or the other or both, but always acknowledging some kind of allegiance to Bijapur. In this state of affairs, it seems to have dawned upon Sivaji that now that the Vijayanagar empire was passing out of political vision he might satisfy his own ambitions, religious and political, by assuming the role of the vanished Hindu emperor and standing before the Muhammadan Padhushah, as the recognized head of the Hindu South. It is probably with a view to this that he fell in with the ideas of Raghopant Hanumante by whose influence he got into alliance with Golkonda, through its two Hindu ministers Akkana and Madana. Having secured his flank in this fashion Sivaji marched southwards as far as Tanjore with a view to gather the whole of the southern viceroyalty of his father and unite it with his own Mahratta state as part of a united empire, and if success attended, of perhaps bringing the other Hindu states also into the scheme. It was probable that Aurangzeb caught a glimpse of this new ambition, and this knowledge perhaps gave point to his inveterate hostility to the Shiah Muhammadan states of the south. He therefore marched into the Dakhan at the head of the grand army and succeeded ultimately in defeating the Mahrattas and keeping them, at any rate, within bounds and in extinguishing the Muhammadan states of Bijapur and Golkonda thus attaining to his life ambition of an extension of the Moghul territories to the uttermost south.

In doing this he certainly put an end to the independent Muhammadan

powers of Bijapur and Golkonda. What he was able to do against the Mahrattas only scotched the Mahratta power, and perhaps left it temporarily disabled but by way of permanent subjection he had not gone far. Of the cherished pretensions of Sivaji however of bringing all the Hindu states of the south under his aegis, Aurangzeb obviously had a glimpse as he seems to have received an embassy from Chikkadēvarāja Oḍeyar of Mysore apparently after the fall of Bijapur. It may be a little before or after. After the fall of Golkonda he sent out an embassy demanding the submission of Madura. The emperor received the Mysore ambassador suitably and dismissed him after a six months' stay, having spent upon him, according to one account, 2,000 pagodas for the embassy recognizing Chikkadēvarāja Oḍeyar as the ruler of Mysore, perhaps according to the Moghul notions, under the suzerainty of the great Moghul. Madura was far too remote even from Golkonda and was ruled by the Nāyak Ranga Krishna Muttu Virappa, who had just come out of the leading strings of his grandmother, the Regent, Mangammāl. According to the Jesuit records Aurangzeb sent an elephant fully caparisoned bearing on the howdah a slipper for the right foot and was taken escorted by a suitable guard in procession, with the requisition that as soon as this slipper reached the frontiers of a Hindu state the ruler was expected to receive it with due form of royal ceremony as though he were receiving the emperor himself or his royal representative, take the slipper in procession to his Durbar, there offer Nazir and dismiss it in acknowledgment of his subordination to the emperor. It came to Śamayavarma, five miles north of Śrīrangam, which marked perhaps the frontier of the Madura Nāyak at the time, from which word was sent to the Nāyak. The Nāyak feigned illness and let the procession come on. It came to the banks of the Vaigai, wherefrom another message was sent. Again he set up the same pretence and let the procession enter the fort and then the palace and come in front of his Durbar hall where he had assembled his court and was holding his Durbar in state. When the elephant arrived in the front court he got down from his throne, took the single slipper from the back of the elephant, and shoving his right foot in demanded angrily of the leaders of the embassy how it was that their Padushah could be so stupid as to send only one slipper, where a man required a pair to wear. The escort showed some fight, but they were easily beaten and driven away. According to the story Aurangzeb took no further step to enforce his authority over distant Madura after this dramatic episode. Aurangzeb in all probability knew that his predecessor the Toghlaq Muhammad's empire extended as far as Madura and salved his conscience by this futile embassy and regarded himself as the emperor of the whole of Hindustan to the most distant south.

It becomes clear then that out of the Vijayanagar empire which, as an empire, had now gone out of existence there stood forth only two Hindu states, Mysore and Madura. Of these Mysore with a politic prudence, for which good precedents could be quoted, submitted to the inevitable by getting into diplomatic relation of feudal subordination, which was at the very most quite nominal and thus saved herself. Madura defied and for the time kept independent. Aurangzeb himself did not proceed to the conquest of Madura, but his generals and viceroys of the south never lost sight of these provinces of the late Hindu empire; but the Nāyakship of Madura was actually put an end to only when the Moghul viceroyalty of the Dakhan had become practically an independent Muhammadan state, and it was a feudatory of the Nizam that drove Queen Minākshi of Trichinopoly to commit suicide. Safdar-Jang and Chanda Saheb the representatives of the Nawab of Arcot together occupied Trichinopoly, and made the Queen virtually a prisoner; and it was Chanda Saheb who by a perfidious act drove the Queen to her destruction and the Nāyakship of Madura went out of existence thereafter.

This in brief is the sad tale in general outline of the glorious empire of Vijayanagar. In spite of the tragic end of one of her earliest and certainly the premier viceroyalty of Madura, a state composed of parts of three at least of her equally early viceroyalties, went to constitute the Hindu state of Mysore which maintains its existence even now with an episode of a Muhammadan usurpation which had well-nigh put an end to that Hindu state as well. It was British policy that was responsible for this Hindu restoration and this notwithstanding the state of Mysore under her most beloved and enlightened ruler of to-day continues the glorious Hindu traditions of Krishnadēvarāya and Vīra Ballāla before him, in spite of the short parenthesis of about forty years which substituted Muhammadan for Hindu rule.

MALNAD CHIEFS.

BY DR. R. SHAMA SHASTRY, B.A., PH.D.

(Continued from Vol. XII, p. 57.)

The Story of Sogani Agrahar in Shimoga.

KING Viraballala was ruling in Hamsapur in Shimoga. Once on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, he made up his mind to build an Agrahar or row of houses and bestow it on Brahmans. When he was going in a forest not far from the river, talking with Brahmans about a suitable locality to build an Agrahar and grant them agricultural land free, his servants killed a tiger which had a number of cubs in its womb. In order to atone for the sin, he built an Agrahar there together with a lake near Hoisanahalli and called that village Sogani. He built also temples there, the temple of Bhimesvara being one of them.

Sometime after Viraballala, some Arasu at the head of Beda tribes occupied Shimoga and asked the Brahmans to quit the Agrahar as he required that place for erecting a fort. All the Brahmans left the Agrahar, except one Tirumala Dikshita, who, on being forced by the Arasu, fell with his wife and children in what is called Bhimana Madu. It is even now said that the spirit of the drowned man is haunting that place. The Arasu however built a fort there and was ruling over Shimoga before it went into the hands of a leader of the Beda tribes. Sometime after, some Sivabhaktas wrested it from the Bedas. The Sivabhaktas were no other than the Nayaks of Keladi under Somasekhara Nayaka. When Budi Basavappa Nayaka was ruling in Keladi, Narayana Rao of Poona invaded Shimoga, camping near the Kudli. When he was given five and a half lakhs of Varahas, he retired to Poona. Sometime later Madoji Purandar of Poona again invaded the territory and carried off twelve lakhs of Varahas from Keladi. After the death of Basavappa, his wife Virammaji ruled over the country for some years till Hyder Ali made her a prisoner in Maddagiri and annexed the country to Mysore. Instead of giving Shimoga to Paleygars on *feudal tenure*, he appointed Amildars in Sagar. The appointment of Amildars for maintenance of peace and revenue collection was not on pensionable service. The Amildars were not purely Brahmans alone, but men of other castes also. No Amildar was retained for more than two or three years.

The Arasus of Bilagila or Bilagi.

In the north of Shimoga there is still marked a village called Masura which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the Christian era was a scene of varying fortunes. It was the capital of some Arasus called the Arasus of Bilagila or Bilagi translated Svetapura or white city in Sanskrit. Before Bilagi was built as the seat of government, Masura was the capital of these Arasus. In the political chronicle termed 'Bilagila Arasugala Charitre', the history of the Arasus of

Bilagila, the first of the line of these Arasus is called Mundanna or Mundanna Narasappa known also as Kallappa. He had three sons, Bhairava, Kallappa, and Viranidhi Narasimha. Narasimha, being brave, succeeded his father. In admiration of his valour, Krishnaraya of Vijayanagar (about 1520 A.D.) is said to have given him his own daughter in marriage and also bestowed on him Penukonda and its adjoining territory yielding about three lakhs of Varahas.

He is said to have had two sons called Viraghante Nripati and Mundanna II. They seem to have ruled over their territory conjointly and built forts in Bilagi, Bedakali, Kuniye, Kondali, and Muganduru, after putting down the Beda tribes of those places. Viraghante I had three sons, Timmanna, Narasa and Virappa, of whom Virappa married Viramma and succeeded his father. His son was Rangaraja who married Cheluvamma. He succeeded in defeating and driving out of his territory the Muhammadan invaders. He was succeeded by his son Ghante II. Pretending to go on a hunting expedition he invaded with a huge army the territory of Bhairadevi, the queen of Garasoppa and returned after destroying her army. On being invited by Venkatappa of Keladi, he went thither with his councillors and ministers, such as Puttaya, Channaya, Doddabhadraya, Giryappa and others. In the list of these names there is no name indicating a person of other than Lingayet caste. It is not that there were no Brahmans honoured in Bilagi; for gifts to learned Brahmans are frequently mentioned in the work. It may therefore be concluded that among the advisers of the Arasu who himself was a Lingayet, preference seems to have been shown only to Lingayets. Seeing the exaggerative terms in which the administration of the country by them is spoken of in the poetic chronicle, it may safely be assumed that the Lingayets were intellectually and physically inferior to none.

Followed by his advisers Ghante II went to Keladi and showed his skill and valour in riding on a powerful horse, named Mangalabotta, on whose back no brave man dared to sit. Admiring his horsemanship Venkatappa presented him not only the horse, but also pearl necklaces and costly clothes of gold and silver.

Having received these presentations, he led his army of 12,000 horses and numerous elephants against the army of Bijapur under Nizam Shah who was just then invading the territory of Keladi. He defeated the Muhammadans and drove them out to the delight of Venkatappa. On his victorious return to Keladi, Venkatappa gave his daughter Ramadevi in marriage to him and conferred on him not merely titles such as Vikramakanthirava, torches burning in daylight, and lion flags, but also the territory of Penukonda and Gutti yielding nine lakhs of Varahas.

On his return to Bilagi with his wife Ramadevi, Arasappa or Raghunatha Nayaka of Sode also gave his daughter Viramma in marriage to him and also bestowed on him five villages in admiration of his valour. To Viramma was born Mummadi Ghante, i.e., Ghante III, who excelled his father in valour and in driving out the army of the Padshah of Bijapur from Keladi.

On being invited by his maternal grandfather Raghunatha Nayaka of Sode, he went there on the occasion of the Car-festival of Basavane Madhukesa when his heralds extolled him as the 'destroyer of Beda' tribes before Hanumappa

Nayaka of Tarikere, belonging to a Beda tribe, the leading Nayaks with Ghante III being at the time engaged in pouring coloured water over each other on account of the Car-festival. Hanumappa took it coolly, for so brave was Ghante III.

When Ghante III died, his two sons, Mauna Ghante Vodier and Siddappa Vodier were looking after their own territory when again the army of Bijapur invaded Keladi and were engaged in destroying a number of forts there. Hearing this Siddappa went to Bijapur and presented the Padshah with a silver elephant and with a number of costly jewels inlaid with gems. Being very much pleased with him, he recalled his army from Keladi. When in return for this good Virabhadra Nayaka of Keladi (1582-1629) said in a joke that he would never hurt Bilagi, Siddappa was enraged and drawing his sword went with his army to put an end to Keladi. On being however told that Virabhadra meant no contempt thereby, Siddappa returned to Bilagi and shortly after died. His wife constructed the village Siddapura and set up Siddhi Vinayaka in a temple there in memory of her husband. Mauna Ghante married Channammadevi and constructed the fort of Belagodu.

During the reign of Mauna Ghante, the Bijapur forces seized a number of forts of Keladi and invaded Bilagi also. But Mauna Ghante made an agreement of peace with the Padshah and restored peace in his country. After his demise, Sivappa Nayaka of Keladi (1645-1660) attempted to annex Bilagi to his own country, as there was no heir to the dais of Bilagi. But the Samajikas succeeded in inducing Sivappa Nayaka to approve of Channamma's intention to adopt a near relative and bringing a boy from the house of Kyadage, crowned him as Nayaka of Bilagi paying costly presentations to Sivappa. The adopted heir was also called Sivappa, probably to please Sivappa Nayaka. He married two wives, one Santamma, and the other Gauramma. He fell from his horse while riding and died leaving no sons to succeed him. Santamma adopted one of the sons of Jambura Santamayya and crowned him, giving him the name Sivappa II. It is he that built Bilagi with a beautiful palace in it. He also died having no issue. Then Santamma adopted again the second son of Jambura Santamayya and gave him the name of Somasekhara. He married Channamallamma. As a skilful rider of horses, he won the admiration of Channammaji of Keladi. He was as brave as Ghante I and recovered all those villages inclusive of Penukonda which during the times of his father and grandfather were lost to Bilagi. He had a son called Somasekhara II from his wife Viramma. Somasekhara II was a staunch Saivite. He was crowned king of Bilagi when his father and brother were alive. When Somasekhara II died, Viramma performed Sati by entering into her husband's funeral pyre. Mallammaji was however prevented from following her example. Somasekhara II is highly extolled by the author of the chronicle as an unrivalled Sanskrit scholar acquainted with poetry, drama, logic, the Mimamsa, the Bharata-sastra and prosody. He is also said to have been a poet himself. He was not married when his father died. His ministers, mandaliks and tantradhyakshas, niyogis and relatives are all said to have consulted Channamallamma, Somasekhara's step-mother in selecting a bride for him. They all agreed in selecting one

Nilamma and married her to him, calling her Channamma. To them there was born a son whom they called Virabhadra; to their daughter they gave the name Virammaji. Virabhadra was as highly educated as his father. Both father and son were staunch devotees of Siva and never swerved from the doctrines and customs of Saiva religion. They were munificent in giving gifts to learned Brahmans.

Virabhadra's son was known as Basavendra. Virabhadra repaired the Viresa temple at Masura and installed his Basava on Tuesday Suddha Saptami of the month of Sravana in the year Angirasa. He had two wives Devammaji and Virammaji. He built Bhuvanesvari temple, gave land grants to Brahmans and made ample provision to feed the hungry, to give milk and butter to children and fodder to cows. With him passed away the glory of Bilagi.

The Arasus of Belagutti in Shimoga.

Belagutti, situated to the south-east of Keladi in Shimoga, is said to have been the seat of the following Paleygar Chiefs:—

1.	Surabhuparaya, grandson of Chaluva Rangappa ..	Saka	1338-1352
2.	Abhra Madhavaraya, his son	"	1353-1381
3.	His son, Venkatadri Bevule	"	1382-1412
4.	His son, Ramakotiraya	"	1412-1437
5.	His son, Yallanna	"	1438-1473
6.	His son, Dasappa	"	1473-1486
7.	His son, Venkatappa	"	1494-1519
8.	His son, Timmappa	"	1520-1532
9.	Timmappa's brother	"	1533-1544
10.	His brother, Doddappa Nayaka	"	1545-1564
11.	Venkatappa's son Narasappa	"	1564-1565
12.	Raghavappa	"	1566-1589
13.	Venkatappa II, son of Timmappa (9)	"	1590-1629
14.	His son, Timmappa	"	1630-1684

Of these, Venkatadri is said to have slain Channa Nayaka, a Beda Chief of Bevule and used his yellow flag as his own trophy, and called himself Venkatadri Bevule. In Saka 1413 Praudharaya of Vijayanagar is said to have confirmed Ramakotiraya as the chief of Belagutti. During Dasappa's reign, Ramaraya of Vijayanagar is said to have died, bringing the empire of Vijayanagar to an end. Dasappa is said to have been frequently at war with Hanumappa Nayaka of Tarikere. When Hyder Ali came to Belagutti, conquering the Paleygars one after another in Saka 1684-1762 A.D., both Timmappa and Venkatappa are said to have surrendered themselves to him with a tribute of money and men. Being pleased with them, Hyder Ali is said to have sent them at the head of his army to put down minor Paleygars in Anantapur, Kumsi, Sikaripur, Jade, Huduguni, Tavanandi, Gutti, and other places. After they returned victorious, Hyder bestowed Belagutti on Timmappa and Kumsi on Naranappa. Soon after Hyder retired, Madhavarao, son of Nanarao of Poona, is said to have

invaded Anantapur and Belagutti and carried off 750 Varahas. Then Belagutti Subbiah and others are said to have been employed by Hyder as revenue and police and military officers on a fixed monthly salary in Belagutti.

Venkatappa, son of Timmappa, is said to have been paid thirty Varahas for maintaining a palanquin. Sriranga is said to have been receiving 300 Varahas per month for keeping a regiment of horses. A regiment of 400 soldiers is said to have been stationed there at a cost of Rs. 7½ per head. Hyder is also said to have divided the territory of Belagutti into 100 Hoblis with ten daffedars at a cost of ten Kānthiraya Varahas per daffedar. Hyder's troops are said to have recaptured Kodiyal from the English. Hyder is also said to have given to Sadasiva Rangappa the district of Bankapur when Belagutti was given to Dasappa.

It may be said without fear of contradiction that the credit of consolidating the province of Mysore with its eight or four districts after utterly destroying the power of a number of Paleygars in all the districts is due to Hyder Ali.

Kempe Gowda of Magadi. 1540-1580 A.D.

From the latter part of the fifteenth century down to the close of the seventeenth century the districts of Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur seem to have afforded shelter to a number of Paleygars. From a short poetical work entitled "Kemparayana Jayastuti" we come to know that while in the first half of the sixteenth century, Venkatadevaraya was a feeble emperor in Vijayanagar, his vassals, Venkatapatiraya in Penukonda, Timma III in Chickaballapur and Doddaballapur, Bhaira in Devanahalli, Rangappa in Sira, Jagadevaraya in Channapatna severed their connection with Vijayanagar and began to exercise their independent sway over their feudal territories. Meanwhile Kempe Gowda II, son of Kempe Gowda and Channamma of Magadi, came into prominence as a trusted champion (Swamidnohara Ganda) of the empire of Vijayanagar. Whether he was an upstart or a sworn feudal chief of Vijayanagar is not mentioned in the Jayastuti. Venkatadevaraya had however acknowledged him as a guardian of his empire. With this profession, he began his career by capturing the villages Balagodanahalli and Betarayanagudi near Bangalore. When he plundered Hosakote, Venkatapati of Penukonda became jealous of his power and sent his son together with Ayimagauda, Anantaraja, Makaraja, Yachanama Nayaka, Juggaraja, Jagadevaraya, Timma, Rangappa of Sira, Immadi Bhaira Hammira and Dalavoi Chunchanna, all with their armies to put down Kempa and capture Bangalore. When they were routed out by Kempa in the year of Paridhavi Kartika Suddha 11 corresponding to October 16th of 1552, Venkatapati made friendship with Kempa and presented him with elephants, horses, cloths of gold and gems. Then he is said to have razed to the ground the fort of Hosakote and compelled the other Paleygars inclusive of Venkataraya of Penukonda to be loyal feudal chiefs of Vijayanagar. He is also said to have gone to Vijayanagar with these and other feudal chiefs in the year Bhava (Magha Suddha 5) and celebrated the coronation of Venkatadevaraya (1572) as the emperor of Vijayanagar. After his return from Vijayanagar, he is said to have made Bangalore his capital and styled himself as the Chief of Yelahankanadu.

He was a Saivite in religion and is said to have restored to Sivaganga temple all those land grants which were misappropriated by others.

He seems to have received little or no education, for he is said to have been quite pleased when in reply to his question whether any one before him had ability to compose poems in his praise, some one chanted some slokas of the Amarakosa replacing the final one or two words in each half verse by Kempe Gowda.

The Nayaks of Santebannur.

Harihararaya of Vijayanagar once came to what is called Madakeri near the town, Harihara. Unable to capture an elephant in a forest close by, he asked his priest astrologer Narasimhabhatta whether or not he would succeed in capturing the beast. He predicted success. The elephant was captured and the place was then called Madakari, an elephant in rut. He built a village there, giving it the same name. He also built a temple and set up God Ranga there. On the day of a lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Vaisakha of the year Yuva corresponding to Saka 1316=1394* A.D., he granted to Narasimhabhatta the two villages, Haralakatte and Brahmanahalli and appointed him as tax-gatherer of some adjoining villages. He had the same fact inscribed on a copper plate.

* One of the cows of Harihararaya's household had five nipples in its udder and used to shed its milk over an anthill in Devagiri.

On another occasion Harihara is said to have been taught the science of polity by a hare which he chased in hunting. As the hare led him from place to place and caused some of his men to fall unconscious and escaped after all, Harihara considered it a divine animal and constructing a village there called it Harihara. He also constructed a temple there and set up Vuduvina Ranganatha in it.

In Devagiri he constructed two more villages called Devarahalli and Channapura. Where the hare taught polity to him, he constructed a village and called it Nitigere. Likewise he constructed Tagattur and Ramanahalli where the animal escaped crying "Rama and Rama."

Ramaraya, son-in-law of Krishnaraya of Vijayanagar gave Madakeri Nadu to one Hanumappa Nayaka. He was a brave soldier and a devotee to Kogitur Hanumantaraya. His son was known as Ramakatte Hanumappa Nayaka. Among his descendants, Huchchappa Nayaka, Hanuma Nayaka II, Billappa Nayaka, Chikka, Chikkanna Nayaka and Hanumappa Nayaka III were all successive rulers of good repute. Kengappa Nayaka, son of Hanumappa III, fortified Rangapur and erected the temple of Ramachandra in it in the year Kalayukti of Saka 1480=1558 A.D. He also built a tank there. He extended the temples of Koginur Hanumantha and Vuduvina Ranganatha. He confirmed the villages granted to the ancestors of Lingannabhatta by his ancestors. On the day of a lunar eclipse on the 15th of Magha in the year Raktakshi corresponding to Saka 1486=1564 A.D., he gave the name Santebannur to what was till then called Rangapur. He ruled for nine years and died in Prabhava corresponding to Saka

* The eclipse is not verifiable.

1489=1567 A.D. Kenga Hanuma II, his son, succeeded him. He built tanks in the five villages, Here Kogilur, Santebannur, Taligere, Sadanamatha and Madakari. He was succeeded by his son Kenganichchadavaniga Hanumappa. He also built some tanks in Kulunur and Beliganuduvu. He died in Vikrama corresponding to Saka 1502=1580 A.D., and was succeeded by his sons, Here Kenga Hanuma and Chikka Kenga Hanuma in Vishu corresponding to Saka 1503=1581 A.D. Once there was some disagreement between the brothers, Chikka Kenga Hanuma went to Banavar and the elder to Basavapatna in Shimoga District. Thus for fifty-six years from the year Svabhanu (Saka 1505) to Bahudhanya corresponding to Saka 1560, Elder Kenga Hanumappa Nayaka had ruled over Basavapatna when Rana Malla Khan arrived thither with his army from Bhavanagar and after conquering a number of Paleygars, laid siege to Basavapatna and razed its fort to the ground. He converted the temples at Santebannur into a mosque and endowed it with two villages, Kulunur and Kempanahalli. In Pramathi corresponding to Saka 1561 he stationed a thana in Santebannur. After appointing Murtij Beg in charge of Basavapatna, he returned to Bhavanagar, taking Hanuma as his captive. One Bhujabalarama was ruling over Basavapatna for a year under Murtij Beg. One Khankhan was in charge of the thana in Santebannur for nine years up to the year Virodhi. He converted the temple of Ramachandra in Santebannur into a mosque and destroyed the six temples, Hire Kogilu, Kallesvara, Mallesvara, Ramachandra temple, the temple of Ramesvara in Siddhanamatha and Kallesvara in Taligere. The stinging of honey-bees drove his men from the temple of Vuduvina Ranganatha and prevented him from destroying it. He however removed the inscribed slabs of this temple to the mosque at Santebannur. One Patekhan was supervising the construction of the mosque at Santebannur from 1572 to Vikriti of 1576=1654 A.D. He was followed by Farid Khan from 1576 to 1578=1656 A.D.

Meanwhile Chikka Kenga Hanumappa of Banavar went to Bijapur to have his brother released from captivity. He was a brave man and once he fought with a tiger and killed it with his dagger before the Padshah of Bijapur. The Sultan was pleased with him and gave him the title of Sarja and honoured him with a green palanquin, green umbrella and a pair of green shawls. He appointed him as Nayaka over his old dominion. On his return to Basavapatna he slaughtered a pig in the half-built mosque at Santebannur before the very eyes of the Muhammadans and prevented them from completing it. Then he became known as Punda or Rogue Hanumappa. He ruled from Durmukhi corresponding to Saka 1578 to 1584=1662 A.D. Then one Sarja Khan with an army arrived thither from Bijapur. Rogue or Sarja Hanuma was too old to resist him and leaving the country went to Tarikere. Sarja Khan ruled over Basavapatna for nine years from 1585 to 1593=1661 A.D. He confirmed the villages granted to Nadigara Sanna. Sarjakhan was followed by Mahomed Beg who ruled over from 1593 to 1598=1666 A.D. Then came Kasim Khan and ruled from 1598 to 1603=1681 A.D.

In the year Dundubhi corresponding to Saka 1604=1682 A.D., Baramanna of Chitaldrug laid siege to Santebannur and capturing and annexing it to Chitaldrug,

ruled over it for thirty-five years from 1682 to 1716 A.D. The Muhammadans however retained Basavapatna to Bijapur. Devarahalli which belonged to Santebannur was also under the Muhammadans. About Saka 1636 Santebannur passed into the hands of Somasekhara Nayaka of Keladi. He confirmed Nadigara Sanna or Narasanna in the enjoyment of his Many lands. He received the *nirupa* order of Somasekhara from Gurappa, who was appointed as Thanadar at Santebannur. In the year Hevilambi corresponding to 1639=1717 A.D., Gurappa died. Somasekhara built a Math in Santebannur and endowed it with the two villages, Lakshmanasagara near Chennagiri and Padmenahalli in the country of Yedatore. His rule lasted till Chitrabhanu of 1684=1762 A.D.

In the year Raudri of Saka 1662=1740 A.D., Here Madakere Nayak of Chitaldrug laid siege to Santebannur, but being unable to capture it returned. Still he liked to be flattered as the conqueror of Santebannur. In Sukla of 1671=1749 A.D., his son Kasturi Rangappa Nayak with the assistance of Halli of Moti Khan commanding one lakh of men and of Gutti Murari with his army laid siege to Santebannur for nearly two months. Still the fort did not surrender. Then the Arasus of Bidarur entered into an agreement with the opposing allies. They agreed to pay a Chavutaya=one-fourth of revenue (of Santebannur) to be divided between Hilal Khan and Gutti Murari. Also Bidarur renounced its claim to Mayikonda in favour of Chitaldrug and Chitaldrug renounced its claim to Santebannur in favour of Bidarur.

In Saka 1685=1763 A.D., Hyder Ali allied with Madakere Nayaka, took Bidarur and giving it the name of Nagar annexed it to Srirangapatam. He gave Santebannur to Madakere Nayak. Accordingly he ruled over it for fifteen years from Saka 1685 to 1699=1777 A.D.

In the year Vilambi 1778 Hyder Ali kept a Thanadar in Santebannur & annexed it to Srirangapatam. Tippu was there for twelve years from 1700 to 1712=1790 A.D.

When Hyder Ali was besieging Chitaldrug, one Lakshmana Nayak and his son gave him their aid. In return for this service, Hyder appointed him to be in charge of Santebannur. Taking this opportunity he carried all the fort guns of Santebannur to Chitaldrug. On hearing this Hyder ordered the Killedar of Biligodu to furnish the fort of Santebannur with necessary guns. He did so. In 1713=1791 A.D., Parasuramarao of Poona made Santebannur his camp for a year. Then from Paridhavi corresponding to 1714 to Kalayukti of 1720=1798 A.D. Santebannur was under Tippu Sultan. In accordance with the new distribution of territory made by Tippu, Devanahalli which the Muhammadans of Bijapur annexed to Basavapatna was restored to Santebannur. On Saturday, the new moon day of Chaitra of Siddharti corresponding to 1721=1799 A.D., the English took Srirangapatam. Then for two months and thirteen days from Vaisakha, Sarja Krishnappa Nayak of Tarikere was in charge of Santebannur. His son-in-law Raghunatha Nayak was also in charge of it for some days. On the 13th of Ashadha the English made a camp in Chennagiri and took Santebannur also on the 14th. They remained here for twenty days. Then one Sankara Rao deputed by Purnayya became Mamalendar of Santebannur and he was followed by one Lingopant of Harihar.

The Story of Hodigere.

In Dummi Nadu belonging to Uchchangi, there is a village called Kedigere. When Kengappa Nayak of Santebannur went to this place and erected a fort and the temple of Ranganatha during the years of Krodhi to Prabhava corresponding to Saka 1487 to 1489=1565 to 1567 A.D. and kept it under his rule, Puttamallappa and Timmappa, sons of Isvarayya, submitted that the villages were their ancestral property and that therefore they were rightful heirs to them. Then Kengappa examined the records produced by them and accepted their claim. Accordingly he confirmed them in possession of the village lands and ordering them to protect the villages, the fields and pasture lands following old customs, sent them back with a written order. He called Kedigere Hodigere. They ruled over it for three years.

During the time of Hanumappa II of Santebannur, a tank was constructed at a distance of about six miles to the west of Hodigere by the damming of a valley. About 300 valekars and 25 kamatis worked at this under Ramanayaka and Kenchanayaka. Raja Ramanayaka in Ramanahalli and Kenchanayaka in Kechapura with Hodigere as capital ruled over the country for three years up to Saka 1492=1570 A.D. Then Kenga Nityamadavamiga Hanumappa ruled over the villages for ten years up to 1502=1580 A.D. He was succeeded by his sons elder Kengappa and younger Kengappa when owing to some disagreement the brothers separated from each other and went to Basavapatna and Tarikere in 1560=1638 A.D. The same fate that overtook Santebannur came upon Hodigere also. It was under Bijapur Muhammadans for some years, then again it passed into the hands of the younger Kenga Hanumappa, then under the power of Keladi, then under Medakere Nayak of Chitaldrug, then under Hyder and Tippu, then under the English and finally under Amildars appointed by Purniah as minister of H.H. the late Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur.

The History of Chitaldrug.

In the year of Pramadicha corresponding to Saka 1536= 1614 A.D., Medakere Nayaka was the ruler of Chitaldrug. In the year of Vikrama (1631), Medakere Nayak led his army to Harapanahalli, and routing the army of Harapanahalli, let his army plunder the village. The army of Harapanahalli, however, gathered together and falling upon Medakere Nayak's army, defeated it. Medakere Nayak retreated to Kanakuppe and worshipping the God there for a day returned to Durga again. He had no son. His brother called Hire Komarappa had a son called Chikkanna Nayaka. Medakere Nayaka however, adopted a boy called Vobanna and brought him up. Medakere Nayak died and was succeeded by his adopted son Vobanna. On the occasion of his installation, he did not, however, make presentations to any of the Gurukars and servants. For this reason they murdered him. On hearing this, both Komarappa and Chikkanna Nayaka, apprehensive of the same fate to themselves also, at once fled from the country by night. There was no one to rule and issue orders. Parpatagar Lakshmana and other Nayaks together with Gurukars and elders met in an assembly in a chavadi and discussed as to who should be the ruler next. The people asked them to elect some

one. The Nayaks replied that they would never repeat that kind of sacrilegious act any more. Nevertheless none of the Nayaks and Gurukars consented to be elected for the responsible post. Then the choice of the people fell on Chikkanna Nayaka, son of Komarappa. All approved of the choice. On learning that both the father and son fled from the country leaving their wives and children behind apprehensive of their own murder, the people said that as there was none else to rule over them, some wise men should at once find them out and assuring them of their personal safety, bring them back. At the request of the people Lakshmana Nayaka with other Nayaks sent some Gurukars with Talawars to all the four quarters to find them out. The father and son were found in Chigatur belonging to Harapanahalli. On learning the purpose of the deputation, Hire Komarappa did not like to go back, but Chikkanna was bold enough to take the risk. So the father remained behind and allowed his son to go. In the month of Jyeshtha of the cyclic year Rakshasa (1666 A.D.) he was crowned when his father also came to Marappana Durga.

At this time there was a thick forest in the hill and about twenty or thirty men of the Beda tribe took shelter there to carry on their professional plunder at night in the villages round. Then Komarappa went thither with 300-400 men and killing some, captured the rest of the robbers, except some who escaped. While engaged in this business, Komarappa went over the whole hill and on examination found a number of wells (Hondas) and caves here and there. Accordingly he thought it fit to fortify the mountain. He communicated his intention to his son, the king. He approved of it and supplied his father with necessary workmen to set about the work without delay. Komarappa, however, returned to Durga and in the month of Margasira collected more men. He had to stay in Kenchanahalli for some time and on the third day of Phalguna (March) he went to the hill and began the operation. In the same-month a square Buruz was constructed with a fort-wall and ditch round below. On Friday the tenth of Margasira of the year Nala a ditch with water on three sides of the upper fort-wall was completed. Then Komarappa entertained the workmen with dinner and gave them presentations. He also made sacrifice of ten sheep and occupied the palace for the first time. In the month of Jyeshtha of the year Kalayukti, trees were cut down in view of constructing a lower fort on the second day of the bright half of the same month; the construction of an Anjaneya temple was begun and Anjaneya God was set up on the sixth of the dark half of the same month. He kept fifty watchmen under Gurukar Here Bommayya to guard the hill.

On Monday the thirteenth of the bright half of Asvija, the foundation of the lower fort was laid and at the close of the year Kalayukti (1669) the wall together with its ditch was completed. On the fifth of the bright half of Vaisakha (May) of Siddharthi, the fort-gate was also made. To the east of this fort a number of people constructed dwelling houses in an enclosure protected by fence. As robbers used to set fire to the fence, it was replaced by a fort wall on Sunday the thirteenth of the bright half of the month of Kartika. On Thursday the third of the dark half of Magha, the construction of a square Buruz was begun and completed on the

thirteenth of the dark half of Chaitra of the year Raudri. Then the construction of a wall round the hill was begun. A water well on the hill was sunk on the twelfth of the bright half of Jyeshtha when on Thursday the seventh of the dark half of the same month a big conch shell was unearthed. The workmen at once took it to Komarappa who with astonishment at the sight of it presented the man who brought it with a Varaha and raised his salary also. He caused the conch shell to be worshipped and was told by Timmappa and other astrologers of Durga that the shell must have belonged to the sage Kanva who was traditionally reported to have formed his hermitage in the caves on the hill. He sent the conch shell to Durga. The place where it was found was called Kanakuppe (Kanva kuppe). By the tenth of the bright half of Sravana, a ditch with water was also completely constructed round the hill. A plan to enclose the three hills with a fort wall was also prepared and trees were cut off. On the second of the bright half of Asvija, Komarappa examined the forts on the hill and also Kanakuppe and ordered Here Bommayya, the Gurukar in charge of the hill to select 400 men to man the fort at a fixed rate of monthly stipend. On Saturday the eighth of the bright half of Magha, the parapet wall round the hill with a gate was also constructed, and a number of he-buffaloes and sheep was sacrificed together with offerings of cooked rice to the Goddess of the fort. On the anniversary day of his coronation in Margasira, Komarappa (Chikkanna?) made the hill fort his permanent residence. Kate Nayaka was made the chief of all the Nayaks. In the month of Jyeshtha of the year Dhatu, one palace to the Goddess Katamma and another palace for the royal family were ordered to be constructed. The original wooden gate of the royal palace was later replaced by a stone gate. A well also was made there. In front of the palace a court yard (Sadara chavadi) was also constructed. The gate was well plastered. In the month of Magha of the same year, the king and his family with the army came to the hill to attend the worship of Katamma and Uchchangi Devaru. On the twelfth of the bright half of the same month, they (the royal family) went to Kanakuppe. Uchchangi Devaru was brought from Uchchangi Durga (in Shimoga?) and was received with due honour by the king and his retinue under the shade of a banyan tree on the road to Bilichedu. On the day of full moon, Kulu (offering of cooked rice) was made. At night on the first of the dark half of the same month, the rite of covering the loins with the leaves of bevu was performed and the next day, the worship of the Ganges in the ditch (Honda) was performed. On the day next to it, the rite of Jogu (see-saw) and Sidi were also* performed.

At Katanayaka's suggestion of the necessity of constructing a street of shops (pete) Baramappa Nayaka of the royal family approved of it and ordered the construction. Accordingly in the year of Isvara, the proposed street of shops was constructed and one Guruvappa Chetty was appointed commercial superintendent (Chetty). In the year Bahudhanya, Katanayaka constructed a tank. In the year Pramadicha, his father Jempanna also constructed a tank. Katanayaka

* All the religious practices mentioned here are purely Dravidian and no trace of Brahmanic worship can be found.

died and was succeeded by his son Jempanna. He also constructed a tank and a few groves.

In Angirasa corresponding to Saka 1613=1691 A.D. Chikka Baramappa was crowned king of Kanakuppe. He had 3000 horses, 1000 soldiers, 100 elephants. In the year of Yuva (1695) he became deaf. He was therefore sent to Hosadurga and appointed as its Nayak. Jempanna, son of Katanayaka, was crowned. In the year of Kilaka, Telaga Kammara Guruvayya manufactured a gun under the orders of Jempanna. The gun was called Katammalinga.

In the year Prajotpatti, Devaga and Hasaga manufactured another gun and called it Huchchangi. In Vyaya, Ningappa, brother of Katanayaka constructed a palace behind the Anjaneya temple on the hill and in Krodhi he had an inscription carved in two lines on the palace (wall?).

In the month of Nija Chaitra (a month after the intercalary month) of the year Vyaya, Kerappa constructed a well on the hill. In the year Bahudhanya Channamallappa brought into the fort God Channamalla. He was accordingly crowned.

In the year of Hevilambi (1767 A.D.) Hyder Ali known as the great Nawab besieged the fort. After some time he led the army to Sravanuru on the tenth of the bright fortnight of Bhadrapada. In the year Vilambi, he captured Basavanakote and returning to Kanakuppe, he laid siege for eleven days. On the twelfth day he entered into an agreement with the king. Having kept a regiment near Kanakuppe, he passed to Maddigarahalli and Baramarahalli. A month after taking those villages, he marched to Gudikote and Malakalmuri and captured them. Again he returned to Durga and waged war with the Nayaka of Durga for four months and succeeded in capturing it also. Thereupon he marched to Arcot and died there. Tippu succeeded him.

While returning from Durga, Hyder Ali carried away the golden images and ornaments of Uchchangi Devaru and Katamma. At the request of the Gurukars, Ajis Khan left the gold coat of Katamma and took away the rest. But in Sarvari (1770 A.D.) Khasim took the coat also and sent it to Davalat Khan in Durga. It weighed eighty varahas. He also destroyed the siege guns and breaking them into pieces by throwing them from the hill, sent them to his own camp. Thus the two guns called Uchchangi and Katammalinga together with the gold coat of Katamma were later sent to Seringapatam as ordered by the Sultan. The broken iron pieces were not sent to Seringapatam. Similarly siege guns in Basavanakote and other forts were also destroyed.

The chronicle names a number of persons who constructed wells, tanks, groves and temples. The list is too long to quote here and it is enough to say that it is a very good testimony to the general charitable disposition of the people of those days.

ON A BENGALI CUMULATIVE FOLK-TALE OF "THE OLD DAME LOUSY TYPE."

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A.

IN Northern India, there are current a few Accumulation Drolls or Cumulative Folk-tales which do not appear to have as yet been studied and classified by European and American storiologists.

The leading incidents of this group of Cumulative Folk-tales, are : (1) The heroine of the story dies ; (2) thereupon a bird, in order to give expression to his grief at her death, fasts for several days ; and that (3) thereafter, some calamity or distressing incident happens to the other actors in the tale.

The most interesting specimen of this group is a Bengali Cumulative Folk-tale entitled : "The Story of the Death of the Old Dame Lousy," of which the text in Bengali has been published in a Bengali book of nursery-stories bearing the title of "*Tunṭunir Bai* [(টুন্টুনির বই) or "*The book of the Tunṭuni Bird or the Indian Tailor-Bird (Orthotomus sutorius)*". This book has been published from Calcutta.

As this Cumulative Folk-tale has not yet been translated into English, and is, therefore, unknown to English and American storiologists, I am publishing herein below the English translation thereof :—

The Story of the Death of the Old Dame Lousy.

Once upon a time, there lived an old man and his old wife who was called "Old Dame Lousy", because the hair of her head was infested by an innumerable number of lice, so much so that whenever she stooped down to serve out a platter of cooked rice before her husband, the insects dropped down from her head by numbers on to the rice. One day, her husband, getting greatly enraged at the lice dropping down on to his rice, struck the old lady with a *lathi*. Whereupon she got very angry, broke the cooking-pot to pieces, and left her husband's home.

While going along the bank of a river to goodness knew where, Old Dame Lousy met a paddy-bird who was foraging for food there. Seeing her, the bird enquired of her : "Old Dame Lousy ! where are you going to ?"

She replied : "My husband has struck me with a *lathi* in a fit of rage, because lice dropped down from my head by numbers on to his rice. I have, therefore, left his home and am going elsewhere."

The paddy-bird rejoined : "Lice are very nice to eat. I wonder why your husband does not like such nice tasty bits. Never mind, what's done is

done. I have heard that you can cook nicely. Do be good enough to accept service in my household as a cook."

To this proposal, she agreed and began to cook for the paddy-bird who liked her cooking very much and also appreciated the lice that dropped down over his meals from her head.

It so happened that, one day, the paddy-bird caught a fine *Sol* fish (*Ophiocephalus striatus*), brought it home, and made it over to Old Dame Lousy, telling her to cook it nicely for him.

While she was cooking the fish, she felt giddy in the head, fell into the cauldron of boiling oil in which the fish was being fried, and was burnt to death.

On returning home from the river-bank, the paddy-bird found that his cook had been burnt to death, whereat he felt greatly distressed in mind, went to the river-bank, sat there in a woe-begone condition, and fasted for seven days and seven nights.

Seeing that the paddy-bird had fasted for seven days and nights, the river enquired: "O brother paddy-bird! what's the matter with you? Why have you fasted for seven days?"

The bird replied: "It's a very sad story. If I tell it to you, your waters will become white all over with foam and froth. You had better not hear it."

The river rejoined: "I care very little if my waters become white with foam. I am so anxious to hear your sad story. Do be good enough to tell it to me."

Whereupon the paddy-bird said:

- "1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.
2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days."

No sooner had these words been spoken by the bird than the waters of the river became white all over with froth and foam.

An elephant used to come daily to that river to drink water therefrom. Seeing that the river-water had become white with froth and foam, he enquired: "O brother river, what's the matter with you? Why has your water become foamy and frothy?"

The river replied: "It's a sad story. If I tell it to you, your tail will drop off."

The elephant rejoined: "I care very little if my tail do drop off. Do be good enough to tell me your sad story."

Whereupon the river said:

- "1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.
2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days.
3. The river-water became foamy and frothy."

No sooner had these words been spoken by the river than the elephant's tail dropped off.

Thereafter leaving the river-bank, the elephant was passing underneath a tree who, seeing that the elephant had lost his tail, enquired: "O brother elephant! what's the matter with you? How is it that you have lost your tail?"

The elephant replied: "It's a sad story. If I tell it to you, all your leaves will fall down."

The tree rejoined: "I shall not care a jot if all my leaves do fall down. Do be good enough to tell me your sad story."

Whereupon the elephant said:

1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.
2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days.
3. The river-water became foamy and frothy.
4. The elephant's tail dropped off."

No sooner had these words been spoken by the elephant than all the leaves of the tree fell off.

In that tree dwelt a dove. He had gone out to forage for food. On returning home to his nest, he found the tree entirely devoid of leaves and, getting astonished thereat, enquired: "O tree! what's the matter with you? How is it that all your leaves have fallen off?"

The tree replied: "It's a sad story. If I tell it to you, you will be blinded in one of your eyes."

The dove rejoined: "I shall not care a jot if I become blind of one of my eyes. Do be good enough to tell me your sad story."

Whereupon the tree said:

1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.
2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days.
3. The river-water became foamy and frothy.
4. The elephant's tail dropped off.
5. All the leaves of the tree fell down."

No sooner had these words been spoken by the tree than the dove became blind of one eye.

When the one-eyed dove went to forage for food in the field, he met there the Rājā's cow-herd who had taken out the cows to pasture them there. Seeing the dove's blind eye, he enquired: "O dove! what's the matter with you? How have you lost your eye?"

The dove replied: "Oh! it's a sad story. If I tell it to you, your *lathi* will get stuck to your hand."

The cow-herd rejoined: "I don't care a fig if my *lathi* do get stuck to my hand. Do be good enough to tell me your sad story."

Whereupon the dove said:

- "1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.
2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days.
3. The river-water became foamy and frothy.
4. The elephant's tail dropped off.
5. All the leaves of the tree fell off.
6. The dove became blind of one eye."

No sooner had these words been spoken by the dove than the *lathi* got stuck to the cowherd's hand.

He tried hard to shake the *lathi* off his hand; but all his efforts to do so proved unavailing. So he returned with the cows to the Rājā's palace. After his return thither, he again tried hard to shake the *lathi* off his hand. While he was doing so, he was seen by the palace maid-servant who had come thither to throw into the dust-bin a broken—winnowing—fanful of ashes.

Seeing him violently shaking his hand, she enquired: "O beggarly brat! what's the matter with you? Why are you shaking your hand so violently?"

The cow-herd replied: "Oh! it's a sad story. If I tell it to you, the winnowing-fan will get stuck to your hand."

The maid-servant rejoined: "I don't care a fig if the winnowing-fan do get stuck to my hand. Do be good enough to tell me your sad story."

Whereupon the cow-herd said:

- "1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.
2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days.
3. The river-water became foamy and frothy.
4. The elephant's tail dropped off.
5. All the leaves of the tree fell down.
6. The dove became blind of one eye.
7. The cow-herd's *lathi* got stuck to his hand."

No sooner had these words been spoken by the cow-herd than the winnowing-fan got stuck to the maid-servant's hand.

Seeing that the winnowing-fan had stuck to her hand, the maid-servant began to weep aloud and tried hard to shake it off her hand. But her efforts to do so proved fruitless. At last, abusing the cow-herd boy, she returned to the palace.

After returning to the palace, she again tried to shake the winnowing-fan off her hand. But again her efforts proved unavailing.

In the meantime, the Rāṇī, with a bell-metal platter in her hand, was going to serve out the cooked rice to the Rājā. Seeing the maid-servant's

woeful condition, she enquired : "O maid-servant ! what's the matter with you ? How is it that the winnowing-fan has got stuck to your hand ?"

The maid-servant replied : "O Rāṇī mother ! it's a sad story. If I tell it to you, the bell-metal platter will get stuck to your hand."

The Rāṇī further replied : "Is it true ? Tell me your story ; and I shall see how the bell-metal platter will get stuck to my hand."

Whereupon the maid-servant said :

- "1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.
2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days.
3. The river-water became foamy and frothy.
4. The elephant's tail dropped off.
5. All the leaves of the tree fell down.
6. The dove became blind of one eye.
7. The cow-herd's *lathi* got stuck to his hand.
8. The maid-servant's winnowing-fan got stuck to her hand."

No sooner were these words spoken by the maid-servant than the bell-metal platter got stuck to the Rāṇī's hands. She tried hard to shake it off her hands but to no purpose. Thereupon she dished up the cooked rice in another platter and served it out to the Rājā.

Seeing the bell-metal platter sticking to the Rāṇī's hands the Rājā enquired : "O Rāṇī ! what's the matter with you ? Why is the bell-metal platter sticking to your hands ?"

The Rāṇī replied : "O my lord ! it's a sad story. If I tell it to you, you will get firmly stuck to the wooden seat whereon you are sitting."

At this, the Rājā burst out into a loud guffaw and rejoined : "Never mind ; I am quite willing to be placed in that sorry plight. Do be good enough to tell me your story forthwith."

Whereupon the Rāṇī said :

- "1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.
2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days.
3. The river-water became foamy and frothy.
4. The elephant's tail dropped off.
5. All the leaves of the tree fell down.
6. The dove became blind of one eye.
7. The cow-herd's *lathi* got stuck to his hand.
8. The maid-servant's winnowing-fan got stuck to her hand.
9. The Rāṇī's bell-metal platter got stuck to her hands."

No sooner had these words been spoken by the Rāṇī than the Rājā got firmly stuck to the wooden seat whereon he was sitting. He tried hard to rise from the seat ; but all to no purpose. At last, he sent for his servants

who came and did their best to detach him from the wooden seat to which he had got stuck. But all their efforts in this behalf proved abortive. At last, four of them hoisted him up with the seat sticking to him, carried him to the durbar-hall and seated him there.

Seeing the Rājā's pitiful condition, all the members of his durbar were thrown into a pretty fix. Some of them felt inclined to laugh at the Rājā's ridiculous plight, but could not do so for fear of incurring his displeasure. While the rest felt curious to know the cause of his sorry plight but could not make the enquiry out of sheer fear.

At last, the Rājā himself said : " Do you want to know how I have got stuck to this wooden seat ? "

With the palms of their hands joined together, all the members of the durbar replied : " Yes, Mahārājā ! we are very much anxious to know it. "

The Rājā rejoined : " It's a sad story. If I tell it to you, all of you will get firmly stuck to your respective seats. "

Thereupon all the members of the durbar further said : " O Mahārājā ! when you yourself have got stuck to your own seat, it is meet and proper that we all should also share with you the same ridiculous plight. "

Whereupon the Rājā said :

- " 1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.
2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days.
3. The river-water became foamy and frothy.
4. The elephant's tail dropped off.
5. All the leaves of the tree fell down.
6. The dove became blind of one eye.
7. The cow-herd's *lathi* got stuck to his hand.
8. The maid-servant's winnowing-fan got stuck to her hand.
9. The Rājā's bell-metal platter got stuck to her hands.
10. The Rājā got stuck to the wooden seat whereon he was sitting. "

No sooner were these words spoken by the Rājā than all the members of the durbar got firmly stuck to their respective seats, so much so that all their attempts to rise from the same proved abortive.

Now there lived in that country a very clever barber who, on being sent for, arrived in the Rājā's durbar-hall and advised that a carpenter should be immediately sent for.

This was done ; and the carpenter, shortly afterwards, arrived there. He then freed the Rājā and all the members of his durbar from their ridiculous plight by sawing off the wooden seats sticking to them. The bell-metal platter sticking to the Rājā's hand, the winnowing-fan adhering to the maid-servant's

hand, and the *kathi* fixed to the cow-herd's hand were similarly removed by sawing them off from their respective fore-arms.

In the course of my survey of the folklore of the district of Chittagong in Eastern Bengal, I have come across the under-mentioned nursery-rhyme:—

1. Dame Lousy has died.
2. The paddy-bird has been fasting for seven days.
3. The water of the river has become filled with the floating *confervæ*.
4. The eyes of the *mainā* bird, (who is) a cultivator, have become blind.
5. The scythe has been sticking to the hands of the day-labourer.
6. The sesamum have become void of kernel and have been reduced to

husks.

7. The broomstick has been sticking to the hands of the maid-servant.
8. The broomstick called *pichhā* has been sticking to the mother-in-law's

hands.

9. The bamboo ladle for stirring the boiling rice with has been sticking to the hands of the eldest daughter-in-law.

10 and 11. O *mainā* bird! come, come (and) give a kiss on the golden mouth of my darling baby.

I am inclined to think that the preceding rhyme is the epilogue (narrating all the incidents of the story) which is tacked on to some Cumulative Folk-tale which is current in the district of Chittagong but the full text of which is unknown to me.

Lines 2 to 9 of this rhyme seem to describe the sorrow with which men, birds and even inanimate objects have been stricken at the death of Dame Lousy. Lines 10 and 11 hereof seem to suggest the idea that the *Mainā* bird is being asked to forget his grief at the death of Dame Lousy, and to come and give the darling baby a kiss.

On comparing the incidents of this Chittagong Cumulative Folk-tale with those of the preceding one, I am of opinion that the one bears a striking similarity to the other.

Generalizing the incidents of both these folk-tales I fix their story-radical as follows:—

- (1) The heroine of the tale, whose name is Dame Lousy, dies.
- (2) Thereupon, a bird, in order to give vent to his grief at her death, fasts for several days.
- (3) Thereafter, some calamity or distressing incident happens to the other actors in the tale.
- (4) In one case, some of these latter actors are extricated out of their distressing situation.

The Folklore Society of London has fixed the undermentioned story-

radicals of the three following types of Accumulation Drolls or Cumulative Folk-tales :—

I. Titty Mouse Type.

1. Animals set in partnership ; one dies, the other mourns.
2. Other objects mourn in sympathy till there is universal calamity.

II. Old Woman and Pig Type.

1. Old woman cannot get pig over stile ; she asks dog, stick, fire, water, ox, butcher, rope, rat, cat to help her.
2. Cat does so on condition, and sets rest in motion till pig jumps over stile.

III. Henny Penny Type.

1. Hen thinks sky is falling, goes to tell king, and meets cock, duck, goose, turkey.
2. At last they meet fox, who leads them to his own den and eats them up.*

On comparing the story-radical fixed by me with the aforementioned three which have been typified by the Folklore Society of London, I find that the two Cumulative Folk-tales forming the subject-matter of this paper do not fit into any one of the last-mentioned three types. I am, therefore, of opinion that the two stories which have been dealt with and discussed in this article belong to an altogether new type which I have named "*The Old Dame Lousy Type*," and which, I hope, the storiologists of Europe and America will accept.

In this connection, it will not be out of place to mention here that an approximate Indian analogue of the two foregoing Cumulative Folk-tales is a Punjābi story which has been collected and published by Mrs. F. A. Steel under the title of *The Death and Burial of Poor Hen-sparrow*.† All the incidents of this Punjābi variant, which clearly belongs to the *Titty Mouse Type*, are lucidly set forth in the following epilogue thereof and will show how very similar several of them are to those of the two Cumulative Folk-tales dealt with and discussed in this paper :—

"The ugly hen painted.
By jealousy tainted,
The pretty hen dyed.
Bewailing his bride,
The cock, bald and bare,
Sobs loud in despair :

* *The Handbook of Folklore*. By C. S. Burne, London : Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1914, Page 355.

† *Tales of the Punjab*, By F. A. Steel, London : Macmillan and Co., 1894, Pages 148—158.

The *pīṭhā* tree grieves
 By shedding its leaves ;
 The buffalo mourns
 By casting her horns ;
 The stream, weeping fast,
 Grows briny at last ;
 The cuckoo with sighs
 Blinds one of its eyes ;
 Bhagtu's grief so intense is,
 He loses his senses ;
 The maid-servant waiting
 Has taken to railing ;
 The Queen, joy enhancing,
 Takes refuge in dancing ;
 To aid the mirth coming,
 The Prince begins drumming ;
 To join in it with her
 The King strums the zither ! "

" So they danced and sang till they were tired, and that was how every
 one mourned poor cock-sparrow's pretty bride."

NOTES.

The Satavahanas.

I am bound to form and express an opinion on the issues raised in the article, "THE HOME OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS" published in a recent issue of this Journal (above, Vol. XIII, 1923, p. 591 ff.), in which the author, Mr. T. N. Subramaniam of Kumbakonam, cites and criticises a certain theory regarding the home of the so-called Āndhra kings which, I believe, I was the first to formulate. In 1919, I published a short article in the first issue of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* (pp. 21-42) drawing attention to certain prevailing misconceptions about the Śātavāhanas. This article is the subject of Mr. Subramaniam's criticism. While admitting the validity of my main thesis that the Śātavāhanas are *not* Āndhras and that their original home was *not* Āndhradeśa, he takes exception to other statements in the body of my article which, according to him, *contradict* the main thesis. It is not my intention to go into details and to take up space which can probably be ill spared. I shall therefore content myself with correcting the erroneous impression created by Mr. Subramaniam's note, which in part misquotes my words and misrepresents my views.

I have nowhere asserted that "the Śātavāhanas *have* to be looked upon as belonging to the tribe of the Āndhras", as Mr. Subramaniam appears to think (above, p. 592). That is only one of the alternatives considered and rejected by me. Assuming *for the sake of argument* that the Puranic view is correct, I wrote, "If" (in order to reconcile the Puranic statement with our conclusion)—"If.. the Śātavāhanas have to be looked upon as belonging to the tribe of the Āndhras, then" certain consequences will follow (*ABI*, Vol. I, p. 41). Further on in the course of the same paragraph I reject the alternative proposed as improbable, concluding the paragraph with the words: "But it is after all conceivable that the Śātavāhanas may not have been Āndhras. . . For there is nothing improbable in the assumption that the founders of the Śātavāhana dynasty were originally the vassals of the Āndhra sovereigns, of whom it may, with assurance, be affirmed that at or about the time of the rise of the Śātavāhanas they were the most powerful potentates in the Deccan."

I must frankly admit, however, that the wording of the last paragraph of my article under reference is rather abstruse and apt to confuse and mislead a casual reader. I welcome therefore this opportunity to restate my old views more lucidly as follows. I hold: (1) that no cogent reason having been shown for connecting the *early* Śātavāhana kings with the Āndhradeśa, their activity should be regarded as restricted to the western and south-western portion of the Deccan; only later kings of this dynasty extended their sway eastwards so that subsequently even the

Āndhradeśa was included in the Śātavāhana dominions; the Śātavāhana migration was from the west to the east; (2) that the Śātavāhanas are different from and should not be confused with the Āndhras mentioned in Greek and Chinese chronicles; (3) the home (or the early habitat) of the Śātavāhanas is to be sought for on the western side of the peninsula and is *perhaps* to be located in the province then known as Śātavahani-hāra—a province of which the situation is unknown or uncertain.

I see at present no reason to alter my views regarding the date of the Myākadonī inscription, and I am not prepared to accept the date proposed for it by Mr. Subramaniam. I will admit, however, that Mr. Subramaniam has offered a very happy explanation of the Puranic anomaly. He points out that even the oldest Puranas are not older than the third century A.D. Thus at the period when the earliest Puranas were compiled, the Śātavāhanas had been established firmly, for over a century, as a paramount power in the Āndhradeśa. Moreover it is highly probable that about that period they had been relieved of their possessions in the west. The Puranic chroniclers thus knew the Śātavāhanas only as the rulers of the Āndhradeśa, and probably *mistook* them for Āndhras. This explanation is much simpler and more satisfactory on the whole than that I have offered in my article.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.

CORRESPONDENCE.

St. Thomas and the Cross.

TO

THE EDITOR,

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.

SIR,

We find one outstanding fact common to the several oral and recorded versions of the tradition relating to the Apostle St. Thomas' evangelistic activities in South India. It is that the apostle set up crosses for worship in every one of the seven places in Malabar where churches were founded by him. Witness the following extracts from a Malayalam song which, as the song itself says, was "abridged by Rev. Thomas XLVIII in 1601 A.D. from the history of the Apostle Thomas' glorious evangelization of all India, written by his ancestor Rev. Thomas II", * a disciple of the Apostle himself. †

* Lines 433—445 of the song. See Rev. F. Bernard's *The St. Thomas' Christians* (in Malayalam), Ch. III, pp. 78 and 79.

† *Ibid.*, p. 61.

- I. Lines 48, 55 and 56. St. Thomas the Apostle
" Came to Mālyānkara (near Cranganore) in December (51 A.D.)
And there for worship constructed
A church together with a cross."
- II. Lines 67, 78, 71 and 72.
" In the village of Quilon for one year
He preached the way (religion).
A cross for worship
There he set up."
- III. Lines 73, 74, 79 and 80.
" Travelling north-east (he)
Reached Trikkapālīśwaram (near Nirāṇam)
A cross for worship
He set up there also."
- IV. Lines 82, 87 and 88.
(He) " reached the mountainous city of Chāyāl.
Along with the system of worship, a cross
He established for that place also."
- V. Lines 113, 114, 120.
" Travelling north-west (from Nirāṇam),
He reached the village of Gōkkamangalam (near Shertala)
And set up a cross there."
- VI. Lines 122, 127 and 128.
He " reached Kōṭṭakkāyāl (modern Parur).
A cross and arrangements for worship
He established for that place also."

After setting up crosses in the above seven places—Cranganore, Quilon, Nizampam, Chāyal (modern Nilakkal), Kōkkamangalam, Parur and Pālūr—in the present Malayalam country he passed to Mylapore in the Tamil land and put up a church and a cross there also. (Lines 175 and 176). It may be well to recall here that the stone cross with a Pahlavi inscription dug up by the Portuguese in 1547 and now on view over an altar in the Church of the Madonna on the Great Mount (Mylapore) is believed to have been one set up by the Apostle himself.*

But I suppose that the practice of setting up crosses for worship did not come into vogue in the first century of the Christian era. Can we infer from this circumstance taken along with the statement about the setting up of crosses in the above song, that Christianity in Malabar does not date from the first century and that it was not the first Apostle Thomas who evangelized that country?

Training College,
Trivandrum. }
16-5-1923.

Yours faithfully,
T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

VII. *Lines 134—136, 141—144.*

He " travelled north
And thus in half a month
Reached the village of Pālūr (in Br. Malabar).
That the people may all perform
Worship and religious rites
He set up there
A cross of beautiful pattern."

* See Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 358 (Murray, 1903).

REVIEWS.

A Antiga India E O Mundo Externo.

"*Ancient India and the Outer World*" is a thesis by Mr. Panduranga Pissurlencar of Sunguelim, Goa, in the Portuguese language. Its purpose is to trace briefly the relations of India with foreign countries from remote periods of ancient history to the twelfth century of the Christian era.

The author's acquaintance with many western and eastern languages enables him to collect much of the result of orientalist research that bears on his subject and he shows much ability in grouping the evidence thus obtained so as to hold the attention of the reader.

Various facts relating to the commercial relations of ancient India, her political embassies, her religious missions, and the influence exercised by her science and art are compiled in connection with the known continents, to each of which a chapter is devoted. Where conclusions have been drawn from mere hypotheses, the value of conflicting opinions is discussed and appraised with judgment and discrimination.

A final chapter, termed 'retrospective' by the author, treats of the truly wonderful achievements of early Indian explorers and navigators. India has freely given of her best to the outer world and she has not disdained to receive from others when she came into contact with foreign civilizations. This high ideal of the progress of humanity as a whole has been her glory in the past, and it is a prophecy of her destiny in the future.

Mr. Pissurlencar's work is well worth translation into a language that is more widely known than Portuguese.

E. da C.

Conservation Manual.

BY SIR JOHN MARSHALL, KT.

THE manual is a welcome publication and its utility as a guide book to the junior archæologist cannot be lightly touched upon. Its value is enhanced coming as it does from the pen of an accomplished archæologist, who from his vast and varied experience of the work may be expected to offer practical hints which no Government order, however detailed and perfect, can give. The book is another example of the keen interest evinced by the author in the preservation of the ancient monuments in this country, which are the main, if not the only, symbols of the glorious past of this ancient land.

T. S.

The Hindu Message—Vol. XI, No. 26—26th April 1923.

THE Journal maintains its high level and has produced a worthy number in commemoration of the Jayanthi celebrations of Sri Sankara and Sri Ramanuja which synchronise every year. There are a dozen solid articles besides poems contributed by well-qualified persons which will amply repay perusal.

The periods of these two Acharyas are remarkable for unparalleled national upheaval in which religion played not a very inconsiderable part, which resulted in the attainment of such a high glory that Hinduism was never afterwards challenged for religious supremacy in India. Though divided only by two or three centuries, these Acharyas represent two distinct schools of orthodoxy which differ much in philosophical outlook giving room for misconception at the hands of unsympathetic bigots. The two scholarly articles "The Meeting Place of Sri Sankara and Sri Ramanuja" and "Sri Ramanuja's Criticism of Sankara Darsana" by A. V. Gopalachariar and S. Kuppusamy Sastry respectively bring to light many of the common features of these differing philosophers.

The article "Sri Ramanujacharya's Gita-Bhashya as Literature and as Philosophy" by K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri should also dispel another common misconception that Ramanuja's style is terse and severely argumentative. Mr. Sastri truly observes "One great distinction of Sri Ramanujacharya's *Gita-Bhashya* is the combined distinction and simplicity of its style. It abounds in supremely beautiful prose devotional lyrics. The very introduction is aquiver with tense devotional emotion." "Sources of the Religion and Philosophy of Sri Ramanuja" by T. T. Rangachariar provides much food for thought on some of the vexed questions such as the identity of Badarayana and Vyasa, the date of Pancharatra, etc. The other interesting articles are strongly recommended to students of philosophy and religion. We cannot conclude without referring to the brilliant opening article from the pen of K. Sundara Rama Iyer on "The Realism of Sri Sankaracharya." No philosophy is so misunderstood both inside and outside India as Sankara's monism and the present article which is a clear and succinct exposition of its tenets will, we hope, remedy this misunderstanding. The professor's following remarks are noteworthy: "What we want to insist upon is that for Sankara, 'Knowledge is relative to the object' in external perception. He is not a subjectivist. He does not hold that the external object in material perception is a purely mental existent which is projected into the outside world and cognised there, by a purely hypothetical process, either intuitive or inferential. Sankara recognizes that the manifested world of matter (and the seed of Prakriti from which it is brought forth at the time of creation) is essentially an objective reality to its perceiver and that it lasts as long as perception lasts, but is liable to be stultified when the perceiver turns his mind inward in yogic meditation and gains the realization of the one self-effulgent and everlasting Self, absolute and free from all inguinating relationships to any other object, inner or outer."

K. D.

Sri Vaikhanasan.

THIS is a religious monthly in Tamil published from Pannimadai, Coimbatore District, pertaining to the sect of Vaikhanasas, a class of Sri Vaishnava temple priests in South India. The Agama or Tantra literature of our country is yet shrouded in mystery; and a scientific study of the same will, we are sure, throw much light on the dark period of the early history of India. We therefore welcome a journal of the kind conducted by one of its own members.

Vaikhanasa and *Pancharatra* form two distinct modes of worship in Vishnu temples from a very ancient time, though their exact origin and date cannot be asserted with any certainty. *Vaikhanasa*, which, tradition says, was propounded by Rishi Vikhanasa who, at the behest of God, descended to the earth to worship Him in His image form (Archavatara), was no doubt the most prevalent form that was obtaining in Vishnu temples before the advent of Sri Ramanuja, the great religious reformer and the recognized founder of the present day Vaishnavism in Southern India. After him, however, Neo-Vaishnavism is distinctly partial to *Pancharatra* which apparently had sunk into insignificance during the religious upheaval of the early centuries but was revived by Ramanuja on a far reaching scale as the basic principle of religion and philosophy, so much so that *Vaikhanasa*, in spite of its claim that Marichi, Bhrigu and Kasyapa were its exponents, gradually sank to be an abject adjunct of *Pancharatra*. It is, therefore, a welcome sign that the sect is asserting its individuality and tries to preserve its ritualistic treasures free from admixture.

The present number opens with an article on the "Vaikhanasa Varnasrama Dharma" and is followed by another on the Religious Endowment Bill recently passed by the Madras Government. The importance of an organization for the sect is discussed in the next and we are then led to an interesting question whether Ambarisha was a Vaishnava from the womb which is based on the Adbhuta Ramayana wherein the king is said to have taken birth with a disc and conch. There are also extracts, short notes and letters which will repay perusal.

The journal is in its infancy and we trust that, with better patronage, it will improve both in matter and get-up.

K. D.

THE STORY OF MANKIND by Hendrik Van Loon through The P. T. I. Book Depot, Bangalore and Madras (the S. I. Agency of Messrs. George G. Harrap & Co.) is a remarkable book and will be noticed in detail in the October number.

Perfume of Earth.

BY H. CHATTOPADHYAYA.

THIS is a book of poems published by the well-known Shama'a Publishing House of Madras conducted by that cultured and talented lady, Srimati Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya, the sister of the famous poetess Sarojini Devi. The author who is the brother of the poetess and the publisher has naturally the gift of poetry in him. In addition to a number of beautiful lines that he frequently writes in the pages of that high-class journal of light and culture, The Shama'a, he has published two books, *viz.*, "The Feast of Youth" and "The Coloured Garden" which are spoken of highly by such eminent poets and writers like Laurence Binyon, James H. Cousin and Sri Arabindo Ghosh. The author has now followed up these two earlier works with two companion volumes, "The Magic Tree" and "The Perfume of Earth," the former of which has earned warm praise by our world-famous poet Sir Rabindranath Tagore. He says, "Your Magic Tree has given me genuine delight and I once again greet you as a poet of rare distinction."

The "Perfume of Earth" gives the reader equal delight and shows the power of vision and the maturity of thought and imagination the author has risen into with the lapse of years. The Indian soul is always at a disadvantage to pour itself out in the cadence of a foreign tongue but the young author's heart is so enraptured with the vision of the Divine in Nature and Life that it has broken the bonds of language and has given vent to his feelings in easy, flowing and lucid words. The book contains a collection of 18 poems and is concluded by a wonderful rhapsody of a Play called "The Marriage of the Rat." The poems are all on such common subjects as The Tree, Rain, Fruit, The Peacock, Camels, Mouse-trap and so on but the imagination and the vision displayed in the lines invest them with much beauty. For example, the following lines on Famine that struck us as amongst the most beautiful in the book will illustrate our point—

"God! break my body up and knead it into bread,
Of hunger, lo! how many infant lives are dead.

"O! draw my blood into your clouds and let them burst
In showers of mercy, for the women die of thirst.

"Make thou a lightning of my soul and, at a stroke,
Free poor men who bleed beneath the tyrant's yoke."

We believe the poet is at his best in "The Marriage of the Rat." His powers of expression are on their trial in this Play and he has succeeded exceedingly well. The thoughts, ideas and words flow smoothly and pleasantly and the whole play reflects the greatest credit on the author not only for his genius and culture but also for the simplicity and beauty of his style. He is a great dreamer like all poets and in one place he says, or rather he makes the girl in the Play say, (page 49)

"I would rather break beneath my burden of dreams
Than ever seek fulfilment in extremes."

The book makes delightful reading altogether and holds much promise for the rising poet and is a valuable contribution to literature. It is attractively printed and sumptuously got up and is priced three rupees a copy.

B. P.

The Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute,— Number I.

IT will be seen from the brief narrative of the history of the Institute that it was started with the object of promoting Oriental studies and of offering facilities to the existing societies and institutions already engaged in such work. Though there have sprung up, from time to time, several institutions through the enthusiastic efforts of scholars here and there, most of them have either failed in their objects or are not doing any appreciable amount of work for want of sufficient facilities and sustained interest towards their work on the part of the public. A central institution like the Cama Institute is absolutely necessary to keep the smaller ones with comparatively slender resources and to make their influence felt on the larger public by co-ordinating the local activities of the latter by affiliating them, if necessary, as branch or feeder institutions. We hope, this institution will, with the merchant princes of Bombay as its patrons, be able to supply a long-felt want. The fact that the institution has withstood all the vicissitudes, which it had to pass through and which at one time threatened to defeat the objects of the organizers, augurs well for the future.

As regards the contents of the Journal, most of the articles deal with Iranian subjects which had not been largely dealt with anywhere hitherto. Prominent mention may be made of the translation by Mr. L. Bogdanov of the Russian original on the 'Emigration of the Parsis to India and the Mussalman world in the VIII century.' Herein an attempt is made to prove, from Iranian historical data relating to the VIII century, the traditional account of the emigration of the Parsis into India given in the Kissa-i-Sanjan. The date of the emigration which has been previously put down about the year 785 A.D. by Dr. J. J. Modi, on the strength of the traditional account, is supported historically. Dr. R. Shama Sastry in his article 'India under the Iranians' tries to make out that Iranians were in India earlier than even the Vedic Aryans and paved the way for the latter to come and settle in India. He identifies the Asuras of the Vedic literature with the Iranians, afterwards called Parsis. The use of the word Asura in a bad sense in the later Vedic writings is attributed to the discomfiture suffered by the Devas (the Vedic Aryans) at the hands of the Asuras (the Iranians). Assuming the banks of the Indus as the place where the Vedas were chanted, Dr. Shama Sastry concludes that the Iranians (the Asuras of the Vedic literature) once conquered and ruled India. He also quotes in support the inference of Iranian influence drawn by Sir John Marshall and Dr. Spooner on the basis of archæological explorations made at Taxila and at Pataliputra where some temples of the Iranian style are stated to have been discovered. The above view of Dr. Shama Sastry seems to be dissented from in another article on 'Indo-Iranian Migrations' by Dr. P. D. Gune, though somewhat indirectly. Herein it is made out that the Asuras of the Vedic literature are not Iranians but the Assyrians who never came to India, and according

to this version the identity of the Asuras with the Iranians on which the theory of Iranian emigration into India is based by Dr. Shama Sastry would not be possible. Dr. Gune quotes in his support the works of Prof. Jacobi, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the late Mr. B. G. Tilak and Prof. V. K. Rajwade. It will thus be seen that the three papers referred to above put forth three different versions about the immigration of the Parsis into India. Coming as they do from equally eminent sources, it is difficult to incline to any one view in the absence of more data. The future historian or archæologist has to decide which of these theories is nearest the truth.

T. S.

The Mysore Census Report of 1921.

WE are very glad to add to our steadily growing Library Parts I and II of the Mysore Census Report forming Vol. XXIII of the Census of India, 1921. The Report proper is dealt with in Part I, Part II being given exclusively to Tables. We believe we are in the right when we say that in no other part of India, has the same masterhand, for three consecutive decennial Censuses, drawn the Report as it has been in Mysore. Is it too much to say that Mr. V. R. Thyagaraja Iyer, M.A., has become the doyen of Census Report writing? The very first Report published by him about two decades ago secured for him an enviable eminence amongst those practised in presenting a bewildering wealth of facts in a manner as instructive as interesting. The next Report introduced some new departures in the intelligent marshalling of facts and the solution of some debated questions relating to religion and caste particularly so as to be acceptable to all right-minded people. Mr. Iyer also managed to give the same information in a smaller compass and better arranged. In the present Report under review much ground that had been covered again and again has very properly been given up thus rendering the reading matter both concise and precise. The whole Report deserves to be dealt with in a series of papers worthy enough to be read before learned Societies. As we fondly hope that the time is not past for such an expectation to be fulfilled we reserve our remarks only to a few points of arresting importance in this informing and illuminating Report. Rightly has the talented Superintendent devoted some attention to discuss the law of the growth of population pressing into his service the latest and most authoritative literature on the subject. After all there is a good deal of truth in what one great authority, Mayo Smith, says in regard to mere theorising on matters of such an elusive and complicated nature. Says he, "the results reached by theory are rather indefinite and altogether unsatisfactory." Chapter IV dealing on religion is of great interest. The term Hindu has been defying definition. In the controversy that is raging about the Religious Endowments Bill one sore point is that the minister-in-charge has given a convenient definition of who a Hindu is. In the 1911 Report a Hindu was taken to be a theist believing in the religious

evolution which will some day, but surely, through worship of God in His various forms (according to the worshipper's ideal) and through good works in his present life or a series of lives, land him in the Godhead. We contend that this definition besides being applicable to other religionists, except the Muhammadan and the Christian, is likely not to be acceptable to all. In other words the conception of the Superintendent's Hinduism represents but one section though a considerable section of Hinduism. Where to put in the congeries of faith most akin to Hinduism is the question. Under the term 'other religions' in paragraph (f) the Brahmo comes. Is his religion different from that of Hinduism? We believe these schismatics have not materially departed from the faith of their fathers to claim a separate religious importance for themselves.

It is really a capital idea that the several castes should be given in their alphabetical order thus allaying much heart-burn that one caste should have a prior mention over the other. Modern education has not, in our opinion, altered the aspect of affairs in this respect. People unfortunately now are more clamant than ever, to create an importance for their particular caste. The cultured Superintendent has some pertinent remarks to offer to those who feel sensitive about such claims. Some funny petitions were received in his office regarding caste returns. These show how the rolling years bring in their train either fresh formation of castes or altered caste names. When will this end is for the broad-minded and patriotic Hindus to solve. Of purpose we do not enter into details not germane to the aims of our Journal. But that is no reason why we should not recommend to our readers a thorough study of this illuminating Report stored with information as helpful to the social worker as it is to the antiquarian.

K. D.

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Superintendent of Archæology, Trivandrum—

Travancore Archæological Series, Vol. III, Part II.—Stone and Copperplate
Inscriptions of Travancore by K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer.

The Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona—

"The Virātaparvam of the Mahabharata" by Narayana Bapuji Utgikar.

The University of Madras—

Sir Subrahmanya Iyer's lectures on the "History of the Sri Vaishnavas"
by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington—

Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1922.

Notes on the Dances, Music and Songs of the Ancient and Modern Mexicans
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Fire Worship of the Hopi Indians by J. Walter Fewkes.

Daturas of the Old World and New, by William E. Safford.

Racial groups and figures in the Natural History Building of the National
United States Museum.

Purra Tattwa Mandir, Ahmadabad—

Buddha Leela Sara-Sangraha edited by Adhyapaka Dharmanand Kowsangi.

Abhidhammattha Sangraha by Kishorlal Ghanashyama Masharwala.

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A Antiga India E O Mundo Externo.

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The Kannada Academy Journal:

Vol. II—No. (5)

„ VI—No. (2)

„ VII—Nos. (3) and (4)

Annual Report of the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat (1921)

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British India Press, Mazagaon, Bombay.
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11. "THE EDUCATIONAL REVIEW," *Mount Road, Madras.*
12. "THE VEDIC MAGAZINE," *Lahore.*
13. "ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDIS-
CHEN GESSELLCHAFT," *Halle, Germany.*
14. "THE SANSKRIT BHARATHI," *Burdwan, Bengal.*
15. "THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL
SOCIETY," *New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. A.*
16. "THE KALPAKA," *Tinnevely.*
17. "EVERYMAN'S REVIEW," *Madras.*
18. "THE INDIAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW," *Baroda.*
19. "MAN," *The Royal Anthropological Institute, London.*
20. "DJAWA," *Kanarillaan, 13, te Weltevreden, Java.*
21. "MAN IN INDIA," *Ranchi B.N.Ry. (India)*
22. "THE KARNATAKA GRANTHAMALA," *Mysore.*
23. "THE MYSORE CHRONICLE," *Tumkur.*
24. "THE LOOKER ON", *8/1, Dacre's Lane, Calcutta.*
25. "THE JAIN GAZETTE", *Parish Venkatachala Iyer
Street, George Town, Madras.*
26. "THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER," *Bombay.*
27. "PRABUDDHA BHARATA, ADWAITA ASRAMA,"
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28. "THE SHAMA'A" *Aghore Mandir, San Thome, Madras.*

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- II. THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, *Poond.*
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- IV. THE GENERAL SECRETARY, BIHAR & ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY, *Patna.*
- V. Do "THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY",
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- VI. Do ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,
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- VII. Do THE INDO-FRENCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
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THE CASHMERIAN ORIGINAL

I. The Author is anonymous.

The Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā shows itself, beyond any possibility of doubt, as a compilation and not as an original work.

The first proof is that it has no author's name. If it had borne any, Somadeva, who is always very particular, and who prides himself on his accuracy would certainly have mentioned it. One might perhaps say that this would have served no purpose, as it was clear from the text itself that the author was Guṇāḍhya. The Cashmerians themselves had not the slightest doubt that theirs was the original Bṛhatkathā. If we accept that argument it follows that if, in the Kathāsaritsāgara, the opening remarks to the effect that it was only a summary from another's work, had been lost, as well as all the colophons which reveal its title and the author's name, there would have been nothing to prevent us from accepting it as a literal version, perhaps even as the very original of the Bṛhatkathā. In my opinion, the contemporaries of Somadeva could not possibly make a mistake on that point, inasmuch as the great Prakrit collection went by the name not of Bṛhatkathā but of Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara. Is there any reason then to wonder that it is anonymous? I think not, as it is improbable that the compiler or the successive compilers of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā had rewritten the poem. They had simply contented themselves with collecting and tying together, the best way they could, disparate books. This is the task of copyists rather than the work of artists.

Still the unity of those books did not consist entirely in their being grouped together under one title, or on being strung on the same string. There is no doubt that the last compiler, at least, has attempted to give to those books an apparent sequence by the arrangement he has imposed on his material, but not only has he failed in his object, but he has also neglected to recast the subject matter. His labour cannot then merit for him the name of author, or give him a claim to be known to posterity by his own name.

II. The Order of the Books.

That the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā was incoherent, Somadeva warns us himself tacitly, when he explains how he has dealt with his original and by what principles he has been guided in his undertaking. It is evident that this passage in his work is the key to the problem with which we are concerned, but it is of the utmost importance to study it carefully, for it has been translated in several different ways:

K.S.S. 1, 10-12: yathā mūlam tathāivaitan na manāg apy atikramah
granthavistarasaṃkṣepamātram bhāṣa ca bhidyate * 10
aucityānvayarakṣā ca yathākṛti vidhīyate †

* matrābhāṣa ca vidyate, Brockhaus, Peterson; mātram bhāṣa ca vidyate, Hall (Vās p. 23 n.), S. Lévi.

† abhidhīyate, Brockhaus, S. Lévi.

kathārasāvighātena kavyāmṇasya ca yōjanā 11
 vaidagdhyaḥyātilobhāya mama naivāyam udyamāḥ
 kiṃ tu nānākathājālasamṛtisaukaryasiddhaye 12

Brockhaus translates thus:—

"Wie das ursprüngliche Werk, so ist auch dieses, man wird nirgends die geringste Auslassung bemerken; nur die Sprache ist gedrängter, um die zu grosse Ausdehnung des Buches zu vermeiden. Den Kräften gemäss habe ich mich bemüht, den passendsten Ausdruck zu wählen, und indem die verschiedensten Gemüthsstimmungen in den Erzählungen dargestellt worden, ist ein Werk entstanden, das zu den Gedichten gerechnet werden kann. Meine Arbeit entsprang nicht aus Begierde nach dem Ruhme der Gelehrsamkeit, sondern um leichter dem Gedächtniss das bunte Mahrchennetz zu bewahren."

"As in the original work, so also in this one, there is not anywhere the least omission; only the language is more compact in order to avoid the book becoming too large. I have endeavoured as much as possible to choose the most suitable expressions, and while describing in the stories the various movements of the passions (rasas), a work has been produced which may be considered a piece of poetry. My work did not spring from the desire to secure the fame of learning, but simply to facilitate the memorizing of that many-coloured net of myths." (Trans.)

The following is Wilson's paraphrase (Works, repr., Essays, II, 109): "It corresponds exactly with the original; there is not the least departure from it, only the style is more compressed in order to avoid the great prolixity of the primitive work. It has also been composed in verse, care having been taken to preserve the arrangement of the text and the interest of the stories. The author adds that his object is 'not a reputation for learning but the hope of enabling the memory more readily to retain the complicated net of narrative invention.'"

Hall translates (Vāsavadattā, Int. p. 23 n.) 10 cd: "It is merely an epitome of the larger work and in the familiar language."

Peterson translates: (Kādambarī (3rd ed.), Introd., p. 96 n.) 10 cd: "It is an exposition (perhaps a rendering or translation) of no more than an abridgment of the complete book."

Translation of S. Lévi: (La B.K.M. de Ksh., J. A. VIII es., VI, 421 and VII, 219-220): "Such is the original, such is the copy of it. There is not one line which deviates from it. My only work has been to abridge and to translate. I have respected as much as I could the literary fitness and the natural order. I have set up each of the sections of the poem in such a way as not to break off the stories or the passions (rasas). My efforts will not gain for me the reputation of a profound artist. My only object is to help my readers to remember without too great difficulty this enormous mass of stories of every possible kind."

Tawney translates: "This book is precisely on the model of that from which it is taken; there is not even the slightest deviation, only such language is selected as tends to abridge the prolixity of the work; the observance of propriety and natural connexion, and the joining together of the portions of the poem so as not to interfere with the spirit of the stories, are, as far as possible, kept in view: I

have not made this attempt through desire of a reputation for ingenuity, but in order to facilitate the recollection of a multitude of various tales."

L. Mankowski's translation: (Der Auszug aus dem Pañc. in Ksh. B.K.M., p. VII-IX) 10 cd:

"Es liegt nichts weiter als eine kurzung des grossen Umfanges des Buches vor, und die Sprache ist eine andere."

"There is nothing to be found but an abbreviation of the voluminous book and the language is different." (Trans.)

This author goes on by disputing Brockhaus' translation of Verse 11, in which he takes *kāvya* in its technical sense, and also against the translation of the singular *kāvyaṃcasya* by "each section of the poem" (Lévi and Tawney). For him Somadeva, in this verse, simply warns the reader that he has altered the order of the books only in a *portion* of his poem. How could one explain, he adds with good reasons, that Somadeva speaks of the care he has taken about the composition and the order, if he had altered nothing in the original? The *portion* referred to is probably the Books from VI to XVIII in which the order of the Kathāsarit-sāgara differs from that of the Bṛhatkathāmanjarī.

Mr. Speyer criticises this passage and the translations which have been given of it in the following terms: *

N.B.—Dutch not being generally familiar to French readers I give in German Mr. Speyer's text.

"Beide Uebersetzungen (Lévi et Tawney) sind an zwei gleichen Klippen gestrandet, dem Worte *anvaya* und dem Ausdrucke *kāvyaṃcasya yojanā*. Eine halb-bewusst etymologische Eingebung hat Lévi bestimmt an *anvaya* die Bedeutung "natürliche Anordnung" zu knüpfen. Tawney, sich etwas weniger verwirrend, übersetzt "naturalistischer Zusammenhang", ohne daran zu denken, dass *anvaya* in der Bedeutung "Reihenfolge, Anordnung" nie und nimmer vorkommt. Als grammatischer Ausdruck bezeichnet es "grammatische Konstruktion"; ausser diesem technischen Gebrauch hat es zwei Bedeutungen: 1° "Abkömmlinge, Abstammung," 2° *anvayas* = *anvitatva* "das Verbundensein mit"—und in dieser letzten ist es erst brauchbar wenn hinzugefügt ist, womit. So muss hier *aucityānvayarakṣa* nicht als das Bewahren von *aucitya* and *anvaya* aufgefasst werden, wie Lévi das tut, sondern als das Bewahren von dem *aucityānvitatva*. In Bezug auf die Worte *kāvyaṃcasya yojanā*, bemerke ich, dass die Uebersetzung "the portion of the poem" und "chacune des sections du poeme" nicht zu dem Singular *amcasya* passt; hätte Somadeva das damit gemeint, so würde er den Plural *amcanām* gebraucht haben. Nach meiner Auffassung steht dort folgendes: "Ich habe nach Kräften die genauen und jeder Situation am meisten angepassten Worte und Ausdrücke beibehalten, und ich habe etwas hinzugefügt damit mein Werk etwas von einem Kunstgedicht habe, ohne aber dadurch dem Interessanten der Erzählungen Abbruch zu tun." Ueber die Reihenfolge sagt er kein Wort." †

* Het zogenaamde groote verhaal (de Bṛhatkathā), etc., (Verslagen en Mededeelingen der K. Ak. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Lett., 4e R., D. IX—1907), p. 126 sq.

† Both translations (Lévi and Tawney) suffered shipwreck on the same two cliffs, the word *anvaya* and the expression *kāvyaṃcasya yojanā*. A half conscious etymological inspiration had

Before giving my own translation I wish to make a few remarks. It seems to me that Hall (except that his text *vidyate* embarrasses him and that he is wrong in interpreting *bhāṣā* by *sanskrit*, which forces him to adopt a very distorted explanation), S. Lévi and L. Mankowski are right in seeing in verse 10 an acknowledgment that the Kathāsaritsāgara is a translation: The excellent reading *bhidyate* makes this evident. The *upasaṃhāra*, which follows the Manjari, mentions the same fact. The original had become very difficult to understand whereas the sanskrit translation is very easy (v. 30).

Mankowski's version is then quite correct, but it is unnecessary to suggest, as he does, *asti* (after *mātram*); *granthavistarasaṃkṣepamātram* can be given more naturally as subject to *bhidyate*.

Verse 11: Ca. . . ca (*not only, but also*), indicates that there is question of an attempt to attain two different objects. First *Aucityānvarakṣā*; secondly, *Kāvyaṃcasya yojanā*. As there is no reason to divide the sentence anywhere else but where the rules of grammar invite us to do it, we may put the punctuation after *kathārasāvighātena* and then we shall see in that expression the indication of the means employed to obtain the first result in view. It is twofold: there are two terms in the subject: *aucitya*, *anvaya*—two in the object: *kathā*, *rasa*. Have we not got here something like a premeditated equation? On one side to *aucitya* (-*rakṣa*) corresponds *rasa* (-*avighātena*); on the other to *anvaya* (-*rakṣa*) corresponds *kathā* (-*avighātena*). Somadeva wished to *observe* or to *preserve*: 1° the fitness or propriety (*aucitya*)—literary, no doubt—and for that reason he has been careful not to break off the pathetic tone (*rasa*); 2° the logical sequence (*anvaya*).^{*}—

caused Lévi to connect with *anvaya* the meaning of "natural arrangement." Tawney, not erring quite so far, translates *anvaya* "natural adhesion", without thinking that, it never occurs with the meaning of "succession", "arrangement". As a grammatical expression, it means "grammatical construction"; besides this technical use it has two meanings: 1st. descent, origin; 2nd. *anvaya*=*anvitatva*, "the being connected with" and in the latter sense it may only be used when—where—with—is added. So here *aucityānvarakṣā* must not be understood as the keeping of *aucitya* and *anvaya* as Lévi does, but as the keeping of the *aucityānvitatva*. In reference to the words *kāvyaṃcasya yojanā* I remark that the translation of the poem and each of the sections of the poem does not fit in with the singular *aṃcasya*; if Somadeva had meant this he would have employed the plural *aṃcānām*. According to my idea the following is said: "I have, as much as lies in my power, retained the exact words and expressions and those best fitted for any situation, and I have added a few things to give my work something of the character of an artistic poem—without however interfering in the least with what is most interesting in the stories." Of the rank (or succession) he says not a word. (*Trans.*)

* I am surprised that Mr. Speyer should have disputed the justifiableness of this translation. There is not the slightest doubt that *anvaya*, taken as a technical term of grammar, means "grammatical construction", but it is ascertained that in the terminology of the *nyāya* it means "indis. soluble association of ideas"; in the theory of syllogisms one designates by *anvaya* the invariable concomitance between the mean term (*liṅga*) and the great term (*sādhya*)—for instance in the classical example that of fire and smoke—on which is based the induction (*vyūpti*) without which no major of our syllogisms would be established (*Vide Tarkasamgraha* of Annambhaṭṭa with the commentary of the same 40-44). It is hardly stretching the technical meaning of *anvaya* to take that word to mean "the natural connection of ideas" (which is obtained by not breaking off the thread of the narrative).

The means employed *kathā-avighātena* "not to break off the narrative" shows clearly that here is meant the subject-matter and not the style. Somadeva's intention was that stories which are connected by natural association of ideas that is, I think, the successive episodes of the same story, should remain tied together. That double object Somadeva does not flatter himself to have attained completely. He has simply done his best (*yathācakti*).

The second object in view consisted in *kāvyaṃcasya yojanā*. Here Brockhaus has completely gone astray. After having erroneously applied *aucityānvayarakṣā* to the style, he has understood by *avighātena* "to introduce the several sentimental characters" and his conclusion has been that Somadeva had tried to make a regular *kāvya*. Then, according to him, *kāvyaṃcasya* is "the category of *kāvya*s" or something very like it. It is impossible to uphold that meaning for the word *aṃca*. Mr. Lévi's and Mr. Tawney's translations could be accepted if *aṃca* meant *dividing into parts*. Though, even in this case, *yojanā* would be very difficult to explain; but *aṃca* means *section, part*, and it is impossible to suppose that a word meaning "each" must be understood though not expressed. There remain Mankowski's explanation, "a certain section of the poem" giving *kāvya* its general sense, and Speyer's, which is rather a paraphrase than a literal translation, but which amounts to this: that Somadeva has added "a part of *kāvya*" that is something of a regular poem, a poetical element. In my opinion the first of those explanations is wrong in not taking *kāvya* in its technical sense and the second in giving *yojanā* an unusual one. Can that word mean also *adjunction*? The usual meanings are, *arrangement, disposition, construction* (in general and in the grammatical senses) *joining with* (as the second term of a composite word). For me the literal meaning is "the proper arrangement of a portion of *kāvya*".

My translation is then as follows:—"As is the original such is the copy; it does not deviate from it, even by one line; I simply epitomize the primitive work and I translate; that is all the difference. Careful to observe, as far as possible, the literary propriety, and the logical sequence, in doing my best not to break off either the narrative or the spirit of the sentiments expressed, I am no less careful to arrange a portion of a regular poem." (*The rest as in S. Lévi's translation.*)

Thus in verse 10, he assures us of his accuracy; but in verse 11, he admits that he has made some modifications. One might say that this is a contradiction, but it is not. What he means is that he is accurate as far as the subject-matter goes, but not with regard to the order, nor perhaps to the form. Had he altered nothing, he would not have said that he had found it difficult to keep the proper order and that he has not been completely successful in doing so. That gives us to understand that he has classified some books differently from the order found in the original, and those books cannot be other than VI—XVIII. We may ask, now what is the portion of a regular poem he has *well arranged*: Must we take it, as Mankowski seems inclined to think, that it is Books VI—XVIII? It is difficult to believe that by a *portion* Somadeva means two-thirds of his work. Could he,

besides, pretend that the Kathāsaritsāgara is for the most part a *kāvya*? According to theorists, a *kāvya* may admit of diverse episodes, but the reader must never be allowed to lose sight of the main subject. Besides its essence calls for a certain amount of savoury (*rasātma*), and the savoury of a poetical work is the result of the passionate sentiments expressed in it. It is evident that, leaving aside the charm or form which is essential to a genuine *kāvya*, the Kathāsaritsāgara on the whole does not answer at all the first of those conditions and very imperfectly the second. That is why Somadeva claims the name of *kāvya* for a portion only; if he does not make it more explicit which that portion is, it is because he does not believe that one can have any difficulty in recognizing it. It is only that one which has unity, where the narrative is not broken off by a multitude of accessory tales, where we find most of the poetical sentiments according to the treatises on rhetoric, erotic with its two modes—lovers separated, lovers reunited—tragedy, heroism, the marvellous: those can be no other than Books XIV—XV (Pañca-Mahābhīṣeka). Those are the ones Somadeva has arranged, those which, if you like, he has not created, but of which he has restored the natural coherence in spite of his great desire to arrange the whole in proper order. We have seen already that Somadeva has brought those two books together, inventing even a rapid transition from one to another, and that he has joined to the commencement of his Book XIV the end of the Book of Velā which in Somadeva, and very likely also in the original, contained the account of the disappearance of Madanamañcukā. We said that, without that interpolation the Kathāsaritsāgara would hold together much better, and we could not understand Somadeva's motives. He explains this himself: he wanted to tack on to the abduction of Madanamañcukā its immediate consequences. In so doing, he endangered the logical sequence of the preceding books; but as incoherence could not be avoided since in no way was it possible to have a whole well knit together, he has preferred to secure at least a portion of *kāvya* well arranged.

The whole passage is not so much a protestation of accuracy as an anticipated answer to critics with regard to the plan of the Kathāsaritsāgara. With this in view, verse 12 acquires a more precise meaning. It is not so much an ordinary expression of modesty, as one of excuse. The effort, referred to, is precisely that effort (*ayam udyamaḥ*), seemingly that which consists on one hand in arranging the subject-matter in proper order so as not to break off the tone of the sentiment; on the other to have at least a *portion* exhibiting perfect regularity. Somadeva cannot hide from himself that the composition of the Kathāsaritsāgara is very commonplace. He foresees that one could say that it was really not worth while pretending to originality in the general plan when the result is so very disappointing. It is why, after having explained his guiding principle, he excuses himself for not having done better by giving us to understand that he never aspired to produce a masterpiece. He seems to say that if he had himself written the Bṛhat-kathā the composition would have been much better, but his object was purely utilitarian: it was only to give a summary in sanskrit verse, in an order the least

objectionable, as far as logical sequence was concerned, and the most convenient to memorize, of all the Books of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā.

Mr. S. Lévi thinks that Somadeva in laying no claim to be an artist has in mind his predecessor Kṣemendra who makes that very claim. If that malicious intention is in Somadeva's mind it is with regard to composition, no less than to the poetical form. Kṣemendra in putting his "*bouquet*" together has made very free with the narrative—Somadeva has done the opposite—Kṣemendra has hardly taken any pains to improve the plan which would have been better—Somadeva has. Lastly, Kṣemendra has not given that portion of *regular poem* to which his rival attached so much importance and yet he boasts of being an artist! Somadeva gives him a lesson in both art and modesty. Somadeva having first put together the Book Pañca-Mahabhiṣēka, had to find a new place for Alaṃkāravatī, Çaktiyaças and Ratnaprabhā. If we go through the Kathāsaritsāgara we see that it was not easy for him to place these otherwise than he has done. He had not to interfere with the first four. As long as Naravāhanadatta was not born there was no difficulty, besides, the sequence was satisfactory. Then came the original Book V (Cāturdārikā). It is a digression, but it could be kept where it was and Somadeva has kept it. Then followed Sūryaprabhā and Madanamañcukā. It is there that a place had to be found for Ratnaprabhā, Alaṃkāravatī and Çaktiyaças. Those books could be put neither after Mahābhishēka, as they relate to that part of the hero's life when he is not yet a Cakravartin, nor as an appendix like Padmāvatī and Viṣamaçīla, as they contain episodes of his own career and not stories which could be supposed to have been related by him. One can see that Somadeva has no choice in the matter. He has first told himself that Alaṃkāravatī could not be separated from Çaktiyaças, then he has put together the four units Sūryaprabha, Madanamañcukā, Ratnaprabhā, Alaṃkāravatī—Çaktiyaças, so as to have alternately a complete book of digression, and a book containing episodes of the principal story. Madanamañcukā has come first, because Cāturdārikā which precedes it is a mere digression, and Sūryaprabha, which is of the same kind, has been inserted between Ratnaprabhā and Alaṃkāravatī, which are both a mixture of episodes and tales. In this way Somadeva has managed that the hero should not be lost sight of too long. For that very same reason he has eliminated from the group Vēla-Pañca, the two books of Padmāvatī and Viṣamaçīla, which contain nothing personal to Naravāhanadatta; he gives them in an appendix.

One can see that Somadeva applies exactly the principle which he had announced. His aim was to be concise, and, as he had no doubt that he would be easily understood, it is a proof that the Cashmerian collection, though poor and out of fashion, was still accessible to contemporaries. The study of the Manjarī had led us to conjecture that it reproduced the composition of the original. The Kathāsaritsāgara confirms that opinion in supplying us with what we may call a *counter-proof*.

III. The Subject-matter.

To compare the stories in detail hardly leads anywhere, and it would only show the bad taste of Kṣemendra, now dry, now verbose and affected, delighting

at times in erotic pictures, at other times in pious amplifications (Buddhist, Vaishnavite, Saivite, each one can find in him something to his taste). Sometimes however, in the narrative portions he may help to complete Somadeva; more than once, as we have already remarked, he preserves some details eliminated by his successor; in those then we can fully trust him as they go against his method which is to suppress and not to add. We must not lose sight of this when later on we shall compare the stories common to the Cashmerian and to the Nepalese Bṛhatkathā, yet on the whole we could almost always do without him. His book of Çaktiyaças which contains the Pañcatantra is the only one which presents a real originality. Though it includes fewer stories by half than the corresponding book of Somadeva, it contains some which are not found in the latter.*

The result is that his Pañcatantra resembles the more recent collections of those tales much more than that of Somadeva. In Somadeva's work we find many stories aiming for the most part at illustrating the stupidity of man, most of which are found also in the Avadānas; Kṣemendra has reduced that matter to a very short section which comes after the Pañcatantra. Somadeva mixes it up with the fables of the Pañcatantra more especially towards the end and devotes to it almost entirely *tars* (LXIV-LXVI). Which of the two is more accurate? One may believe that, besides the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, Kṣemendra has before his eyes an independent collection of the Pañcatantra which he wished to follow more closely. Mr. J. Hertel† thinks that he was drawing from the Tantrākhyāyika, recension No. 2. (Çār. B) and that Somadeva gives us a more accurate idea of the primitive Pañcatantra. That question is more interesting for the criticism of the Pañcatantra than for that of the Bṛhatkathā, as we have strong reasons to doubt whether this book goes as far back as Guṇāḍhya. The "*Tale of the Vampire*" in Book IX (Çaçāṅkavatī) calls for similar observations. On the whole they agree with the version given by Somadeva; but No. 5 Ks. corresponds with No. 8 Som. and Nos. 6-8 Ks. to Nos. 5-7 Som.; besides, more especially in No. 8, are found what appear to be serious divergences. Though Kṣemendra, who delights in amplifying those tales may perhaps have introduced details of his own, it is not unlikely that he has made use of a special version of the Vetālapañcaviṃṣatikā.

Neither is it absurd to suppose, that the manuscript used by Somadeva was not in all its parts identical with the one Kṣemendra had used, and that though it might have been the same for the rest, it was different with regard to the Books Çaktiyaças and the Çaçāṅkavatī (Vetālas). The books of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā do not form a unit so well knit together, that one could not easily substitute a new recension of a book for an older one, without interfering with the others. I must say, however, that my search after important divergences in all the other books has given negative results. Everywhere there is an undeniable unity of origin; the argument one might be inclined to base on differences in

* Cf. L.V. Man'kowski, Der Auszug aus dem Panc. in ksh. B.K.M., Einl. et J. Hertel, Eine zweite Rezension des Tantrākhyayikā (Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft, LIX, P. 10 sq.) et Das Sudliche Pancatantra, P. XXIII.

† J. Hertel.

proper names, disappears as soon as one studies the text more closely. These differences when they are not simply a copyist's error (for instance—*varma* changed into—*dharman* and *vice versa*) may be explained.

Firstly, the same Prakrit original may give Sanskrit doublets (Ex. *Vedagarba* B.K.M.I. III. 62(n), *Vēdakumbha* K.S.S. VII. 56) though these doublets are very rare and even doubtful as it almost always looks as if it were a copyist's error.

Secondly, whilst both authors keep the essential part of the name, one of them takes the liberty to alter the second part (Ex. *Utpaladatta* B.K.M. 18, 181, *Utpalahasta* K.S.S. CXII, 80; *Madanamañjarī* B.K.M. 15, 261, *Madanasundarī* K.S.S. LV. 57, etc.) or to use a synonym (Ex. *Hemaprabhā* B.K.M. 5, 18, *Kanakaprabhā* K.S.S. XXIV, 20, etc.) or else one of them makes use of an hypocoristic (Ex. *Naravāhana* and *Naravāha* B.K.M., *Naravāhanudatta* K.S.S.; *Camara* B.K.M. 15, 22n. *Camarabāla* K.S.S. LIV, 145, etc.).

Thirdly, Kṣemendra preserves a Prakrit or even a Paiçācī form (Ex. *Rātha* B.K.M. 9, 1783, *Rāḍhā* K.S.S. LXXIV, 29, etc.).

Lastly, when the divergence is absolute, we may take it that it is a question of a fancy personage whose name, being unimportant, is *ad libitum*. (Ex. *Bandumati* K.S.S. XIV, 67, *Rajanikā* B.K.M. 2, 11, 271.) Or again, in this case the proper names are very often omitted by either of the two authors, but more frequently by Somadeva. I have come across only one divergence of the kind which may present a real interest. It is in the episode of Udayana among the Nāgas, the name of the serpent which he rescued. At first sight one might suppose that for this episode Kṣemendra was using another version, inasmuch as he is the only one who mentions the descent of Udayana to the subterranean world, but in studying closely the text of the Kathāsaritsāgara, it becomes evident that the suppression of that detail is due to Somadeva himself and not to the Cashmerian original. Somadeva preserves the mention of the anxiety of Udayana's mother on account of his absence, which supposes a period of time more or less long spent with the Nāgas. On the whole this divergence alone is insufficient to force us to admit the duality of sources.*

To sum up, we have a chance to form a correct idea of the Cashmerian Brhatkathā in following the Manjarī for the order of the books and the Kathāsaritsāgara for the subject-matter, save complementary details which we must borrow from Kṣemendra.

IV. How the Cashmerian Brhatkatha was formed.

What strikes us at first in the Cashmerian collection is the lack of proportion between the several parts. Neither Somadeva nor Kṣemendra is responsible for it. The relative proportions in the two versions are pretty unequal between the accessory tales and the larger main stories (in Kṣemendra's, Books of *Sūryaprabha*,

* I have nowhere been able to discover those profound divergences which Krishnamachariar (Priyadarśika, Srirangam 1906—Bhūmikā p. XLIII) pretends to have discovered and on which as well as on the *prāhur* of Dandin he bases a hypothesis that Kṣemendra and Somadeva had known the original only by oral tradition.

Pancatantra very much compressed, Book *Caturdārīka* normal, Book *Velālapāṇ-caviṃcatikā* developed) but they are pretty well constant between all the episodes of the frame story, say an average of five in Somadeva against two in Kṣemendra. It is a proof that both of them reproduce pretty accurately the relative proportions of the episodes in the original. We are then entitled to base our argument on the figures supplied by them. The defect is so apparent when we look at the development of the accessory tales by the side of the brevity of the main story, that it is hardly necessary to insist on that point, but it is no less striking between some episodes of the hero's story. The following comparative statement will make the fact very clear. (The accessory tales have not been taken into account except when they form an inseparable part of the narrative.)

<i>Books of the Cashmerian Brhatkathā</i>			Som.	Ṭs.
2-3	History of Udayana	792 v.	332 v.	
4	Birth of Naravāhanadatta	190 v.	54 v.	
7	Childhood of Naravāhanadatta	5 v.	..	
	Tale of Kalingasenā	588 v.	223 v.	
	Youth and marriage of Naravāhanadatta ..	162 v.	59 v.	
8	Marriage with Jayendrasenā (Jinendrasenā) ..	48 v.	30 v.	
	Abduction of Madanamañcukā	13 v.	8 v.	
9	Adventures of Lalitalocanā	88 v.	66 v.	
11	Meeting and story of the two Brahmins ..	219 v.	83 v.	
13	The whole life of Naravāhanadatta from the descent of Vegavatī to the recovery of Madanamañcukā	625 v.	236 v.	
14	Marriage with Ratnaprabhā	197 v.	76 v.	
	Conquest of Karpūrikā (Karpūramanjari) ..	276 v.	53 v.	
15	Marriage with Alampkāravatī	115 v.	40 v.	
	Visit to Nārāyana	82 v. 7 v. the nārāyana stuti.		
16	Marriage with Çaktiyaças	25 v.	19 v.	
17	Conquest of the Northern country and coronation	320 v.	55 v.	
18	Visit to Kaçyapa	106 v.	93 v.	
	Trial of Suratamañjarī	214 v.	102 v.	

The meeting and the story of "The Two Brahmins" may be considered as a digression, but the romance of Kalingasenā and the conquest of Karpūrikā are evidently an integral part of the main story, and are disproportionately long. The second of those episodes bears slightly on the career of the hero. The first episode of the history of Udayana is alone as long as the stories of Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī put together; we find it nowhere else in Indian literature, whereas the other two were very famous; yet, here it is amplified with as much complacency as the other two are compressed.

The adventures of Jayendrasenā, Lalitalocanā, Ratnaprabhā, Alampkāravatī and Çaktiyaças, which, though of little interest and going on repeating each other,

seem to have no other object, as far as we can see, but of introducing several groups of tales, total up,—if we leave aside the accessory stories,—to 388 verses in Somadeva's, and 231 verses in Kṣemendra's. That is really too much, if we compare it with those 625 verses in Somadeva, and 236 verses in Kṣemendra of the Book Pañca, which yet contains the essential parts of Naravāhanadatta's life.

By the side of those developed sections the whole of the hero's history looks like a summary. We have already remarked in our previous critical analysis of the Kathāsaritsāgara that—1° Udayana's history, 2° the birth, childhood and youth of Naravāhanadatta and his marriage with Madanamañcukā, 3° the Books Pañca and Mahābhīṣeka are reduced to a mere skeleton in Somadeva's as well as in Kṣemendra's, which means that they were so in the original.

Let us put all these things together. Without attempting an artificial connection, we have a whole, complete, coherent, of good proportions, one in substance and style, comprising Udayana's history, then the history of his son, which commences with the books of his birth, natural transition between the two. I do not hesitate to see in all these facts put together, the first of the elements on which the Cashmerian compiler has set to work. It was a very concise abridgment of the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇādhya. It admitted only a few tales which had an intimate connection with the substance of the narrative; because, either the Bṛhatkathā did not include any other, or the author had suppressed the others. It is not impossible, that originally the abridgment may have contained other details, which the compiler has transferred to some other parts of his compilation. In fact, if one is not ready to boldly repudiate the authenticity of the adventures of Jayendrasenā, Lalitalocanā, Ratnāprabhā, Alaṃkāravatī and Çaktiyaças, one can admit, if we detach them from the tales which follow them, and suppose that the hero was anywhere but at Kauçambi, that they formed a part of the group which constitutes the Book Pañca. There is no difficulty in finding a place for them between the desertion of Naravāhana by Vegavatī and his abduction by Prabhāvatī. The compilers wishing to use them as an introduction to several groups of tales, may have detached them from the abridgment, and may also have retouched the initial facts, so as to accommodate them to this new destination, but it is as natural to suppose that they have invented them altogether. There is no doubt that the order of contents in the abridgment has been modified. The visit to Kaçyapa and the trial of Suratamanjarī have been put at the end. Udayana's history is placed before the commencement of the adventure narrated by the Cakravartin, that is, it has taken the place of the primitive introduction and been given the title of *Kathāmukha* which is no longer justified.

The following is an attempt to restore in its primitive stage the *abridgment of the Bṛhatkathā*, the first element on which the Cashmerian collection is based:—

1. *Kathāmukha*: Abduction of Suratamanjarī,—visit of the Cakravartin to Kaçyapa,—judgment of the trial,—Naravāhanadatta is going to narrate his story.

2. Ujjayinī : * i. Sahasrāṇika : † Birth of Udayana, his youth, his descent to the Nāga's country.

ii. Vāsavadattā ? : Continuation of his story, his marriage with Vāsavadattā.

3. Lāvānaka : His marriage with Padmāvatī.
 4. Naravāhanajana : Birth of the hero.
 5. Madanamāñcukā : Youth and first marriage of the hero.
 6. Probably several books; or, only one book with several sub-divisions.

The name of the last sub-division—or of the last book—"Pañca" has become the name of the whole.

Vegavatī ? : Successive adventures of the hero.

Gandharvadattā ?

" "

Ajināvatī ?

" "

Bhagīrathayaças ?

" "

Prabhāvatī ?

" "

Sulocanā ?

" "

Pañca : Expedition against Mānasavega. Victory.

7. *Mahābhīṣeka* : conquest of the Northern country and coronation. The short section where Naravāhanadatta learns what has become of Udayana and his followers, which is now the commencement of the present book of *Suratamañjarī* may have been found here as an epilogue.

This *abridgment* does not justify the reputation of enormous length given by tradition to the *Bṛhatkathā*, but it contains all that is essential of the history of Udayana and that of Naravāhanadatta and nothing more. Its author has deliberately contented himself with giving a summary of the frame story of the *Bṛhatkathā*. His aim may have been to help the memory of his readers, who were anxious to remember the plan of the whole work.

I believe that the original *Bṛhatkathā*, supposing that it has existed for a long time in Cashmere, must have very early ceased to be current under its primitive form. The abridgment, more handy, perhaps also more accommodated to the taste of the readers, soon took its place. Excepting as we have done already, the episodes which one might suppose to have been detached from that abridgment by the compiler, the rest, that is about nine-tenths of the Cashmerian *Bṛhatkathā*, leaves room for serious suspicion. It might be objected that, if that surplus presents the characteristics of a developed narrative, whereas the history of Udayana and of his son appears to us only as an abridgment in most of its parts, may we not conclude that the abbreviator has wilfully given us a summary of the frame story, whilst keeping unaltered the dimensions of the accessory tales? I reply that it is not so as, in that case, we could not saddle the Cashmerian *Bṛhatkathā* with the reproach of being incoherent, and then the frame story would have remained

* Title supplied by the Tamil *Bṛhatkathā* V. *infra*.

† The name for the first guccha in Kṣēmāndra, who has kept the division of the book in two sections.

really "frame," whereas in the whole work it has become only a "part" grouped as it is between two principal sections, Kathāmukha-Lāvānaka and Pañca-Mahābhāṣa.

But though maintaining that besides the primitive abridgment we cannot affirm the authenticity of any part, I am still willing to tone down that assertion. The idea which the abbreviator had of detaching the history of the heroes to make a distinct work may have led him to pull the Bṛhatkathā to pieces, in order to give each of the important stories an independent existence. We have good reasons to believe that in former times the episodes of great epic poems were recited as independent poems. Patañjali (*ad Pān.* IV, 2, 60) teaches us how to form names: Yāvakrītika "he who knows the history of Yavakrīta", Praiyanṅavika "he who knows the history of Priyanṅu", Yāyātika "he who knows the history of Yayāti", Vāsavadattika "he who knows the history of Vāsavadattā", etc. It seems each rapsode made it a speciality to recite *one* story.

The stories of Çaktivega (Caturdārika), Sūryaprabha, Mṛgāṅkadatta,* minus the tales of the Vampire (Çaçāṅkavati), even of Vēla were long enough to deserve the same honour. We draw attention to the fact that at least one of the "lambhakas" of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā bears a consecrated title, the Caturdārika. We find again this title in that of Caturdāraśamādhisūtra (sz-thuñ, tsz-sân-mēi, cin), section of the Chinese Sūtrapiṭaka (Class V) No. 121. From that we might conclude that the great tales might have a better authenticity than that of the frame story, as they have been much less compressed. But this must remain a mere hypothesis. Yet it would not be in contradiction with other hypotheses, which appear to us probable, in connection with the formation of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā. That Bṛhatkathā was not written all at once. When the compiler was writing, the abridgment had already been retouched. Some one had already introduced the story of Kaliṅgasenā, or rather, modified, by expanding it considerably, the episode in which it appeared. The reason of that modification the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā does not give us, but the Nepalese Bṛhatkathā will do it. The successive work of compilation proceeded the more easily, as the notions about the genuine Bṛhatkathā became more obscure. In India itself we see that the genuine Bṛhatkathā, though this was later on, it is true, was known only by hearsay. One of the commentators of the Vāsavadatta of Subandhu, Jagaddhara has only very vague notions about it. He says that it is the history of king Baḍāha (Hall, Vās. Int., 24). He is not the only one that held that erroneous opinion. To the following passages of the Vāsavadatta: *bṛhatkathā lambair iva...* (Hall, p. 110) and *bṛhatkathānusāriṇa iva...* (Hall, p. 147), the Madras edition of 1882 samvat, p. 41, 23, and p. 60, 2, gives the modern commentary *bṛhatkathā valāhaka-kathā*. Then the Baḍāha of Jagaddhara, which should be corrected to Valāha, would represent a southern tradition†.

There is a Balāhaka mentioned in the Kādambari. He is a warrior. There

* This story is divided into two sections (Kṣemendra); later on the Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā has formed the third which has been inserted between the first two.

† I am indebted for this information to the courtesy of Mr. L. H. Gray.

is a mount Balāhaka, in the island Nārikela (V. *supra*), mentioned in the Kathā-saritsāgara and Hemacandra translates the word by "mountain" (Anek. IV, 23); but I have found no trace of a king Badāha, Valāha or Balāhaka, anywhere else but in the text of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* quoted by Hall (Int., 24), which is of the XIV century. The history of that king Badāha, who belongs to the Vikramāditya cycle, has nothing to do with the Bṛhatkathā. In the pali Jātaka, the horse, who is one of the seven gems is said to be of "the Royal Race of Valāha" (Nos. 476 and 546). Does this mean that there is a reference to a king called Valāha? In this case, must we suppose that the Bṛhatkathā very much altered, has also been used as a framework for stories in which the Bodhisattva played a part? The indications are very vague. In any case we are allowed to believe that, very early the original Bṛhatkathā ceased to be known. The indication so manifestly erroneous given by Jagaddhara is a sign of great ignorance.

The first work has been to incorporate in the abridgment famous stories which either existed independently, or were found in other compilations, but which were believed—these may have been serious reasons for that tradition—to have been extracted from the Bṛhatkathā. In this category we are inclined to include the account of the two Brahmins on the *Puruṣakāra*, the journey to the country of camphor, the history of Vēla, the visit to Viṣṇu, the stories of Mrgāṅkadatta, Çaktivega and Sūryaprabha. Supposing that these stories had originally nothing to do with the Bṛhatkathā, one cannot deny that they, especially the last, would have been deeply influenced by it. These tales have been taken in a body into the abridgment; no attempt has been made to recast them in order to bring them into harmony with the dimensions of the whole. The second work has consisted in taking this elementary collection, to make it as a framework for all the famous stories then known, whatever their date or origin. The traditional fame of the Bṛhatkathā must have led the authors to use its personages freely, more especially Gomukha the ingenious story teller, to introduce stories: "Listen to what Gomukha narrated or to what was narrated to Naravāhanadatta," this formula may have become ordinary as an introduction to every possible tale, as we see at the beginning of the story of Viṣamaçilā. The compilers may then have had by them ready made collections quite ready to be inserted in the Bṛhatkathā. They have also detached or invented imaginary episodes, to make use of them as an introduction for entire collections of new tales, and they have stuffed with tales all the episodes which lent themselves to it.

Some collections were a repetition of each other, but the compilers did not mind it; on the contrary, when they met with versions of the same story, though they may have been very much alike, they did their best not to sacrifice either. Here are some instances *Viravara* (Som., LIII, 86-193 and LXXVIII (*vet.* 4), 5-120. Kṣ., 15, 189-193 and 9, II, 263-332); *Anaṅgarati* (Som., LII, 92-409, from 169, history of *Anaṅgarati* in an anterior existence) and LXXXIII (*vet.* 9), 5-31; Kṣ. 15, 101-165 and 9, II, 473-486); *Jimūlavāhana* (Som., XXII, 16-257 and XC (*vet.* 16), 3-201; Kṣ., 4, 50-108 and 9, II, 776-930); *Unmādinī* (Som., XV, 63-78;

XXXIII, 62-66; XCI (*vet.* 17) 3-45; Kṣ., 3, 23-35 and 9, II, 937-969). The most striking instance is the double story of *Caṇḍamahāseṇa* and *Āṅgāraka*, because one version was found in the abridgment of the *Bṛhatkathā*, and we can easily see through the contrivance used by the compiler to insert another version which he had found somewhere, in some other collection. The first is supposed to have been narrated by Yaugandharāyaṇa to Udayana, in order to make him afraid of *Caṇḍamahāseṇa* (Som., XI, 31-73); it is unquestionably in its proper place as an integral part of the history of Vāsavadattā's marriage. The second one is inserted in the narration of Avantivardhana and Suratamañjarī adventures made to the ṛṣis by Bharatarohaka (Som., CXII, 26-60; Kṣ. suppresses both tales, but he alludes to them 2, II, 27 and 18, 109); the people of Ujjayinī are going to celebrate "the feast of the oblation of water" (*Udakadānaka*), instituted to appease the manes of *Āṅgāraka*; it is evident that all know the meaning of the feast, and that Pālaka, son of *Caṇḍamahāseṇa*, and grandson of *Āṅgāraka*, is the last who could be ignorant of it. In spite of that, the compiler supposes, that the people, on the eve of the feast, come to relate to Pālaka how his father killed his grandfather, *Āṅgāraka*. The absurdity of the contrivance shows clearly that it is an interpolation. On the other hand, the compilers were not very daring, and in their attempt to be ingenious, they have only shown themselves to be clumsy. Being afraid to pull to pieces the essential parts of the main story, feeling, no doubt, that they would be unable to build it up in some other way, they have contented themselves with detaching the abduction of *Madanamañcukā* to join it to the new book of *Vēla*. Between the great sections of the abridgment they have inserted with the least possible clumsiness, the new books which they have compiled, though with ludicrous results with everything they have placed between *Pañca* and *Mahābhīṣeka*. They have prefaced it with the legend of *Guṇāḍhya*, which no doubt existed in Cashmere and Nepal in some pious collection (Kṣemendra tells us at the beginning of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* that the legend was found in the "Purāṇas" and in the "ṛuti"). Then, noticing that they had these two introductions, the second of which not tallying very well with the first, as in it *Naravāhanadatta* was himself relating his own story to the ṛṣis, they had recourse to an expedient, simple but rather childish, that it is to give the books the chronological order of the hero's adventures. Thus *Udayana's* history has been placed at the beginning, with the name of *Kathāmukha*, and though it is really an introduction, it has become the epilogue. As for the names of the other books, they seem to have kept on those they had found in the abridgment, except that those of the section which formed the book *Pañca* had disappeared with the sub-divisions, which justified their presence. Lastly, they have given the new books the name of a hero or a heroine, thus following the example of the older books. Besides, nothing proves that the work of compilation and of arrangement has not been retouched more than once; the elements of which the Cashmerian *Bṛhatkathā* had been formed continued to exist outside it. What was more natural than to collect them together with the *Bṛhatkathā*, and to make

new corrections and interpolations? Kṣemendra, supposing that he has before his eyes a recension identical in every part with that imitated by Somadeva, has taken the liberty of retouching the Pañcatantra of the compilers. It is also quite possible, that the idea of placing the legend of Guṇāḍhya at the beginning, is due to the desire to imitate the Mahābhārata, in which Ādi-parva contains the history of Vyāsa's birth. Possible also, that the division into eighteen books is due to the desire of reproducing the same number of books as in the Mahābhārata; on this point I endorse Mr. Speyer's * opinion, except that I apply to the Cashmerian collection alone what he says of the Bṛhatkathā itself.

Our conclusion must be that the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā gives us a very false idea of Guṇāḍhya's work. We cannot saddle the poet either with the incoherence of the composition, or with the authorship of most of the subject matter. Mr. Tawney who has translated the Kathāsaritsāgara, states that the study of the Rājataranginī in Mr. Stein's edition, has proved to him that Somadeva had an intimate knowledge of the geography of Cashmere.†

Is it likely that Guṇāḍhya, rather than a north-west countryman should conceive the idea, for instance, of making Sūryaprabha descend to the infernal regions through the crater found at the confluence of the Candrabhāgā and the Airāvati? Does it not look as if a Cashmerian alone could praise Cashmere in the dithyrambic way, as is done in K.S.S., LXXIII, 79-85, B.K.M. 9, I, 619-623? That, I think, forces us to admit the existence in that country of a Bṛhatkathā not only local but deeply nationalized. Our analytic study has led us to that conclusion, without ever having yet had recourse to the Nepalese Bṛhatkathā. Our method did not allow us to do so. What right had we to invalidate the indications given by the Cashmerian collection, in preferring to them those of the Nepalese collection, so long as the former, studied without any prejudice, has not revealed to us the uncertainty of its parentage and the complexity of its origin?

V. Chronology of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā.

We can fix for the Cashmerian compilation only an approximate date and even so, it is difficult to mention any definite date at all in connection with a book which was written at several different periods. In a case like this, the fixing of the dates means only the extreme limits of time, between which the work was produced. The *terminus ad quem* is supplied by Kṣemendra. The Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā was even in his time already ancient, more especially with regard to the language (Upasaṃhāra, v. 29). It is easy to admit that the form

* Het zoogenaamde groote verhaal, etc., p. 142-143 but I cannot admit that the imitation extends to the relative proportions of the books and that with that in view Velā and Čaṇkavati (11-12 of Somadeva) are meant to be a counterpart of the Strī-parva and Čānti-parva (11-12 of Mahābhārata). Here the coincidence is real but accidental. In the Mahābhārata the Strī-parva comes after the Sautikaparva which is still shorter. On the contrary in the K.S.S., Velā is preceded by Čaktiṣaṣ, which next to Čaṇkavati is the longest of the Lambhakas. Besides the coincidence noticed by Mr. Speyer is not found again in any other books of the Mahābhārata and the Lambhaka bearing the same number either in Kṣemendra or in Somadeva.

† In Grierson, The Pis-Lang, p. 1.

in which he knew it, was already a century or two old, that makes us assign the ninth or tenth century as one limit. On the other hand, it is impossible, that all should be very ancient, as we have seen there are traces, which lead us to believe that it is what we may call modern. The idea of joining to an abridgment of the Bṛhatkathā stories more developed and preserved as a complete whole, could have been conceived only at a time when the original Bṛhatkathā was no longer current; and to make it possible to incorporate with it an amplified legend of Guṇāḍhya, it was necessary that the legend should be both ancient and well-known. (The first condition was fulfilled as far back as the seventh century.) Perhaps also the second. If in India, Bāṇa, Subandhu and later on the author of Daṣarūpa seem to have read the Bṛhatkathā in the original, it is possible, that in Cashmere that original may have ceased much sooner to be of current use. Yet we cannot admit that the first attempt at compilation can go beyond the seventh or eighth century. Needless to add that the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā cannot be used as a basis for any theory as to the age of the collections of the stories which it contains, more especially, of the Pañcatantra, and that, far from knowing anything of the date of those collections from the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, it is from them that we must expect light on the age of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā itself. Who knows? Perhaps the Pañcatantra may some day furnish that light? This observation seems to me to reduce to naught Mr. Speyer's argument on the chronological relation between the Pañcatantra and the Bṛhatkathā.

With regard to the respective dates of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī and the Kathāsaritsāgara, I have no remarks to put forward. I only refer to Bühler, "On the Vṛhatkathā of Kṣhemendra (Indian Antiquary I, (1872), p. 302-309," Detailed Report (1877), p. 45-48; Ueber das Zeitalter des Kasmirischen Dichters Somadeva; et S. Lévi, La Bṛhatkathāmañjarī de Kṣhemendra (J. As., VIIes., VI (1885), 400-402; VII (1886) 217-219."

Somadeva (*pracisti*, v, 11) tells us that he composed this poem to amuse the pious Sūryavatī. She was the grandmother of King Harṣa and the mother of King Kalaṣa. In the *pracisti*, Kalaṣa is called King and Harṣa only *çri*. Therefore the Kathāsaritsāgara must have been written between the accession of Kalaṣa and the death of Sūryavatī, that is between 1063-1064, and 1081-1082. The dates are supplied by the Rājatarāṅginī, the relation between the Cashmerian era and the Christian era having been firmly established, thanks to the calculations of Bühler.

Kṣhemendra is a contemporary of Ananta, Kalaṣa's father. His Bhāratamañjarī was written in 1037; his Daṣavatāracarita in 1066, the second year of Kalaṣa's reign. We do not know the date of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī; the *Upasamhāra* (v. 41) only tells us that it was written at the request of his friend Devadhara, "Chief of the Brahman Community". The imperfection of the work and its relation with the other two "mañjarīs" by the same author led us (Vid. S.) to assign the same date to it, probably about the beginning of his career. It is then probably older by twenty-five or thirty years than the Kathāsaritsāgara (cf. S. Lévi, 1. c., against Bühler). On the whole, this question is only of secondary interest to the object of our study.

CHAPTER II

THE ÇLOKASAMGRAHA OF BUDHASVAMIN

A

Title—Author—Date.

The poem preserved in Nepal boldly gives itself out as being the Bṛhatkathā. The real title is not Bṛhatkathāçlokasamgraha in one word, but Bṛhatkathā-Çloka-samgraha. This is shown clearly in the colophon of *sarga* 28: *Crībhāṭabudhasvāminā kṛte çlokasamgrāhe Bṛhatkathāyām* "Bṛhatkathā, abridged in epic verses by Budhasvāmin". The author thus claims for himself only to have put the Bṛhatkathā in çlokas, but though he has abridged his model, he has all the same pretensions to completeness. As to his accuracy, it looks as if it were implied in the title itself: still we should believe him only after we had put that accuracy to the test. We have no information of any kind on Budhasvāmin except what we may infer from his name. The first thought that comes to the mind is to substitute the form Buddhaskvāmin; the reading *dha* for *ddha* is sometimes met with in our manuscripts. The author would then be a Buddhist; in which case we would be ignorant of his true name, as Budhasvāmin can hardly be taken as a proper name: On the other hand, as the two manuscripts N & M have Budhasvāmin with one only "d", we may ask ourselves whether we have any good reason to disbelieve them. The Planet Mercury is called Budha; Budhasvāmin would be an appropriate name for a child born on a Wednesday. The second part of the name is instructive. It is among the Mīmāṃsakas, from the fifth century, that the names ending in svāmin were held in great repute—a great many commentators have borne such names.* Among such cases I may mention Devasvāmin (Vth century?), Agnisvāmin, Bhavaskvāmin, Jayaskvāmin, Dhūrtaskvāmin, Bharataskvāmin, Khadiraskvāmin, Makhasvāmin, Skandasvāmin, Kumārilaskvāmin, Pṛthūdakaskvāmin. The seventh century seemed to be the chronological point round which such names are grouped. An inscription of the beginning of the eighth century (çaka 627) gives us a rich collection.† We also know a Rāmasvāmin, a Çabarsvāmin, a Bhāṭaskvāmin, a Hariskvāmin. One Çivasvāmin is the contemporary of Avanti-varman, king of Cashmere at the beginning of the ninth century. Abhinanda, the author of the Kādambarīkathāsāra, who lived in the ninth century has as an ancestor going back to the fifth generation named Çaktiskvāmin. After that period we come across a Kṣīraskvāmin, commentator of the Amarakoça in the eleventh century. Then the names ending in -svāmin become rare, and none is found after the thirteenth century. It is then reasonable to suppose that Budhasvāmin flourished at a time when those names were of frequent use, that is about the eighth and ninth centuries. The manuscripts bear out that opinion. Manuscript B must belong to the twelfth or thirteenth century. Manuscripts N and M

* On the names in -svāmin, cf. Weber, (Ind. Lit. Gesch. 2, p. 87); Bhāu Dāji, J. of the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S., 9, 160 (Notes on the age and Works of Hemādri); O. Franke, Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1892 (1), 490-491; A. Hillebrandt, Ritual-Litteratur (Gr. der 1-A Ph., III, 2), P. 26.

† Brought first to notice by Weber, l. c.

which we know only through recent copies, belong certainly to the same graphical type, if we judge by the many instances of wrong reading committed by modern copyists. Between the time of the author and the time of the last of our manuscripts it is necessary to admit a rather long interval. A comparison of the sources allows us to suppose at least three generations of manuscripts, between the archetype and those that have been preserved. Besides, the text presents some short gaps which must be very ancient, as they occur in all the copies, and as the copyists of N and M have made a special mention of them. They seem to be due to a material alteration of the archetype; when it was utilized for the copies from which ours are derived, though not without the use of other intermediate copies, it was already ancient. That takes us back to about three centuries before the twelfth. In the text they use absolutely nothing which is not Nepalese. It is then possible, if not probable, that the archetype was a manuscript imported from India. With regard to that, the field is open to all hypotheses. The author, without any claim to the grand art, has given us a work very honourable. He knows his trade as a writer and is a perfect master of the language. His vocabulary is rich, and contains many words of which a few are decidedly Prākṛit, and hitherto were found mentioned only by lexicographers, and some even which are quite new. I do not know whether he has found them in his model, or whether he has made use of lexicons, or perhaps—but I propose this hypothesis with some hesitation,—he has himself been the source from which the authors of lexicons have drawn them. It is worthy of notice that frequently he supplies examples suitable to illustrate Hemacandra. His language reveals a taste for archaisms, and a perfect knowledge of Pāṇini. The verbal forms are varied and, as in the good poets of the classical period, he favours words already out of use. Budhasvāmin loves to use aorists. Still we must look somewhere else for a proof that his work is very ancient. The style is simple, generally unaffected, sometimes spiritless, but always refined. The author is not fond of tricks; he does not attempt to pass himself off as a genius of the first order. Now and again he may allow himself a short description with a somewhat pedantic flavour, when he wishes to give the poem a literary tone, but soon the simple narrative is taken up again: "here is an opportunity to pause and make you long for my story! but I don't care; were I to go on with the description, the tale will never be told!" (III 15-17.) In short, the language is simple, runs on easily, and is altogether suitable to the narration. Yet we must not draw the conclusion that the narration is dry and dull; on the contrary, the personages exhibit character and life, and are altogether different from the conventional type. We come across brilliant descriptions with rich colouring, realistic without being offensive, exhibiting even at times a kind of prudery which raises their tone. Budhasvāmin knows how to see and how to paint; his shrewdness, his humour and his refined soberness reveal him, at times, as a real master. Add to this, that the work is full of mirth, breathes the joy of living, at being able to go about the world with a curiosity always on the watch, eager to know human society and human passions. In that respect it is the most charming of all Hindu romances; and this is more than

enough to make the poem attractive. Yet I am afraid to praise up Budhasvāmin too much as in doing so I might deprive Guṇādhyā of praises which are his due.

B

The Divisions of the Ālokasamgraha.

The Ālokasamgraha is divided into "sargas". Most of them, up to the sixteenth inclusive, are numbered in the colophons; all except the first two bear a name. The fourteenth, eighteenth, twentieth, twenty-second, twenty-seventh present sub-divisions marked by the use of metres, different from the āloka and longer, which coincide with the end of some episodes. Only one of those sub-divisions is followed by a colophon, the first of sarga 22: *iti puruṣakāra-kathāyāṃ prathamā dhyāyaḥ*. It is this colophon which led Hara Prasad to believe that the Nepalese Bṛhatkathā besides the division in "sargas" had a larger one in "adhyāyas". To agree with him we should have to divide the tale on "human actions" into two books, but if the longer episodes of the history of the hero are, as is natural, divided into several "sargas," no-where does any tale overlap from one sarga to another. The author is always careful to give us in each sarga a complete story. That explains the great length of some chapters: and makes it impossible to admit that he has divided a tale which is rather short into two sections, each one of which would be more important than the sarga itself. The first reading mentioned by the colophon which rouses that difficulty is simply the first part of the tale on the *Puruṣakāra* and is—with the two following readings, which are the continuation and end of the same tale—comprised in sarga 22. I could not better compare the sub-divisions of the Ālokasamgraha, all things being considered, than with the "gucchas" of Kṣemendra; with this difference, that we find a sub-division wherever it is needed, and that all those sub-divisions are always perfectly justified. This means that in that respect there is in the Ālokasamgraha no trace of gaps, of retouches or of interpolations.

Table of Sargas.

I. KATHĀMUKHA. *

- | | | |
|----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. (No name). | } Introduction : | First Chapter. |
| 2. (Do). | | Second Chapter. |
| 3. Kathāmukha. | | Third Chapter. |

II. NARAVĀHANADATTAJANMA.

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 4. Piṅgalikākhyāna. | } Story of Piṅgalika. |
| 5. Dohadasaṃpādana. | |
| 6. Kumārajanma. | |

III. MADANAMAÑJUKĀLĀBHA.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 7. Yauvarājyābhīṣeka. | } Anointing of the Royal Child. |
| 8. Mṛgayāvihāra. | |
| 9. Pulina-daṛṣana. | |
| 10. Rathyāsaṃlāpa (MSS. Rathā-). | |
| 11. Madanamañjukālābha. | |

* I group together the sargas into several lambhakas, to each of which I assign a title (this distribution will be justified later on), but I do not complete the colophons, which most of the time are evidently curtailed in our MSS.

IV. VEGAVATĪLĀBHA.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| 12. Vegavatīlābhe, udyānavicaya | } | Conquest of Vegavatī. Searches in the |
| (MSS.-nicaya) | | gardens. |
| 13. Vegavatīdarçana. | | Revelation of Vegavatī. |
| 14. Do. | | Do. |
| 1—28 | | First Reading. |
| 29—end. | | Second Reading. |
| 15. Vegavatīlābha. | | Conquest of Vegavatī. |

V. GANDHARVADATTĀLĀBHA.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 16. Gandharvadattālābhe, campā-praveça. | } | Conquest of Gandharvadattā. Entry |
| | | into Campā. |
| 17. Gandharvadattāvivāha. | } | Marriage of Gandharvadattā. |
| 18. Sānudāsakathā. | | Story of Sānudāsa. |
| 1—92 | | First Reading. |
| 93—132 | | Second do. |
| 133—252 | | Third do. |
| 253—306 | | Fourth do. |
| 307—422 | | Fifth do. |
| 423—518 | | Sixth do. |
| 519—614 | | Seventh do. |
| 615—end. | | Eighth do. |

VI. AJINĀVATĪLĀBHA.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| 19. Ajināvatīlābhe, nalinikākhyāna. | } | Conquest of Ajināvatī; Story of Nali- |
| | | nikā. |
| 20. Ajināvatīlābha. | } | Conquest of Ajināvatī. |
| 1—92 | | First Reading. |
| 93—166 | | Second do. |
| 167—260 | | Third do. |
| 261—end. | | Fourth do. |

VII. PRIYADARÇANĀLĀBHA.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 21. Priyadarçanālābhe, daivākhyāna. | } | Conquest of Priyadarçanā—Tale on |
| 22. Priyadarçanālābhe, puruṣakāra-kathā. | | "Fate." Conquest of Priyadarçanā—Tale on "Human Action." |
| Prath-adh: 1—133 | | First Reading. |
| 134—239 | | Second do. |
| 240—end. | | Third do. |
| 23. Priyadarçanālābhe, nandopana-dakathā. | } | Conquest of Priyadarçanā—Story of |
| | | Nanda and Upananda. |
| 24. Priyadarçanālābhe | } | Conquest of Priyadarçanā: |
| 25. Priyadarçanālābhe, gomukhavivā-hākhyāna. | | Conquest of Priyadarçanā: Marriage |
| | | of Gomukha. |
| 26. Priyadarçanālābhe, priyadarçanā-stānadarçana. | } | Conquest of Priyadarçanā: The reve- |
| | | lation of Priyadarçanā's breast. |
| 27. Priyadarçanāvivāha. | } | Marriage with Priyadarçanā |
| 1—57 | | First Reading. |
| 58—end. | | Second do. |

VIII. BHAGĪRATHAYAÇOLĀBHA.

28. Priyadarçanālābha. (Conquest of Priyadarçanā.)

This colophon is inexact. The episode of Priyadarçanā is ended. This sarga contains really the beginning of the hero's adventures with Bhagīrathayaças.

C

The Contents of the Clokasamgraha.

A simple glance at the above table shows that the Clokasamgraha was far from ending here. Manuscripts N and M, the only ones which contain the end of sarga 28, have immediately after the last colophon, the word "samāptam." This does not mean that the work was complete, but simply that the archetype ended here. I see another proof of this in the evident alteration which occurs in the last colophon. Originally that colophon must have contained the name of Bhagīrathayaças; I do not think I can be much mistaken by restoring the text from the contents of the twenty-eighth sarga: *Bhagīrathayaçolābhe Bhagīrathayaçadarcana*. But it looked absurd to end a book, which copyists wanted to pass off as complete, because the continuation was missing, by a remark which showed clearly its incompleteness. Considering the part played by Priyadarçanā after her marriage with the hero, at the beginning of the adventure of Bhagīrathayaças (V. analysis), the author thought he had good reason to include the last sarga in the section *Priyadarçanālābha*. One must suppose that either Budhasvāmin died before having completed his work, or that the archetype was the first volume of a manuscript the rest of which was lost. This last hypothesis, if true, would be another proof of the antiquity of the Clokasamgraha.

We can form an approximate idea of the dimensions of the whole collection. Naravāhanadatta must relate the conquest of his twenty-six wives (IV, 3.); and yet, at the end of the twenty-eighth book, that is of 4,539 verses, he has only come to the sixth one. The history of the first five has taken up 3,622 verses; the proportions being the same—and one does not see that he abridges more as he goes on with the narration; far from it—the history of the twenty-sixth spouse would take us into about 19,000 verses; to it one must add the whole history of the conquest of the empire. I do not think it would be an exaggeration to estimate the whole length of the poem at 25,000 verses at least, divided into more than 100 sargas. An outline is necessary to allow of a detailed comparison with the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā. I insist more on the parts common to both Bṛhatkathās, in placing side by side the corresponding passages.

I. KATHĀMUKHA (S. I-III).

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1. 1-4 Encomium of Ujjayani.

(Cf. K.S.S., 6, I (XXVII), 135-137.)

5-10: Death of Mahāsena or Pradyota
(his wife Aṅgāravatī is still alive.)

K. S. S., 16, I (CXI), 55-56; B.K.M.,
18, 30. The death of Candamahāsena
and of Aṅgāravatī is mentioned in the
narration of the incidents preceding
Udayana's death.

NEPALESE B.K.

11-48: Gopāla succeeds his father. Public rumour informs him that he is suspected of having assassinated him. That father towards the end of his life has caused himself to be greatly hated on account of his abominable cruelty. The ministers reveal to Gopāla that, in order to gain for him the favour of the people, they have spread the rumour that the son had made himself a gaoler of his father and had allowed him to die of grief in prison. Gopāla is overwhelmed with sorrowful surprise.

49-91: Gopāla abdicates in favour of his brother Pālaka, in spite of the entreaties of the Brahmans and of Pālaka himself, and retires into solitude (there will be no further questions of him).

2. 1-93: Pālaka possesses none of the qualities of a king; successively he wastes himself away with grief, gives himself up to debauchery and at last goes in for exaggerated devotion. A dream foretells him that he will lose his throne. Young Avantivardhana, son of Gopāla, fulfils the prediction in letting him fall accidentally. He takes this accident as a warning from Heaven, abdicates in favour of Avantivardhana and retires to the Black Mountain, to the hermitage of Kāçyapa Āryus.

3. 1-22: Avantivardhana falls in love with an unknown maiden. He sees her a second time when she was breaking in a furious elephant.

23-42: It is Surasamañjarī, daughter of the Mātāṅga Utpalahasta.

Angāravati is of opinion that she is a divine female fallen into that condition as the result of a curse.

She goes and asks Surasamañjarī from her father who gives her away without any condition.

CASHMERIAN B.K.

Nil.

K. S. S., 16, I (CXI), 57-94; B.K.M., 18, 30-84: Gopālaka refusing to succeed his father, Pālaka takes his place. After Udayana's death Gopāla inherits also the throne of the Vatsas, but gives it up also in favour of Pālaka and withdraws himself to the Black Mountain.

Nil.

Pālaka remains king and Avantivardhana is his son: The uncle of Naravāhanadatta who will be mentioned at the hermitage is always Gopālaka.

K.S.S., 16, II (CXII), 62-77; B.K.M., 18, 110-126: Avantivardhana falls in love with a young maid whom he has seen breaking in a furious elephant.

K.S.S., 16, II (CXII), 78-185; B.K.M., 18, 127-186: the names differ. (Suratamañjarī; Utpalahastaka K.S.S., Utpaladatta, B.K.M.)

The same opinion is attributed to Pālaka (3 tales to prove it).

Messengers go and ask Suratamañjarī from her father who makes a condition that 18,000 Brahmans should eat with him.

NEPALESE B.K.

43-67: Account given by Surasamañjarī to her husband, her father had promised her to the Vidyādhara Ipphaka; then Utpalahasta has become a chaṇḍala owing to Nārada's curse.

68-77: Surasamañjarī and Avantivardhana are abducted by Ipphaka at the Feast of the Oblation of Water.

78-80: Aṅgaravati sends to the hermitage to inform Pālaka.

81-96: At the hermitage arrives a Vidyādhara bringing Ipphaka and his two victims. He has seen the abduction, has arrested the culprit and has taken him before the Cakravartin Naravāhanadatta. The latter who for a long time past has promised to pay a visit to his uncle is coming himself to the hermitage to investigate the case.

97-112: Arrival of Naravāhanadatta. Description of his chariot.

113-125: Trial. Surasamañjarī is handed back to her husband.

126: People come in crowds to Ujjayinī to see the Cakravartin.

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K.S.S., 16, II (CXII), 186-201; B.K.M., 18, 187-192: Utpalahastaka (-datta) became again a Vidyādhara, narrates that he had been cursed by Īva (the divergence is absolute).

K.S.S., 16, II (CXII), 202-204; B.K.M., 18, 193: Suratamañjarī disappears.

Nil.

(Pālaka is at Ujjayinī.)

(The circumstances differ. The Cakravartin has already arrived at the hermitage. K.S.S., 16, I (CXI), 95-106; B.K.M. 18, 85-93.) Hariçikha has been the witness of an abduction. He takes the abductor and his victim Suratamañjarī to the Cakravartin who then sends for Pālaka and Avantivardhana.

(K.S.S., 16, II (CXII). 1-15; B.K.M., 18, 94-105). It is Bharataroḥa who now relates the story of the marriage of Avantivardhana and Suratamañjarī which is overdrawn at the expense of that of Caṇḍamahāsena and of Aṅgaravati, K.S.S., 16-61, B.K.M., nil.

Already mentioned.

Nil.

K.S.S., 16, II (CXII), 208-214; B.K.M., 18-196: the same but the details differ a great deal.

Nil.

II. NARAVĀHANADATTAJANMA (S. IV-VI).

4. *Piṅgalikākhyāna*. 1-12: The ṛṣis ask Naravāhanadatta for an account of his adventures. At the request of Gaurī who promises him that those only will hear who are allowed to hear, he consents to relate the story of his twenty-six marriages and of the conquest of his empire. He will speak of himself in the first person.

13-20: A few words on Udayana and his two wives. He has no children. (*Great lack of details; the personages are supposed to be known.*)

(Cf. K.S.S., 6, I (XXVII), 2-4; B.K.M., Upasamhāra, 1-3, 20-21.) It is stated that from this point it is Naravāhanadatta who relates his own adventures speaking at the request of the ṛṣis of himself in the third person.

(The story of Udayana forms the ground work of the books 2-4 in the K.S.S. and in the B.K.M.)

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21-66: Four small adventures make Udayana wish that he had a son.

67-132: A woman who has been picked up by Vāsavadattā, Piṅgalikā, who has been blessed with children by the favour of Viṣṇu in spite of Fate, relates her story.

5. *Dohadasampadana*. 1-83. The example of Piṅgalikā induces Udayana to implore the gods to grant him a son. He orders general penances in honour of Kuvera. Padmāvatī, whose health is too delicate, will be exempted. She will consider as her own son the one who will surely be born of Vāsavadattā.

The King and the Queen have at the same time an identical dream. They dreamt that they were in Kuvera's land. The god presents them with a jewel which, suddenly transformed into a lion's cub, penetrates into the side of Vāsavadattā. The Brahman Ādityaçarman explains the dream. Udayana shall have a son destined to rule over the empire of Vidyādhara. The four ministers have also dreams which Ādityaçarman explains.

84-87: During her pregnancy Vāsavadattā had a great longing which she is afraid to make known. To induce her to do so, her mother-in-law Mṛgāvatī relates her own story to her.

88-175: When she was bearing Udayana, she had the longing to see herself all dressed in red and the whole city also dressed in red. A large bird carried her off and left her in a deserted place from which two hermits took her to Vasiṣṭha's hermitage. It was there Udayana was born. Brought up by Vasiṣṭha he disobeyed his master who had forbidden him to go into the woods. One day when he was playing in a tank he saw some young Nāgas who carried him off to their subterranean city, Bhogavatī. On his return to the earth he narrated his adventure to Vasiṣṭha who

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Nil, (but in K.S.S., 4, I (XXI), 37, Udayana is extremely anxious for a son which has been foretold to him.)

K.S.S., 4, I (XXI) 38-137; B.K.M., 4, 12-40: Piṅgalikā (Piṅgalā) is welcomed with her children by Vāsavadattā and comforts her in her desire to have a son. (No relation between the two stories.)

K.S.S., 3, V (XIX), 3-12; B.K.M., 3, 295-297: Observances in honour of Śiva. Dream of Udayana. Popular rejoicings. (Very much abridged; there is, besides, no resemblance between the two stories.)

Other observances and another dream (of Vāsavadattā) K.S.S., 4, I (XXI) 137-148; B.K.M., 4, 41-42 (immediately after the story of Piṅgalā).

Nil.

K.S.S., 2, I (IX) 46-90; B.K.M., 2, 1, 40-66: Story of Mṛgāvatī (very much shorter and somewhat different). Another account, but shorter, of the same

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sent him back to the Nāgas. They had made him a present of the lyre *ghoṣavātī* with which he bewitches men and animals. When his education was completed Vasiṣṭha caused him to be taken with his mother to Kauṣāmbi to the royal gardens. Whilst he was playing the padmabhaṅjika there, the guards saw him and went to inform the king who then recovered both his wife and his son.

176-189: Vāsavadattā announces that her longing is too difficult to be satisfied. Mṛgāvātī relates the story of Manoramā, wife of Ugrasena, who was longing to drink the blood of Viṣṇu—longing which her husband was able to gratify.

190-193: Vāsavadattā is longing to travel in an aerial chariot. Facetiously Vasantaka suggests a see-saw.

194-270: Yaugandharāyaṇa is of opinion that this is artisans' business. He sends for some, but they excuse themselves on the plea that the Greeks only are conversant with those chariots. It seems to me, says a Brahman, that this is a false excuse. They are afraid to disclose their secret and, to justify his opinion, he relates a story. Viṣvabhadra, son-in-law of a carpenter in the service of Mahāsena, had gone to Benares to work for king Brahmadatta. Every night he used to return secretly to his wife at Ujjayinī by the help of a wonderful machine which was his own secret. Mahāsena heard of it through his spies, threatened the father-in-law with death if he did not reveal the secret of his son-in-law. The poor fellow knew nothing about it himself. He begged earnestly of Viṣvabhadra to reveal his secret. Viṣvabhadra pretended to be willing but during the night the ingenious artisan disappeared in his flying machine leaving his family exposed to the wrath of the angry monarch. He would have even left his wife behind, rather than reveal his secret, had she not consented to flee with him.

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story K.S.S., 6, IV. (XXX) 38-57 (missing in the B.K.M.)

Nil.

K.S.S., 4, II (XXII) 9-13; B.K.M. 4, 45-46. The same longing which Yaugandharāyaṇa satisfies by means of several stratagems and machines (details given in a casual sort of way.)

Does Kṣemendra make a pun on the words Yavana, Javana 4, 46; or does he interpret by javana the name of the Greeks which he finds in his original, or must we correct Javanair into Yavanair?

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271-279: The artisans must then be put to the torture. This is what is done. Fortunately a stranger happens to come in who saves them in their trouble by building up himself the required machine.

Nil.

280-296: Udayana gets in with his wives and all his retinue, makes an aerial pradakṣiṇa round the earth and before returning to Kauṣāmbī, goes on a visit to his father-in-law Mahāseṇa.

Nil (but cf. supra. The conquering campaign of Udayana which he ends in the same way by a visit to his father-in-law. (K.S.S., 3, V (XIX) 50-118; B. K.M., 3, 300-313.)

297-326: Udayana is desirous to reward the artisan who in reality was a guhyakā, by name Bhadrā, who, before going back to Heaven, relates her own story. Owing to a curse from Kuvera she has become a she-elephant, under the name of Bhadravati. The Yakṣa Pūrṇabhadra guilty of having interceded for her, has become an elephant called Nalāgiri. Both belonged to the stables of Mahāseṇa. It is on her that Udayana has fled with Vāsavadattā. When in the forests of the Vindhya she fell dead, Udayana wept over the loss of her with such genuine sympathy, that she vowed to give him a proof of her gratitude. She it was who sent the dream which foretold that he would be father of a son. She also it was who built up the wonderful chariot. She foretells that the boy who will soon be born will be a cakravartin. Whilst speaking she made a breach in the wall of Kauṣāmbī—this is still called "Bhadravati's Gate."

Nil.

K.S.S., 2, V (XIII), 35-37; B.K.M., 2, II, 160-161 (The she-elephant is a Vidyādhari called Mayāvati) (Very much shorter and quite different; she reveals her identity immediately after her death.)

6. *Kumārajanma*. 1-16. Birth of Naravāhanadattā and of the minister's sons, Hariṣikha, Marubhūtika, Tapantaka, Gomukha. They receive their education in common.

K.S.S., 4, III (XXIII), 53-94; B.K.M., 4, 132-142 and K.S.S., 6, I (XXVII) 5-8 (B.K.M., nil).

17-33. The boys quarrel among themselves; to restore order, a table of precedence will be set up.

Nil.

III. MADANAMAṆJUKĀLĀBHA (S. VII-XI).

7. *Yauvarājyābhīṣeka*. 1-22. Grand royal audience. Udayana announces the approaching anointing of his son as heir to the throne. Among those present there is a certain Kaliṅgasenā who has come with a young girl. Who is that lovely

K.S.S., 6, VIII (XXXIV), 97-103; B.K.M., 7, 557-558; Naravāhanadatta falls in love with Madanamañcukā when she was still in her nurse's arms,

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child? asks the King.—Madanamañjukā.—The king takes her on his lap. The soothsayer Ādityaçarman uttered an exclamation which he does not explain. Naravāhanadatta falls forthwith in love with the child. Udayana sends away the mother and the daughter with presents.

(Again K.S.S. ibidem, 162-173; B.K.M. 571-573.) (Kaliṅgasenā has played such an important part in the life of Udayana that all the particulars of the present story are necessarily altogether different.)

23-31: Ceremony of Anointing. The companions of Naravāhanadatta are assigned special duties towards his person. Procession through the streets of Kauṣāmbi.

K.S.S., 6, VIII (XXXIV), 106-130; B.K.M., 7, 559-562.

31-32: Gomukha goes out of his mind. He disappears from time to time. He acts at times like a mad man. He puts down his strange ways to the study of the Upaniṣads.

Nil.

52-82: The king causes a proposal to be made to the young fellows to take a walk to the yātrā of the forest of Nāgavana. Naravāhanadatta holds a mock council. Gomukha advises him to accept.

Nil.

8. *Mr̥gayāvivāhāra* (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

(From this point to sarga 12, it is no longer possible to set up a table of concordance. Sargas 8—11 will continue to recount the adventures leading to the marriage of the hero with Madanamañjukā. They then correspond to the end of the sixth book of the Kathāsaritsāgara, of the seventh of the Mañjarī; but they are altogether different from them by the length and by the nature of the subject matter. (The walk to the "Nāgavana" is mentioned by Somadeva (6, VIII (XXXIV), 174), but not by Kṣemendra.)

1-20. A start is made for the yātrā. The young fellows pass on the way a carriage full of young girls; one of them greets them. Naravāhanadatta, who knows nothing of society's manners, would not have returned the salute, had not Gomukha invented an artifice to make him do it. They all laugh at the young man's lack of manners.

21-31: Arrival at the wood, amusements, theatricals. A hunting expedition is organized for the following day.

32-55: Escorted by a battalion of Pulindas the young men hunt gazelles of an unknown species. They cannot shoot any, but the arrows describe a *pradakṣiṇa* and return to the prince's quiver. Siṃhaçatru, chief of the Pulindas, informed them that according to an ancient tradition these miraculous animals make their appearance when a cakravartin has been born in the world.

9. *Pulinadarcana* (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

1-7: Gomukha who seems endowed with all kinds of talents, amuses his

friends by making out of lotus leaves cuttings figuring men, animals, etc., and throwing them into the river.

• 8-76: Marubhūtika is surprised to discover on a sandbank footprints which start neither from the shore nor from the river. How is this to be explained? Gomukha with the methods and the accurateness of a detective interprets those prints. They are those of a Vidyādhara carrying a woman, they have taken shelter in a grove which he points out, but they are there no longer. They go to find out. He has been right. They find in the grove the armour and the jewels of a Vidyādhara. A more thorough search causes them to discover the Vidyādhara himself tied to a tree and giving no longer any sign of life. Naravāhanadatta remembers that every armour must contain some magic plants. As a matter of fact, some are found in the armour of the Vidyādhara, by means of which they bring him to life again and set him free. He expresses his thanks to his deliverers.

77-108: His name is Amṛtagati, son of the Munikaucika and of the apsaras Bindumatī. The sciences taught him by his father have allowed (him) to become a Vidyādhara, but he was not born to raise himself as high as the empire. His father grieved at it, and bade him become the servant of the future cakravartin. But how is he to recognize him? It is he, says Kauçika, who some day will break off thy chains. Amṛtagati had two friends, Aṅgāraka and Vyālaka, and a mistress Kusumālikā; he has perceived that Aṅgāraka had designs on Kusumālikā and was contemplating treachery. He then ran away with her, came down to the sandbank and took refuge in the grove. Aṅgāraka having followed him tied him to the tree and carried away his mistress. He promises Naravāhanadatta to remain always in his service. Let Naravāhanadatta be so kind as to remember him when his services will be required. (In the K.S.S. and B.K.M. Amṛtagati is a faithful ally of Naravāhanadatta in the conquest of the empire, but no reasons are given for his loyalty.)

10. *Rathyāsamlāpa* (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

1-29: Naravāhanadatta returns to the yātrā. On the way the conversation falls on the hierarchy to be established among the motive powers of human actions. The first according to Gomukha is *desire*; in his last adventure the *desire* to gratify his curiosity has been the only cause of Naravāhanadatta's actions. All the rest has only occurred to him "par surcroit." But there is an eminent desire which Gomukha is the only one to know: his friends are only wooden puppets, because they are ignorant of it. According to Kamaçāstras men are divided into four categories, one who loves and is loved, one who is loved without loving, one who loves without being loved, one who is neither loving nor loved. Gomukha belongs to the first category, the prince to the second, his friends who are all stupid fellows to the fourth. They urge Gomukha to reveal the name of the Prince's sweet-heart; the somewhat shy Naravāhanadatta permits his friend to speak out.

Gomukha's Narrative.

30-59: On the day of the royal anointing, Padmāvatī delighted with a reply from Gomukha, acknowledged that he was very witty. He did not know what

it meant to be witty and he refrained from asking. On his leaving the palace, the coachman of a very fine looking carriage invited him to get in with him to try the king's horses. He hesitated for a moment, but two writers who had been entrusted with the task of getting up a list of all the men of sense and all the stupid fellows in the town, already propose to place at the head of the list of the stupid fellows that young man who is refusing a lovely drive. He jumped into the carriage to prove that he was a man of sense. A piece of advice which he gives the coachman on the way gains him a compliment from that man who proposes to lead him through "the Palace of Wit."

160-163: The carriage passes through the bazaar and then through a very fine quarter; unfortunately the behaviour and the talk of the women and the young men they come across there soon arouse his suspicions. It is the quarter of the "gapikās". Full of shame Gomukha wants to go back, but the coachman insists on going on, till they come in front of a splendid mansion. Women heap on Gomukha all sorts of blandishments. Lengthy description of the halls. They make Gomukha talk about himself, his friends, their works and their pleasures. He answers the questions with complete artlessness, giving all the details of how they spend the day in study. The women are at a loss what to do. At last a certain Padmadevikā is appointed to look properly after their guest Gomukha. He leaves the place knowing at last what it is to have sense. In this narration the author goes to the extreme limits of decency but never overreaches it. When it becomes too difficult he leaves off saying "Let us pass on; the shortest stories are the best." The mistress of the house, with an ill-concealed gratification, invites Gomukha to come again and Padmadevikā whispers in his ears that she has a secret for him.

164-181: It is from that day that Gomukha absented himself on the pretext of studying the Upaniṣads. The mistress of the house had made him promise not to reveal anything. One day he finds Padmadevikā in tears; she even falls into a swoon, but her companions have no pity for her; it is the mistress, they say, who ought to be pitied. Gomukha goes to the garden to make enquiries from that lady. She receives him with ill-humour, but at last consents that young Mudrikālatikā should explain matters to him.

Mudrikālatikā's Narrative.

182-240. The prostitutes have divided into eight classes since the time of King Bharata who instituted them, for they spring from the daughters of the Ocean carried away by that king. Kaliṅgasenā, the mistress of the house, belongs to the highest class. She has a daughter Madanamañjukā. One day in a great royal audience, the girl saw Naravāhanadatta. She would have liked to go again often to the palace, but her mother makes her understand that this is not allowed. From that time she became quite lifeless and one day she hanged herself. Kaliṅgasenā who was watching her, saved her life and made her tell her secret. She is in love with the Prince. Kaliṅgasenā, not knowing how to prevent her daughter from falling into a decline, has asked for Padmāvatī's help. Padmāvatī has promised it and it is she who has set up all the contrivances, through which Gomukha

has been enticed to the house. She hoped that he would also bring his master. She had even undertaken to prevail upon him to do so, but the fear, that he might disapprove of her wiles and that he might not return himself prevents her from keeping her promise.

Gomukha's Narrative—(Contd.)

241-265: Gomukha has promised to help to seduce the Prince, he has undertaken to make him salute Madanamañjukā: in this he has succeeded, for it is her whom Naravāhanadatta has saluted without knowing it, on the road to Nāgavana.

266-274: Picking up courage the Prince confesses that he has himself taken a fancy to Madanamañjukā from the day he saw her in the palace; as on the following day she is going to take part in a dance he will be present.

11. *Madanamañjukālābha* (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil except the dancing lessons of Madanamañjukā, K.S.S., 6, VIII, (XXXIV), 162; B.K.M., 7, 571.

1-29. The first dancing girl Suyāmunadattā wins the prize from Madanamañjukā, but Gomukha succeeds in distracting the attention of Naravāhanadatta, so that he does not notice the girl's failure. On his returning home the Prince wants to send Gomukha to her house; Gomukha does not relish that mission, insists on Marubhūtika at least accompanying him.

30-64: The two messengers are far from being welcome." It is Gomukha who has made Suyāmunadattā dance first and has then drawn away the Prince's attention from Madanamañjukā." He justifies himself and informs them that Naravāhanadatta is waiting for the young girl's visit. Kaliṅgasenā informs the minister Rumaṇvat who refers the matter to the king. The king accedes to his son's wishes. Madanamañjukā will be brought to him.

65-106: Naravāhanadatta does not know how to play his part. He begs earnestly for Gomukha's advice, who chaffs him in a friendly way. Madanamañjukā arrives; fine description of the scene. The next day Gomukha comes for her to take her back to her mother. A few days later the yātrā being over, it is time to return to Kauçāmbi. A start is made; the journey takes two days. At the first halt Gomukha, as he has done on previous evenings, brings Madanamañjukā. She is in tears; one of her waiting maids explains the reasons of her sorrow: As she belongs to the caste of prostitutes, she cannot hope to become the lawful spouse of her lover. The court chaplain has already arranged for the Prince's betrothal with a daughter of the King of Benares. Madanamañjukā is determined to poison herself. The Prince weeps with her and makes up his mind to poison himself too. Marubhūtika and Hariçikha resolve to die with their master. Meanwhile what has become of Gomukha? A search is made for him; he sends word that he is busy learning the art of living long. They all feel indignant, as it is he who is the cause of the whole entanglement. At last Tapantaka is entrusted with the task of warning Udayana as skilfully as he can. But he is afraid to do it!

IV. VEGAVATILĀBHA (S. XII-XV).

12. *Udyānavicaya.*

1-22: They are at Kauṣāmbi. The situation is the same. One fine morning Madanamañjukā disappears. Kalingasenā informs them that formerly she had promised her to a Vidyādhara Mānasa-vega. Beyond doubt he is the abductor.

K.S.S., 14, I (CV), 3-19; B.K.M., 8, 68-75; 13, 2-7.

23-38: Naravāhanadatta is so upset that the king is much troubled in mind. He asks for Rumaṇvat's advice. Rumaṇvat laughs at the whole thing. Nothing more, he says, than a jealous woman's sulks. She is hiding herself and will be found in the gardens.

K.S.S., 20-21 (It is Udayana, who takes the initiative in the enquiry B.K.M. 13, 8.).

39-57: In this connection he relates the story of Aṅgiras and Amṛtā.

K.S.S., 22-32 (Aṅrutā); B.K.M., 9-12 (Reduced to an allusion).

58-82: They search for a long time; at last Marubhūtika discovers Madanamañjukā under an açoka. She gives an explanation of the incident. When she was young she made a vow to a yakṣa (to offer him drink from her own hands) on condition that he would have all her desires fulfilled. The yakṣa came to claim his due and carried her to Kuvera's court. The god has decided that first of all she must be married to Naravāhanadatta. She asks the Prince to wed her in a regular way.

K.S.S., ibidem 33-53; B.K.M., ibid., 13-28 (The same but she asks for a second marriage.)

(No visit to Kuvera but previously Çiva has commanded Udayana to consent to the regular marriage of his son) V. supra.

83-84: The king passes a decree that she will no longer belong to the class of "Gaṇikās", but will take her rank as a girl of good family (kulastrī). This decision ought to have overwhelmed her with joy, but to the great surprise of Naravāhanadatta she does not seem to be glad at all.

Nil.

13. *Vegavatīdarśana*, 1-16: Having become a kulastrī Madanamañjukā publicly weds Naravāhanadatta, and comes to live with him. She gives him wine to drink and makes him drunk.

K.S.S., 14, I (CV), 54-57; B.K.M., 13, 29-30. Marriage with Vegavatī.

K.S.S., ibid., 58, B.K.M. gives this detail simply as a pun on "Madhu."

17-37: The next day the Prince's friends come to have a drink with him. For several days every one is drunk. It is the cunning Gomukha who has got the drink for them. He alone knows the reason why.

Nil.

38-52: Madanamañjukā has forbidden her husband to look at her when she is asleep. One night he wakes up very thirsty. Disinclined to call a servant he wants to send his wife to bring him some water, but he does not recognize her; he wakes her up—Who art thou?—She begs his forgiveness—All right, he replies, but she must explain.

K.S.S., *ibid.*, 59-63; B.K.M. *ibid.*, 31-39 : *idem* except that thirst has nothing to do with the adventure.

14. *Vegavatīdārcana*, II. Vegavati's Narrative.

1-84: Her parents are the Vidyādhara, Vegavat and Pṛthivī. Their two children are Mānasavega and Vegavati. Vegavat becoming old leaves his kingdom to his son and withdraws into the woods after having recommended his young sister to Mānasavega, but this brother refuses to teach Vegavati the magical sciences. Her companions laugh at her because she does not even know how to fly. She goes to complain to her father who at first does not seem inclined to comply with her request. At last she gets round him by her skill in making a peacock dance. Vegavat grants her the knowledge of all the sciences, and promises one-tenth part of his kingdom to the husband she may choose.

K.S.S., 14, I (IV) 64-68; B.K.M., 13, 40-49. Same story but very much condensed. B.K.M. mentions only the peacock's dance (44).

86-126: Mānasavega has abducted Madanamañjukā, but there is a curse on him which prevents him from offering her violence; he has put Vegavati in charge of the prisoner with instructions to tame her down. Madanamañjukā is always in tears. Vegavati takes pity on her and also through curiosity offers to go and warn Naravāhanadatta. But love makes her break her word. Now she proposes to take the prince to Madanamañjukā.

K.S.S., *ibid.*, 69-77. B.K.M., *ibid.*, 50-59, same narration but condensed.

15. *Vegavatilābha*. 1-67: In the morning Vegavati reveals herself to all under her real figure. Udayana is satisfied and a new ceremony of marriage is gone through. Four girl friends of Vegavati who had been previously driven away by Mānasavega come down from heaven. They are made to wed the four friends of the prince.

Nil.

68-103 : Shortly after, Naravāhanadatta wakes up in the arms of Mānasavega who carries him away through the air. The abductor gives him the choice, either to see Madanamañjukā again and to die immediately after, or to be thrown into the abode of the monsters of the sea. But before the prince has time to make his choice, Vegavatī arrives and starts a fight with her brother; the struggle is so fierce that Mānasavega is forced to give up his prey. Naravāhanadatta falls upon the earth in an unknown country, but fortunately for him it is at the bottom of a well.

It is Vegavatī who carries away Naravāhanadatta K.S.S. 14, I (CV) 78; B.K.M., 13, 60-65.)

K.S.S., *ibid.*, 86-89. B.K.M.? There seems to be a gap here (it is Vegavatī who hides Naravāhanadatta in the well) K.S.S., *ibid.*, 89. B.K.M. *ibid.*, 68.

104-148 : Having come to himself he thinks of the means to get out of this. In this connection he remembers the story of Trita thrown into a well by his brothers Ekata and Dvita.*

Nil.

149-158 : But a kṣatriya cannot offer a sacrifice alone like Trita. He thinks then of imploring Amṛtagati, who appears above and draws him out of the well.—What else dost thou desire now?—That thou shouldst save Vegavatī, replies the prince, who is already forgetting his own self. The Vidyādhara flies away to comply.

Nil. (The gandharva Vīṇādatta sees him and draws him out of the well. K.S.S., 14, II (CVI), 1; B.K.M., 13, 69.)

V. GANDHARVADATTĀLĀBHA (S. XVI-XVIII).

K.S.S., 14, II (CVI), 1-32; B.K.M., 13, 69-79.

16. *Campāpraveśa*. 1-29 : Naravāhanadatta has allowed Amṛtagati to go away without thinking of asking him what place this was. The forest round him is very thick; he makes his way at random. At dawn he finds himself out of the forest, with lovely gardens in front of him. "Where am I?" he asks a gardener. "A fine question; you must be laughing at me," answers the gardener. Then he notices a country house, goes in and meets a man who is absorbed in examining a lute. Same question and same answer.

Nil.

* The story is very much similar to one we find in the Jaiminiya—Brāhmaṇa, but in the latter the cows have been given to Trita by Kuvera.

30-50: Naravāhanadatta, afraid of danger if he reveals his identity, invents a falsehood:—Young Brahmin of the country of the Vatsas, he has allowed himself to be carried away by a yakṣi who has fallen in love with him; but after a quarrel due to jealousy, the yakṣi has carried him off through the air and left him in an unknown land.—You are at Campā, the other informs him. I am a merchant and my name is Dattaka, but on account of my great love for music they call me Viṇādattaka.—He calls for his palanquin, gets in with the young man and offers him hospitality in his own house. All along the roads they see even the common people carrying lutes.

51-79: The house of Viṇādatta is full of luxury; they treat the unexpected guest splendidly, and he finds it extremely hard in the middle of all this wealth to play to the life the part of a young Brahmin who has given himself up to an ascetic life.

80-93: At the end of the meal he asks Dattaka, why this general craze about lutes?—A chief of the guild of merchants, Sānudāsa has a daughter, Gandharvadattā; she knows a song never heard of; she says she will wed only the man who will be able to sing it to the accompaniment of a lute. In hopes of winning the damsel, every one is practising on the lute, but so far nobody has yet pleased her.

Every six months there is a competition and it so happens that one falls on the next day. Viṇādattaka praises up the young maid to the skies.

17. *Gandharvadattāvivāha*. 1-43: Naravāhanadatta pretends not to know music but to be very anxious to learn it. A music master, Bhūtika, is sent for. He is a ludicrous personage whom the young man turns into ridicule. At last Naravāhanadatta plays on the lute. The audience are lost in admiration. During the night he plays again, wakes up the sleeping city, crowds gather together. It is Sarasvatī herself, they say, who has come down to Dattaka, but it is an unfair favour,

Very much abridged and different; but we may note the following details given by the K.S.S. Naravāhanadatta does not hide his identity but tells an untruth about the circumstances which have brought him to the city of the Gandharvas. Viṇādatta takes him to his house. Everyone in the city carries a lute.

Mention of the luxurious appointments in Viṇādatta's house. K.S.S.

The details are similar but Gandharvadattā is the daughter of the king of the Gandharvas, Sāgaradatta.

(Similar praise K.S.S.)

Nil.

44-98: The next morning they go to Sānudāsa's residence. Naravāhanadatta excites general curiosity. The women crowd around the musician. Come and see, they say, a Yakṣī's lover! In the music hall the young man excites the jealousy of the other competitors by his good looks, but helps them by his wit. Some praise him up, others run him down, but everyone is talking of no one else, though nobody suspects his talents. The scene is lengthy and full of life.

Nil.

99-165: Gandharvadattā makes her entry. The competition starts. Naravāhanadatta recognizes in Gandharvadattā's song the *nārāyaṇastuti* sung by the gandharva Viṣvāvasu, while he was making three times the *pradakṣiṇa* round Viṣṇu taking the three steps. He knows that song which was revealed to him by Udayana. He is then perfectly sure of winning. He declines two imperfect lutes (in the second one there is a hair). He accepts the third one from Sānudāsa's hands. He sings the hymn; the enthusiasm is indescribable. The prize is awarded to him with the thanks of all, as by his success he has put an end to the folly which held all the people of Campā.

(The same story but exceedingly condensed.)

166-181: At first Naravāhanadatta refuses to wed Gandharvadattā: he is a Brahmin of a family as pure as the Meru; he cannot marry the daughter of a merchant. If that is the only objection, says Sānudāsa, it is nothing, as she belongs to the same caste as you and perhaps even to a higher one than yours. Naravāhanadatta makes up his mind.

Nil.

Marriage with Gandharvadattā.

18. *Sānudāsakathā* (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

1st Reading.

1-3: After the marriage Naravāhanadatta asks his father-in-law to explain his words.

4-92: Sānudāsa, son of the merchant Mitravarman and of Mitravatī, was in his youth of very strict morals, but his friends, at the instigation of one of them, Dhruvaka, made him drink wine by surprise and debauched him so completely that suddenly he gave himself up to an immoral life, left his house and went to live with a certain Gaṅgadattā for whose sake he ruined himself completely.

2nd Reading.

93-132: One day news is brought to him that his father is dead and that the king has appointed him to his place as the chief of the guild of merchants. He goes back home and applies himself to the duties of his new position, but Dhruvaka comes to plead the cause of Gaṅgadattā. She is in tears and a visit from him would give her great pleasure. One must have pity on her. Sānudāsa gives in; he is made to drink, his old habits take hold of him again and he does not come back home. At last when Gaṅgadattā's mother finds out that he is completely ruined she invents a pretext to make him leave the house and to get rid of him.

3rd Reading.

133-177: Sānudāsa returns to his place; all his neighbours turn away from him in disgust. A stranger forbids him the entrance of his own house. During his absence that house has been sold. Mitravatī, penniless, has been obliged to leave it. She has taken refuge with her daughter-in-law in the quarter inhabited by the poorest of the poor. Sānudāsa sets out in search of her. In a miserable little urchin who is playing on the road he recognizes his own son Dattaka. Mitravatī lives in a dilapidated hut with her daughter-in-law who is overwhelmed with illness and sorrow. The sight moves Sānudāsa's heart. He makes up his mind not to saddle himself on his own people longer than one night. He promises to earn his own livelihood by his labour and sets off for Tāmraliptī, where he hopes to meet his uncle Gāṅgadatta, who is a trader there.

178-220: By mere chance, in a certain village he asks for hospitality from Siddhārthaka, a former servant of Mitravarman; that man, who is a very successful trader, asks Sānudāsa to avail himself of his caravan which is going to Tāmraliptī. In the forest the caravan is looted by Pulindas; Sānudāsa escapes them by flight, but loses his way in the woods; at length, after several adventures, he reaches Tāmraliptī.

221-252: Gāṅgadatta is the wealthiest merchant of the town. In grateful remembrance of the kindness received in former days from Mitravarman, he welcomes his nephew, and places at his disposal as much money as he may wish. "Take it" he says, "and go back to Campā to live with thine own people." Sānudāsa declines to accept alms. He hires his services as a diamond expert to a merchant who is just going to sail.

4th Reading.

253-274: Shipwreck. Sānudāsa saves himself by swimming and lands on a deserted coast. At the entrance of a cavern he finds a woman lying. She too has been shipwrecked. She is quite naked and famished.

275-306: She relates her own story. Her name is Samudradinnā, daughter of a merchant from Rājagṛha, Sāgara, and of his wife Yāvanī. Sāgara had commercial dealings with a merchant of Campā, Mitravarman, who had asked Samudradinnā for his son. Meanwhile Mitravarman had died. Sānudāsa, having ruined himself in debauch, had joined a caravan but had been assassinated by highway men. Overwhelmed with grief, Sāgara had set out with his family for the country of

the Yavanas, which was the native place of his wife. Their ship has been wrecked; Samudradinnā alone has been carried to the coast by the currents. Not without some hesitation, Sānudāsa reveals his own identity and in answer to the questions of Samudradinnā he relates the story of his own misfortunes. Frightful storm.

5th Reading.

307-331: That storm saves them from starvation. The sea has thrown up fragments of planks, fishes and fruits. They have something wherewith to feed themselves and to build a kind of shelter. One night the fire which they were keeping burning is seen by a passing ship. The merchant who is on board recognizes in Sānudāsa the son of Mitravarman. He takes with him the two victims of the shipwreck. A large quantity of pearls which Samudradinnā has found in the oysters they were eating makes them wealthy. The merchant acts the part of Samudradinnā's father and gives her in marriage to Sānudāsa.

332-367: Another shipwreck. Sānudāsa sees Samudradinnā drawn by the current towards the open sea whilst he is thrown back on the coast. Believing his wife to be dead he advances into the interior of the country. After many days of solitude, he reaches a village, the inhabitants of which speak a barbarian language. At last one of them manages to understand him and informs him that he is with the Pāṇḍyas not far from Mathurā. On the way he comes across a hospital. He is received there. The head of the house enquires from him whether he has met on his way a certain Sānudāsa. The illustrious merchant Gāṅgadatta of Tāmraliptī has a search made for him all over the world. Sānudāsa thinks that it is useless for him to reveal his identity, as he has made up his mind not to live at his uncle's expense. He simply replies that Sānudāsa has escaped the shipwreck but has gone on another ship.

368-422: In the bazaar of Mathurā he soon finds an opportunity to make use of his talents in appraising diamonds. His reputation grows rapidly; the king sends for him and makes him appraise gems, the value of which no one has been able to determine so far. By way of salary he gives him a house. But soon customers become rare. He tries another experiment and goes in for cotton. One night all his cotton bales take fire. It is the custom of Mathurā that the man whose house is in a blaze should throw himself into the fire. Sānudāsa is afraid that the ferocious Dravidas may force him to follow the local custom. He escapes into the country and falls exhausted on the road. Some travellers on their way to Mathurā find him. They are messengers from Gāṅgadatta who, having heard that his nephew was a cotton merchant at Mathurā, has sent for him. Sānudāsa, firm in his resolution, informs them that Sānudāsa is dead, that he has been thrown into a fire by the Pāṇḍyas! The messengers, afraid to take that bit of bad news to the uncle, resolve not to return to Tāmraliptī and they set out for the south. This does not fall in with Sānudāsa's idea. He calls them back, reveals his identity and all return together to Gāṅgadatta's house.

6th Reading.

423-518: Sānudāsa still refuses to be under obligation to his uncle and to go

back to Campā. He joins the gang of the adventurer, Ācera, who is preparing an expedition to the Land of Gold. They cross the sea and land at the foot of a mountain. They climb up to the top by catching hold of creepers. This is the "creepers path". On the plateau there is a river which changes into stone everything that falls into it. They cross it by holding on to the bamboos which overhang the banks. This is "the bamboos path". Further on they meet a narrow path between two precipices. They light a fire with wet branches; the smoke attracts some Kirātas who come and propose to sell them some goats; the adventurers get on those goats, the only animals sure-footed enough to be able to follow the narrow edge without feeling giddy. This is "the goats' path". The adventurers do not come to the end of it without some difficulty as another gang is approaching from the opposite direction. A struggle ensues but Ācera's troops are able to pass through after having thrown their enemies into the ravines. Sānudāsa begins to feel indignant at the fierceness of the gold seekers. Ācera orders his followers to slay the goats and to put on their skins with the inside out. Huge birds will mistake those men for a heap of raw meat, come and carry them away to their aerie. It is there the gold is! Sānudāsa attempts to save the goat he was riding but his companions are pitiless. Everything takes place as Ācera had foretold but the bird which carries off Sānudāsa is attacked by another bird which attempts to steal his prey. The goat's skin bursts open and Sānudāsa falls in a tank which is in the heart of a luxuriant forest. The next day he comes to a river the banks of which are of golden sand; near by there is a hermitage from which a hermit comes out.

7th Reading.

519-541: The hermit is Bharadvāja. It is his magic power which has influenced the whole of Sānudāsa's life in order to make him subservient to his own ends. The desired result has been gained. Sānudāsa has nothing but loathing for gold. He is enamoured of poverty. The hermit keeps him for some time with him to complete his education. Sānudāsa longs more and more to see again the miserable hut where his mother lives. He comes to regard as blessings all the misfortunes which have been a lesson to him. One day a party of young maids comes down in an aerial chariot. Bharadvāja takes one of them on his lap. "My daughter Gandharvadattā," says he, "hereafter, Sānudāsa shall be thy father."

542-577: Gandharavadattā explains. She is the daughter of Bharadvāja and of Suprabhā, daughter of the king of the Gandharvas whom Indra, afraid of the austerities of the holy man, had sent to seduce him. Suprabhā, far from being successful, has fallen under the influence of the saint, but he, satisfied with her submission, has granted her the child she desired from him as a token of his satisfaction. Gandharvadattā has been brought up in the city of the Gandharvas. She is skilled in all the arts but more especially in music. Bharadvāja gives Sānudāsa a marvellous lute with the following instructions: Gandharvadattā must wed only a king of the Vidyādharas. Let there be at Campā a musical competition every six months. At it Gandharvadattā will sing the *nārāyaṇastuti*. The man who will know this song will become her husband.

578-614: They set out. Sānudāsa falls asleep. In waking up he finds himself in a golden litter surrounded with indescribable luxury. Bharadvāja has obtained all that wealth through the merits of his ascetic life. Suddenly they find themselves near Campā. Dhruvaka and the former friends of Sānudāsa come to meet him but they are altogether ashamed of themselves. All the people gather to witness this wonderful return home. The king himself insists on coming to welcome Sānudāsa who, having presented every one with valuable gifts, reaches his father's house which he has ordered to be bought back again.

8th Reading.

615-703: A strange sight meets him. His first wife is in tears; Gaṅgadattā is wiping them away. Samudradinnā herself comes in. Sānudāsa cannot believe his eyes. On one side he is glad and on the other he is completely shocked. What has Gaṅgadattā to do here? Mitravatī intervenes—she explains that the king knew everything through his spies. The very night when Sānudāsa had slept in his mother's hut the king made Gaṅgadattā restore all the money she had extorted. That money was left with a trustee and Gaṅgadattā came to live with Mitravatī, in the hope of Sānudāsa's return. He would be wrong to drive her away now. Her behaviour has been good. He must keep her as one of his wives. "All right," says Sānudāsa, "but how does Samudradinnā happen to be here also?" The king has been kept informed of his adventures as far as his arrival at Tāmraliptī through the leader of the caravan, Siddhārthaka. The rest, up to the burning of the cotton bales, and the second sojourn at Tāmraliptī has been made known through a letter of Gaṅgadattā. Nothing has been heard of Sānudāsa after his departure with Ācera. One day Samudradinnā has arrived brought by her brothers: these after accompanying their parents to the country of the Yavanas, had returned to explore the coasts in the hope of recovering their sister. They arrived just in time to drag out Samudradinnā who was drowning. She informed them of her marriage and her brothers took her back to her mother-in-law at Campā. Everything is explained satisfactorily, and ever since Sānudāsa has led a virtuous life fulfilling all his duties as chief of the merchants' guild.

VI. AJINĀVATĪLĀBHA (S. XIX-XX).

19. *Nalinikākhyāna* (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

1-21: Naravāhanadatta is living at Campā with Gandharvadattā. One day the magician, Vikacika, presents himself and Gandharvadattā loads him with her favours. Naravāhanadatta becomes jealous. His wife vindicates herself. This Vikacika is a brother of a king of the Vidyādharas, Gaurīmuṇḍa. He is now occupied with devilish observances (*bhūtavrata*). If he succeeds he will be the most dangerous of enemies. But while he is performing the gaurīvrata, Gaurī grants to the woman who honours him the choice of a wish. Gandharvadattā has satisfied Gaurī and has thus procured the means to reduce to nil the malefices of Vikacika.

22-61: Sānudāsa begs of Naravāhanadatta to be present at the yātrā of the tank of the crocodiles. On the way they reach a village of Mātāṅgas. Naravāhanadatta falls in love with a Mātāṅgī. He manages to give the slip to his father-in-law

in order to go and meet the object of his new love; but he cannot escape Gandharvadattā's watchful eyes. The next day his wife scolds him. "I do not wish to be a Naṇinikā," says she. "What dost thou mean?" She relates the following story.

Gandharvadattā's Narrative.

62-74: Manōhara, son of Vasanta, king of Kānanadvīpa, is like the ministers, Bakula and Aṇoka, very fond of perfumes. A stranger, Sumaṅgala, who is thoroughly conversant with the gandhaṇḍāstras, manages to take his fancy and enters his service.

75-111: Manōhara falls in love with a painting representing a yakṣī. The painting is transformed into a living yakṣī. It is Sukumārikā who had been condemned by a curse of Kuvēra to exist hereafter only as a picture. She invites Manōhara to come to her to mount Ṛṇikuṇja, the abode of the Yakṣas, and then flies away. But who knows the Ṛṇikuṇja? A merchant relates that having once lost his way in a storm he has passed by that mountain the summits of which look like horns and are made of diamonds. With the help of his indications, Manōhara prepares a sea chart, fits up a ship, departs with his friends and reaches the Ṛṇikuṇja.

112-153: He climbs up the mountain; on the top there is a town, the city of the Yakṣas. He spends five days with Sukumārikā, but as a man is not allowed to remain longer, Sukumārikā sends him back to Kānanadvīpa, promising that she will join him there. She keeps her word; for a full year she comes every evening and goes away in the morning. After that she informs him that for one year she owes herself to Kuvēra and then disappears.

154-199: Manōhara feels that the separation will be too long. Sumaṅgala advises him to go back to the city of the Yakṣas. They set sail—Shipwreck—Manōhara makes for the coast by swimming. He is robbed by a gang of thieves and then rescued by horsemen who take him to their city. Manōhara is surprised to find Sumaṅgala already there. This one explains the adventure: The city is Nāgapura, the capital of king Puraṇḍara, father of a daughter, Naṇinikā. She has refused all suitors. Puraṇḍara has ordered Sumaṅgala to go all over the world to find a husband worthy of her. At Kānanadvīpa, Sumaṅgala has made up his mind that it should be Manōhara, and then he has made himself welcome to him by his talents. He was hoping to carry him off one day and bring him to Nāgapura. But the love of Sukumārikā coming in the way has prevented him for a long time from carrying out his plans. At last he has been successful. The shipwreck was pre-arranged. The ship was to be lost in a place where it would be easy to escape. Manōhara weds Naṇinikā. The young wife keeps a silent watch over her husband, but one night when she had been careless enough to leave him alone, Sukumārikā comes in unexpectedly and carries him off. She has never restored him.

200-204: "This is the reason why I keep a watch over thee," concludes Gandharvadattā, "I suspect that caṇḍālī is not a genuine mātaṅgi."

20. *Ajināvātīlābha**1st Reading* (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

1-84: Naravāhanadatta lives with Gandharvadattā as if he had forgotten everything. One day Vīṇādattaka informs him that he has met in the street an old woman whom passers-by suspect of being a goddess; she has come up to him and said: "I have given my daughter, Ajināvātī to thy master." Naravāhanadatta laughs at the idea; he sends to the old woman to tell her that before that marriage is arranged he has many people to be consulted. "What is the use," she replies, "of consulting Udayana, Vāsavadattā, Rumaṇvat, etc.? Is this the way a man of honour behaves?" "How does she know my name." says he to himself. Gandharvadattā in a fright falls into a fever. Her husband makes her spend the night on the terrace: at last she falls asleep. A ghost appears; what is to be done?—strike him?—but then Gandharvadattā will wake up at the noise. Naravāhanadatta keeps quiet. The ghost takes him on his shoulders and carries him off; nobody sees him pass.

85-92: Strange noises are heard during the night in the streets of Campā. Naravāhanadatta who has made good use of Gomukha's lessons, interprets to himself all those noises. Outside the walls, the corpse of a child, that of a man, of a young woman who has been hanged supply him with other subjects for his ingenious deductions. They arrive at the cremation ground.

2nd Reading.

93-121: The old hag is busy with a magic ceremony. She orders the ghost to put down his burden and to clear away. Her name is Dhanavatī. Among the Vidyādhara's her husband, Mahā-siṃha, is the king of the Mātāṅgas. Her son Caṇḍasiṃha has a daughter, Ajināvātī by name, who has seen Naravāhanadatta on his way to the yātrā and has fallen in love with him. To ensure the happiness of her grand-daughter, Dhanavatī has caused the desired husband to be carried away by a ghost who was in her service. Whether he likes it or not he shall wed Ajināvātī. The maid is commanded to come in and their hands are joined.

K.S.S., 14, II (CVI) 33-43; B.K.M., 13, 80-83; Dhanavatī, wife of Siṃha and mother of Caṇḍasiṃha and of Ajināvātī, recognizes the hero through her magic science.

122-131: Besides, this marriage has its advantages: The Vidyādhara, Gaurimūṇḍa, brother of Aṅgāraka (*cf.* sarga 9, 77-108), is seeking to kill Naravāhanadatta since he has restored Amṛtagati to life. An alliance with Caṇḍasiṃha will mean a useful support to him.

(Gaurimūṇḍa, enemy of Naravāhanadatta; Caṇḍasiṃha his ally)—The danger which threatens Naravāhanadatta is mentioned.

132-166: A flying chariot comes down from heaven, Naravāhanadatta gets into it. They arrive at the city of Caṇḍasiṃha. After some delay an auspicious day is selected for the marriage. Naravāhanadatta weds Ajināvati.

Dhanavati carries him off and makes him marry Ajināvati. The delay is mentioned. Marriage takes place later on [K.S.S., 14, III (CVII), 31-35; B.K.M. 13, 150-154]. Meanwhile, Dhanavati carries off the hero to Qravāsti (to Avantī, B.K.M.).

3rd Reading (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

167-204: Ajināvati is sad! The Vidyādhara Vikacika had formerly asked for her in marriage. Her father had replied that she was too young. Vikacika has spread the rumour that she was betrothed to him. Now he institutes a suit against Caṇḍasiṃha. Naravāhanadatta and Ajināvati must go to Saptaparṇa, the headquarters of the court presided over by Vāyumukta (by Vāyupatha according to K.S.S., CVI, 164). Whilst Ajināvati goes to call on her relations and friends, Naravāhanadatta takes a walk in the gardens of the city, making wreaths of flowers and leaves. Ajināvati comes and joins him. The case has not even been argued, but Vāyumukta has thrown out Vikacika's complaint; this one has left with his mouth full of threats.

205-226: Naravāhanadatta adorns Ajināvati with his garlands of flowers; scene of jealousy. He knows too well how to do it—it is easy to see that she is not the first one he has adorned in that way! etc. The hero begins to feel the chain that binds him rather heavy. He regrets his own independence and feels the subjection under which his wife and her parents hold him. In spite of all he puts a good face on it and accompanies Ajināvati to a tīrtha. Vikacika appears on the scene, abuses him and carries away Ajināvati.

227-260: He sees Caṇḍasiṃha at the head of an army of Vidyādhara pass in pursuit of the abductor; he finds himself alone, lost in the forest, he walks on till he is quite exhausted. At last he hears some one shouting; it is a cow-herd who is getting his cows together. He goes up to him. The cow-herd gives him hospitality in his hut.

4th Reading (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

261-292: The cow-herd shows him the way to a village. At the entrance a man exclaims: "This is the brother of the young lord!"—"What is that?"—"A young man had come one day saying that he was seeking for his brother who, like him, was a native of Avantī; from that time he is living in the village exciting the people's wonder by his ingenuity."—"It is really my brother," exclaims Naravāhanadatta. His presentiments have not deceived him. He falls into Gomukha's arms.

Gomukha's Narrative.

293-356: Gomukha explains all that has taken place at Kauṣāmbī after the abduction of his master by Mānasavega. Udayana, in spite of the protestations of the soothsayer Ādityaśarma was very anxious. One day they saw Vegavati return, but she retired to her room. She was accompanied by Amṛtagati who explained, in a few words, to Udayana his son's disappearance, adding that

Mānasavega had been overcome by Vegavatī and that Naravāhanadatta was safe at Campā. Gomukha guessed that Amṛtagati was telling only a part of the truth and got out of him a supplement of information. The Vidyādhara explained in detail how at the call of his former saviour he rescued him from the well and how at his request he had gone and joined Vegavatī, who, however, was in no need of his services. Through her magic science she discovered that Naravāhanadatta was at Campā and they found their way there. Vegavatī under the form of a man managed to get into Vīṇādattaka's house. She was able to overhear the conversations of Naravāhanadatta with his host, and even what he was saying to himself. "Vegavatī," he said, "has made me forget Madanamanjukā; a third wife will make me forget the second!" Vegavatī then wanted to die. Amṛtagati exhausted in vain all his philosophy in order to prevent her from putting an end to herself. Then he announced his intention of dying with her. His friend's wife had been entrusted to him. He could not separate his fate from hers; that would be a sin!

357-411: An example:—A rat had its hole on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī and lived in it with his wife and children. When he was away from home a friend came from the city to pay him a visit: the river overflows, the rat's wife begs in vain of the friend to save her family. He shuns his duty and crosses alone over to the other bank. The father of the family, after having escaped a thousand dangers, comes to take away his wife and children, but finds them drowned. The selfish friend, when the flood has subsided, attempts to excuse himself: "Your wife" he says, "refused to run away with me." He ought to have died with her. Anyhow he is altogether disgraced. Accordingly Amṛtagati anxious to preserve his honour was ready to die with Vegavatī, but she changed her mind and determined to live.

412-438: Thereupon Amṛtagati left Kauṣāmbī. Udayana organized a caravan under Hariṣikha as leader. 500 elephants, 5,000 horses, 20,000 men on foot left to bring Naravāhanadatta from Campā. An army of barbarians attacked them. Gomukha's horse, maddened by his wounds, carried him far away from the battlefield and ran so many miles that at last he fell down dead. Then Gomukha, finding himself alone in a desert country, climbed up a tree, discovered this village where he has taken refuge under an assumed name, and has remained there waiting to see what was going to happen. Rumour has informed him that the army of Hariṣikha has defeated the barbarians.

VII. PRIYADARṢANĀLĀBHA (S. XXI, XXVII).

21. *Dairākhyāna* (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

[This story and the following one (on the *Puruṣakāra*) have nothing to do with the narrative of the two Brahmins in the book of *Madirāvati* of the K.S.S., and of the B.K.M.]

1-29: After a month's rest Gomukha suggests their going away. The two friends could go to Benares where so many travellers meet: there they might get news of their people, Gomukha makes the journey look shorter by his jokes and

his stories. At the gates of the city they take rest under a shed. Gomukha makes his master hand him over all his jewels as there are so many thieves about ; then he goes to get information and Naravāhanadatta waits for him.

39-55: A mendicant ascetic and a Brahmacārin come also to take rest under the shed. "The first is a heretic, the second is a robber," says Naravāhanadatta to himself, "let us be on our guard." Meanwile he listens to their conversation. The mendicant has realized the falseness of all the philosophies : *Cruti* and *smṛti* are nothing more than meaningless words.—The other one is indignant.—"Look at this man," says the mendicant, pointing to Naravāhanadatta ; "if one is to believe the holy books, he bears the physical marks of the cakravartin ; and yet what is he ? a vagabond in rags."—"But," replies the Brahmacārin, "the physical marks on an individual are only the signs of destiny (*daiva* or *pūrvakarma*). They are not necessarily efficacious by themselves, but become so only by voluntary action (*puṣa-kāra*); otherwise they are like a bow that is not bent or a grain that is not sown. If this vagabond has not become cakravartin, though he was predestined to be one, we must conclude that it has been for lack of will, not that the sacred books are untruthful."—"Nonsense," replies the mendicant, "predestination is bound to reduce to nought every human effort ; listen rather to this story."

56-109: "In the village of Brahmasthalaka, on the banks of the Indus, near the sea, the Brahmacārin, Dr̥dhodyama, brought up by a certain Tamobhedaka, became the pupil of the ascetic Bhinnatamas, of the sect of the Pāñcarātrikas. One day, Bhinnatamas informed his disciple that he was going to Benares to live according to the laws of Buddha ; 'as for thyself', he added, 'get married and become the head of a family ; I leave thee all my belongings.' Dr̥dhodyama, before coming to a decision wanted to ask for Tamobhedaka's advice. His visit to his foster-father being rather long, Bhinnatamas came to see what was going on. Dr̥dhodyama had not yet been able to see Tamobhedaka as his wife was in the throes of child birth. Bhinnatamas foretold Dr̥dhodyama that the child was to be a girl whom he would wed but that she would be a guilty wife. 'No,' says the other. Whereupon his master set out for Benares. Women's cries, sounding as "if cats had been caught by dogs," made Dr̥dhodyama guess that a girl was born. He ran away and for twelve years roamed over the world and at last settled down on the banks of the Ganges with an old Brahmani, as tutor of her two grandsons.

110-172: His pupils had a sister, ugly and mis-shaped. Her name was Tamālikā. He was made to marry her. He believed that he had defeated fate, but it was an error. An unheard of concurrence of circumstances made that Tamālikā was precisely the daughter of Tamobhedaka. Again Dr̥dhodyama made himself scarce ; by this means at least he would not see his wife become an adultress. He wandered again for twelve years. Having become old he made up his mind to end his days at Benares. There he met a "mahāpācupata" with a woman ; both were drunk. The woman fell at his feet : it was Tamālikā ! Misery had reduced her to become the companion of that despicable vagabond. She followed Dr̥dhodyama. Fate, less severe, made him meet another woman wealthier and of

good family whom he wedded. Still Tamālikā did not leave him. He had to bear up with her till his death."

22. *Puruṣakāra-kathā.*

1st Reading.

The Brahmacārin starts a story of his own:

1-46: Two merchants: Sāgaradatta of Ujjayani, Buddhavarman of Rājagṛha. They meet when they are on a journey. They betroth their children who are not yet born. During their absence both the children are born. To Sāgaradatta a beautiful girl, Kundamālikā; to Buddhavarman a dwarf one-eyed and mis-shaped Kurubhaka. As the dowry of Kundamālikā is likely to be very handsome, Buddhavarman hides from Sāgaradatta his son's deformity.

47-101: Eight years later Sāgaradatta sends messengers to have a look at his future son-in-law. Buddhavarman hides him and says that he is prosecuting his studies at Tāmraliptī. Four or five years later new embassy from Sāgaradatta. This time there is no pretext to hide the young man. Buddhavarman's wife invents an expedient; she borrows from a neighbouring Brahmin his son Yajñagupta, handsome and well-set. Everything is satisfactory. Sāgaradatta's messengers return home quite pleased. Yajñagupta agrees with Buddhavarman to play the part of the bridegroom. His reward will be the dowry, and after that he will give up his wife to Kurubhaka. The two young people are sent with great pomp to Ujjayani.

102-183: Yajñagupta receives the dowry and as soon as the wedding ceremonies are over he complains of great pains in his inside. The sham sickness goes on. Kundamālikā and Kurubhaka act as his nurses. The latter pays his addresses to the girl, but without success. Yajñagupta seeing that Kurubhaka is really too deformed and has no chance to get his object, asks to go away. The air of his native country will certainly cure him, says he. His desire is complied with.

2nd Reading.

184-163: The nearer they come to Rājagṛha the better the patient feels. At the gate of the city, he manages without being seen, to change his splendid costume and to put on his old rags and then he makes himself scarce. Kurubhaka puts on the wedding clothes of the bridegroom and in that garb presents himself before the astonished bride. They enter the city: the people are indignant at seeing such an ill-matched couple. Buddhavarman congratulates himself on the success of his trick and Kundamālikā would in the end have resigned herself to her fate, if Yajñagupta had not put in his appearance again. "Kurubhaka," he says, "is the husband whom fate has assigned to thee." Then he disappears. The young woman, altogether shocked, runs after him but he is lost in the crowd.

164-183: How can she escape being pursued? she asks herself. She spots Kāpālīka who is lying dead drunk in a street. She steals his rags and in that garb goes out of the city. In a suburb she enters into conversation with an old Brāhmaṇī, who gives her to understand that public opinion is in her favour. She

reveals her identity. The old lady gives her shelter. Meanwhile Buddhavarman has set the Police after her.

184-228: The following day, disguised again as a mendicant, wrinkled and not easy to be recognized, she goes into the city and asks for Yajñagupta's residence. He is occupied with the study of the laws of Manu (*manāvi dharmasaṃhitā*). Is it not perfectly ridiculous after the great sin he has committed? She lectures him to induce him to repair the wrong he has done to the woman he has duped—but all that is in vain—every day new objurgations and new refusals. She then tries to get at him through cupidity. Having sold her jewels she puts the money she has realized in a pot which she buries on the outskirts of a forest. Then she reveals the hiding place to Yajñagupta, pretending to have discovered it through her knowledge of the Mahākālamata. She is going away, she says, as she is bound to make a pilgrimage to Benares.

229-239: Yajñagupta's father tells his son: "The Vedas are no good. You had better study that Mahākālamata." He then follows the sham mendicant and goes with him to Benares.

3rd Reading.

240-273: Having remained there for four months they go into the Naimiṣa, then to Gaṅgādvāra and then to Mahālaya. At last the sham Kāpālīka expresses his intention to go to Ujjayanī; on the occasion of a yātrā there will be then a great concourse of Kāpālīkas. It will be a fine opportunity for all kinds of orgies and brawls. If he could meet with his death, says Yajñagupta to himself, he would leave me the Mahākālamata. This is the reason why he accompanies him, though the city is dangerous for him owing to the certainty, that the parents of Kundamālīkā must take vengeance upon him. He stops at the tīrtha of Bhadravaṭa, whilst his friend goes to join the Kāpālīkas on the banks of the Sīprā. There, Kundamālīkā uncovers herself and appears without any veil. The crowd surrounds and escorts her.

274-312: Thus escorted, she sets out for her father's house. To her wondering parents she explains her conduct. Her brothers go to the tīrtha and taking hold of the terrified Yajñagupta drag him to the house. Being rather laughed at than threatened, he begs pardon for his fault, which he had committed at the command of his father. He is forgiven on condition that he will remain at Ujjayanī with Kundamālīkā, and that he will make a good husband.

This is how a woman has lifted up the "mountain of destiny".

23. *Nandopanandakathā*.

[Nothing to do with the story of *Ghaṇṭa* and *Nighaṇṭa* (K.S.S., 18, II (CXXI) 229 sq.)—*Saṇḍa* and *Upasāṇḍa* (K.S.S., 3, I (XV), 135 sq.; B.K.M., 3, 62 sq.)]

1-7: The men who had been talking having gone, Naravāhanadatta sees Gomukha arrive in a carriage with a rich personage, Punarvasu; Gomukha introduces him as their host. "Where did you pick up this new friend?" he asks in the evening.

Gomukha's Narrative.

8-79: Having gone to the gate of the Royal Palace, he attracted the attention of a rich personage by giving himself out to him as a young Brahmin, who has come with his brother to Avantī for the purpose of prosecuting their studies. The man graciously invites him to his house. They hear a great noise. What is it? It comes from a gambling house. The rich merchant Punarvasu is the cause of the uproar. When he wins, he gives money to the poor. Hence a concert of blessings! When he loses, it is a concert of lamentations and prayers. Out of curiosity, Gomukha goes to the gambling den; he acts as a referee between two partners who are quarrelling; he then gambles himself with his master's jewels as a stake and wins 100,000 pieces; the loser pays up, thanks to Punarvasu. Then Punarvasu takes his new friend to his house and offers hospitality to him; both vie with each other in graceful attentions. At last Punarvasu insists on going to bring also the brother of his guest.

80-98: Naravāhanadatta is ashamed to live at the expense of this merchant. As Gomukha has plenty of money, they ought to pay now for their up-keep. He asks Punarvasu to get a cook for them. The merchant introduces two, who at once fall on all fours at the feet of Naravāhanadatta. The first meal they serve up is worthy of the gods. Their new master, in order to attach them to his service, makes Gomukha give them ten thousand pieces of gold.

99-124: One of them declines to accept the money. "Our master," he says "is in very low circumstances." "How is that," replies the other. "Does he not possess millions of aerial chariots?" and he takes the money. Gomukha puzzled asks them for some information. Their names are Nanda and Upananda, sons of Devavat, who is the cook and medical advisor of Brahmadatta. His skill is so great that the king has granted him one-tenth part of the revenues of his kingdom. He has made his sons proficient in all the arts, to enable them to push themselves into the good graces of people of high rank. They know the signs which foretell future good fortunes. Their new master is predestined to become Vidyādhara and cakravartin. They can be trusted. This is the reason why they have saluted him by falling on all fours in front of him.

24. *No heading in the text.*

1-37: One day, Naravāhanadatta sees a gramaṇī passing by, escorted by her disciples. It is Rṣidattā, a friend of the king's daughter. She has adopted the creed of the Jāinas. Punarvasu tries to give his guests the pleasure of a conversation with her. As he is unsuccessful, Gomukha proposes they should go to the temple where the sect assembles. They all go there. Gomukha, who is always at home everywhere, intones a hymn to the Jina and to his church, and kisses Rṣidattā's feet. They are made welcome. Upananda asks that a musical entertainment should be given in honour of the two visitors. Two members of the sect are sent for. Their skill, it is said, is remarkable; they are Gaṅgarakṣita and the chief of the guild of merchants, Priyadarṣana. Naravāhanadatta is excited.

by the good looks of the latter. He loses his head and he salutes him as if he were a woman. This great blunder causes a certain amount of coolness.

38-73: The *vīṇā* is handed over from hand to hand, till it reaches Gomukha. Every one is greeted with applause. It is thy turn now, says Gomukha to his master. 'I,' replies Naravāhanadatta, 'to play for those scoundrels, those ragamuffins!' 'Thou didst not put on such airs at Campā,' retorts Gomukha. 'Besides, wilt thou let us be outdone by that merchant, Priyadarçana, who has played better than I.' Naravāhanadatta gives in. He becomes the hero of the entertainment. Gaṅgarakṣita and Priyadarçana beg of him to be allowed to become his pupils. 'That will give him a great influence at Benares where Priyadarçana, the chief of merchants, holds a great part of the populace under his sway.'

25. *Gomukha-irāvāṅkhyāna.*

1-14: Gomukha absents himself frequently. His pretext is that he has noticed in the street a servant of Hariçikha, and he must look for him. Eight days later, he comes back quite drunk. His master is indignant. 'My drunkenness is a sham,' replies Gomukha. 'I only wanted to be able to say something not nice and then plead irresponsibility.' 'What is it then?'

Gomukha's Narrative.

15-33: He has fallen in love with Rṣidattā and has gone to see her. She has questioned him about his travels: Dost thou know Kauçāmbī? Hast thou seen Gomukha? Yes, he has said, he is my most intimate friend, another myself in fact. How handsome he is, answers Rṣidattā, and she begins to shed tears.

34-63: Rṣidattā happens to be the daughter of Mahadinnā, merchant from Rājagṛha, brother of Mahadinnā, mother of Gomukha. At her birth she was betrothed to Gomukha, but Mahadinnā having lost his fortune, was forced to send his daughter to his sister Sumanas at Benares, and that put a stop to the engagement. Whilst a child, Rṣidattā nearly died of a fever. The Çraṇṇā Çrutadharā cured her. After which she never could leave that woman, as when she was away from her, the fever caught hold of her again. Çrutadharā brought her up in the creed of the Jina, and at her death left her chief of that sect. In spite of her religious vows she was always thinking of Gomukha. One day she heard that on his way to Campā he had been massacred by the Pulindas. That is the reason of her tears.

64-96: Gomukha is not slow in making the best of her compassionate feelings. He gives money to the church and pretends to be ill, as the result of his having fasted. He is taken to Rṣidattā's house. She nurses him, falls in love with him, gives up her vows and weds him in the presence of Sumanas and of Priyadarçana.

97-109: Naravāhanadatta pays a visit to his friend's wife, and congratulates her not without some sneering to the address of the church.

26. *Priyadarçanāstanadarçana.*

1-21: Naravāhanadatta meets Priyadarçana on his way to the market place. The merchant's robe, opening at the neck, reveals a woman's breast. Naravāhanadatta, losing his senses, asks Gomukha to send for Priyadarçana, as he is bent

on marrying her. "Thou art mad, how will public opinion look upon this match? Every one knows the chief of the merchants as a man!" "The whole city knew also Rṣidattā as a nun!" They begin to quarrel.

22-40: Gomukha narrates the story of the Brahmin Satyakañcika, who saw a stone crossing the Ganges; he related the fact to his disciples, but denied it in the presence of the King, not to go against public opinion, which shows that one ought always to be careful not to go contrary to popular sentiment!

41-51: Gomukha, convinced that his master is mad, sends for several medical men. Their diagnosis is that it is a case of madness brought about by the privation of an object on which Naravāhanadatta has set his heart. He resolves at last to make Priyadarçana dine with his master.

27. *Priyadarcanāvivāha.*

1st Reading.

1-23: The behaviour of Naravāhanadatta with Priyadarçana becomes a scandal. Gomukha removes suddenly the young merchant. Furious, Naravāhanadatta turns Gomukha out. The following day two dignitaries of the Court come for the hero and take him to king Brahmadatta.

24-57: By order of the king, the commander-in-chief imparts some information to "the young Brahmin" (Naravāhanadatta): Kāliya, chief of the guild of merchants, a friend of the king, had died many years ago leaving his wife with child. She gave birth to a son, Priyadarçana, who having reached man's estate succeeded his father as the chief of the guild. But Kāliya has just returned, relating that his virtues had merited heaven for him, but that his wife on account of a great sin has caused him to be sent back to the earth. She had told a big lie when she said that her child was a son, in reality it was a daughter. To atone for this crime—as husbands have to pay for the guilt of their wives—he has become a man again with the privilege to remember his previous existence. He asks to-day that the sex of his daughter should be acknowledged and that she should be married. Brahmadatta has at first suspected an imposture, but the new Kāliya has answered so satisfactorily all his questions about their former relations, that he has had to yield to evidence, after which Kāliya has withdrawn. The young maid has been sent for; the queens have proposed to her several husbands, but she has chosen the young Brahmin who is staying with Punarvasu.

Naravāhanadatta intimates his consent. Brahmadatta confers upon him the dignity of chief of the guild, as well as all the possessions of Kāliya.

2nd Reading.

58-68: Naravāhanadatta is overjoyed now that he has won Priyadarçanā; he is in a mood to forgive Gomukha and sends for him. Gomukha arrives quite pleased with himself. "To succeed in life," says he, "one must have a good *karman* and also a certain amount of cunning." He fortunately can boast of both.

Gomukha's Narrative.

69-117: After having been driven away by his master he has taken refuge with Rṣidattā and has related all their adventures to her. She in return has also

taken him into her confidence. Her aunt, Sumānas, was a wife of Kāliya. She had from him a posthumous daughter. As good fortune was deserting her, she had recourse to the good offices of the Vidyādhārī Priyadarṣanā, who was well disposed towards her. The Vidyādhārī has foretold that the child would wed a future cakravartin. Meanwhile she has tied round her neck a magic plant, which would make every one take her for a boy. The cakravartin alone will discover that she is a girl. The child grows up and becomes chief of a guild under the name of Priyadarṣana. The day of the musical entertainment in the temple, when Naravāhanadatta had saluted Priyadarṣana as a woman, Rṣidattā has recognized in him the cakravartin and has come to the conclusion that his friend was Gomukha. The rest of her behaviour is easily explained. Now, it is Gomukha's business to bring about his master's union with Priyadarṣanā.

Gomukha does not forgive himself for having been caught nodding; he thinks of putting an end to himself, but a voice tells him not to do it. At that moment he notices a man carrying on his shoulders a mis-shapen young man. "I cannot feed thee any longer," says the man, "and I am going to twist thy neck"—"Sell me rather to generous people"—Gomukha buys up the young cripple, makes Rṣidattā tell him all she knows of the relations between Kāliya and the king. She teaches the young scamp to play the part of Kāliya and sends him to Brahmadatta. The rest follows naturally. Naravāhanadatta cannot congratulate himself enough on possessing such a cunning friend.

VIII. BHAGĪRATHAYAÇOLĀBHIA (S. XXVIII).

(K. S. S., 14, II (CVI), 44-49 ; B. K. M., 13, 84-86.)

28: (*No heading in the text.* K. S. S., B. K. M., Nil.)

1-40: Naravāhanadatta gives himself up to his new love. Not feeling inclined to fulfil his duties as chief of the guild, he sends for the merchants, and in their presence hands over all his power to Gomukha, thereby relieving himself of every care.

One day, a band of young girls rush into his house. One of them, Kumudikā, explains to him that Bhagīrathayaças, daughter of Brahmadatta, on the occasion of some ritual observance, is distributing presents to the Brahmins. She hands over to him the presents which are meant for him, and then offers several ornaments to Priyadarṣanā. Naravāhanadatta is perplexed and Gomukha is uneasy. The next day, Kumudikā returns: her mistress has blamed her, because she has called the young man *yacobhāgin* instead of *arya-putra* * (this is the name by which a married woman calls her husband): she apologizes. All this becomes more and more suspicious.

41-85: On an invitation delivered through Kumudikā, Priyadarṣanā repairs to the Royal Palace. In the evening, she returns home loaded with jewels, wearing under her clothes a loose girdle tied up by a knot badly made with the fibres of the lotus.

* See manuscripts in all passages where this word occurs.

The girdle falls down. "What is that?" asks Naravāhanadatta. Priyadarṣanā relates: Bhagīrathayaças has made her talk about her husband. How is it that Nanda and Upananda, who are enjoying the tenth part of the revenues of the kingdom, are in the service of a man without a fortune. Then many other questions of an intimate nature. At last she has undone her own belt and handed it over to Priyadarṣanā.

86-116: Naravāhanadatta puts his own meaning on all the details of the interview. The belt? It is a message of love. Priyadarṣanā is mad with jealousy: As for him, he is already in love and he makes out his plans accordingly. A few days later Kumudikā comes again with a new message. Bhagīrathayaças invites Priyadarṣanā to a wedding of plants. She will come to take her in a palanquin. "She wants to see me" thinks Naravāhanadatta. The following day she comes, takes Priyadarṣanā with her and brings her back in the evening. She has allowed Naravāhanadatta to see her face; by their looks they have revealed to each other their mutual passion.

(Here end the most complete manuscripts N. and M.)

Abstract Concordance Table.

B.K.C.S.	K.S.S.	B.K.M.
<i>I. Kathāmukha.</i>		
1. 1-4.	Nil.	Nil.
5-10.	16, I (CXI), 55-56.	18, 30.
11-48.	Nil.	Nil.
49-91.	(57-94).	(30-84).
2.	Nil.	Nil.
3. 1-80.	16, II (CXII), 62-204.	18, 110-193.
81-96.	1-15.	94-105.
97-112.	I (CXI), 95-106.	85-93.
113-126.	II (CXII), 208-214.	196.
<i>II. Naravāhanadatta janma.</i>		
4. 1-12.	6, I (XXVII), 2-4.	Upasamhāra, 13. 20-21.
13-132.	4, I (XXI), 37-137.	4, 12-40.
5. 1-83.	4, I (XXI), 138-148 (and 3, V., (XIX) 3-12.)	4, 41-42 (and 3, 295-297).
84-175.	2, I (IX), 46-90.	2, I, 40-66.
176-279.	Nil.	Nil.
280-296.	4, II (XXII), 9-13.	4, 45-46.
297-326.	2, V (XIII), 35-37.	2, II, 160-161.
6. 1-16.	4, III (XXIII), 53-94; 6, I, (XXVII), 5-8.	4, 132-142.
17-33.	Nil.	Nil.

B.K.C.S.

K.S.S.

B.K.M.

III. Madanamañjukālābha.

7. 1-31.	6, VIII (XXXIV), 97-130; 162-173.	7, 557-562; 571-573.
8. 32-82.	Nil.	Nil.
9-10.	Nil (except allusions 6, III (XXXIV), 174).	Nil.
11.	Nil (except allusions 6, VIII (XXXIV), 162).	Nil (except allusions 7, 571).

IV. Vegavatīlābha.

12. 1-82. 83-84.	14, I (CV), 3-53. Nil.	8, 68-75 and 13, 1-28. Nil.
13.	14, I (CV), 54-63.	13, 29-39.
14.	14, I (CV), 64-77.	13, 40-59.
15. 1-68. 69-108. 109-159.	Nil. 14, I (CV), 78-89. Nil.	Nil. 13, 60-68. Nil.

V. Gandharvadattālābha.

16. 1-29. 30-92.	Nil. 14, II (CVI), 1-21.	Nil. 13, 69-73.
17. 1-98. 99-164. 165-180.	Nil. 14, II (CVI) 22-32. Nil.	Nil. 13, 74-79. Nil.
18.	Nil.	Nil.

VI. Ajñāvatīlābha.

19.	Nil.	Nil.
20. I (1-92). II (93-166). III-IV (167-437).	Nil. 14, II (CVI), 33-43 and III (CVII), 31-35. Nil.	Nil. 13, 80-83 and 150-154. Nil.

VII. Priyadarśanālābha.

21-27.	Nil.	Nil.
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VIII. Bhagīrathayaacolābha.

28.	Nil (But the adventure of Bhagīrathayaças is the subject of 14, II (CVI), 44-49).	Nil (But the adventure of Bhagīrathayaças is the subject of 13, 84-86).
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CHAPTER III

OTHER VERSIONS OF THE BṚHATKATHĀ

A. SANSKRIT VERSIONS.

It is possible that there might have existed other Sanskrit versions of the Bṛhatkathā. We have already mentioned that one might have been known in the South, in which an allusion was made to a king called Valāha (*V. supra*), but this is a very vague indication. A Kathāsāra is found in Southern India (*Oppert Lists*, I, 2780). Unfortunately, I have not been able, so far, to get hold of it, but I am inclined to think that, like the Bṛhatkathāsārasaṃgraha (*V. supra*), it is a mere copy of the Kathāsaritsāgara.

I remind my readers that the very divergent forms in which are related in Indian literature the stories of Udayana and Vāsavadattā, prove nothing as to the existence of several versions of the Bṛhatkathā (*V. supra*).

The manuscript to which Mr. S. d'Oldenbourg has drawn attention*, and which bears the title of Kathāprakāṣa, is in the Library of the India Office, No. 4105 (Ethe's Cat. (Part VII), p. 1570). It is a compilation which is given out as a nītiśāstra, the work of a certain Miśrajagannātha. The Kathāprakāṣa contains (f. 1-v. to 84-v. of the mss.) tales borrowed from the IX-XIII, XXIV-XXXVII of the Kathāsaritsāgara. The text, according to Mr. S. d'Oldenbourg, is more or less the same, except some omissions, as that of the Kathāsaritsāgara of Brockhaus. The rest of the manuscript contains extracts from the Mahābhārata, the Harivaṃśa, from some Purāṇas (Mārkaṇḍeya), tales which seem to be a mixture of the Ćukasaptati and of the Simhāsanadvātriṃśikā, though none of those tales is found in the Ćukasaptati, and lastly some extracts of the Puruṣaparīkṣā. The contents of that collection show that it is rather recent, probably from the beginning of the XVIIth Century (Ethe, l.c.p. 1573). It does not constitute a new source of information on the Bṛhatkathā and can only help in a critical study of the text of the Kathāsaritsāgara.

B. THE PERSIAN VERSION.

There has existed a Persian abridgment of the Bṛhatkathā, which in reality may have been an abridgment of the Kathāsaritsāgara, as it has been brought to notice by the Cashmerians, though they don't mention from which original it has been taken. It is mentioned in the sequence given by Ćrīvara to the Rājāvalī of Jonarāja, which is itself a continuation of the Rājataranginī.†

The Persian collection in the Library of the India Office contains (No. 1987 Ethe's Cat., p. 1105) a fragment of an abridged Persian translation in prose of the Kathāsaritsāgara, but both the beginning and the end are missing.

There is another Persian manuscript in the India Office Library, which one

* *Materiaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Bṛhatkathā* (Zapiski, III, 1 (1888), pp. 4-7 du tirage à part).

† *Rajataranginī*—Bombay edition; 1896—Tṛtiyā Rājataranginī I. 5. 86.

might have suspected of being a version of the Bṛhatkathā and which has been thoroughly examined by Mr. S. d'Oldenbourg. That manuscript (No. 1994, Ethe's Cat., p. 1109) is accompanied by a loose leaf on which is written "Summary Table of the Bhārata-Kutha and the other Puranas." The title is "Kutha and Purana." The first lines, fol. 25 v., begin thus: (fol. 1-24 having been lost): "In the Deccan Province there is a mountain called Mangala, from which flows the river Nerbudda; on the banks of that river there is a town called Rambhā (=Rambhā) the king of which was called Singrama Sūra (=Saṃgrāmaçura)".... The end, if we suppose that the text ends with the manuscript is..."and Singrāma-Sūra cultivated the whole surface of the earth; He is called Tchakravarta (=cakravartin)".... Mr. S. d'Oldenbourg had come to the conclusion that it was neither a Persian translation of the Kathāsaritsāgara nor of the Bṛhatkathāmañjari, but that there was a possibility that there were borrowings from Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā or some imitation of it. The complete list of the 34 stories contained in that manuscript (Ethe's Cat., p. 1110) shows that it is not a coherent narrative, though the name of Saṃgrāmaçura is found at the beginning and at the end. That king is not the hero of all the tales: for instance No. 8 is the story of King Somaçarman, No. 13 that of King Pratāpa Rudra. Besides, all the tales are not about kings. No. 31 is the story of Vyāsa and of Parāçara. It is a compilation of tales which seem to be of various origin, some translated from Sanscrit, some from Hindi or Hindustani.* We must not then look here, as we might have been induced to do on the advice of Mr. S. d'Oldenbourg, for the history of a hero, who like the hero of the Bṛhatkathā, goes through several adventures before becoming cakravartin. I do not see that this collection has more connection with the Nepalese Çloka-saṃgraha than with the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā. In any case, it cannot be the Persian version of the Bṛhatkathā.

C. THE TAMIL BṚHATKATHĀ.

Paṇḍit Svāminātha Iyer has drawn attention to the existence of a Tamil version or adaptation under the name of "Udayaṇan Kadai", "Kadai" or "Peruṇḡadai" = Bṛhatkathā.† He has promised to edit it,‡—though he warns us that the text of the manuscript he has in his hands is in a very bad condition. The only part which can be utilized is composed of five sections:

1. Unjaik Kāṇḍam	58 sub-sections, of which 32 are lost.
2. Ilāvāpa Kāṇḍam	20 sub-sections.
3. Magadha Kāṇḍam	17 sub-sections.
4. Vattava Kāṇḍam	9 sub-sections.
5. Naravāhana Kāṇḍam	9 sub-sections."

* Mr. T. W. Arnold has kindly examined this manuscript for me.

† S'ilappadhikāram, Introd., p. 17.

‡ S. Krishnaswāmi Aiyangār, Bṛhatkathā (J. of the Royal Asiatic Society, July 1906,

From this summary table it is clear that the first five books give the beginning of a version of the Bṛhatkathā, which contained neither Guṇādhya's Legend nor the Introduction, unless this latter be the subject-matter of the first sub-division of Book 1. The name Ujjayinī may be connected with the adventures of Gopāla, of Pālaka and Anantivardhana, as well as with those of Udayana, at Mahāsena's Court. Here they are:

	K.S.S.	B.K.M.	P.K.C.S.
1. Ujjayinī Kāṇḍa	2	2	Nil
2. Lāvāṇa Kāṇḍa	3	3	Nil
3. Magadha Kāṇḍa	3 (?)	3 (?)	Nil
4. Vatsa Kāṇḍa	4, I-II	4, 12-46	4-5
5. Naravāhana Kāṇḍa	4, III	4, 132-142	6

This version seems to be a lengthy one, though Svāminātha Iyer does not give us the number of verses, but if we judge of the respective dimensions of each book by the number of sub-divisions, the relative proportions are in agreement with those we find in the Cashmerian abridgment or in the Nepalese Bṛhatkathā.

Relying on a passage of the commentator, Aḍiyārkkunallār (who himself might belong to the first half of the XII century?), Krishṇaswāmi Aiyangār places the Tamil version of the Bṛhatkathā at a period anterior to the third Tamil school of poetry. This can be admitted without any difficulty. But to date that school as far back as the Third Century of our era, is quite another matter. I do not want to discuss here the age of Tamil Literature, but I do not believe Krishṇaswāmi Aiyangār's theory on that subject* is likely to meet with much favour.

So far, I have not been able to gather any further information about the Tamil Bṛhatkathā, but the mere fact that there has existed a Tamil version of considerable length, the plan of which seems to have had some analogy with the Čloka-saṃgraha, is in itself worth noticing. If it be true, besides, that the influence of that poem has been great, as Krishṇaswāmi Aiyangār believes, on the great Tamil Kāvya, that fact would strengthen the theory that the Bṛhatkathā was considered much more as an Epic poem than as a compilation of tales.

(3rd)

* The Augustan Age of Tamil Literature, Madras Review, 1904.



N.C.

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