PRACYAVIDYA-TARANGINI

GOLDEN JUBILEE VOLUME

OF THE

DEPARTMENT OF

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

Edited by

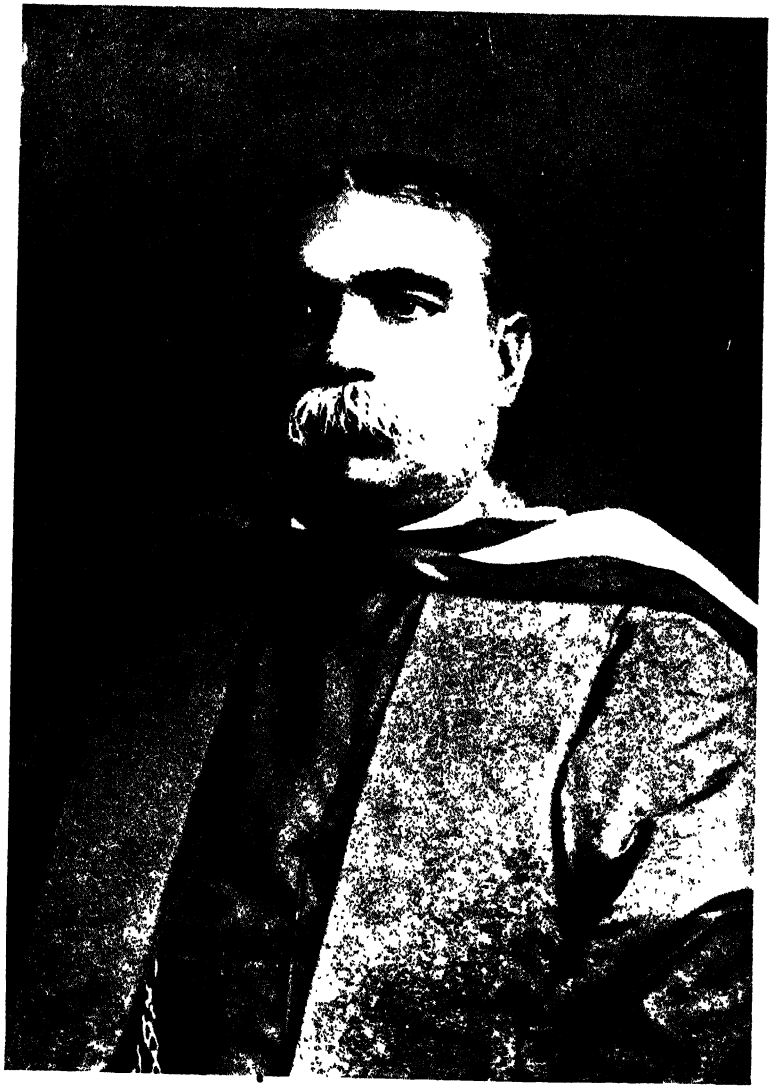
D. C. SIRCAR

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

1969

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Asutosh Mookerjee

Published on the Occasion of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta,

and

Dedicated to the Sacred Memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who introduced Post-Graduate Study of the Subject in the University in 1918.

MESSAGES

I

RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN
NEW DELHI-4
July 24, 1969.

I am glad to know that the present and the erstwhile teachers and students of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of the Department and Twelfth Reunion of the students in the middle of August, 1969. I wish the celebrations all success.

M. Hidayatullah

II

PRIME MINISTER'S SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI-11
July 24, 1969

The Prime Minister thanks you for your letter. She wishes success to the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the University of Calcutta being held next month.

H. Y. Sharada Prasad

III

EDUCATION MINISTER
INDIA
NEW DELHI-1
July 27, 1969.

I was happy to learn that the Golden Jubilee of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the University of Calcutta will be celebrated by the teachers and students (past and present), along with the Twelfth Reunion of Students, on the 16th and 17th of August, 1969. I wish the function every success.

V. K. R. V. Rao

CHIEF MINISTER
WEST BENGAL
July 24, 1969.

I am glad to know that the past and present teachers and students of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, will celebrate the Golden Jubilee and Twelfth Reunion of the Students on August 16 and 17, 1969. I wish all success to the celebrations and send my best wishes to all participants.

It will be no exaggeration to say that a nation is known by its history and culture. Judged by this standard, Indian history and culture can reasonably boast of a glorious record spreading over a few thousand years. There is a vast scope for research in ancient Indian history, and the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the University of Calcutta has already done some notable work in this direction. I hope that the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the past and present teachers and students of this Department will inspire them to still further efforts for correct evaluation of our past achievements.

Ajoykumar Mukherji

FOREWORD

I am glad to find that the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of our University is publishing a Golden Jubilee Volume under the name PRĀCYA-VIDYĀ-TARAṄGIṆĪ. The Department has a very long and distinguished career and has produced a large number of celebrated scholars. This volume containing important papers by many renowned scholars is likely to add further to the reputation of the Department. Part III of the volume containing reminiscences and biographical sketches of old teachers of the Department will be read with very great interest by the present and future generations of students and teachers, and I am very glad that such a useful feature has been added to the volume.

I welcome this publication and am sure that it would provide a valuable addition to the literature on the subject, and I thank all those who have worked so hard to bring out this publication.

SENATE HOUSE
CALCUTTA-12
July 24, 1969.

(S. N. Sen)
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.

PREFACE

The students and teachers—both present and past—and other well-wishers of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, are happy to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of the Department in 1968-69 fifty years after the introduction of post-graduate study for the M.A. degree in that subject in 1918. We take this opportunity to express our thankfulness to all who have been of any help to us in organising the celebrations and in bringing out the present volume. We are extremely grateful to their Excellencies the President, Prime Minister and Education Minister of India, and the Chief Minister of West Bengal and to others for their good wishes, and to the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University for his kind foreword.

The volume has been divided into three Parts, the first of which contains five articles dealing with the history of the Department and other related topics. Part II consists of sixteen research papers contributed by various scholars, and we are grateful to them for the articles which have enhanced the value of the publication. Part III containing reminiscences and biographical sketches of persons intimately associated with the AIHC course has been subdivided into three sections relating respectively to the following categories—(1) the holders of degrees in subjects other than AIHC, who were teachers of the AIHC course (including the teachers of allied Departments), (2) M.A.s in AIHC who were appointed to teach the subject, and (3) M.A.s in AIHC who have distinguished themselves in various fields of activity, especially in the education line. This part containing biographical sketches of more than sixty Indologists is expected to be a useful book of reference to the students of Indian History, and we hope that, following our lead, similar volumes will be published by the various Departments of our University and other educational

institutions. An interesting feature of the reminiscences of past students is that the same teacher often impressed different pupils in different ways. This is indeed a well-known characteristic of subjective evidence. Some of the opinions expressed in the reminiscences on particular topics appear also to be coloured by the personal experiences of the writers. Another fact to be mentioned is that errors of fact were sometimes noticed in the reminiscences and that such inaccuracies were removed by us in many cases.

It was our aim to include in the volume, as far as possible, the reminiscence, biographical sketch and photograph of each one of the past and present teachers and of the distinguished old students (who passed the M.A. Examination in AIHC before 1950). A matter of great satisfaction to us is that we have succeeded in gathering biographical information about the past teachers, though photographs of all of them were not available. It was difficult to collect the data in respect of some of them, especially those who died long ago, and it has to be mentioned that success in this direction is largely due to the help rendered by various enthusiasts, particularly our young student friends Sri Ramesh Kumar Billorey and Sri Subid Chatterjee respectively of the 2nd and 1st Year M.A. Classes. For information regarding two Japanese teachers of the AIHC course, we are indebted to Dr. M. Hara of the University of Tokyo. We have to admit, however, that the details in the biographical sketches are in some cases rather meagre and unsatisfactory. The matter relating to the various persons has been arranged by us according to the dates of their birth.

There has been some difficulty in securing the necessary material also in respect of a few other persons. Whenever, however, such material will be available to us, we shall try to publish it in the *Souvenir* of the annual Students' Reunion

Celebrations, and they may be included in another Volume that is expected to be published after some years in order to celebrate the Diamond Jubilee of the Department. The mistakes that have possibly crept into the present volume may also be rectified on that occasion, if the attention of the Head of the Department is drawn to them. It is a matter of regret that misprints could not be avoided especially because the matter had to be hurried through the press.

We are extremely grateful to the authorities of the University of Calcutta for contributing the sum of Rs. 5000 towards the cost of publishing the present volume and conducting the Golden Jubilee Celebrations. We are also greatly indebted to all well-wishers of the Department who have contributed to the Golden Jubilee Funds. The collections have been made by some of the present and past students of the Department under the direction of Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, Joint-Secretary of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations Committee. We are thankful to all of them. We must also mention that Dr. Bandyopadhyay along with Dr. D. R. Das, both Senior Research Fellows at the Centre of Advanced Study, have helped us in seeing the volume through the press. The Index has been prepared by Dr. S. P. Singh, Junior Research Fellow at the Centre.

Tad = amanda-rasa-syanda-
sundar = eyaṁ nipīyatām /
vidvat-kṛti-kalac-chubhrā
Prācyavidyātaraṅginī //

D. C. SIRCAR

Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, 51/2, Hazra Road, Calcutta-19.
July 31, 1969.

President of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations Committee, Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of AIHC, Director of the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, and Editor of the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*.

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PART I
THE DEPARTMENT

DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

LALIT KUMAR PRAMANIK AND
RAMESH KUMAR BILLOREY

Proud mother of pioneers in many fields of intellectual and moral adventure, the University of Calcutta has a record of achievements which is one of the most noteworthy in all Asia. She has been one of the earliest in India to establish departments of post-graduate study and research. The contributions made by the scholars of this University to the promotion of studies in Indology and allied branches of inquiry command the respect of educational institutions all the world over.

The foundation of the Asiatic Society in January, 1784, was a landmark in the cultural history of modern India. It was originally an institution of Western lovers of Oriental learning, but was gradually spreading its influence on the minds of educated Indians who were becoming conscious of the contributions of their ancestors to the civilization of the world. It was in an atmosphere so created that Raja Rajendralal Mitra and Romesh Chunder Dutt began their historical writings, and their pioneer works gave inspiration to Indians who later devoted their energy to historical research and contributed to the reconstruction of the lost history of ancient India. Meanwhile the University, being then only an affiliating and examining body, could itself make no arrangement for furthering historical studies. But according to the syllabii prescribed by it, some colleges

including the Hindu College (established in 1817) offered opportunities to the students to pursue such studies.

The introduction of post-graduate teaching in Calcutta University was the crowning glory of Asutosh Mookerjee as an educationist. Asutosh laid special stress on studying the past history and culture of India. In his convocation address delivered at Calcutta University in 1911, he observed, "I take the term history in its widest sense as inclusive not only of political history and history of external relations, but also history of culture, of literature, of philosophy, of arts and of sciences. That Indian history in this sense has a special claim on Indian learned institutions can hardly be contested." The true function of the university, Asutosh emphasised, was not merely the distribution of knowledge, but also its acquisition and conservation. He believed that this purpose could be fulfilled only by adequate encouragement to the qualified teachers and students for research.

Arrangements for the post-graduate teaching of History was made in the year 1912. Asutosh utilised the handsome donation from Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar for the promotion of researches in the domain of ancient Indian mathematics and astronomy. The chair of the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, named after Baron Carmichael, then Governor of Bengal, was created in 1912, and Georg Thibaut, the great German Sanskritist, was its first occupant. During the next five years, post-graduate teaching in History was undertaken to supplement the work done in some of the affiliated colleges. By 1916, the number of teachers, who took up such teaching work and, at the same time, carried on research in some branches of History, rose considerably. In 1917, post-graduate studies of the University were placed under two Councils, one for Arts and the other for Science subjects. Post-graduate teaching was

now concentrated in the University and the number of teachers was further increased in order that different branches of History might be adequately dealt with.

It may be mentioned here that the arrangements of Calcutta University for teaching the subject of Ancient Indian History and Culture in some of its aspects are quite elaborate. Out of the eight papers to be offered by the M.A. candidates, the following are compulsory :—Paper I : Civilisation of the Vedic and Epic Literature (together with Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cultures) : Papers II-III : Political History from the 6th century B. C. to the 13th century A. D. ; and Paper IV : Historical Geography. The candidates have to offer one of the following Groups each consisting of four Papers as follows :—Group I-A—Epigraphy and Palaeography (Papers V-VI) and Numismatics (Papers VII-VIII) ; Group I-B—Sculpture and Painting (Paper V), Iconography (Paper VI), Comparative History of Art (Paper VII), and Ancient Architecture (Paper VIII) ; Group II—Social Life (Paper V), Economic Life (Paper VI), Administration (Paper VII) and Ethnology (Paper VIII) ; Group III—Vedic Religion (Paper V), Epic and Purāṇic Religion (Paper VI), Buddhism (Paper VII) and Jainism (Paper VIII) ; Group IV—Indian Astronomy (Papers V-VI) and Mathematics (Papers VII-VIII) ; and Group V—Physical Anthropolgy including the origin and antiquity of man (Paper V), Social Anthropology (Paper VI), Prehistoric Archaeology and Technology (Paper VII) and Indian Ethnography with special reference to Bengal and Assam (Paper VIII). For sometime, Epigraphy, Numismatics and Fine Arts were taught in Group I (Archaeology) which was soon divided into two Groups—I-A and I-B. Teaching in Group IV (Indian Astronomy and Mathematics) and Group V (Anthropology) was discontinued after some years. However, often Private candidates still offer Group V,

although Anthropology has for many years been a separate subject of post-graduate study.

An M. A. degree in AIHC was instituted and the first regular batch of students, admitted to the fifth year class (i.e. the first year M. A. class) in the subject in the year 1918, appeared at the M. A. Examination in 1920. Before that, a non-collegiate candidate named Jyotish Chandra Ghatak passed the M. A. Examination in the subject in 1919. Probodh Chandra Bagchi, Tarak Chandra Das, Nani Gopal Majumdar and Hem Chandra Ray were among the first batch of AIHC students. It may be mentioned in this connection that, although AIHC now became a separate subject for the M. A. Examination and was no longer merely a part of History, there was only one Board of Study to supervise and control both History and AIHC. In other words, the subjects were two; but the Department was one. This arrangement continued till 1932 when AIHC was placed under a separate Board of Study of its own.

Georg Thibaut, famous for his studies in the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* and the *Śulba-sūtras*, occupied the chair of the Carmichael Professor during the period 1913-14. Asutosh then wanted, for the said chair, the great Sanskritist Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, the famous author of the *Early History of the Deccan* and *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*. But he declined to accept the post due to old age and recommended his son Devadatta for it. Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar had already made a name as an officer of the Archaeological Survey of India, as joint-editor of the *Indian Antiquary* and as the author of a large number of scholarly reports on explorations and excavations and of numerous learned papers on epigraphy, numismatics, ethnography, etc. D. R. Bhandarkar gave up his prospects in the Archaeological Survey and joined the

University as Carmichael Professor of AIHC in July 1917. It was he who prepared the syllabus for the M. A. Examination in AIHC. At first, the duties of the Carmichael Professor were to undertake research work himself, deliver lectures on subjects on which he had carried on investigations and to guide the researches of advanced students. He had no department to head or classes to take. Even after the institution of the M. A. course in AIHC, it was not obligatory upon him to take classes. Nevertheless, Bhandarkar was so fond of coming in contact with young men that he began to lecture to students of different departments connected with the subject. He delivered three series of Carmichael Lectures, the object of which was to set forth a picture of ancient India intelligible and appreciable to the intelligentia in general without losing in scholarship in any way. The subjects of the three series of lectures were—(1) 'Ancient Indian History, B. C. 650 to 325' (1918); (2) 'Ancient Indian Numismatics' (1921) and (3) 'Aśoka' (1923). Later, the Senate of Calcutta University resolved on the 11th May, 1929, that the Carmichael Professor would undertake regular teaching work in the post-graduate classes.

While conferring the Honorary Degree of Ph. D. upon D. R. Bhandarkar in 1921, Asutosh said, "He may rightly be regarded as the path-finder in the trackless regions of the boundless fields of Indian antiquarian research, and this has enabled him to take rank as an inspiring teacher."

In 1936, D. R. Bhandarkar retired from the University and Hem Chandra Raychaudhuri succeeded him as Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of AIHC, a position that he held down to June, 1952. Asutosh was keen on recruiting talented youngmen for the new Department of AIHC in the University of Calcutta and offered a

lectureship to Raychaudhuri who readily gave up his post in the Bengal Educational Service and joined the University as Lecturer in 1917. His *magnum opus*, published by the University, is the *Political History of Ancient India from the Accession of Parikṣit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty* which is a monumental piece of research work and craftsmanship. It has run no less than six editions since its first appearance in 1923. His other works are *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect* (1920, 1936) and *Studies in Indian Antiquities* (1932, 1958), both published by the University. As a university teacher, Raychaudhuri understood his great obligations which were the need for constant research, the necessity of keeping a fresh mind, and to know and cultivate his students as friends.

Jitendra Nath Banerjea occupied the chair of the Carmichael Professor in July 1952. First appointed as an Assistant to the Carmichael Professor in 1918, Jitendranath continuously served his *alma mater* till his retirement in August 1959 after 41 long years. Jitendranath's *magnum opus* is the *Development of Hindu Iconography* which was published by the University of Calcutta in 1941, a second edition appearing fifteen years later in 1956. Jitendranath's character was marked by sweetness of behaviour and mildness of temperament.

In 1961, Dines Chandra Sircar left his post of Government Epigraphist for India in the Archaeological Survey and joined the University as Carmichael Professor. He is the present Head of the Department. Sircar is regarded as "one of our most indefatigable workers in the field of early Indian antiquarian and historical research." He has edited hundreds of inscriptions and has published more than a dozen books and nearly one thousand articles and notes which are characterised by "accurate and dependable scholarship .....sound and critical objectivity" and bear

"ample testimony to the allround vitality of his scholarship." His early works published by the University include *The Successors of the Sātavāhānas in the Lower Deccan* (1939) and *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I (1942, 1965).

Asutosh wanted the subject of AIHC to be studied in its entirety and utilised the handsome donation of the Khaira Raj in setting up the Rani Bageshwari (Vāgīśvarī) Professorship of Fine Arts in 1921. This gift was accepted by the Senate by two resolutions dated the 3rd January 1920, and 30th June, 1921.

The full significance of the Khaira gift was indicated by Asutosh at the meeting of the Senate in the following words, "I can only express the hope that this great gift will enable us to open a new chapter in the history of the development of the University.....I have placed in forefront the chair of Indian Fine Arts, lest we should forget the past greatness of India in the history of the Art of the civilized peoples of the world.....no university can be truly national unless it blends its activities with the best traditions and the noblest aspirations of the people. The genius of India has manifested itself in diverse directions ; but nowhere are the characteristics of that genius more pre-eminent than in the field of Fine Arts, in the field of Indian Painting and Indian Sculpture..... we shall be the first amongst the universities of India to take a new step, and the time cannot be far distant when every Indian University will follow our example and establish a chair of Indian Fine Arts."

The duty of the Bageshwari Professor was to carry on original research in his special subject with a view to extending the bounds of knowledge, to take steps to disseminate the knowledge of his subject for the purpose of fostering its study and application, to stipulate and guide

the researches of advanced students and generally to assist them in post-graduate work so as to secure the growth of real learning among young Indians. The Bageshwari Professor of Indian Art was later attached to the Department of AIHC.

Abanindranath Tagore was offered the chair of the Bageshwari Professor in 1921. He was reappointed Professor for three years with effect from the 1st October, 1926, and occupied the chair till the 30th September, 1929. Abanindranath's position in Indian art is as great as that of Rabindranath Tagore in literature. Abanindranath came with the message of ancient Indian art which found a new expression through his lines and colours as well as his subjects. What he did for the revival of Indian art has become a part of the cultural history of India. His published works include *Vāgīśvarī Śilpaprabandhāvalī* and *The Six Limbs of Indian Painting*.

The chair of the Bageshwari Professor remained vacant, after Abanindranath's retirement in 1929, till 1932 when Shahid Suhrawardy was appointed Professor. After graduation in 1908, Shahid studied Law and History from 1913 at Oxford. He was part-time Reader in English Literature at Imperial University and Women's University, Moscow. Shahid learnt various languages and studied art exhibits in all the important Museums of Europe. He wrote a booklet on the Muslim architecture in Spain. In 1932, after a continuous stay of 24 years in Europe, he returned to India. Shahid held the Bageshwari chair till 1943. He put stress on detachment, integrity and impartiality in art study which, in his opinion, should be done on a comparative basis. His *Prefaces* was published by the University in 1938.

Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly (Ardhendra Kumār Gaṅgopādhyāy) was appointed Bageshwari Professor for

the period from the 1st August, 1943, to the 31st May, 1944. Gangoly began his career of art critic by writing an illustrated monograph entiled *South Indian Bronzes* (1916). The next landmark in his career was the publication of the journal entitled *Rūpam* which he edited for about twelve years from 1920 to 1931. He is the author of a number of books, his *magnum opus* being a large folio volume on the Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs.

The chair of the Bageshwari Professor remained vacant from the 13th July, 1944, to the 30th June, 1946, when Niharranjan Ray, who was Librarian of Calcutta University from 1937, was appointed to it. After the retirement of J. N. Banerjea, Ray became Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the year 1959. He occupied the Bageshwari chair till the 31st May, 1965, when he left the University to join the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, as its Director. Ray is associated with numerous institutions like the Sahitya Akademi, Lalit Kala Akademi, Sangit Natak Akademi, etc. Among his publications on Indian art, *The Brahmanical Gods in Burma* (1932) and *Maurya and Śuṅga Art* (1965) are quite well known. His other outstanding publications include *Bāṅgālīr Itihās* (in Bengali) and *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma* (1946).

Dr. Stella Kramrisch, the well-known art critic, entered the Department as a Lecturer, but later became a Professor. She is the author of many books including *The Contact of Indian Art with the Art of Other Civilisations* (1932), *Viṣṇudharmottara, a Treatise on Indian Painting* (1924) and *The Hindu Temple* (Vols. I-II, 1946) which are publications of the University.

Besides the Professors, there were many Lecturers who taught various subjects to the students of the Department. Some of these Lecturers belonged to other departments of the University.

Beni Madhab Barua was Professor of Pali and the author of several works including *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy* (1921) and *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves* (1929), both published by the University. Abinas Chandra Das was the author of *Ṛgvedic India* (1921) and *Ṛgvedic Culture* (1925), also published by the University. Narayan Chandra Banerjee taught the students of History, Ancient Indian History and Culture, and Anthropology, his important works being *Kauṭilya* (1927) and *Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India* (1925, 1945). The works of Kalidas Nag, Lecturer in the Department, include *Art and Archaeology Abroad* (1937), published by the University.

The University published *Hindu Revenue System* (1929) and *Agrarian System in Ancient India* (1930) by Upendra Nath Ghoshal, part-time Lecturer. Radha Govinda Basak was also a part-time Lecturer. Besides them, Rama Prasad Chanda, L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, J. Masuda, R. Kimura, Haran Chandra Chakladar, Nalinaksha Dutta, Narendra Nath Law, N. P. Chakravarti and others were some of the distinguished scholars who taught the students of the Department. R. C. Majumdar, the celebrated historian, left Calcutta University in 1921 to join as Professor of the University of Dacca of which ultimately he became the Vice-Chancellor.

Among the successful students of the Department who were appointed whole-time teachers, excluding Niharranjan Ray and Dines Chandra Sircar, mention has to be made of Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Tarak Chandra Das, Nani Gopal Majumdar and Hem Chandra Ray all belonging to the first batch of AIHC students obtaining their Master's degree in 1920. Majumdar, who was Lecturer in the Department for a few years, joined the Archaeological Survey of India and became famous in the field of epigraphical and archaeological

research. His promising career was cut short by an assassin's bullet, while he was exploring the archaeological sites in Sind. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Lecturer in the Department and an eminent Sinologist, joined the Visva-Bharati in 1945 and later became its Vice-Chancellor. His works published by the University include *Studies in the Tantras* (1939). Hem Chandra Ray, author of the celebrated work entitled *The Dynastic History of Northern India* (Vols. I, 1931, and II, 1936), published by the University, served as Lecturer in the Department till 1943, when he was appointed Professor of History at Colombo University, Ceylon. Benoy Chandra Sen, whose *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal* (1942) was published by the University, and S. K. Saraswati, author of *A Survey of Indian Sculpture* (1957), both served as Reader in the Department. Sen joined the Sanskrit College in 1962 as Research Professor, and Saraswati became Professor of Fine Arts at Banaras Hindu University in 1967.

Among the late entrants to the Department, Nalini Nath Dasgupta (died in 1966) was an M. A. of Dacca University, and Sudhakar Chattopadhyay and Golap Chandra Raychaudhuri were M. A.s in History and not in AIHC.

The present teachers include—Durgadas Mukhopadhyay (editor of *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* published by the University), Kalyan Kumar Gangopadhyay, Amarendra Nath Lahiri, Taponath Chakraborty, Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta and Sm. Puspa Niyogi. Deba Prasad Ghosh, Sisir Kumar Mitra, Dilip Kumar Biswas, Prabhas Chandra Majumdar, Sudhir Ranjan Das and Sm. Amita Ray were appointed to take classes in the Department.

The posts of three Readers have been created for the Department during the last few years. Formerly distinguished scholars were invited to deliver Readership Lectures. Among them, mention may be made of Georg Thibaut,

Foucher, Yamakami, Oldenberg, Vogel, Sylvain Lévi, M. Winternitz and F. W. Thomas. The practice of inviting such scholars began in 1907 in order to give the advanced students an opportunity to come in contact with great scholars in the various fields, to stimulate the constructive imagination of the students and to create in them a spirit of inquiry and research. Georg Thibaut delivered his lectures on 'Astronomies of the Ancient Oriental Nations', Yamakami (a great Buddhist scholar of Japan) on 'Ancient India as depicted in the Writings of the Chinese Pilgrims', H. Oldenberg on 'Oriental Studies and Methods of Investigation', Sylvain Lévi on 'Ancient India' (1922), M. Winternitz on 'Problems in the History of Sanskrit Literature', J. Ph. Vogel on 'The Hindu Monuments of Java', and F. W. Thomas on 'Indian Culture and its Influence Abroad' (1938; published by the University in 1942 under the title *Indianism and its Expansion*). R. E. Mortimer Wheeler delivered the Adhar Chandra Mookerjee Lectures for the year 1944 on 'Archaeology in India'.

The Department of AIHC offers fellowships and scholarships to advanced students. It invites theses for the award of the Mrinalini Gold Medal endowed by Adhar Chandra Mookerjee. In 1951, the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, started a separate department for teaching Ancient Indian and World History at the B. A. stage. Those who get their B. A. degree in this subject generally study M. A. in AIHC.

Besides the students of the Department of AIHC who made their mark in the field of historical research and served the Department, there are many others who distinguished themselves not only in the field of education, but also in various other walks of life. Among educationists, we may mention T. Vimalananda, Professor, Colombo University (Ceylon); K. C. Panigrahi, Professor, Berhampur

University (Orissa) ; U. Thakur, Reader, Magadh University, Gaya ; and Sm. Bela Lahiri, Reader, Jadavpur University. Among successful students of the Department in various other fields, mention may be made of Binayak Nath Bandyopadhyay who became a Judge of Calcutta High Court ; Pratap Chandra Chunder who became President of the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee ; Sushil Kumar Bose now Regional Director of Messrs. Mahindra and Mahindra ; Mohan Kumar Mookerjee, Industrialist and former Sheriff of Calcutta, and Subodh Kumar Sen, Regional Manager of Indian Tyres, Ltd.

Under the guidance of Asutosh, Calcutta University undertook the publication of the results of research work done by its teachers and research workers. The number of its publications on the subject of AIHC, including some already mentioned in our description of the teachers, is too many. Besides those mentioned, reference may be made to Sita Nath Pradhan's *Chronology of Ancient India* (1927), *History of Sanskrit Literature* edited by Surendra Nath Dasgupta (1946, 1962), etc., and English translation of works like Fick's *The Social Organisation in North-Eastern India in Buddha's Time* (1920), Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature* (Vols. I, 1927, and II, 1933), etc.

The Department has, during the last half a century of its existence, contributed much to the enrichment of the knowledge of ancient Indian history. It has been served by great scholars and has produced eminent people from among its students. It may be pointed out that the example set by Calcutta University in the matter of organised study and research in the various branches of Indology was soon followed by other universities of India.

No history of the Department can be complete without a reference to the Asutosh Museum of Indian art, the growth and development of which led to the increase of

Foucher, Yamakami, Oldenberg, Vogel, Sylvain Lévi, M. Winternitz and F. W. Thomas. The practice of inviting such scholars began in 1907 in order to give the advanced students an opportunity to come in contact with great scholars in the various fields, to stimulate the constructive imagination of the students and to create in them a spirit of inquiry and research. Georg Thibaut delivered his lectures on 'Astronomies of the Ancient Oriental Nations', Yamakami (a great Buddhist scholar of Japan) on 'Ancient India as depicted in the Writings of the Chinese Pilgrims', H. Oldenberg on 'Oriental Studies and Methods of Investigation', Sylvain Lévi on 'Ancient India' (1922), M. Winternitz on 'Problems in the History of Sanskrit Literature', J. Ph. Vogel on 'The Hindu Monuments of Java', and F. W. Thomas on 'Indian Culture and its Influence Abroad' (1938; published by the University in 1942 under the title *Indianism and its Expansion*). R. E. Mortimer Wheeler delivered the Adhar Chandra Mookerjee Lectures for the year 1944 on 'Archaeology in India'.

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No history of the Department can be complete without a reference to the Asutosh Museum of Indian art, the growth and development of which led to the increase of

interest in the study of ancient Indian history. The Asutosh Museum is the creation of D. P. Ghosh who was its Curator for 30 years from 1937 to 1968 when he retired and Kalyan Kumar Gangopadhyay took its charge. The Museum has become an important institution of art and archaeological studies. Its collection consists of stone sculptures, terracotta objects, paintings, illustrated manuscripts, metal and ivory objects, wood carvings, textiles, coins and objects of folk art, some of the exhibits being unique and outstanding in quality.

The above outline of the work of the Department would demonstrate the fact that the hopes of Asutosh are being realised and the lamp of learning which was lighted by him through Georg Thibaut has been kept aflame by the latter's worthy successors. The latest achievement of the Department is the publication of the *Journal of Ancient Indian History.*[1]

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1 Bibliography—(1) Calendars of Calcutta University; (2) Annual Reports of Calcutta University; (3) *Hundred Years of Calcutta University*, 1957; (4) Do., Supplement, 1957; (5) *Proceedings of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching*, Calcutta University, 1917; (6) *Development of Post-Graduate Studies in Arts and Letters in the University of Calcutta (1907-48)*, Calcutta University, 1949; (7) *J. N. Banerjea Volume*, ed. P. Pal, Calcutta, 1960; (8) *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, ed. B. C. Law, Calcutta, 1942; (9) *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, ed. D. C. Sircar, Vol. I (1967-68); (10) *JISOA* (Golden Jubilee Number), November, 1961; (11) *Calcutta Review* (1912 to 1968); (12) *Modern Review* (1920 onwards); (13) *Journal of the Dept. of Letters* (1920 to 1960); (14) *Studies in Museum and Museology* by D. P. Ghosh, 1968; (15) Souvenirs of the Reunions of the Dept. of AIHC (1959 to 1968); (16) *Who's Who—Rajya Sabha*, 1964; (17) *Centre of Advanced Study, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University*, 1968.—In the preparation of this paper, we have received help and encouragement from a number of our teachers and well-wishers including Prof. D C. Sircar

CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY IN ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

EKS WĪ ZED

Of the twentysix university departments invited by the University Grants Commission for developing them into institutes of advanced study and research in specific fields, the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, which has been headed by so many distinguished savants, has the credit of producing a good number of eminent Indologists during its existence of about half a century and has been constantly making outstanding contributions to Indological studies, was entrusted with the organisation of study and research in the past history and culture of India. Accordingly, the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture started functioning in the top floor of the Asutosh Building from the 1st August, 1964, with the then Head of the Department and Bageshwari Professor of Indian Art, Dr. N. R. Ray, as its Director. Dr. D. C. Sircar, Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, became the Head of the Department and Director of the Centre in June, 1965, after Prof. Ray had left the University and joined the Indian Institute of Advanced Study at Simla as Director. In June 1967, the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, together with the Centre of Advanced Study and the Department of Archaeology, was shifted to the new building at 51/2, Hazra Road, Calcutta-19, and attempts are being made to organise the administrative work and to create an academic atmosphere with renewed vigour in the new setup.

In keeping with the objectives of the University Grants Commission to develop team-spirit among the researchers and to get better trained workers in the field, it was thought necessary to undertake, at the start of the Centre, some research projects, and the following two schemes were taken up—

1. *A Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India,* and 2. *A Glossary of Technical Terms in Indian Art and Aesthetics.*

Prof. D. C. Sircar and Prof. S. K. Saraswati were placed in charge of the two schemes respectively. To carry out the schemes under the supervision of these two scholars, the University Grants Commission sanctioned a number of posts including those of two Research Associates, three Senior Research Fellows and six Junior Research Fellows.

In August, 1967, Prof. S. K. Saraswati joined the Banaras Hindu University, and the supervision of the second scheme was undertaken by Prof. Sircar. The work on both the schemes is progressing quite satisfactorily. Collected from different books, the total number of geographical items is 56,695 while the number of items for the Glossary is 28,775. The research workers are now doing editorial work under both the schemes. Besides working on the two schemes, the Research Associates and Fellows are given encouragement and opportunity to carry on individual studies, and several of them have already obtained their research degrees. The Research Associates and Senior Research Fellows are also allowed to teach in the post-graduate classes of the different departments of the University.

Besides the posts of Research Associates and Fellows at the Centre, the University Grants Commission also sanctioned in 1965-66, the annual award of two Research Scholarships of Rs. 250 each (for three years) for preparing theses for D. Phil. and four National Scholarships of

Rs. 120 each (for two years) for studying for the M. A. degree in Ancient Indian History and Culture. A National Scholar further gets Rs. 200 as book grant, Rs. 100 for incidental expenses, and double Second Class Railway fare between his place of residence and Calcutta once a year. Of the said scholarships, one Research Scholarship and two National Scholarships are to be awarded to the students of universities other than the University of Calcutta.

Three series of lectures by eminent scholars and four series of inter-university seminars under the presidentship of distinguished savants were organised at the Centre for the purpose respectively of raising the standard of research at the Centre and in the Calcutta region and of creating an impact on the teaching of and research in Ancient Indian History in the Indian universities.

The first course of six lectures was delivered in December, 1964, by Prof. R. S. Sharma of Patna University on 'Indian Feudalism, c. 300-1200' which came out of the press in 1965.

The second course of lectures was delivered by the late Dr. J. N. Banerjea, formerly Carmichael Professor of the University of Calcutta. Dr. Banerjea's lectures on 'Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion : Early Phase' were published in 1966.

Dr. B. B. Mazumdar of Patna delivered the third series of six lectures on 'Kṛṣṇa in History and Legend' in September, 1965. These are expected to come out of the press in the near future.

The fourth series of lectures was arranged to be delivered in 1966 by Sri K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, retired Professor of Madras and Mysore Universities. Unfortunately, it had to be postponed owing primarily to the Calcutta disturbances.

Prof. R. S. Sharma conducted the first series of two days' inter-university seminars on (1) 'Early Indian Land System'

and (2) 'Feudalism in Ancient India'. Out of the universities invited to send their representatives to the seminars, Dr. B. P. Mazumdar (Patna), Dr. S. D. Singh (Lucknow), Dr. B. N. Singh Yadava (Allahabad), Dr. Lallanji Gopal (Banaras Hindu University), Dr. H. V. S. Murthy (Gauhati), Prof. S. B. Chaudhuri and Sri B.D. Chatterjee (Burdwan), Dr. S.K. Maity (Jadavpur) and others took part besides a number of teachers and research workers belonging to Calcutta University. The proceedings of this series of seminars, edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, appeared under the title *Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India* (1966).

Part I of the proceedings dealing with 'Early Indian Land System' contains the following papers—(1) D. C. Sircar—'Land System', (2) S. D. Singh (Lucknow)—'Royal Ownership of Land in the Vedic Period', and (3) P. N. Pattabhirama Sastri—'Land System in Ancient India'. The following papers are included in Part II which deals with 'Feudalism in Ancient India'—(1) S. K. Mitra—'Feudalism in Ancient India', (2) D. C. Sircar—'Landlordism Confused with Feudalism', (3) B. P. Mazumdar (Patna) 'Merchants and Landed Aristocracy in the Feudal Economy of Northern India', (4) B. N. S. Yadava (Allahabad)—'Secular Land Grants of the Post-Gupta Period and Some Aspects of the Growth of Feudal Complex in Northern India', (5) H. C. Neogi—'Origin of Feudalism in Ancient India', (6) S. K. Maity (Jadavpur)—'Medieval European Feudalism and Manorialism *versus* Ancient Indian Land Economy', and (7) B. D. Chatterjee (Burdwan)—'Aspects of Politico-Economic History of Ancient India'.

The second series of inter-university seminars, on (1) 'The Śakti Cult' and (2) 'Iconography of Tārā', was conducted by Dr. J. N. Banerjea. The seminars were attended by Prof. T. V. Mahalingam (Madras), Prof. B. P. Sinha (Patna), Dr. R. N. Mehta (M. S. University, Baroda), Dr. R. S. Gupta

(Marathwada University, Aurangabad), Dr. Sm. B. Lahiri (Jadavpur), Sri K. S. Behera (Utkal University, Bhubaneswar), Sri B. D. Chatterjee and Sri S. Chatterjee (Burdwan), Sri P. K. Majumdar (Rajasthan) and Dr. M. Hara (Tokyo), besides the scholars of Calcutta and the adjoining region. The proceedings of this series of seminars, edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, came out of the press in 1967 under the title *The Śakti Cult and Tārā.*

Part I of the proceedings which deals with the 'Śakti Cult' have the following papers—(1) G. Sastri—'The Cult of Śakti,' (2) T. V. Mahalingam (Madras)—'The Cult of Śakti in Tamilnad', (3) Sm. B. Lahiri (Jadavpur)—'Śakti Cult and Coins of North-Eastern India', (4) B. C. Raychaudhuri—'Links between Vaiṣṇavism and Śaktism', (5) B. P. Sinha (Patna)—'Evolution of Śakti Worship in India', (6) A. K. Bhattacharya (Sanskrit College, Calcutta)—'A Nonaryan Aspect of the Devī', (7) R. N. Mehta (Baroda)—'Origin of the Śakti Cult', (8) N.N. Bhattacharya—'Śaktism and Mother-right', (9) K. S. Behera (Bhubaneswar)—'Evolution of Śakti Cult at Jajpur, Bhubaneswar and Puri', (10) D. C. Sircar—'Śakti Cult in Western India', (11) P. K. Majumdar (Rajasthan)—'Śakti Worship in Rajasthan', and (12) A. N. Lahiri—'Iconography of Ardhanārīśvara on a Tripurā Coin'. The papers included in Part II concerning 'Tārā' are the following—(1) K. K. Dasgupta—'Iconography of Tārā', (2) D. C. Sircar—'The Tārā of Candradvīpa', (3) D. C. Bhattacharya—'An Unknown Form of Tārā', (4) N. N. Bhattacharya—'Chinese Origin of the Cult of Tārā', (5) S. Chattopadhyay (Burdwan)—'Trailokyavijayā', and (6) A. K. Bhattacharya (Indian Museum, Calcutta)—'Concept of Tārā as a Serpent Deity and its Jain Counterpart Padmāvatī'.

Dr. A. D. Pusalker of Poona was invited to preside over the third series of inter-university seminars on (1) 'The

Bhārata War' and (2) 'Purāṇic Genealogies'. Unfortunately, he declined the offer ; the two days' seminars were then presided over by Dr. R. C. Majumdar of Calcutta. This third series of inter-university seminars was attended by Prof. M. Rama Rao (Tirupati), Prof. B. P. Sinha and Dr. B. B. Mazumdar (Patna), Dr. Sm. B. Lahiri (Jadavpur), Sri B. D. Chatterjee (Burdwan), Sri D. K. Ganguly (Visva-Bharati) and others besides a number of scholars belonging to Calcutta and its neighbourhood. It may be mentioned that, considerable tension having prevailed at the time between our country and Pakistan, some invitees gave up their idea of attending the seminars at the eleventh hour. That, however, the seminars were a success will be evident from their proceedings. These proceedings of the third series of seminars, entitled *The Bhārata War and Purāṇic Genealogies*, edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, have just come out of the press.

The following papers have been included in Part I of the proceedings concerning 'Bhārata War'—(1) R. C. Majumdar—'The Bhārata War', (2) D. C. Sircar—'Myth of the Great Bhārata War', (3) L. B. Keny (Bombay)—'The Mahābhārata War—a Historical Perspective', (4) N. N. Bhattacharya—'The Kurukṣetra War and the Pāṇḍavas', (5) B. P. Sinha (Patna)—'Role of Kṛṣṇa in the Mahābhārata War', and (6) S. R. Das—'The *Mahābhārata* and Indian Archaeology'. The contents of Part II dealing with 'Purāṇic Genealogies' are as follows—(1) R. C. Majumdar—'Rājavaṁśavarṇana in the Purāṇas', (2) D. C. Sircar—'Nature of the Purāṇic Genealogies', (3) M. Rama Rao (Tirupati)—'The Post-Āndhra Dynasties in the Purāṇas', (4) D. K. Ganguly (Visva-Bharati)—'The Purāṇas and their Bearing on the Early Indian Dynasties', (5) B. D. Chatterjee (Burdwan)—'Purāṇic and Jain Evidence on the Early Dynasties', (6) Sm. B. Lahiri (Jadavpur)—'The Purāṇic Tradition and Agnimitra Śuṅga',

(7) A. K. Chakravarty—'Early History of the Śaunakas', (8) N. N. Bhattacharya—'Lunar Affiliation of Purāṇic Genealogy' and (9) U. Thakur (Magadh)—'The Hūṇas in the Purāṇas'.

Inter-university seminars on (1) 'Bhakti Cult' and (2) 'Ancient Indian Geography' were scheduled to be held, under the chairmanship of the late Prof. V. S. Agrawala of Varanasi, in 1966-67; but they had to be postponed owing mainly to the Calcutta disturbances. Finally, the seminars were held on the 23rd and 24th February, 1968, with Prof. D. C. Sircar in the chair. There were 26 papers contributed by the representatives of various universities, 14 on the first subject and 12 on the second. Prof. B. Ch. Chhabra (Chandigarh), Prof. P. B. Desai (Dharwar), Dr. D. B. Sen Sharma (Kurukshetra), Dr. Balaram Srivastava and Sri Maheshwari Prasad (Banaras Hindu University), Dr. Sm. B. Lahiri, Dr. B. K. Majumdar and Dr. S. K. Maity (Jadavpur) and others including the teachers and research workers attached to Calcutta University attended them and took part in the deliberations. The proceedings of the seminars, edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, are now going through the press.

Part I of the proceedings dealing with 'Bhakti Cult' contains the following papers—(1) V. S. Agrawala (Varanasi)—'Bhakti Cult in Ancient India', (2) B. K. Majumdar (Jadavpur)—'Emergence of the Bhakti Cult—Early History of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal', (3) D. C. Sircar—'Antiquity of the Bhakti Cult', (4) D. B. S. Sharma (Kurukshetra)—'Bhakti Element in Certain Mystic Religious Philosophies of India', (5) A. C. Chakravarti—'The Bhakti Cult', (6) S. Bhattacharya—'Linguistic Background of the Word *Bhakti*', (7) S. Bandyopadhyay—'Bhakti Cult and an Aspect of Śiva Worship', (8) B. V. Ramanujam (Annamalai)—'Evolution of

the Concept of Bhakti', (9) H. V. Sreenivasa Murthy (Bangalore)—'The Revival of the Bhakti Movement in the Tamil Country by the Aḷvars', (10) P. B Desai (Karnatak)—'Bhakti Cult in Karṇāṭaka', (11) P. K. K. Menon (Kerala)—'Bhakti Movements in Kerala', and (12) A. N. Lahiri—'Progress of the Bhakti Cult and the Evidence of Coins'.

The papers included in Part II of the proceedings dealing with 'Ancient Indian Geography' are the following—(1) V. S. Agrawala (Varanasi)—'Ancient Indian Geography', (2) A. B. L. Awasthi (Lucknow)—'Observations on Ramaṇaka', (3) D. C. Sircar—'The Elephant Forests of Ancient India', 4) B. N. Sharma (Jabalpur)—'Śrīkaṇṭha and Sthāṇvīśvara in the *Harṣacarita*', (5) B. Ch. Chhabra (Punjab)—'Ancient Geography of North-West India', (6) S. Bandyopadhyay—'Geographical Names from Ancient Indian Coins', (7) B. Srivastava (Varanasi)—'Post-Harappan Migratory Tracks in the Gangetic Valley', (8) S. B. Chaudhuri (Burdwan)—'The Tuṅgabhadrā Basin in Inscriptions', (9) Sm. B. Lahiri—'The Location of Certain Ancient Indian Tribes and the Evidence of Coins' and (10) A. K. Chatterjee—'Places associated with Kārttikeya'.

The next series of two days' inter-university seminars was arranged to be held on the 22nd and 23rd February, 1969, and sixteen universities of different parts of India were invited to send their delegates. The two subjects selected for the seminars were—(1) 'Foreigners in Ancient India', and (2) 'Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī in Literature and Art'. The seminars are being held now when these lines are going through the press.

Since the month of November, 1965, the Research Associates and Fellows of the Centre and the teachers and research workers of the Departments of Ancient Indian History and Culture and Archaeology have been meeting at a seminar, once a month, under the chairmanship of

Prof. D. C. Sircar. Twentynine monthly seminars have so far been held including the one for February, 1969, and, in all, 80 papers were read and discussed and a number of topics were raised for discussion and several obituary notes presented. The names of the contributors and the titles of the papers read at the monthly seminars as well as the topics of discussion are indicated below.

I. 22. 11. 65—(1) Sri Rabindra Kumar Bhattacharya—'Date of Mahāpadma Nanda,' and (2) Prof. D. C. Sircar—'Ariaka'.

II. 13. 12. 65—(1) Sri Samaresh Bandyopadhyay—'Viṁśopaka and its Relation with Dramma', (2) Sri Ram Prasad Majumdar—'Some Naiyāyikas and Nyāya Terms in Inscriptions', (3) Dr. Satya Ranjan Banerjee—discussion on 'Two Sūtras of Puruṣottama's *Prākṛtānuśāsana*', and (4) Prof D. C. Sircar—discussion on 'A Verse of the Aihole Inscription'.

III. 17. 1. 66—(1) Sri Rabindra Kumar Bhattacharya—'Principle of Taxation in Ancient India', (2) Prof. D. C. Sircar—'Problem of the Punch-marked Coins', and (3) Sri Ram Prasad Majumdar—'Bhūriśṛṣṭi or Bhursut in Howrah'.

IV. 14. 2. 66—Prof. D. C. Sircar—'Vijayavarman, the Viceroy of Gopacandra'.

V. 18. 4. 66—(1) Prof. D. C. Sircar—'The Robbers of the Forest', (2) Sri Samaresh Bandyopadhyay—'Metal and Subdivision of the Viṁśopaka', and (3) Prof. D. C. Sircar—'The Narasiṁha Cult'.

VI. 20. 6. 66—(1) Prof. D. C. Sircar—Obituary Note on Dr. J. N. Banerjea, (2) Sri Samaresh Bandyopadhyay—'Pāruttha-Dramma', and (3) Dr. A. N. Lahiri—'Coins of Pratāpanārāyaṇa of Kachar'.

VII. 18. 7. 66—Prof. D. C. Sircar—(1-2) '*Śreṣṭha* as a *Tadbhava* Word', and 'Early Western Ṣatraps and the *Periplus*'.

VIII. 22. 8. 66—(1) Sri Ram Prasad Majumdar—'The Gangetic Trade Route through Howrah', (2) Dr. A. N. Lahiri—'A Coin of Vīravijayanārāyaṇa', and (3) Prof. D. C. Sircar—'Pāñcāla, Kāmboja, Bāhlika and Pāṇḍu-Pāṇḍya'.

IX. 12. 9. 66—(1) Prof. D. C. Sircar—Obituary Notes on Prof. Louis Renou and Prof. V. S. Agrawala, (2) Sri Samaresh Bandyopadhyay—'Some Inscribed Copper Coins from Kauśāmbī', and (3) Prof. D. C. Sircar—'A Chinese Account of India—732 A.D.'

X. 16. 1. 67—(1) Sri D. K. Biswas—'The Worship of Skanda', (2) Sri Samaresh Bandyopadhyay—'Kṣatrapaka', and (3) Sri Ram Prasad Majumdar—'A Note on the *Deśāvalīvivṛti*'.

XI. 1. 2. 67—(1) Dr. Narendra Nath Bhattacharya—'Lord of Women', (2) Sri Samaresh Bandyopadhyay—'Mayūrāṅka Dīnāra', (3) Sri Ram Prasad Majumdar—'Kalikātā (Calcutta)', and (4) Sri Sarjug Prasad Singh—'The Purī Kuṣāṇa Coins'.

XII. 13.3.67—(1-2) Prof. D. C. Sircar—'Rhinoceros-slayer Type of Kumāragupta's Gold Coins, and 'Tāmra-rāṣṭra', (3-4) Sri Ram Prasad Majumdar—'Coin of Vīravijayanārāyaṇa' and 'Some Interesting Features of the Cārvāka Philosophy', and (5) Sri Sarjug Prasad Singh—'Seal from a Village of Bihar'.

XIII. 17.4.67—(1) Sri Rabindra Kumar Bhattacharya—'The Kali Era and its Genuineness', (2) Prof. D. C. Sircar—'Identical Names of Different Localities', and (3) Sri Ram Prasad Majumdar—'Buddhism in Tien-feng (?), A-su, She-ha-tu and Tao-lai-sze'.

XIV. 17.7.67—(1) Sri Samaresh Bandyopadhyay—'Nāṇaka', and (2) Prof. D. C. Sircar—'Puruṣottama-Jagannātha'.

XV. 14.8.67—(1) Sri Asim Kumar Chatterjee—'Parikṣit',

(2) Sri Ram Prasad Majumdar—'Saptagrāma', and (3) Prof. D.C. Sircar—'Madanapāla and the Gāhaḍavālas'.

XVI. 18.9.67—(1) Sri Durgadas Mukherjee—discussion on 'Importance of the Ṣaṇmukhakalpa', (2) Dr. Narendra Nath Bhattacharya—'Jain Cosmography', (3) Sri Ram Prasad Majumdar—'Ṭaṅka', and (4) Prof. D.C. Sircar—'Two Inscriptions at the Dharmaṭhākur Temple at Kabilāspur'.

XVII. 20.11.67—(1) Sri Asim Kumar Chatterjee—'Some Problems regarding the Date of the *Mahābhārata*', (2) Dr. Dipak Ranjan Das—discussion on 'Recent Indological Studies', and (3) Prof. D. C. Sircar—discussion on 'Some Papers recently published in Periodicals'.

XVIII. 18.12.67—(1) Sm. Chitrarekha Sengupta—'Seals with Multiple Impressions' and (2) Prof. D.C. Sircar—'Gayā Prapitāmaheśvara Temple Inscription of the time of Suratāṇa Maujadīna'.

XIX. 18.1.68—(1) Sri Sarojit Datta—'Pallava Pillars', (2) Sri Asim Kumar Chatterjee—'Hero Kṛṣṇa and God Kṛṣṇa', (3) Sri Samaresh Bandyopadhyay—'Official Designations originating from Coin-names', and (4) Prof. D. C. Sircar—discussion on 'Some Buddhist Dhāraṇīs from China'.

XX. 15.2.68—(1) Dr. Asim Kumar Chatterjee—'Different Aspects of Skanda-Kārttikeya', and (2) Prof. D. C. Sircar—'Balotra'.

XXI. 21.3.68—(1) Sri Rabindra Kumar Bhattacharya—'Śiva-liṅga and Paśupati in the Eyes of the Devotee', (2) Sri Sarjug Prasad Singh—'A New Seal from Bihar', (3) Sri Ram Prasad Majumdar—'History of Ancient India from Persian and French Sources', and (4) Prof. D. C. Sircar—discussion on 'An Inscription on the Pedestal of a Buddha Image in the British Museum'.

XXII. 18.4.68—(1) Dr. Asim Kumar Chatterjee—

'Oedipus Complex and a Story in the *Brahma Purāṇa*', (2) Dr. Narendra Nath Bhattacharya—'The Universality of the Concept of Ardhanārīśvara', (3) Prof. D. C. Sircar—'Matrimonial Relations between Candragupta and Seleucus', and (4) Dr. A. N. Lahiri—'A Silver Coin of Vijayamāṇikya.

XXIII. 11.7.68—(1) Dr. Asim Kumar Chatterjee—'Sun-worship in the Epics', (2) Sri Rabindra Kumar Bhattacharya—'References to Caste System in the Earliest Portions of the Vedic Literature', and (3) Dr. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay—'A Note on Rūpa'.

XXIV. 22.8.68—(1) Sri Rabindra Kumar Bhattacharya—'Storeyed Buildings in Ancient India', and (2) Sri Sarjug Prasad Singh—'Sonepur Hoard of Ancient Indian Coins'.

XXV. 19.9.68—(1) Dr. Asim Kumar Chatterjee—'Indological Notes', (2) Sri Bijay Pratap Mishra—'The Story of Ahalyā', and (3) Prof. D. C. Sircar—'Ambaṣṭha and Māhiṣya'.

XXVI. 14.11.68—(1) Dr. Dipak Ranjan Das—discussion on 'A Terracotta Plaque from Chandraketugarh', (2) Sri Rabindra Kumar Bhattacharya—'A Note on Paśupa in the *Ṛgveda*', (3) Dr. Asim Kumar Chatterjee—'The Janakas of Mithilā', and (4) Prof. D. C. Sircar—'The Dushanbe Conference on the Kuṣāṇas'.

XXVII. 12. 12. 68—(1) Sri Ramkrishna Chakravarty—'Gotras and Pravaras', (2) Dr. A. K. Chatterjee—'The Pāṇḍavas', and (3) Sri S. P. Singh—'Ancient Remains at Chanaki in the Patna District'.

XXVIII. 9. 1. 69—(1) Sri R. K. Bhattacharya—'Origin of Religious Rites in India', (2) Sri B. P. Mishra—'Origin of the Amṛtamanthana Story of the Purāṇas', (3) Prof. D. C. Sircar—discussion on 'Use of Abbreviations in Inscriptions'.

XXIX. 13.2.69—(1) Dr. A. K. Chatterjee—'Adulteration in Ancient India', (2) Prof. D. C. Sircar—discussion on

'Some Non-Dravidian Words in the Dravidan Languages,' (3) Sm. Manisha Mukhopadhyay—'Queries on Gaṇapati', and (4) Sm. Indrani Kapur—'A Yab-yum Bronze Image from Nepal'.

The proceedings of the first twelve seminars have already been published in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. I, 1967-68, pp. 185-204, and those of Nos. XIII-XXVI are being published in Volume II (1968-69) of the Journal.

After the postponment of the fourth series of six lectures arranged to be delivered by Sri K. A. Nilakanta Sastri of Madras, to which reference has been made above, the old plan of holding such lectures was changed. Arrangements were now made for occasional lectures at the Centre by Indian and foreign scholars. A summary of each of such lectures and a record of the discussion on it are maintained for the purpose of publication. Fourteen lectures under this plan have so far been delivered at the Centre. The names of the scholars and the subjects of their lectures are indicated below.

I. 12. 9. 66—Dr. N. R. Banerjee (Katmandu, Nepal)—'Glimpses of the *Kumārasambhava* in Art'.

II. 19. 1. 67—Prof. Heinz Mode (Halle, GDR—'Studies in Buddhist Art in Germany'.

III. 3. 2. 67—Madame Dr. Stepkova (Prague, Czechoslovakia)—'Structure of the Finds of Oriental Coins unearthed in Czechoslovakia'.

IV. 22. 2. 67—Sri C. D. Chatterjee (Lucknow)—'Indo-Ceylonese Cultural Relations'.

V. 8. 8. 67—A. K. Bhattacharya (Indian Museum, Calcutta)—'Miniature Painting'.

VI. 16. 8. 67—Sri S. Bhattacharya (Anthropological Survey of India)—'Language and the Study of Ancient Indian History and Culture'.

VII. 17. 8. 67—Dr. Ainslie T. Embree (Columbia, USA)—'Hindu Tradition'.

VIII. 25. 8. 67—Dr. Michael Anthony Coulson (Edinburg, U K)—'An Approach to the Theory of Rasa'.

XI. 30. 8. 67—Mr. McCutchion (Jadavpur)—'Kṛṣṇalīlā Scenes on the Temples of Bengal'.

X. 28. 9. 67—Dr. Konrad Meissner (West Germany)—'Study of the Folk Culture of India'.

XI. 14. 2. 68—Dr. K. B. Alayev (Moscow)—'Soviet Historians on Indian Feudalism'.

XII. 28. 11. 68—Dr. H. K. De Chaudhuri (Calcutta)—'Itihāsa-Purāṇa'.

XIII. 19. 12. 68—Mr. Robert F. Bussaberger (Missouri, USA)—'The Makara Motif in Indian Art'.

XIV. 27. 12. 68—Dr. John Morris (London)—'The Rôle of Common Man in Religion and Government in Ancient and Medieval Europe'.

The summaries of the first six lectures as well as a record of the discussions on them have been published in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. I, pp. 174-84, and similar proceedings of Nos. VII-XII are being incorporated in Volume II (1968-69) of the Journal.

JOURNAL OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

INDRANI KAPUR

I was a student of the M. A. class in AIHC, Calcutta University, during the session 1965-67. Due to certain unhappy circumstances, our examinations were held in the months of April and May, 1968. The above period witnessed two remarkable events in the life of the Department and was therefore one of the most memorable in its history. One of these occurrences is the transfer of the Department to its own building, the other being the publication of Vol. I of the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*.

Originally the AIHC classes were held in the Darbhanga Building of Calcutta University. Later, when the Asutosh Building was constructed, classes were held in both the buildings. There was, gradually, dearth of accomodation due to increase in the number of students in the various Departments. A three-storied building, constructed with money granted by the University Grants Commisson, at 51/2, Hazra Road, Calcutta-19, was now ready for occupation and the authorities planned to shift the Departments of AIHC and Archaeology and the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC to the said building. There was, however, a difference of opinion amongst the students, some in favour of the transfer and others opposed to it. Despite the opposition, classes began to be held in the new building from the beginning of our Second Year term, about the middle of 1966.

In spite of certain initial difficulties, most of the students preferred the environment in the new building. For the first time we were having classes in a building meant exclusively for our use and, what is more important, our new library was to cater to the requirements only of the Departmental students. The Head of the Department expressed the

hope that, in the new setup, it would be possible to develop the Deparment on the lines of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Equal in importance was the publication of the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. I, Parts 1-2, 1967-68. The necessity for an organ, in which the results of the research work conducted by the scholars of the Department could be published, was long felt. Their dream was realised now.

The aim of the Journal, edited by the Head of the Department and his colleagues, is to publish papers relating to all aspects of the history and culture of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent down to the 13th century A. D., with special reference to the subjects taught in the M. A. classes in AIHC and Archaeology. Attempts are made to include in it only articles containing new facts and arguments. The Journal also reprints articles prescribed for the students, which were published long ago in periodicals not easily available today. Likewise, for the benefit of the students, important articles translated from other languages are also published in it.

Vol. I of the Journal is dedicated to the memory of the late Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri who was Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department during the period 1936-52. In this volume, there are separate sections on Articles, Notes, Reviews of Books, Notices of Books and Periodicals, Translations and Reprints, besides the proceedings of the Lectures and Monthly Seminars at the Centre of Advanced Study. The Journal also contains a note on the activities of the Department in 1967-68 and an index. The volume is enriched by papers from scholars like Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. B. C. Law, Prof. D. C. Sircar, Sri C. D. Chatterjee, Sri Sadhu Ram, Sri D. K. Biswas, Sri Tripurari Chakravarti, Dr. A. N. Lahiri and many others including young researchers.

When we were students, we could not read Parmentier's valuable paper on Cham Architecture published in the *Bulletin de l' Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient*, even though it was prescribed for us. The difficulty is now removed by *JAIH*, Vol. I, which includes an English translation of the said paper.

For half a century now, the late Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's paper entitled 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population', published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, 1911, has been included in the syllabus of the M. A. Examination in AIHC, so that, as a result of constant handling, the relevant pages in the volume of the Journal in question are damaged or lost in all its copies in the libraries in Calcutta, and the students generally had to depend on copies of the paper made from manuscripts borrowed from others. Naturally, such copies contained a number of errors. Now the said paper is available to the students as it has been reprinted in *JAIH* with some additional footnotes from the pen of Prof. D. C. Sircar.

Vol. II (1968-69) of the Journal to be released on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Department, which is now going through the press, contains papers by Prof. S. Chattopadhyay (Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan), Dr. Z. A. Desai (Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Government of India, Nagpur), Dr. B. R. Gopal (Lecturer, Karnatak University, Dharwar), Dr. Sm. Shobhana Gokhale (Lecturer, Poona University) and a number of scholars belonging to the Department and the Centre including Prof. D. C. Sircar. Coomaraswamy's 'Origin of the Buddha Image' is being reprinted in the volume which also contains an English translation of G. Bühler's German work on 'Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry', and J. G. Herder's German article on Kālidāsa's *Sakuntalā*, translated by

P. Ghosh, Lecturer in German, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan.

The Journal has received appreciation from the scholarly world and is already on the exchange list of such reputed periodicals as the (1) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (London), (2) *East and West* (Rome), (3) *Buddhist Yearly* (Halle University, German Democratic Republic), (4) *Ancient Pakistan* (Peshawar University, Pakistan), (5) *Indian Museum Bulletin* (Calcutta), (6) *The Mysore Orientalist* (Mysore University), (7) *Bulletin of Ancient History and Archaeology* (Saugor University), (8) *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Baroda), (9) *Our Heritage* (Sanskrit College, Calcutta) and (10) *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (Varanasi).

Among appreciations of Vol. I of the Journal so far received, we may refer to the following—(1) "A worthy start to a worthwhile undertaking" (Dr. M. A. Coulson, Edinburgh University); (2) "The journal is bound to stimulate keen interest in research in the field of Ancient Indian History. We extend to it a hearty welcome guided as it is by an ardent student of history" (Prof. P. K. K. Menon in the *Journal of Indian History*, April, 1968); etc.

ASUTOSH MUSEUM OF INDIAN ART

D. P. GHOSH,[1]

Retired Curator, Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, and Head of the Department of Museology, Calcutta University.

Named after Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, the first University Museum in India, was opened in 1937 during the Vice-Chancellorship of his son, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, with the object of collecting and preserving representative specimens of different phases of Indian art, special emphasis being given on the art of Bengal and its neighbourhood. It was also decided to collect good specimens of modern art. In response to an appeal by the University, noted art collectors and art connoisseurs readily agreed to help the growth of the Museum by gifts. Dr. Mookerjee was the guiding spirit in the establishment and development of the Museum. He would have been happy today to see that the Museum is now properly housed in the new Centenary Building of the University at College Square.

From the start of the Museum in 1937 down to 1968, i.e. for full 30 years, I was engaged in building up the Museum. Except undertaking regular fieldwork on behalf of the Museum, I could scarcely devote time in other extramural activities. In 1957-59, on the initiative of the University Grants Commission, I was entrusted with the work of

1 [Adapted from his *Studies in Museum and Museology in India*, Indian Publications, Calcutta, 1968, and Calcutta University's Centenary Volume, Supplement, 1957.—D. C. S.]

organising the Post-Graduate Diploma Course in Museology at the University and, again in 1963, had to take the lead in organising the Museums Association of West Bengal.

To have a glimpse of the evolution specially of the art and culture of Bengal through the ages, from the remote past to the living present, the visitor should step into the Museum which exhibits its character as a regional Museum of Eastern India through its ten galleries devoted to stone sculptures of the early, classical and late medieval periods belonging to the different parts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa besides rare bronzes of Eastern and Western India, Tibet and Nepal; valuable illustrated manuscripts from Nepal; unique palm-leaf manuscripts and paintings from Orissa; varieties of wooden sculptures from Bengal, Orissa and the South; collection of folk-art including the famous painted scrolls and Kālīghāṭ Paṭs, and lastly, a notable and comprehensive collection of Bengal terracottas covering a period of more than two thousand years. The Museum is notable for the treasures of Pāla sculptures, regional terracottas of exquisite beauty and folk-art specially of Eastern India. The Department of Museology, Calcutta University, is attached to the Museum. Besides, being a centre of research in art and archaeology, it also houses the office of the Museums Association of West Bengal. The Museum has been conducting archaeological excavations, the latest of them at the ancient walled city-site of Chandraketugarh in the 24 Parganas District, 30 miles from Calcutta, whose remains can be traced to the 2nd-1st century B.C. The activities of the Museum include publication of handbooks, catalogues and multicoloured postcards, regular school service, organisation of temporary exhibitions and vacation courses in Art Appreciation for school teachers besides occasional musical entertainments. The Museum may be regarded as the nucleus of a Regional

Museum for Eastern India possessing as it does representative specimens of the art of Bihar, Orissa and Assam. The collection of Modern Folk Art of Bengal and Orissa is its special feature. Some of the Museum objects, viz., a remarkable copper-plate grant from the Sundarbans, engraved with Viṣṇu seated on a chariot (dated 1198 A.D.), and a bronze figure of Śiva-Lokeśvara from Barisal (c. 11th century A.D.), are very important for the study of the development of South-East Asian art and iconography. Other unique specimens include a double-sided stone *cakra* showing Viṣṇu as Naṭarāja from the Sundarbans, and the earliest illustrated paper manuscript so far discovered in India in the shape of a Mahāyāna Buddhist text from Nepal, dated 1105 A.D., with eight exquisitely painted figures of Buddhist divinities.

The wealth of antiquarian remains and art treasures of our country is strikingly revealed in the life history of the Asutosh Museum. It opened with twenty objects, rising to 1,228 at the end of the first year and 2,423 in the second. Then it rose to 6,000 by September, 1939, and at end of 1941, when it was decided to take emergency measures to meet the prevailing war situation, they were counted as 7000. During the next fifteen years, the number more than doubled, swelling to about 15,000 by the year 1956. The number of visitors, mostly students and educationists steadily increased. From 1,345 persons in 1937, it rose to 3,304 in 1941 and to more than 8,000 in 1948. The growth of the Asutosh Museum illustrates how such an institution can develop in this country without much financial assistance. In fact, the University spent, during the first twenty years, barely thirty thousand rupees on actual purchase and acquisition. The total value of the Museum collections was then, on the other hand, approximately thirty lacs of rupees.

The rapid growth of the Museum is due to collection, and acquisition, either through gift or purchase, of several large private collections. Among the series of gifts to the Museum, the most noteworthy is that of Sri Bijay Singh Nahar who presented, in 1939, almost the entire 'Nahar Museum' containing more than 1,000 pieces and valued at about Rs. 50,000. Prof. Dinesh Chandra Sen also presented his valuable collection of Bengali and Assamese art objects to the Museum. In 1939, Birendra Nath Roy's collection consisting of 1,500 objects of Orissan art was secured by purchase, as also the Dutta collection of Mazilpur, which included some rare stone carvings from the Sundarbans, belonging to the Pāla and Sena periods. The Archaeological Survey of India made over to the Museum, on loan, a huge collection of assorted objects excavated from the different archaeological sites of Bengal, viz., Paharpur, Mahasthangarh, Baigram, Rangamati, etc., for listing and classification and for comparative study by the research workers of the University.

The excavations at Bangarh, started in 1938 and conducted annually till 1941, threw fresh light on the dark periods of the history of Bengal. Five successive strata, reaching up to the Śuṅga level (1st century B. C.), were unearthed. Several mounds at Mahanad (Hooghly District) and at Nanoor (Birbhum District) were also surveyed with a view to determining excavation possibilities. Trial diggings were conducted on the Caṇḍīdās Mound at Nanoor. Excavations which are being carried at Chandraketugarh have already been referred to above.

Series of public lectures, illustrated with lantern slides, were organised to explain the contexts and significance of particular aspects of the Museum collection and the various phases of art, Eastern and Western. Gallery demonstration was introduced for making the Museum useful as a living

source of knowledge to the students. It was arranged to invite students of schools and colleges in small batches and to show them round the galleries and to explain to them the historical, social and aesthetic significance of the exhibits. Another important activity of the Museum is the Art Appreciation Course. This Short Term Vacation Course, comprising theoretical lectures and practical demonstrations, is intended for training artists and art teachers of schools.

There is a seminar attached to the Museum which has a collection of books on art and archaeology and a number of periodicals. A small laboratory, fitted with Carbon Di-Sulphide Chamber, Thymol Chamber and Formaldehyde Chamber for preserving wood, bamboo, painted objects, cotton fabrics, etc., was established. Special methods were devised for cleaning copper, bronze and brass specimens.

Publications of the Museum include *Excavation at Bangarh* by K. G. Goswami, *Bāṅgālār Bhāskarya* by K. K. Ganguly, *Tamluk Terracottas* by P. C. Dasgupta, *Catalogue of Folk Art* by M. K. Pal and *Catalogue of Early Indian Coins* (Part I) by C. R. Raychaudhuri.

The Coin Cabinet has been enriched by regular gifts from the Archaeological Survey of India, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Governments of Bihar, U. P., Madras, the Punjab and M. P. It is now representative of the different periods of Indian history.

At the Exhibition of the Art of India and Pakistan in London, 1947-48, sponsored by the Royal Academy, about 50 objects selected from this Museum were shown, one of the paintings being acclaimed by the British connoisseurs as 'perhaps the best exhibit'. The Archaeological Survey of Afghanistan and the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient (originally at Hanoi, Indochina) offered to exchange their

objects with those of the Museum. The British Museum (London), the Smithsonian Institute (Washington) and the UNESCO (Paris) also established contact with it.

The Museum is playing a useful part in the national life of the country by its multifarious activities outlined above.

ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

TRIPURARI CHAKRAVARTI,

Retired Lecturer, Department of History,
Calcutta University.

The sudden and unexpected death of Asutosh Mookerjee at Patna, on the 25th May, 1924, marked the close of a chapter in the history of the University of Calcutta. That epoch opened with the Indian Universities Act passed in 1904, as very soon Asutosh was invited by Minto to undertake the gigantic task of reconstruction of the University in accordance with the provisions of the Act. To improve the colleges, to reform the schools, to reorganize the whole system of teaching by which knowledge is brought home to the youth of the nation, to make adequate provision not only for their intellectual but also for their moral and physical welfare and, last but not the least, to turn the University into a centre of intellectual activity were the guiding principles of the new regulations which became operative in 1906 after the appointment of Asutosh as Vice-Chancellor. It is needless to add that Asutosh Mookerjee was the author and architect of these regulations which marked an epoch in the progress of education in Bengal. The new system, that came into vogue in 1906, was regarded with considerable suspicion and distrust, and criticism was openly made in the press and on the public platform. But all suspicions and misgivings were very soon dispelled by Asutosh's handling of the Act and the regulations. These regulations marked a distinct stage in the widening of the conception of the functions of a University. Asutosh Mookerjee in his first Convocation Addresss delivered as Vice-Chancellor of the University on

the 2nd March, 1907, said, "It is the paramount duty of the University to discover and develop unusual talent. No University is worthy of its reputation which does not enrol among its professors, men best titled to advance the bounds of knowledge. No University can rightly be regarded as fulfilling the purpose of its existence, unless it affords to the best of its students, adequate encouragement to carry on research, and unless it enables intellectual power, whenever detected, to exercise its highest functions."

For reasons of its own, the Government of India of the day, which at an earlier stage had given unmistakable indications of a desire to help the University to develop into a teaching and research organisation, seemed to all appearances to have lost interest in the further growth of the institution. It was in the midst of these difficulties that Asutosh Mookerjee laid down his office as Vice-Chancellor on the 31st March, 1914, after a very eventful tenure of office extending over eight years. Reforms of the most incisive kind were carried through in every department of University life during this period and foundation had been laid on a generous scale for the ultimate establishment of a great teaching and research University in Calcutta. In his Convocation Address delivered on the 28th March, 1914, Asutosh said, "For years now, every hour, every minute I could spare from other unavoidable duties foremost among them the duties of my judicial office, has been devoted by me to University work. Plans and schemes to highten the efficiency of the University have been the subject of my dreams ; they have haunted me in the hours of nightly rest. To University concerns, I have sacrificed all chances of study and research; possibly to some extent the interests of family and friends, and certainly, I regret to say, a good part of my health and vitality. Sympathy has failed us in quarters where we had right to demand

it and where we confidently reckoned on it." But he was not despondent about the future of the University. He said, "The sister Universities [in India] are eager to imitate and emulate what we have boldly initiated. I feel that a mighty new spirit has been aroused, a spirit that will not be quenched; and this conviction, indeed, is a deep comfort to me at the moment when I take leave from work dear to me for so many weighty reasons."

The relations between the University and the then Government of India did not improve during the regime of the next Vice-Chancellor, Devaprasad Sarvadhikary. Repeated requests of the University for financial assistance did not impress the Government of India, and at last a reply reached the University in 1915, intimating that funds from the Government would not be forthcoming. This gave abundant indication that the Government's attitude, which had already passed from the domain of sympathy into that of apathy, had begun to advance into the region of antipathy. The result was an ever recurring controversy between the University and the Government of India. Ultimately, the situation became so acute that, in 1916, upon the insistent request of Carmichael, Governor of Bengal and Rector of the University, the Government of India appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Asutosh Mookerjee to review the arrangements for the Post-Graduate Teaching in the University of Calcutta. In December 1916, this Committee submitted a unanimous report which outlined a scheme for the consolidation of Post-Graduate Studies within the University. The Committee recommended that the control of higher teaching in arts and science should be placed entirely under the University. The Senate approved of the scheme and on the 26th June, 1917, the Gorvernment of India accorded their sanction to the regulations for Post-Graduate

teaching in various branches of Arts and Science. The new authorities were constituted within two months and the system was brought into operation on the 1st September, 1917. One of the staunchest admirers of the Post-Graduate organisation at this time was Ronaldshay who, in his Convocation Address delivered as Chancellor of the University on the 18th March, 1922, said, "The greatest landmark in the history of the University in recent years is undoubtedly the creation of the Counsil of Post-Graduate Studies. I had the visions of a modern Nalanda growing up in this greatest and most populous city of the Indian Empire."

But the Government did nothing to implement the recommendations of the Commission regarding the University of Calcutta, though the Commission had been appointed primarily and explicitly for the reform and reorganisation of this University. Precisely at this juncture, when the teaching activities of the University were being consolidated, there occurred a series of untoward incidents which crippled the finances of the University to a great extent. In this crisis, Ronaldshay in his Convocation Address delivered on the 24th March, 1921, invited Asutosh Mookerjee to accept once more the Vice-Chancellorship of Calcutta University. He described Asutosh as 'an Indian among Indians'. He further said that "the effect of the impending change would be complete Home Rule in the matter of University education." "No man," in Ronaldshay's opinion, "was better qualified so to mould the future of the University as to make it a national University in the best and truest meaning of the word."

Asutosh could not decline this offer in the crisis of 1921. The ideal of 'Home Rule in Calcutta University' and the opportunity of transforming it into a 'national

University' had an irresistible fascination for him. Moreover, he thought that his acceptance of the offer of Vice-Chancellorship in this unprecedented crisis would evoke feelings of gratitude in Government circles. But he was soon disillusioned. Neither the Government of India nor the Government of Bengal did anything to further the recommendation of the Calcutta University Commission, or to help the Post-Graduate Department during the two years that Asutosh Mookerjee served as Vice-Chancellor of the University. On the other hand, unsympathetic and hostile critics in the newly formed Bengal Legislative Council and even the Minister of Education in the Province, Provas Chandra Mitter, brought forward the grave charge that the expansion of higher teaching in the University furnished the evidence of 'criminal thoughtlessness' and that the University was guilty of thoughtless expansion. The situation reached its climax in 1922. Two Committees appointed by the Senate, deliberating under the chairmanship of the Vice-Chancellor, Asutosh Mookerjee, dealt with the charges and published their reports in April and July, 1922, which proved beyond doubt that the charges were all groundless.

At last, on the 23rd August, the Government of Bengal wrote a letter to the University intimating that the Government would grant to the University, a financial assistance, of Rs. 250,000 subject to certain conditions. The University, in the meanwhile, was faced with a total deficit of over five lakhs of rupees and the salaries of the Post-Graduate teachers remained unpaid for several months. The Senate, on the 9th September, 1922, appointed a strong and representative Committee to examine the letter of the Government together with the conditions sought to be imposed. The report of the committee was discussed at a full meeting

of the Calcutta University Senate on the 2nd December, 1922. Asutosh Mookerjee, who presided over the debate as Vice-Chancellor, said in the closing part of his address, "This is the greatest crisis in the history of this University which I have witnessed during a period of 34 years." But he was undismayed. He asked the Senate unhesitatingly to reject the Government's offer, because the conditions 'which were proposed were the badges of slavery'. It was an impassionate address that was delivered by the Vice-Chancellor to the members of the Senate and, through the Senate, to the people of Bengal. He concluded by saying, "Take it from me that as long as there is one drop of blood in me, I will not participate in the humiliation of the University. This University will not be a manufactory of slaves. We want to think freely. We want to teach freedom. .....Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always—nothing else will satisfy me."

The year 1923 opened with gloomy forebodings about the future. In addition to the financial difficulties of an unprecedented character, the University was threatened by reactionary legislative proposals of the Government of Bengal. These were embodied in two Bills for the reform of the University and the creation of a Board of Secondary Education. On the 24th March, 1923, Asutosh, in his last Convocation Address delivered as the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, gave forceful utterance to the view that there was 'a determined conspiracy to bring the University into disesteem and discredit' and 'the intended measures were detrimental to the spread and development of education among our people on right lines'.

For some time past, Lytton, the then Governor of Bengal, had been thinking of gaining the support of

Asutosh for the University Bills by offering another term of Vice-Chancellorship to him. On the 24th March, 1923, Lytton wrote a letter to Asutosh in which he offered him the Vice-Chancellorship of Calcutta University on certain conditions. Asutosh unhesitatingly declined the insulting offer.

In the annual Convocation Address delivered as Vice-Chancellor, on the 18th March, 1922, Asutosh said, "To my mind, University is a great storehouse of learning, a great bureau of standards, a great workshop of knowledge, a great laboratory for the training as well of men of thought as of men of action. The University is thus the instrument of the state for the conservation of knowledge, for the discovery of knowledge, for the distribution of knowledge, for the application of knowledge and, above all, for the creation of knowledge-makers." For thirtyfive years from 1889, when he became a member of the Senate, to 1924, the year of his death, Asutosh worked unceasingly for this ideal. Few men of our time can be more truly said to have lived for the sake of his work. In his autobiography, Surendranath Banerjee has recorded the following opinion about Asutosh as Vice-Chancellor, "His long familiarity with the Calcutta University, his wide grasp of educational problems and his extraordinary capacity for dealing with them made Sir Asutosh the most commanding figure in the University. During the time he was Vice-Chancellor (and he held the office for several years), he ruled the University with a supreme sway; .....University teaching in the higher departments made a great stride during his Vice-Chancellorship .....He was a unique figure in the educational world of Bengal, and it will be difficult to fill his place."

Lytton paid an eloquent and generous tribute to the memory of Asutosh and his great work in the University

of Calcutta. Presiding over a special meeting of the University Senate convened for the purpose of mourning the demise of Asutosh, on the 14th June, 1924, Lytton referred to Asutosh as 'our University's greatest son'. He said, "Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was the most striking and representative Bengali of his time ...the University of Calcutta as it stands today bears the indelible impress of his 35 years of devoted labour. What the University is today is the result of Sir Asutosh's work.....the Post-Graduate Department of this University was the outstanding product of Sir Asutosh's great career.....for many years Sir Asutosh was in fact the University and the University Sir Asutosh."

What Asutosh did for the introduction of the Post-Graduate study of Ancient Indian History and Culture has already been discussed above (pp. 2 ff.) and need not be repeated here.[1]

1 *Biographical Data.*—Eminent lawyer and educationist. Born of a middle class Bengali Brāhmana family of Calcutta in 1864. Educated at Presidency College, Calcutta. Premchand Roychand Student, 1886. Professor of Mathematics, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, 1889-92. Doctor of Law, 1894. Tagore Law Professor, 1898. Member, Bengal Legislative Council, 1899 and 1901. Member, Imperial Legislative Council, 1903. Member, Calcutta Corporation. Local member of the Indian Universities Commission, 1917. President, Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and in Science, 1917-1924. Puisne Judge, Calcutta High Court, 1904-24. Acting Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court, 1920 Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, from the 31st March, 1906, to the 31st March, 1914 (for four terms) ; again appointed Vice-Chancellor on the 4th April, 1921. Last Convocation Address delivered as Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University on the 24th March, 1923. D.Sc. (*Honoris Causa*), Calcutta University. Died at Patna on the 25th May, 1924.

[Adapted from Sri Chakravarti's paper appearing in Calcutta University's Centenary Volume, 1957.—D.C.S.]

PART II

ARTICLES

ANCIENT INDIAN IDEAS OF TIME AND HISTORY*

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The history of India begins with the coming of the Aryans in the second millennium B. C. and, before that time, there was a great prehistoric civilization stretching back some thousand years further. In what I have to say in the following lines, I am ignoring the earlier phases and concentrating on the Classical period. This term is rather vague in the Indian context; but for our purposes we may take it as the period represented by the *Dharmaśāstras* or versified lawbooks, the epics in their final form, the early Purāṇas, and the great body of courtly literature in Sanskrit —roughly the first millennium A. D.

Hindu India has earned a rather bad reputation for having had no sense of history—and indeed the surviving historical literature from the non-Muslim communities of South Asia is remarkably small. Only in the extreme north and the extreme south of the sub-continent have we evidence of a real tradition of chronicle-writing in ancient times—in Kashmir with Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the sole survivor of a series of chronicles which were eclipsed by this one and forgotten, and in Ceylon where Buddhist monks maintained chronicles, partly political and partly ecclesiastical in content, from at least the fourth century A. D. to the present day, when further chapters have been added to the Pali *Mahāvaṁsa*, recording the achievement of independence and even, I believe, the assassination of the Prime Minister

* Lecture delivered at the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC on Wednesday, the 26th February, 1969.

Mr. Bandaranayake. The chronicles of other frontier regions, such as Nepal and Assam, are later productions, probably due to the influence of the non-Aryan peoples who conquered these lands. Nearly all our knowledge of the ancient history of other regions of India comes from sources not originally intended as historical records. The pseudo-historical literature of the Rajputs, such as the *Pṛthvī Rāj Rāso*, is post-Muslim.

The reason for the absence of chronicles in Classical India has never been satisfactorily discovered. Vincent Smith believed that in fact the kingdoms of early India had their chronicles on the analogy of Kashmir, but that these had completely vanished with the disappearance of the kingdoms themselves. But R. C. Majumdar, who can hardly be accused of anti-Indian prejudice, has pointed out that, if this was the case, it is very strange that no references to such chronicles occur in the surviving literature—not even in the numerous *praśastis* or royal panegyrics which have been found in enormous numbers inscribed on stone and copper. Kings were anxious enough to preserve their names and achievements for posterity ; but we have no evidence at all that the idea of commissioning a learned court Pandit to write a lengthy account of a whole dynasty on the basis of palace archives ever occurred to them. Such governmental archives were certainly kept ; but as far as we can see, they were not used, except in Kashmir, as sources for the compilation of chronicles.

The best that we have in the way of court chronicles for most of India is the royal genealogy, given as a preamble to a panegyric on a ruling king or to a record of his dedication of land for religious purposes. It is largely from such genealogies that the dynastic history of Classical India has been reconstructed. In post-Gupta times, such king-lists might be quite lengthy, beginning from the

children of the legendary Manu, the first king of this cycle of time, or from an eponymous hero who was believed to have founded the line The genealogies often included brief references to the great deeds of the more successful rulers of the family, thus showing that dynastic records of some sort, if not chronicles, were kept at the courts. These records were evidently often inaccurate however, because the genealogy in one copper-plate charter may contradict that in another of the same dynasty.

The *praśasti* might be enlarged into a lengthy poem or ornate prose narrative, primarily intended to glorify the ruling king, but also containing some information about his ancestors. The best known examples of this type are Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* and Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*; but there are several others, mostly rather late. Such works are invaluable to the historian for want of better sources; but the adventures of the heroes are forced into stereotyped patterns, and, while they contain genealogies, these differ but little from the genealogies of the *praśastis*, and give only scanty information about the ancestors of the ruling king.

Thus there is something to be said for the accusation that Hindu India in its Classical phase had no sense of history. This, however, does not mean that Classical Hindu India had no sense of the past. Every educated Indian must have had a strong awareness of antiquity, and, though he might be badly informed about the forebears of the ruling king, the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* were very well known to him.

For the Indian of those days, the past was something very different from what it is to the contemporary man, or even to the man of the medieval Christian and Islamic world. In ancient India, as in most other ancient civilizations, it was believed that the world was declining in

virtue and happiness. Probably there was no clear concept of the possibility of real human progress anywhere in the world until the 16th century. The earliest references of this kind that I know of are in the tracts of Martin Luther. The Greeks and Romans looked back to the Golden Age, the Chinese to the days of the mythical emperors Yao and Shun, Judaism and Christianity to the Patriarchs before the Flood. Similarly, India looked back to the Kṛta-yuga, the first period of the current cycle, from which the contemporary world had degenerated almost out of recognition, and would degenerate still further.

It might be suggested that one of the reasons why chronicle-writing was so little developed in India was the fact that the cosmology was cyclic, involving unimaginably long periods of time. The longest period, that between one act of cosmic creation and another, is approximately 311 plus nine zeros of years, to the best of my calculations. This inconceivably long cycle contains within it many cycles of partial creation and destruction. The smallest of these is the *mahāyuga*, consisting of 12,000 years of the gods, each of which is 360 human years.

The *mahāyuga* is divided into four ages or *yugas*, called Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali. The duration of each age is in the proportion of 4: 3: 2: 1 respectively, and the terms used are those of the corresponding sides on the four-sided ancient Indian dice. We are at present in the Kali age, the last and worst of the four. Its duration is 1200 years of the gods, or 432,000 human years, and it began in 3,102 B. C., with the end of the Mahābhārata war and the death of the divine incarnation Kṛṣṇa. The older texts which expound this theory of cosmic ages, such as the law-book of Manu and the didactic parts of the epic, teach that, as the cosmic decline goes on, the barbarians will become more and more powerful and will

overrun Bhāratavarṣa, heretics will flourish, the traditional rites will be neglected, and the rules of class and caste will be blatantly flouted. Then, at the end of the *yuga*, the world will be destroyed by fire, hurricane and flood. It is likely that these ideas developed in the period between the Mauryas and the Guptas, when in fact conditions in many parts of India were much like those described as accompanying the end of the aeon. Afterwards, when happier conditions returned, the scheme was amended by the convenient doctrine that one year of the gods was equal to 360 human years, and thus the cataclysm at the end of the world was put off to a comfortable distant date, over 400,000 years away. Later still, it came to be believed that the transition from the dark Kali to the next bright Kṛta-yuga would take place comparatively peacefully, through the intervention of Kalkin, the last incarnation of the great god Viṣṇu, who would root out evil and restore the Age of Gold.

Thus the ancient Indian, though he was fully aware that the world was in theory an evil place and was steadily growing worse, was not impelled by any sense of urgency at the thought of impending cosmic dissolution. If the cosmic process was a downward one, it was by no means uniformly downward. The institution of kingship, divinely ordained by the gods, mitigated the horrors of anarchy and alien domination which might otherwise overwhelm the Aryan land in the Kali-yuga. And a really righteous and efficient king could temporarily restore some semblance of the earlier ages, when men were much happier than they are now, and were much closer to the gods. Even the Buddhist Aśoka was quite convinced that his righteous policy had resulted in bringing the gods down to earth, for they had been seen in his kingdom in wonderful manifestations of heavenly

chariots, and radiant haloes of flame, such as had not been seen before for centuries.

This cosmology is completely different from that of the Judaeo-Christian and the Islamic world, where it was believed that the universe had been created only a few thousand years ago and that its dissolution might take place at any time. In such a temporal framework, it is not surprising that the Indian should have shown comparatively little interest in the more recent past. For him *itihāsa*, the term usually translated as 'history', did not concern the immediate forebears of the king then ruling, but the legendary and semi-legendary heroes of far more ancient days, whose exploits were recorded in the epics and Purāṇas. These great men of the distant past, living as they had done in times when the world was much purer and happier than it is now, formed the examples which the ruler of the time was to follow, if he wanted his realm to be contented and prosperous, and if he wished to leave behind him a powerful and flourishing kingdom and to win a happier rebirth in the afterlife.

Itihāsa is a compound word meaning 'Thus it was'. The implication seems to be that the accounts of *itihāsa* are to be implicitly believed, as distinct from tales and fiction, which are the products of imagination. The study of *itihāsa* formed one of the subjects in the curriculum of princes to be trained for rulership. The stories of kings of the ancient past provided moral and practical lessons for the immediate present. Examples of kings who came to evil ends as a result of their own sin, negligence and folly are to be found in literature of various types. Such cases occur in the epics, and lists of such kings are given in the *Arthaśāstra* attributed to Kauṭilya and in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*. Thus *itihāsa* had at the same time a moral and a practical purpose. Moreover, it was also a source of pleasure, and listening to it was a religious duty.

Certainly in the earlier centuries of the period, and probably at all times, the most important source of *itihāsa* stories was the enormous *Mahābhārata*. The epic of Rāma, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, seems to have grown increasingly popular with the years, and its prestige continued to increase even after the Muslim conquest. The Purāṇas, massive compilations of material of different kinds from many different sources, contain *itihāsas* in their pages, and several of them have king-lists, linking together the rulers of tradition and many otherwise unknown names, and tracing them all back to Manu Vaivasvata, the mythical progenitor of all the ancient ruling families of this cycle of the world.

The traditions of these ancient kings, some at least of whom must have had historical prototypes in the Vedic period, were originally secular. According to the tradition itself, the memory of their great deeds was transmitted by the Sūtas, the bards and heralds at the courts of the chieftains of Vedic times. These Sūtas seem to have also often acted as charioteers for their masters; but one of their main functions was no doubt much the same as that of the Cāraṇs and Bhāṭs of the Rajput clans—the preservation of the traditions of a ruling family or group of families. These traditions fell into the hands of the priestly class by a means which is not wholly clear; but it may well be that one of the chief factors in the 'Brāhmaṇization' of the martial tradition was that among the many ritual elements in the great royal sacrifices of the Later Vedic period was the recitation of stories of the past, especially of the king's ancestors, to a large audience consisting of representatives of all the classes and professions of the kingdom. Hence essentially secular stories come to be first associated with religion, and then given a specifically religious character.

In any case, the ballads telling of a great war which

must have occurred around 900 B.C. were taken over by the Brāhmaṇas and interpolated with much didactic and religious material over the course of centuries, to become the *Mahābhārata* which reached its present form perhaps not earlier than 500 A.D. By this time, the original story had been so worked over that no acceptable reconstruction of the historical events on which it is based has so far been produced, and it may always be impossible to do so, for in most cases the date of the *Mahābhārata* cannot be checked with any other source. Few of the characters of the great epic are mentioned in the Later Vedic literature composed at a time much closer to the events, and about the war itself the Vedic texts are completely silent. The hero Kṛṣṇa, raised by later priestly editors to the status of an incarnation of Viṣṇu, appears in one Upaniṣadic reference only as a philosophically inclined chieftain who apparently lived much later than the Mahābhārata war, and one suspects that he played no part whatever in the story in its pristine form.

Finally, the date of the *Mahābhārata* was pushed back to an impossibly early period when in fact even the cities of the pre-Vedic Harappa culture had not arisen. And well before Gupta times, the exploits of the five Pāṇḍava brothers and their friends and enemies had become common knowledge all over Aryan India.

The story of Rāma developed rather differently. It would seem, from a strange version of the tale preserved in the Pāli Jātaka, that he was originally remembered as a righteous prince who was wrongly banished from his father's capital with his faithful wife and brother, and who returned after many years to rule long and justly in his ancestral kingdom. This part of the story may have a historical basis, though the only character in it whose name occurs in the Vedic texts is Janaka, Rāma's reputed

father-in-law. At an uncertain date but probably around the beginning of the Christian era, a literary genius calling himself Vālmīki, or perhaps some other story-teller on whom the poet based his story, very cleverly linked the tale of the prince of Ayodhyā with other tales about the conquest of the demons of Ceylon, and so the second great work of *itihāsa* was born. Vālmīki's beautiful and exciting poem was later enlarged, to make Rāma also a direct incarnation of Viṣṇu, and the date of his death was established as occurring at the beginning of the Dvāpara-yuga, according to the standard formulation, at 867,021 B.C.

Other heroes, only slightly less significant than those of the two great epics, were believed to have lived at even remoter times. Intervening periods, and also the period from the *Mahābhārata* war to the Gupta empire, were more or less covered by the king-lists in the Purāṇas, which in no way filled the enormous expanses of time postulated by the final formulation of the doctrine of the four *yugas*, but which gave a spacious sense of historicity to the many stories of former kings which were popular at the time.

These king-lists have been studied and analysed by many able scholars. Some of the names in them are certainly those of historical rulers. The kings of the days of the Buddha are there, as are the Nandas, the Mauryas, the Śuṅgas and the Śātavāhanas, mistakenly called Āndhras. But the lists are hopelessly muddled, and it is impossible to derive much significant historical information from them. In my opinion, the Purāṇic king-lists have been the subject of more wasted effort and intelligence than any other aspect of ancient Indian history, largely because of the very able but misguided work of Pargiter who reconstructed, as best as he could, the original king-list on which he believed that the various corrupt versions in the Purāṇas were based. These lists, where they can be checked with other sources, are evidently

inaccurate. Contemporary dynasties are given as consecutive, whole blocks of names are included in wrong chronological order, and the very names of the kings are in many cases so twisted by over-clever early copyists that they are almost unrecognizable. What Pargiter called 'the ancient Indian historical tradition' is in fact scarcely a historical tradition at all.

It would seem, however, that the Hindus conserved certain other traditions of a more recent date, concerning kings of undisputed historicity. One such tells how Candragupta Maurya, aided by his shrewd minister Kauṭilya or Cāṇakya, overthrew the last of the Nandas. This tradition survived long in Hindu, Buddhist and Jain versions, all differing considerably. A similar tradition about Puṣyamitra Śuṅga is hinted at in more than one source. Some of the exploits of Candragupta II of the Gupta line seem to be recollected in muddled form in the legends about the emperor Vikramāditya, who is said to have turned the Śakas out of Ujjain and established a new era in 58 B. C., a tradition which throws the date of Candragupta II back nearly 500 years earlier than his actual reign. No doubt the composition of such admired literary works as Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* kept the name of Harṣavardhana alive, as was the case with certain other rulers of later times, such as Bhoja Paramāra and Vikramāditya VI Cālukya. But the stories passed on in Indian courts had little of the historical about them. Viśākhadatta's excellent drama, *Mudrārākṣasa*, purports to tell us how Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya gained an empire for his master Candragupta ; but it is hardly to be trusted as historical, except perhaps in broad outline, since more of the subsidiary characters have no confirmation in any other account, and the plot, said to have been engineered by Kauṭilya, is so subtle and complex as to be almost

unbelievable. The other surviving historical dramas are equally untrustworthy in detail, though it is evident that some, for example Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the fragmentary *Devīcandragupta* of Viśākhadatta, contain definite recollections of historical events.

We cannot tell what other historical stories were told at ancient Indian courts ; but from Bāṇa it would appear that such stories existed, some of them concerning rulers whose names are otherwise forgotten. Nevertheless, many of the greatest rulers of India remained mere words in the Purāṇic king-lists or were forgotten altogether. Aśoka's pillar and rock inscriptions are still to be found from Afghanistan to Mysore ; but after a few centuries their script became virtually unreadable and their language virtually unintelligible even to the educated man. 600 years after Aśoka, Samudragupta's officials had no scruples about engraving a panegyric of the ruling emperor right across the Aśokan inscription of the Allahabad pillar. Probably they could not properly read, let alone understand, the older text, which they left as a palimpsest ; and they were perhaps quite unaware of the very existence of the greater emperor of earlier days. But at least Aśoka had a more fortunate fate than Samudragupta, for his name and his piety were remembered by the Buddhists, while Samudragupta did not even survive as a name in the Purāṇic king-lists, which had closed by his time. It was only in the 19th century that one of the greatest empire-builders of India was resurrected from oblivion.

In what I have said so far, I have almost ignored the traditions of the Buddhists and Jains. With these the situation is somewhat different, since both looked back to founders who had lived in historical times. Both sects shared with the Hindus the doctrine of cosmic decline and taught that the universe went

through enormously long cycles. There are legends of former Buddhas and Tīrthaṅkaras of the remotely distant past; but these were less significant from the point of view of most members of the heterodox sects than the stories of their historical founders. There was some uncertainty and disagreement about the exact chronology of the Buddha and Mahāvīra; but the dates believed in were not thrown back to an impossibly early period, and the orthodox date for the Buddha seems no more than 60 or 70 years out. The stories of both teachers are certainly inaccurate in many respects; but the account of the Buddha's last days and death in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, though obviously worked over, has an essential ring of truth about it, and there are many similar passages in the Buddhist scriptures. The historical framework in which the Buddha lived and taught is partially recorded, though with some inaccuracies, and traditions about the later history of Buddhism in India, their chronological framework much firmer than that of the traditions of the Hindus, have survived in Ceylon, China and Tibet, providing very precious incidental information about the political history of India. The Jains' historical tradition was somewhat more formalized than that of Buddhism, and their account of their founder is in many respects less credible. But the Jains too maintained traditions of the history of their religion, and from Western India about the end of the Hindu period, we have works telling stories of historical kings written by Jains, apparently as much for entertainment as for edification. But these *prabandhas* were rather fictional narrative than history, and have not much value as historical sources.

Thus the educated man in early India, even the politician and the ruler, had a very different sense of the past from that of modern times, or even from that of many other

civilizations of antiquity. The immediate ancestry of the ruling king was well known ; but his earlier forebears might be little but shadowy names. Some kings who ruled in earlier centuries were remembered, but what was known about them was fiction rather than history, though it was no doubt largely believed in. In the mind of Hindu India, the really important figures of the past were the heroes of tradition, supernatural in their virtue, power and courage, whose chronology was in many respects vague, but who were known to have lived in the days when the world was less degenerate and when the gods took a greater interest in human affairs and associated freely with men, before this mean and petty Kali-yuga had commenced.

So Kālidāsa preferred not to write about the great Gupta emperors whom he appears to have served, and to whom he may have made one or two oblique references in his surviving works. Instead he wrote about the dynasty of Raghu, which he believed to have ruled in Bhāratavarṣa many thousands of years before his own day. No doubt, in choosing the theme of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, Kālidāsa had an eye on the predilections of his readers. He wished to provide them with intellectual entertainment and aesthetic delight ; but he also had another more serious purpose. Righteousness, justice, vigilance, care for the welfare of others, not to speak of religious and social orthodoxy, are the main characteristics of the universal emperor and most of the rulers who succeeded him. The profligate Agnivarṇa, the last king chronicled by Kālidāsa, comes to an evil end, and on this note the poem concludes. This may well be a message to the Gupta emperor and his courtiers. For Kālidāsa, the historicity of his kings was not important, and neither was their chronology. It made no difference whether they lived a hundred, a thousand, or 100,000 years before his day. In his mind, they were just as significant as the great historical figures of recent centuries, for instance Washington or

Napoleon, are to the educated men of our own times. There were sceptics in ancient India, and it is very likely that occasionally somebody doubted whether the events in the earliest ages had been just as the *itihāsas* told them. But such doubts were scarcely relevant. The stories of the *itihāsas* were not dependent, for their validity, on their correspondence with actual events of the past, but on their significance in the mind of Hindu India. Their impact was such that questions of historicity were scarcely meaningful.

For a comparison we must not look to historical figures and events, but to semi-historical or legendary figures who have achieved an importance in the human mind greater than that of most of the conquerors of history. Hector, Achilles and Odysseus may have actually existed in the days of Mycenaean Greece; but the question is essentially immaterial. A shadowy figure in the chronicle of Saxo Grammaticus, perhaps a real prince of early medieval Denmark, is brought to life by Shakespeare, and the historical kernel of the story of Hamlet ceases to be relevant. An ancient British king, some semi-civilized illiterate chieftain if he had any historicity at all, is transmuted by the same dramatist into the archetype of lonely and rejected old age, as king Lear, and his historicity no longer matters The same is true of certain figures without any claims to historicity whatsoever. The anonymous and presumably fictitious Samaritan in the Gospel according to St. Luke has made a far greater impact on posterity than most of the Roman emperors.

So the past for the Indian of pre-Muslim days was a storehouse of examples as well as a source of inspiration, aesthetic pleasure and entertainment. In his mind, ages, almost inconceivably long, were telescoped, with only the vaguest concepts of chronology, and were inhabited by archetypal characters, much larger than life-size, who formed examples for the present and the future, since by

following their footsteps the worst evils of Kali-yuga could be avoided, or at least postponed. He probably assumed implicitly that these stories, which provided simultaneous entertainment and edification, were wholly true. Questions of their historicity did not trouble him. In a world of almost infinite duration there was time for almost anything to happen, and the validity of the story of Rāma or that of the five Pāṇḍava brothers was in no way dependent on historical proof.

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES

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I

CITY OF GORATHAGIRI

Gorathagiri came into special prominence when K. P. Jayaswal published a revised reading of the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela in *JBORS*, 1917, and edited the epigraph jointly with R. D. Banerji in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, 1929-1930. A controversy developed around Gorathagiri regarded by the said scholars to be a locality, and it ended only with the death of Jayaswal and Banerji.[1] A passage in lines 7-8 of the epigraph was read by them as *aṭhame ca vase mahatā sen*[*ā*]*yā... Gorathagiriṁ ghātāpayitā Rājagahaṁ upapiḍāpayati.*

Jayaswal and Banerji were opposed by scholars like B. M. Barua, N. G. Majumdar and H. K. Deb. Barua suggested that Gorathagiri should be taken as a personal name like Prabhātagiri, etc.[2] But V. H. Jackson succeeded in tracing the name Gorathagiri on the facade of the Lomash Rishi Cave on the Barabar hills in the Gaya District.[3] He also drew our attention to the mention of Gorathagiri in the *Mahābhārata* in the description of Bhīma's eastern campaign before the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira.[4] It seems, however,

1 Banerji's 'Palaeography of the Hathigumpha and Nanaghat Inscriptions' was posthumously published in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XI, No. 3, pp. 131-46.

2 *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 222 ff.

3 *JBORS*, Vol. I, pp. 169-71.

4 *Loc. cit.*; cf. George Grierson, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 95-96.

that the location of Gorathagiri on the Barabar hills is wrong and that the ruins of the city of Gorathagiri lie on the other side of the Nagarjuni hills.

Buchanan (later Hamilton) noticed the buried ruins in the valley of the Phalgu, between the Nagarjuni and Rama Gaya hills, a famous place of Hindu pilgrimage, as early as 1811-12.[5] Sixty years later, in 1872-73, J. D. M. Beglar, one of the officers of Cunningham, identified Gorathagiri with the Bathan hills. This is a low ridge with large granite boulders in the neighbourhood of the Barabar and Nagarjuni hills.[6] In 1910, K. P. Sen-Sinha described the antiquarian remains of the place.[7] While editing the *Patna-Gaya Journal*, Jackson visited the place several times in the company of Russel and described it though his notes did not receive the attention of scholars.[8]

Jayaswal and Banerji state, "Gorathagiri is no doubt the ancient name of the Barabar hills, as proved by V. H. Jackson, the late Principal, Patna College, who along with Mr. Russel, discovered the inscriptions on the boulders .....giving the name Gorathagiri."[9] Gorathagiri, however, was not the name of the Barabar hills, but of a large fortified town. The ancient name of the range, according to the inscriptions found there, was Khalatika. It was in fact, a suburb of the ancient city—its hermitage area, where monks resided in excavated caves.

It is evident, therefore, that though the site was known to the archaeologists for more than a century, the true

5 V. H. Jackson, *Buchanan's Patna-Gaya Journal*, pp. 19 ff.

6 Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. VIII, pp. 46-47.

7 'Ram Gaya and its Remains' in the *Patna College Magazine*, Vol. III, 1910, pp. 49-51.

8 Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 91-104; *Hindusthan Review*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 683-88.

9 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 78.

significance of the area did not dawn upon them. Nobody realised that the city of Gorathagiri, the *Māgadhaṁ puram* of the *Mahābhārata* lay under the ruins immediately behind the Barabar and Nagarjuni hills. The assumption that Jackson identified it is erroneous in view of the fact that he identified as Gorathagiri, the rocky valley at the foot of the Siddheśvara Peak, also called Sātgharā, the highest point of the hill range, i. e., the Barabar hills with its numerous finished and unfinished caves. Khāravela was a pious Jain king. How do we then reconcile the fact that he sacked (cf. *ghātāpayitā*) Gorathagiri, a hill-girt valley resided by Jain ascetics? The valley of Sātgharā and the adjoining glens, etc., possess no secular remains. It appears that, though the Sātgharā was a part or suburb of the city razed to the ground by the Kaliṅga king, the hermitage was not touched. That it was a weak point in the defence of the city is evident from the fallen stone walls of cyclopean masonry barricading the gaps and lower elevations of the range.

The city of Gorathagiri lay parallel to the river Phalgu, which bypasses the Nagarjuni hill. The land behind the hill range is uneven, full of rocks, knolls and points. The breaks and gaps and the intermediate spaces between the rocks were fortified with walls made of huge blocks of stone, with rectangular towers as at Rajgir. Just where the Ram Gaya valley commences immediately after a slight eminence, examples of such a defence arrangement can be studied. The Ram Gaya side of this very site offers another kind of evidence. The rampart runs down the hill for a certain distance, then it disappears; because, for lack of support at base, it fell and stones were carried away by the villagers. If we now return to the back of the Sudāmā cave, we find that a broad patch of land about 8′ in breadth is darker than the dune-coloured land on its

left and right, indicating probably that the foundations of the city's defences lie buried under it. I had occasion once to follow the course of the Phalgu and, just at the centre, found an opening suggestive of a *toraṇa*.

Another important point to remember is that this is not the only ruined city in the area. Sonitpur, explored by V. K. Mishra, lies only at the distance of a couple of miles as the crow files, behind the District Board Bungalow at Bela, a site which has yielded shouldered polished celts, Black and Red and NBP wares. It is therefore clear that, for some strategic reasons, the density of population in this region, which was a forest area on the eve of British conquest, containing Buddhist monasteries and villages, was greater since protohistorical times till the advent of Bakhtyār Khaljī with his Turkish followers. Possibly the city sank into oblivion after it was razed to the ground by the victorious Kaliṅga legions. Immediately in front was the hill-girt valley of Rājagṛha, the old capital of Magadha, which was also attacked by Khāravela.

Two other points require to be discussed in this connection. The first is the visit of Kṛṣṇa and Bhīma to the area. The second is the route of Khāravela's invading army. The Sabhāparvan, XX. 33, states that, on reaching Gorathagiri, Kṛṣṇa and Bhīma saw Māgadha-pura which was taken by the earlier scholars to denote Girivraja-Rājagṛha, i.e. Rajgir. Grierson has shown that the expression is *Māgadhaṁ puram*, that is the city of the *Māgadha* (Magadha king) meaning Jarāsandha. But the internal evidence seems to go against the view, because the hill of Jeṭhiān (Yaṣṭivana of the Pali canon) obstructs the view of Girivraja even if one stands on the highest point of the Siddheśvara Peak. In answer to Bhīma, Kṛṣṇa refers to the five celebrated hills, which do not exist around Gorathagiri represented by the ruins of Mauzah Ibrahimpur, etc, In my opinion, Māgadha-pura refers to the city that

extended from the Khalatika hill to Ram Gaya, which lay before the cohorts of Bhīma. Its importance in the itinerary of Bhīma's eastern expedition lay in the fact that, after crossing the Sone and the Gaṅgā, this was the first city of the Magadhas which they reached. We are told that it was a populous city, full of wealthy citizens, cattle, water and trees. It was erased from the map of the world by Khāravela, so that its very name and existence were forgotten.

The route followed by the Kaliṅga king is a problem on which no final verdict is now possible. The Cedi king may have come from Orissa through Suhma or Rāḍha; but these countries are not mentioned in the inscription. Another alternative is that he came through the Singbhum and Ranchi Districts and reached the hill tract of Gaya. The discovery of several hoards of Roman coins in Singbhum shows that communications once existed through what was regarded as an impenetrable forest region in the 18th century. Khāravela probably started from Bhubaneswar, reached the hill tracts of Mayurbhanj and crossed the frontier of Bihar. On this route are the ruins of Majhgaon on the borders between Bihar and the former Jashpur and Surguja States, the antiquities of the place betraying Orissan influence, and then there is the route *via* Benusagar. It is probable that, like Fīrūz Tughluq, Khāravela braved the jungle area and hill valleys and fell upon Gorathagiri from the backside. Sonitapura was possibly then in ruins.

II

JAGAMANDA INSCRIPTION MENTIONING DHARMAKĪRTTI

Jagamanda (19° 14′ 15″ E ; 83° 49′ N) is a village in the Padampura Taluk in the Gunupur Sub-Division of the Koraput District of Orissa. There is a temple of Śiva, locally called Nīlakaṇṭheśvara, built of rough-grained white sandstone, on the top of a hillock. It is a Piḍhā Deul, facing east. The Liṅga with the big Gaurīpaṭṭa is large for the small shrine, and it is likely that it belonged to an earlier and larger Śiva temple that once existed in the neighbourhood.[1] There is a tank to the south-east of the temple and, on the western side of the small hill, there are two caves hidden in jungle.

The inscription on the eastern wall of the temple, written in characters of the 7th or 8th century A. D., though brief and damaged, is historically important. It seems to have belonged originally to the older shrine referred to above. Sri S. N. Rajaguru has deciphered it as follows—

1 *Srī-Candralekhā*

2 *Vadrakan Dharmakīrtti.*[2]

The reading of the two lines of writing, however, appears to me to be—

1 *Śrī-Candralekhā*

2 *dva khandarmma-kīrtti.*

1 The information is taken from a report by Sri Sen, a Technical Assistant in the Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, to whom I am indebted for an impression and photographs of the inscription discussed in the following lines.

2 See *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. II.

The matter was referred, for opinion, to Prof. D.C. Sircar who suggested the following reading :[3]

1 *Śrī-Candralekhā*

2 *bhadra* (?) *Khandarma kīrtti.*

The third *akṣara* in line 1 gives the form of *d* in *ndra* with the lower arm as a straight horizontal stroke ; but in *khanda* in line 2, the lower arm is at a tangent, making an acute angle with the left curve and a projection upwards, though the earlier and later forms in the same epigraph are not an unknown phenomenon. It is possible to think that *Darmakīrtti* is an error for *Dharmakīrtti*, the celebrated scholar of the 6th and 7th centuries, whose reputation reached as far as Tibet and Mongolia.

Dharmakīrti, son of Karuṇānanda, was a Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇa of Tirumalai. S. C. Vidyabhushan ascribes him to c. 635-50 A. D.[4] After receiving his education in the Vedānta and the Vedāṅgas, he was attracted to Buddhism and reached Nālandā, then at the apex of its fame under the famous Dharmapāla who was a pupil of Vasubandhu and hailed from Kāñcīpurī in South India. After studying for some time at Nālandā, Dharmakīrti proceeded to meet Īśvarasena, a pupil of the famous logician Dignāga, who probably inspired him to compose his *Pramāṇavārttikakārikā* in mnemonic verses, which is actually a *bhāṣya* on Dignāga's theories. He is credited with several other works, such as *Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti*, *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, *Nyāyabindu*, *Hetubinduvivaraṇa*, *Tarkanyāya*, *Sambandhaparīkṣā*, etc. The last-named work is a commentary of his previous work.

3 Intimated to me in a letter dated the 23rd November, 1965. Prof. Sircar seems to think that the inscription refers to the fame-producing work (*JAS*, Letters, Vol. XIV, 1949, p. 115 and note) of Candralekhā and another person.

4 *History of Indian Logic*, 1921, pp. 303 ff.

None of these, however, are now available in India ; but they are preserved in the Tibetan *Bstan-hgyur*. In later periods, his works on logic seem to have created an enormous amount of literature divided into three schools : (1) that of Devendrabuddhi who was one of his own pupils ; (2) the Kashmirian school founded by Dharmottara, and (3) the school of the Commentators founded by Prajñākaragupta.

The life of Dharmakīrti is imperfectly known ; so is his date. When Śīlabhadra of Samataṭa was the head of the Nālandā monastery, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang became his student. Dharmapāla who succeeded him, was the preceptor of Dharmakīrti. Nowhere in his works, the pilgrim mentions these two distinguished South Indian scholars. He transported copies of the works of Dignāga and other early Buddhist logicians to China and founded a new school. But nowhere the works of Dharmapāla or those of his more famous pupil are mentioned. It is pardonable to infer, therefore, that Dharmakīrti rose to fame after his departure. The Tibetan emperor Srong-btsan-sgam-po (c. 627-98 A.D.) is reported to have known him, and I-tsing, who visited India in c. 671-95 A. D., refers to him. The date c. 635-50 A. D. may thus be too early for him. He seems to have flourished during the period following the death of Harṣa.

All his life, he was an uncompromising controversialist. His admirers credit him with victories against redoubtable antagonists. Indian tradition credits him with having met Kumārila and being a pupil of his. But Th. Tcherbatsky gives good grounds for believing that he was older than Kumārila. He says "Notwithstanding the great scope and success of his propaganda, he could only retard, but not stop the decay of Buddhism on its native soil. Buddhism in India was doomed. The most talented propagandist could not change the run of history. The time of Kumārila and Śaṅkarācārya, the great champions of Brāhmaṇical revival

and opponents of Buddhism, was approaching. Tradition represents Dharmakīrti as having combated them in public disputations and having been victorious. But this is only an afterthought and a pious desire on the part of his followers. At the same time, it is an indirect confession that these Brāhmaṇa teachers had met with no Dharmakīrti to oppose them."[5]

While the works of Dharmakīrti have been lost and his very name passed out of people's memory in his motherland, they and their author were held in high esteem in Outer Mongolia and Tibet.

Indian tradition believes further, that towards the end of his life a monastery was constructed by Dharmakīrti, where he breathed his last. That the tradition possesses a substratum of truth was never doubted. But this small epigraph in the jungle tracts of the now-famous Daṇḍakāraṇya, indicates that after the death of Harṣa and Stong-btsan-sgam-po's raids, the monasteries in Magadha fell into neglect. What Dharmakīrti was destined to observe is the commencement of a long period of anarchy, brought about by the weakness of temporal authorities and a series of invasions from Northern India, and finally a gradual disintegration of fiscal, social and religious organizations. Thus his migration synchronized with the advent of the Bhauma-Karas.

So he chose this remote and romantic place in the very heart of the Eastern Ghats, the land of rocks and hills intervening with fertile valleys, and established his school there. The inscription is undoubtedly not contemporary, but was possibly inscribed by his followers on the walls of his monastery after he had passed away. The ruins of the monastery have not yet been located.

5 Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 303 ff.

Possibly its disjecta were carted away. Some, however, were utilised in the erection of the Piḍhā temple, to house a disproportionately large Liṅga and Yoni-paṭṭa brought from a third shrine. But for this chance utilization, the exact location of the last Buddhist monastery in Orissa might have remained uncharted.

The sculptural evidence at Bhubaneswar, Bolangir and many other sites in Orissa, indicates that the Pāśupata-Lakulīśas held sway from the time of Dharmakīrti. It is probable that after the last great Buddhist logician passed away, they succeeded in inflicting the final *coup de grace* to decayed Buddhism on the eastern coast.

BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTION FROM PĀLĀ*

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Recently a new chapter of the cultural history of Maharashtra has been opened up by the discovery of a large cave at the village of Pālā in the Poona District. Sri R. L. Bhide of Poona University is the discoverer of this cave which contains an inscription throwing light on the expansion of Jainism in Western India.

By the year 1910, nearly 1500 small and large rock inscriptions, belonging to the period from the 3rd century B.C. to the 4th century A.D., were discovered. Out of these, nearly 350 epigraphs were found in the Bhaja, Bedsa, Kondane, Karad, Nasik, Junnar and Kanheri caves, all situated in Western Maharashtra. With the exception of some inscriptions found at Nanighat, all the other epigraphs are the result of Buddhist inspiration; they were meant for the monks of the various sects of Buddhism and were engraved near their rainy season resort. None of these caves, however, mentions the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras. Thus a Jain inscription has been, for the first time, found in the cave discovered by Sri Bhide. It begins with the word *namo Arahatāṇaṁ*. This is the oldest inscription discovered in Maharashtra, which contains such a benediction.

In fact, the word *Arahata* or *Ārahata* has been used in 32

* [Adapted from Sri Ramesh Kumar Billorey's translation from Prof. Sankalia's Hindi note appearing in the *Dharmyug*, 15th December, 1968.—D. C. S.]

places in earlier inscriptions. With the exception, however, of two instances, one from Amaravati and another from Rajgir, the word has been used with reference to the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras. This is clearly indicated by the expressions used in respect of countless Jain images and the Jain temple at Mathura. Nearly 105 inscriptions of the pre-Christian era, which have been found in the caves of Bhaja, Kondane, Bedsa, Pitalkhora, Karla, Junnar, Kuda, Kol, Mahad, Karad and Kanheri, contain no benediction at all. Reference is made only to the 'gift' or 'charity'. In later inscriptions belonging to the age of the Kṣatrapa and Śātavāhana rulers, the word *siddham* is used in the beginning and, in some inscriptions, as at Junnar, we find the *svastika* symbol at the beginning and also at the end or only at the beginning.

Keeping these facts in view, it seems that the Pālā cave was excavated for the Jain monks. Thus it testifies to the expansion of Jainism side by side with or even earlier than Buddhism, before the Christian era. And there is nothing surprising in it. For, according to the Jain traditions, Candragupta Maurya, the founder of the Mauryan empire and grandfather of Aśoka, adopted Jainism and went to South India, for the propagation of that religion. This happened about 300 B.C. Shortly afterwards Buddhism was propagated by Aśoka in different parts of India. Later his grandson provided shelter for the Ājīvika monks, and caves for them were excavated in the Nagarjuni hills in Bihar. This happened about 220 B.C. Possibly Jain monks were also accomodated there, though this can be proved by future discoveries.

According to the Pālā cave inscription, the monk Bhadanta Indrarakṣita of Kātunada caused to be made a cave (*lena*) and a cistern (*poḍhi*).

One inscription from Kuda (No. 5 in Cave V) mentions that a cave and a cistern were the gifts of a person.

Exactly similar is the expression found in the Pālā inscription. Among the peculiarities of the inscription, the most significant is that this is the first record of these parts, which begins with *namo Arahatāṇaṁ* and that this meant not for the Buddha but for the Jain Tīrthaṅkara. Names beginning with *Indra* occur in records in about a dozen cases; but this is for the first time that we have the name *Indrarakṣita.*

Our trip to Pālā was possible due to the help we received from the famous Jain industrialist Sri Surajmal Sanghvi. I happened to meet him on the 7th of October, 1968, and talked to him about the cave and the important Jain inscription discovered by Sri Bhide. Sri Sanghvi took us up to the very base of the hill in his car. It was about eight miles' drive on a rough road. The remaining six miles we had to walk and climb up the hill; but the beautiful natural scenery made us forget the trouble of walking. The lush green fields were around us and the narrow tracks were hidden under the overgrowth of grass. At last we reached the slope of the hill. And then passing through the deep shrubs we reached the entrance of the cave. A beautiful valley stretches for miles together in front of this cave which having its entrance towards the east, resembles the Bhaja and the Karla caves.

The length of the cave is now 80 ft., though originally it must have been 60 ft. It seems that the first 20 ft. of the cave was formed due to the caving in of the front part. The inscription is engraved on a specially chisseled slab 2 ft. in breadth and 1 ft. in height on the right wall of the cave. This slab is 5½ ft. above the ground. The cistern mentioned in the inscription is also situated here. The inscription of four lines contains only two letters in the last line. The alphabet of the record is comparable to the Brāhmī script of the Bhaja inscriptions and also to the earlier Brāhmī of Aśoka's time.

It can be said that the Pālā inscription belongs to 150 or 200 B.C. It is possible that there are other Jain caves in the area. Our guide actually offered to take us to another large cave, though we could not go to see it. There appear to be at least five other caves in the area.

BENGALI-ORIYA RELATIONS IN THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

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Bengal has been connected with Orissa by close cultural ties for many centuries. Records bearing on this cultural contact are available in abundance. I have drawn here attention to material in certain unpublished manuscripts leaving out facts which are available in the secondary sources.

The Jagannāth-consciousness of Orissa has influenced, to a considerable extent, not only the Bengali literary trend during the mediaeval period, but also has deeply impressed upon the social and religious life of Bengal.

Many Bengali poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries wrote Kāvyas depicting the glory of Jagannāth on the basis of the *Utkal Khaṇḍa* section of the *Skandapurāṇ* or the *Brahmapurāṇ*. The earliest and the most important of these poets is Gadādhar Dās, brother of Kāśīrām, the famous translator of the *Mahābhārat* in Bengali verse. Candracūḍa Āditya translated the entire *Utkal Khaṇḍa* into Bengali in 1676-77 A.D. The *Jagannāthvijay* by the poet Mukunda Bhāratī was written in the eighteenth century. Dvija Dayārām has also a treatise of this type to his credit. Gadādhar wrote his book in 1643 in the village of Makhanpur near Cuttack, during the reign of *Mahārāja* Narasiṁha Dev, who was a devout Vaiṣṇava. The poet resided in the house of some *Viṣayī*, where one Durgādās Cakravartī gave regular recitation of the Purāṇas, and hence the atmosphere

1 S. Sen, *Vāṅgālā Sāhityer Itihās*, Vol. I, 2nd ed., pp. 407-08.

was quite suitable for composing the book.[1] Similar dissertations of Viśvambhar Dās, Kavi Kumud and Dvija Madhukaṇṭha have also been found. The story of *Gajendra-mokṣaṇ* by Vijayrām Sen of the late eighteenth century is also included in this category.

The *padas* and poems in adoration of Lord Jagannāth have been written by Dvija Raghunāth, Dayārām Dās, Dvijarām, Kṛttivās and Haragovinda at different times. The glory of Utkal (*Utkalmāhātmya*) and the story of Indradyumna find place in the *Abhayāmaṅgal* of Rāmśaṅkar Dev, the disciple of Rāmānanda Yati. Rāmānanda Ghoṣ, the author of the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa*, was a devotee of the *Dārubrahma* or Lord Jagannāth and identified him with 'Rājā Rām'.[2]

One of the important and most probably the oldest 'Pīṭhas' of Dharma-ṭhākur was at Jājpur in Orissa. The expedition of Fīrūz Shāh into Orissa in the middle of the fourteenth century is echoed in the song *Jālāli Kalimā*, sung on the concluding day of the Dharma-gājan celebration, known as 'Gharbhāṅgā'.[3] In the *Dharmapurāṇ* manuscript (Visva-Bharati collection) ascribed to Rāmāī Paṇḍit, there is a chapter on 'Jājpur'.[4] In many manuscripts of Bengali *mantras*, there are references[5] to the spoliation of Orissa. Nirañjan Dharma-ṭhākur has been identified with the Muslim invader who raided Jājpur and destroyed the shrines and images and persecuted the Brāhmaṇs, the Vaiṣṇavas and the servitors of the temple (Deāsīs). At that time, there was a Brāhmaṇ named Pāṣāṇ Siṁha, famed for his Vedic learning.

Dharma-ṭhākur, disguised as a Yavan, engaged Pāṣāṇ Siṁha in a game of dice and, after defeating him, said

2 *Ibid.*, p. 681.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 495-96.
4 *Punthiparicay*, Vol. I, ed. Mandal, pp. 77-81.
5 *Ibid.*, pp. 120, etc.

disdainfully that he would settle Muslims in three-fourths of Jājpur and turn it into a sanctuary of Islam by establishing the study of Muslim scriptures in the place of Vedic learning.[6] In another manuscript,[7] Bhuvaneśvar and Kaṇārak are given the pride of place as seats of Dharma-ṭhākur.

Jādunāth, in his *Dharmapurāṇ*[8] (1696 A.D.), has identified Lord Jagannāth with Dharma-ṭhākur and accepted him as the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu.[9] Writing about the ritual for attaining beatitude, he says that one does not get the full credit of pilgrimage to Purī (Orissa) unless he partakes *mahāprasād* and suffers a few strokes of a broomstick delivered by a Hāḍī or low caste man.[10] It is a current practice in the Loknāth Śiva temple on the sea shore, not far from the Jagannāth temple of Purī. The mention of 'crossing the river Vaitaraṇī' in the *Dharmapurāṇ* refers to a ritual in the worship of Dharma. Dharma-ṭhākur is supposed to be identical with Yama, the god of death. Hence there is the practice of crossing the Vaitaraṇī near Jājpur in Orissa. The sacred spot is named Nābhigayā-tīrtha where, on the Saura-kūrma-cakra, is seated Dharma-ṭhākur styled as Yama. There is a reservoir named 'Vaitaraṇī-kuṇḍa' in front of the temple. The devotee is expected to cross it with the help of the tail of a cow.

6 Cf. *Vāmane ḍākiā prabhu kahen kautuk* |
tin bhāg Jājpur kariba Tuḍuk ||
vedavidyā ghucāiā paḍāva Korāṇ |
niścay kahila tore ithe nahe āṇ || (*ibid.*, p. 79).

7 *Ibid.*, p. 83.

8 Ed. P. Mandal in the Sāhityaprakāśikā Series, Vol. III, Visva-Bharati, 1958.

9 Cf. *Nay Nārāyaṇ Dharma vando Nīlācal* |
devamāne jūjū nile kāyā acal || (*ibid.*, p. 7).

10 Cf. *Mahānāde āsi hāṭā Uḍaṣyāa Hāḍi-jhāṭā*
Dharma-ghare Vaitaraṇī pār (*ibid.*, pp. 40, 140, 152).

Very likely, in imitation of this ritual, the reference to the crossing of the Vaitaraṇī is included in the *Dharmapurāṇ* by Jādunāth. He also refers to the castelessness[11] prevalent at Purī, which is demonstrated in the sanctity of the *mahāprasād.*

In a book entitled *Jugīkāc*[12] (named after a peculiar type of mask-dance accompanying some ritualistic folk songs), there is a chapter entitled *Svapnakathā*[13] which expresses the desire of the devotee to pay homage to Lord Jagannāth. There we find the echo of Jādunāth and also the essence of the Nāth cult in an indigenous style. The above type of dance (Jugīkāc) is still prevalent in North Bengal and is practised by both Hindus and Muslims. The compiler and publisher of this book, Rahimuddīn Munshī, himself was a devout Muslim. The same respect for the *mahāprasād* we find in a newly discovered Bengali *pada*[14] by the well known Vaiṣṇav poet Sāle Beg.

The most important among the Kāvyas dealing with the glory of Satya Pīr is the *Satyanārāyaṇ Pāñcālī.* The stories originated in West Bengal and spread all over India. Many of them, not even found in West Bengal, are prevalent in Orissa, and they are mostly written by a poet, Kavi Karṇa by name. Twentyfour stories relating to Satyapīr are in vogue in Orissa, of which Kavi Karṇa has written seventeen. This Kavi Karṇa[15] is a Bengali poet of the late seventeenth century. Probably, he was a resident of Midnapur as most of his manuscripts are collected from that region. He was greatly influenced by Kavikaṅkaṇ Mukundarām, and his language is a mixture of Oriya

11 *Dharmaghare vrata ekākār (ibid.,* p. 40).
12 *Gorkhavijay,* ed. Mandal, pp. 179-202.
13 *Ibid.,* pp. 197-98.
14 *Punthiparicay,* Vol. II (1959), ed. Mandal, p. 326.
15 *Ibid.,* Vol. I, Intro., pp. 17-19.

and Bengali. This is probably an attempt at a synthesis of the two cultural trends.

A manuscript of riddles[16] by one Narottam Dās is found in the Visva-Bharati collection. It refers to the daughter-in-law of some goldsmith, who came to Bengal from Kaliṅga with her two companions. These companions were 'Hāḍijhi' or daughters of a low caste man, and all three, by their magic power, came by riding upon a moving tree and turned the poet into a Bāul. The story has some similarity with various Pālās of Kavi Karṇa. A peculiar fusion of later Vaiṣṇavism and the Nātha cult can be traced here. This also stresses the cultural communication between Orissa and Bengal.

The famous poet Bhāratcandra makes many references to Orissa in his *Annadāmaṅgal.*[17] Mān Siṁha, accompanied by Bhavānanda Majumdār, captured Pratāpāditya and proceeded to Delhi by a detour *via* Purī. While describing their route the poet says that they crossed the border of Bengal at Nāḍā Deul (probably a 'Bengal hut'-type temple) and reached Jaleśvar after crossing Midnapur, Narayangarh and Dantan. They crossed Rājghāṭ and halted at Bāstā for a while. They had to cross the Mahānadī for going to Cuttack and, leaving Bhuvaneśvar and Baleśvar on either side, they passed *via* Vālihantā and Āṭhāranālā and finally reached 'Nīlācala' or Purī. There they visited the temples of Jagannāth and Vimalā and the many places of interest and felt a sense of gratitude and contentment by taking *mahāprasād.* After giving a detailed description of Śrīkṣetra (Purī), the poet says that they paid their homage to the Lord and proceeded further passing the Caḍayā hills on their way. In this connection, it may be

16 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 231.

17 *Bhāratcandra Granthāvalī*, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad ed., Vol. II, pp. 179-83.

mentioned here that, even at the time of Bhāratcandra (towards the middle of the eighteenth century), the Nāḍā Deul was the boundary between Orissa and Bengal, and Midnapur, Narayangarh, etc., were included in Orissa. This can be substantiated by the *Dharmapurāṇ* of Sahadev Cakravartī.[18] According to him, Rāmāi Paṇḍit was the resident of Jājpur in Orissa. While charting the route to Jājpur from Bengal, he also mentions the Nāḍā Deul.

In the *Kālikāmaṅgal*[19] of Balarām Cakravartī Kaviśekhar, the following route is described in connection with prince Sundar's search for Vidyā. He passed Khurdā and reached the kingdom of Śveta Rājā.[20] After leaving the Caḍāi hills, he reached Sālgiri (Solari ?).

The newly discovered Bengali poet Dvija Haridev, in his *Śītalāmaṅgal*,[21] describes the visit to Jagannāth of his hero Guṇārṇava, the son of a merchant, while returning from a commercial trip. Guṇārṇava anchored his boats at the Purī shore to have a *darśan* of the Lord. He was so enraptured at the sight of the flag on the Jagannāth temple that, at the approach of Āṭhāranālā, he folded part of his cloth round his neck and went up to the temple with folded hands. Paying homage to the Lord, he performed ablutions. There is a custom in the Jagannāth temple that the devotees pay a certain amount for the preparation of *bhog* to be offered to the Lord. This is called Āṭikā.[22] He left Purī after taking the *mahāprasād* and then arrived at the Saṅgam (Saṅgrām) chanting the name of the Lord all his way.

18 *Vāṅgālā Sāhityer Itihās*, pp. 741-43.

19 *Punthiparicay*, Vol. II, p. 33.

20 It reminds us of the Śveta-Vasanta Pālā of Kavi Karṇa.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 370-71.

22 This is mentioned as Āṭakya in the manuscript referred to above.

The Visva-Bharati collected a number of valuable Bengali manuscripts from Purī. The manuscripts were transcribed at different times in different places of Orissa. In the post-colophon statement[23] of a copy of the *Mahābhārat*, there are excerpts from Jīta Ghaṭak, Śambhu Dās and Kavīndra besides those from the famous Kāśīrām Dās. This manuscript was transcribed at Khurdā (Orissa) in 1230 Amlī Sāl. In this year on the second day of Āśvin, the Bengali Brāhmaṇs and Kāyasthas did not observe the Durgotsav as was the prevalent practice in the Vimalā temple. On the directive of the Paṇḍits from Kāśī and Navadvīp, they observed the Pūjā in the month of Kārttik, though the traditional practice was to observe the Pūjā for sixteen days in the month of Āśvin.

Another manuscript from Purī is the translation of the *Bhāgavat*[24] by Sanātan Vidyāvāgīś of Calcutta, of which the transcription was completed in 1198 B.S. at Cuttack. Many of the manuscripts preserved in the Visva-Bharati were transcribed at Puruṣottampur, Khurdā, Mahāgrām, Cañcpāḍā, Sihamāpur, Bardā Paharājpur, etc., at different times. A version of Kavikaṅkaṇ Mukundarām's *Caṇḍīmaṅgal*,[25] collected from Purī, has an abundance of Oriya words, and the transcriber, though a Bengali, has transformed the text by an infusion of Oriya vocubulary under the influence of local surroundings.

One important 'Jaya-patra'[26] (testament of victory) may be cited here. In 1137 B.S., Kṛṣṇadev Bhaṭṭācārya, the court Paṇḍit of *Mahārājā* Sawāi Jayasiṁha, accompanied by the Badshāhī Mansabdār, came to Gauḍ-maṇḍal (Bengal) from Jayanagar for a contest on the Svakīyā

23 *Ibid.*, p. 287.
24 *Ibid.*, p. 276, etc.
25 *Ibid.*, p. 96-97.
26 *Ciṭhipatre Samājcitra*, Vol. II, ed. Mandal, pp. 112-14.

and Parakīyā theories of Vaiṣṇavism. The court Paṇḍits, Judges (*Dharmādhikārī*), Vairāgīs and Vaiṣṇavas from Navadvīp, Kāśī, Soṇārgrām Vikrampur and Utkal assembled under the leadership of Rādhāmohan Ṭhākur, the religious preceptor of Rājā Nandakumār and the compiler of the famous Vaiṣṇav anthology entitled *Padāmṛtasamudra*. The controversy continued for six months and the teachings of the *Bhāgavat* and of Śrīcaitanya, the authentic Bhaktiśāstras, the *Ṭīkā* and *Toṣaṇī* of Śrīdharsvāmī, etc., were cited in confirmation of either view. Finally, the Parakīyā view was vindicated and the poor Bhaṭṭācārya had to renounce his claims over Bengal, Orissa and Bihar. In this 'Jaya-patra', we find the signature of one Nārāyaṇānanda Dev Śarmā of Utkal Dādpur among the many important signatory witnesses.

Śrīcaitanya's long stay at Purī and his influence on the social and religious life of Orissa, as revealed in the Vaiṣṇav literature of Bengal, is too long a subject to be dealt with within the short compass of this discussion.

A complete manuscript of the *Mādhav Saṅgīt*[27] by Paraśurām has been collected from Purī and is preserved in the Visva-Bharati. This manuscript was composed during the reign of one Kumār Śikhar Śyām of Campaknagarī (possibly near Kantai in Midnapur). This Bengali Vaiṣṇava *rasa-grantha* was written probably towards the end of the seventeenth century. Paraśurām was well-versed in both Bengali and Oriya. The following 'Utkala pada'[28] of the writer will bear testimony to it :

// Rāga Vihāgaḍā //
// Pada Utkala //
Ki e sudhā ki e viṣa deha ki e rasakūpa
Kahibā Veḷaku dise svapana svarūpa /

27 *Punthiparicay*, Vol. II, p. 295-305.
28 *Ibid.*, p. 302.

Nā lo Vṛkabhānu tani
Disai e daśā ebe emanta no Jāṇi /
Tanu anurūpa tānku no diśe upamā
Kahiñ na rahilā āja sundari garimā /
Kañculi jalada vāsa kiraṇa capalā
se rūpa se nāśaveśa hurdare pasilā /
Mukha sukhasindhu indu bindu bindu ghāma
Asita adbhuta jyoti Rādhā ādhā nāma /
Vahuḷa dighaḷa keśa rasak ḷā phaṇi
Garale bharilā tānka vaṅkima cāhani /
Vṛṣabhānu tani dhani mana mohilā
Dhairaja dheāna vaśa lāja kāja galā /
Marāḷa gamana nakha kamala caraṇa
Tahiñ se Paraśurāma laichi śaraṇa /

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that an elaborate comparative study on the topic alone will reveal more clearly the intimate nature of cultural ties between Orissa and Bengal.

ANCIENT CONTACTS BETWEEN INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA*

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Historical and cultural contacts between Central Asia and India can be traced back to the hoary past, when these two regions of the East were seats of original cultures and centres of two of the world's earliest civilisations. During certain phases of their history, when some areas of Central Asia and India became part of the same state formations, cultural and economic ties between them were particularly strong. Many aspects of these ties have come into prominence in recent years following archaeological excavations in Central Asia and India. Large scale investigations of archaeological sites conducted by Soviet researchers in Central Asia have brought to light many previously unknown cultures, ancient cities and settlements ; new trends of cultural exchange have been traced.

These researches have also made it possible to solve certain general problems of contacts between India and Central Asia and related problems.

Archaeological data reveal a certain typological affinity between the cultures of South Tajikistan and the Soan culture of North-West India as early as in the Palaeolithic age. In the Neolithic times, many territories of Central Asia and North India were included in the vast area where similar agricultural cultures prevailed ; analogous processes

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1 See V. Ranov, *Kamenny vek v Tajikistane* (The Stone Age in Tajikistan), Dushanbe, 1965.

of social development occurred in the area, giving rise to urban civilisations and states.

Explorations by Soviet archaeologists in South Turkmenia have brought to light the existence of ties between the towns of the Indus Valley and the settlements of South Turkmenia in the period of the mature Harappa culture.[2] Some of the finds from South Turkmenia have counterparts in the Harappa culture, e. g., metal and ivory articles, segmented faience beads and pottery. Apart from objects imported from India (ivory articles and beads), there are those bearing unmistakable traces of Indian influence ; above all, a silver seal in the shape of a three-headed monster similar to representations on the Harappa seals.[3] There are also the South Turkmenian terracottas which resemble those manufactured by the Indus people. We do not know yet how these contacts materialised and whether they were direct or indirect ;[4] but the existence of links between Central Asia and India at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C. is beyond doubt. Researchers are still confronted with the task of establishing the specific features and the trend of the cultural influence exerted by Central Asia on the Indus civilisation ; in all probability, this was a reciprocal process.

2 V. M. Masson, 'Protogorodskaya kultura yuga Srednei Azii' (The Proto-Urban Culture of the South of Central Asia) in *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* (Soviet Archaeology), 1967, No. 3, pp. 174-76 ; A. Y. Shchetenko, 'Yuzhnoturkmenskiye paralleli k harappskoi kulture' (South Turkmenian Parallels of the Harappa Culture) in *Problemy arkheologii Srednei Azii* (Problems of Central Asian Archaeology), Leningrad, 1968, pp. 35-36.

3 See E. Mackay, *Early Indus Civilizations*, London, 1948.

4 In recent years we have learnt about the maritime contacts between Harappa and the West, about the existence of the Harappa trading outposts in Makran. See S. R Rao, 'Shipping and Maritime Trade of the Indus People' in *Expedition*, 1965, No. 3, pp. 30-37 ; G. F. Dales, 'Harappa Outposts on the Makran Coast' in *Antiquity*, Vol. XXXV, No. 142, pp. 86-92.

Contact between Central Asia and India apparently existed also in the period immediately after the florescence of the Indus towns. Some Soviet archaeologists are inclined to see traces of affinity between the post-Harappan Jhangar culture, discovered at Chanhu-Daro above the Jhukar level and at several Sind sites, and the cultures of Central Asia of the period of the so-called barbarous occupation.[5]

The problem of the 'Aryan invasion' of India, i. e., of the arrival and spread of Indo-Aryan tribes in North India, is still a much discussed issue. Researchers' opinions vary as to the ancient homeland of the Indo-Iranians and the routes along which the Indo-Aryans came to India. Some mention Central Asia as the starting point of the Indo-Aryan migration ; others think that the Indo-Aryans reached India from the west, for they believe them to have passed through the Caucasus. Irrespective of how this moot question is decided, it is possible to speak of the existence of certain ties between Central Asia and North India in the post-Harappan epoch.

The era of the Achaemenian rule and of Alexander the Great should be regarded as a special phase in the history of relations between Central Asia and India. Some regions of Central Asia (Bactria, Soghd, Parthia and Khorezm) and territories of North-West India (the Gandhāra region and the Indus territories) became parts of the same empire. We know from Greek sources that there were Indian soldiers in the Achaemenian army, into which men from Central Asia were also drawn. Reciprocal relations were greatly stimulated at the time of the campaigns af Alexander the

5 S. P. Tolstov and M. A. Itina, 'Problema Suyarganskoi kultury' (The Problem of the Suyargan Culture) in *Sovetskaya etnografiya* (Soviet Enthnography), 1910, No. 1 ; S. P. Tolstov, *Po drevnium deltam Oksa i Yaksarta* (The Ancient Deltas of the Oxus and the Yaxartes), Moscow, 1962, pp. 67-68.

Great, when the Central Asian regions and large areas of North-West India became a part of his empire.

In the 2nd century B. C. when the Śaka tribes migrated from Bactria to North India *via* the Pamirs, they carried with them elements and traditions of Central Asian culture. There are, for example, the distinctive iron swords discovered at Taxila, which apparently can be traced back to Central Asian tribes, and specific disc-shaped bronze mirrors, which were used in Central Asia.[6]

But, of course, ancient relations between Central Asia and India reached their zenith in the Kuṣāṇa period, with the rise of the Kuṣāṇa empire incorporating many territories of Central Asia and a considerable part of North India.

Judging by the inscriptions of that period, men from Central Asia went to live in India; they embraced Buddhism and even held official posts. A Kuṣāṇa inscription from Taxila mentions the building of a Buddhist *caitya* by a Bactrian. Inscriptions from Sarnath mention Vanaspara and Kharapallāna, two Kṣatrapas who were Buddhist donors. The name Kharobalano occurs on a Kuṣāṇa gem with an inscription in Bactrian letters (published by A. Cnnningham); this suggests a comparison with the name Kharapallāna, mentioned in the Sarnath inscription,[7] and indicates its Bactrian origin. The same apparently holds true for the other name, Vanaspara = Bactrian Wanaspar from *Wana-spāra, 'appealing for victory'.

6 B. Y. Stavisky, 'Srednaya Azia, India, Rim (k voprosu o mezhdunarodnykh svyazyakh v kushansky period)' (Central Asia, India, Rome: International Contacts in the Kuṣāṇa Period) in *India v drevnosti* (Ancient India), Moscow, 1964, p. 169.

7 V. A. Livshitz, *Cusano-Indica, Ellinistichesky Vostok, Vizantia i Iran* (The Hellenistic East, Byzantium and Iran), Moscow, 1967, pp. 169-70).

The Kuṣāṇa sculptures from Mathurā show the influence of Central Asian traditions as concerns weapons, clothing, etc. A case in point is the distinctive Indo-Scythian helmet worn by the statues of kings from Mathurā[8]—a headdress unusual for India, but typical of Central Asia.[9]

The Kuṣāṇa pantheon, amply represented on Kuṣāṇa coins, attests to the spread of Zoroastrianism (current at that time in Central Asia) and its coexistence with the Indian religions, Buddhism and Śivaism.

In the early period of Kuṣāṇa rule, the main direction of cultural exchange was from Central Asia to India. Indian influence was little felt at the time ; it was later, in connection with the spread of Buddhism, that the impact of India's cultural traditions became quite substantial. This is clearly seen when we study the art of Kuṣāṇa Bactria.

A few years ago, the art of Kuṣāṇa Bactria was discussed merely in terms of its imitation of or departure from the Gandhāra school, which was considered to be the sole and all-embracing school of Kuṣāṇa art and was often regarded as purely Buddhistic in character. The art of Central Asia was sometimes proclaimed to be a cross between Indian and Graeco-Roman traditions, with a superimposition of barbarian elements.[10]

The discoveries made by Soviet researchers, primarily by G. A. Pugachenkova, at Khalchayan and Dalverzintepe (South Uzbekistan), induced a radical revision of this

8 J. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1967, pp. 14-16.

9 B. Y. Stavisky, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-71.

10 G. A. Pugachenkova, 'K probleme kushanskogo iskusstva' (On the Problem of Kushan Art) in *Problemy arkheologii Srednei Azii*, Leningrad, 1968, p. 43.

appraisal of the origin and character of Kuṣāṇa art. We can now speak of the existence of a distinctive, original Bactrian school of Kuṣāṇa art,[11] which arose independently of India's Gandhāra school and before the latter took final shape. Moreover, the Bactrian school, with a marked secular stream in it, exerted a telling influence on the formation of the Gandhāra school and of Kuṣāṇa art as a whole. Later, in connection with the spread of Buddhism, the influence of Indo-Buddhist traditions could be traced in the art of Kuṣāṇa Bactria and the whole of Central Asia. These processes are illustrated by the monuments of Khalchayan, Dalverzin-tepe, the Buddhist monuments of Termez (Kara-tepe) and the reliefs of Airtam.

The most striking of the figures of the Airtam frieze is that of the harp player. S. F. Oldenburg has suggested that the musicians depicted on the frieze represent the *pañcamahāśabda*, or Five Great Sounds of Indian mythology. G. A. Pugachenkova thinks that the frieze is a reflection of the *Parinirvāṇa Jātaka*.[12] The Airtam frieze does personify the influence of India's cultural traditions (specifically those of Mathurā and Gandhāra); but it is undoubtedly based on local traditions, on features of the Bactrian school.

A comparison of sculptures from Khalchayan and Dalverzin-tepe yields interesting results. The figures from Khalchayan are highly realistic portrait sculptures, untouched as yet by the influence of Buddhist traditions. The statues from Dalverzin-tepe, where a Buddhist shrine

11 For details, see B. Y. Stavisky and G. M. Bongard-Levin, 'Central Asia in the Kushan Period' (Archaeological Studies by Soviet Scholars), Moscow, 1968.

12 B. A. Litvinsky, *Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia*, Moscow, 1958, pp. 18-19.

was discovered, date from a later period and illustrate the evolution of Bactria's local artistic traditions inseparably linked with Hellenistic and Indian traditions. Particular interest attaches not to the Buddhist personages from Dalverzin-tepe but the statues representing secular characters. The Buddha and the Bodhisattvas are fashioned in accordance with the canon as interpreted by the Gandhāra school,[13] while the secular personages are treated in keeping with the traditions of local art. Similarly at Khalchayan, there are portrait sculptures ; but the treatment is more generalised. According to G. A. Pugachenkova, Dalverzin-tepe indicates the beginning of the idealisation of characters.[14] The date of Dalverzin-tepe coincides with the period when Buddhism penetrated into Kuṣāṇa Bactria.[15]

G. A. Pugachenkova makes the perfectly correct conclusion that, in the first few centuries before our era, India did not play any substantial part in the formation of Bactrian architecture and sculpture. At that time it was Bactria and Eastern Parthia that produced the basic influence which, blending with the purely Indian artistic tradition, affected the formation of the so-called Gandhāra school of sculpture in India. But in the first few centuries of our era, under the Great Kuṣāṇas, a reverse process was

13 G. A. Pugachenkova, 'K izucheniyu pamyatnikov Severnoi Baktrii' (The Study of the Monuments of Northern Bactria) in *Obshchestvenniye nauki v Uzbekistane* (Social Sciences in Uzbekistan), 1968, No. 8, p. 34.

14 G. A. Pugachenkova, 'K probleme kushanskogo iskusstva', p. 44.

15 In her analysis of the Dalverzin-tepe finds, G. A. Pugachenkova has noted that the site enables us to date the beginning of the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia not from the time of Kaniṣka, as it is generally accepted, but from the time of his predecessors (G. A. Pugachenkova, 'K izucheniyu pamyatnikov Severnoi Baktrii', p. 34).

taking place, when the Gandhāra school with its life-giving Buddhist conception overwhelmed the art of Ṭukhāristān.[16] This second stage is well illustrated by the excavations of Kara-tepe conducted by B. Y. Stavisky.

The Buddhist monastery discovered at Kara-tepe is convincing proof of the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia, which it reached from India, its homeland. The architecture of this cave monastery, the finds of a number of objects (lids ornamented with lotus flowers, *chatras*, etc.) as well as inscriptions in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī indicate clearly the influence of Indian traditions and Indian culture. The cave structures are not typical of Central Asia, but occurred widely in ancient India.[17]

At the same time, one should bear in mind that the local population creatively assimilated outside traditions, including the Indian. This is seen, for example, in the layout of the structures, the construction of processional corridors being a characteristic feature of the local building canon. The creative principle of assimilating Indian Buddhist traditions is also illustrated by epigraphic data.

Not only did the adepts of Buddhism in Bactria translate Buddhist texts from Sanskrit, but they gave their own interpretations.[18] Local versions of the Indian scripts were elaborated, although the marked affinity between the inscriptions of Kara-tepe and certain Indian inscriptions

16 G. A. Pugachenkova, *Khalchayan (K probleme khudozhestvennoi kultury Severnoi Baktrii)* (Khalchayan : the Problem of Artistic Culture of Northern Bactria), Tashkent, 1966, p. 265.

17 See T. V. Grek, K. G. Pchelina and B. Y. Stavisky, *Kara-tepe, buddhiysky monastry v Starom Termeze* (Kara-tepe : Buddhist Monastery in Old Termez), Moscow, 1964.

18 B. Gafurov, *Kushan Civilisation and World Culture*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 14-15.

indicates the penetration of the traditions of writing directly from India, without any intermediary stages.[19]

Written sources give us an idea of the important part played by the Buddhist monks of Bactria in the development and dissemination of Buddhism. According to Buddhist tradition, Ghoṣaka, a Tukhāra, was one of the compilers of commentaries (*vibhāṣā*) to the Sūtra-,Vinaya- and Abhidharma-piṭakas, which were approved by the Buddhist Council in Puruṣapura at the time of Kaṇiṣka. The *Abhidharmāmṛtaśāstra* was also attributed to him. Chinese sources credit Dharmamitra, who was born in Termez (Tarmita) with having supplied a commentary for the *Vinayasūtra*. He translated works of the Vaibhāṣika school into Tokharian.[20]

If we proceed from the above, it appears that during the period under review the Vaibhāṣika school gained ground in Central Asia, or, more precisely, in Bactria-Ṭukhāristān. This school was connected with the Sarvāstivāda.

Central Asia played an important role in the dissemination of Buddhism in the Far East. There were many monks from Central Asia in China in the first centuries A. D., who translated and annotated Buddhist texts, actually introducing Buddhism to the Chinese.[21]

19 T. V. Grek, 'Indiyskiye nadpisi na keramike iz Kara-tepe' (Indian Inscriptions on Pottery from Kara-tepe) in *Kara-tepe, buddhiysky monastyr v Starom Termeze*, p. 80.

20 For details, see La Vallee Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, tome I, Paris, 1923; P. C. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, Calcutta, 1955; H. W. Bailey, *Indo-Iranica*, III. 5; Tarmita in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1950, Vol. XIII, Pt 2, pp. 400-03 (further referred to as *BSOAS*).

21 E Zürcher, 'The Buddhist Conquest of China: the Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China' in *Sinica Leidensia*, Vol. XI, pp. 20-35; J. Brough, 'Comments on Third-Century Shah-Shan and the History of Buddhism,' *BSOAS*, Vol. XXVIII, 1965. The ques-

B. A. Litvinsky has correctly noted that the sojourn of many monks from Central Asia in the countries of the Far East—monks engaged in translation and annotation work—testifies to the wide spread of Buddhism in their homeland, Central Asia.[22]

Of great importance is the discovery of Sanskrit inscriptions in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī at Kara-tepe. These inscriptions prove beyond doubt that men from India found their way into the area around Termez, bringing, in addition to the teaching of the Buddha, elements of Indian culture and learning.

An analysis of the fragmentary inscription on Kara-tepe pottery has led J. Harmatta to the conclusion that there were adepts of the Buddhist Vaibhāṣika and Mahāsāṅghika schools in Bactria in the Kuṣāṇa period.[23] The present writer does not believe this conclusion to be fully warranted.

Cultural exchange between India and Central Asia continued to develop in the post-Kuṣāṇa period, on a smaller scale. New researches by Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia give us a better idea of this exchange, supplementing the evidence of previously known written sources.

Of particular interest are excavations at Pianjikent, Varakhsha and Adzhina Tepa.

tion has been elaborated by B. A. Litvinsky in 'Sredneaziatskiye narody i rasprostraneniye buddhizma (II v. do n.e.—II v.n.e. Pismenniye istochniki i lingvisticheskiye danniye)' (Central Asian Peoples and the Spread of Buddhism, 2nd Century B.C.—3rd Century A.D. Written Sources and Linguistic Data), *Istoriya, arkheologiya i etnografiya Srednei Azii* (History, Archaeology and Ethnography of Central Asia), Moscow, 1968, pp. 130-33; B. A. Litvinsky, *Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia.*

22 B. A. Litvinsky, 'Sredneaziatskiye narody i rasprostraneniye buddhizma', p. 133.

23 J. Harmatta, 'K interpretatsii nadpisei iz Kara-tepe', (The Interpretation of Inscriptions from Kara-tepe), *Kara-tepe*, fasc. II in the press).

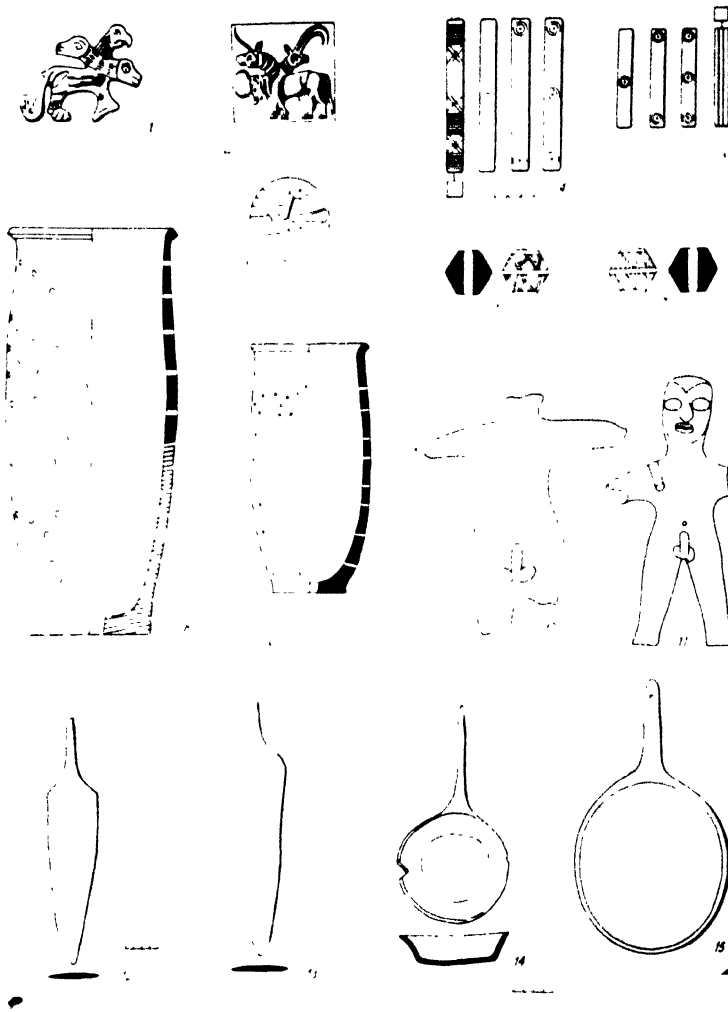


Plate I – Resemblance between Turkmenian (Nos. 1, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12 and 14) and Harappan Objects.



Plate II-A Head of Warrior, Khalchayan

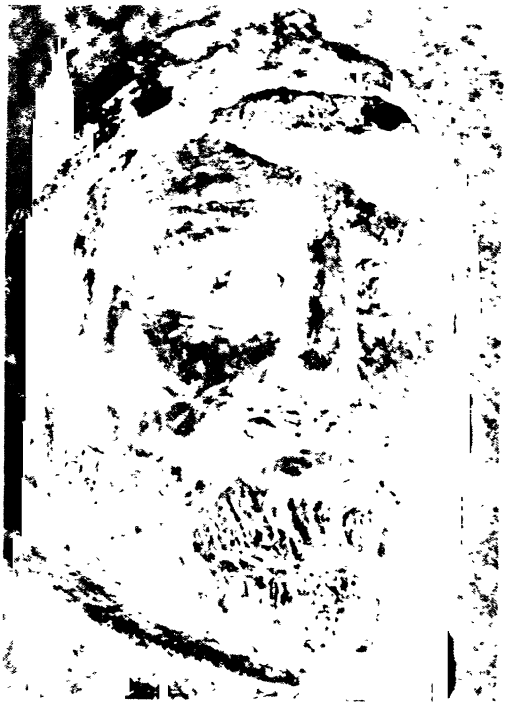


Plate II-B Head of Warrior Khalchayan.



Plate III – Buddhist Relief (Termez)



Plate IV-A —Fragment of Wall-painting (Pianjikent)



Plate IV-B.—Sculpture from the Adzina-tepe monastery (south Tajikistan)

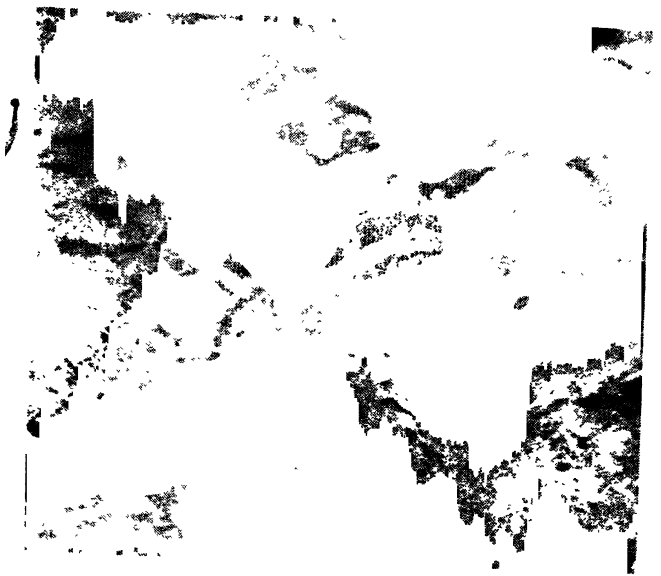


Plate V-A.—Fragmentary Buddha Figure from Kirgizia



Plate V-B.—Altam Frieze (Girl playing on harp)





Objects from Kara-tepe.

Excavations at Pianjikent, famous for its remarkable painting, have yielded frescoes that have parallels in Indian art; e. g., the fragment showing people playing dice, reminiscent of the Bharhut relief and the Ajanta frescoes.[24]

In 1962, a composition was discovered at Pianjikent representing a blue dancer, his body draped in a tiger skin, with a trident behind him. A. Belenitsky is justified in thinking that the blue dancer is traceable to the iconography of Śiva, the Hindu god who is often depicted as Naṭarāja; this is connected with the legend of how Śiva became Nīlakaṇṭha (blue-necked).[25]

Another outstanding find is the painting of the Varakhsha palace, where excavations were for many years led by V. Shishkin.[26] The main point of interest is the so-called Red Hall in the king's palace decorated with a hunting scene. The king rides an elephant; his men are with him; they fight ferocious animals (tigers). There have been special references in literature to indicate the fact that the idea of hunting on elephant-back was apparently borrowed from India, since this mode of hunting was not known in Central Asia.[27]

The scene has some points of similarity with the frescoes of Ajanta, e. g., in clothing, ornaments, etc. Yet this is undoubtedly Central Asian art rooted in local artistic traditions, with parallels in other Central Asian schools, e. g., Pianjikent and Balalyk-tepe. These traditions may stem

24 *Skulptura i zhivopis drevnego Pianjikenta* (The Sculpture and Painting of Ancient Pianjikent), Moscow, 1959, tab. XIV.

25 A. M. Belenitsky, 'K istorii kulturnykh svyazei Srednei Azii i Indii v rannem srednevekovye' (The History of Cultural Relations between Central Asia and India in the Early Medieval Period) in *Ancient India*, Moscow, 1964, p. 192.

26 See V. A. Shishkin, *Varakhsha* (in Russian), Moscow, 1963.

27 A. M. Belenitsky, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

even from the Kuṣāṇa period, from an earlier trend in the art of Bactria-Ṭukhāristān.

Central Asian sculpture, too, merits attention inasmuch as some of its specimens undoubtedly demonstrate the influence of Indian culture. Wooden sculptures, which are known to have been popular in India, have been found at Pianjikent. Works in wood are highly perishable, so that very few specimens have been preserved. At Pianjikent, some charred sculptures have survived, which just missed burning and thus became immune to the ruinous influence of the climate.

Indian repercussions in Central Asian painting and sculpture are attributable both to common artistic traditions and to direct contacts. Several years ago, a short Sanskrit inscription in Brāhmī was found at Pianjikent, traced on a potsherd—clear proof of the arrival of an Indian to that town.

In recent years, new remarkable specimens of Ṭukhāristān's art have come to light in excavations at Adzhina Tepa (South Tajikistan), led by B. Litvinsky.[28] A Buddhist monastery of the 7th century A.D., with sculptures and paintings, has been discovered there.

The buildings of Adzhina Tepa have the characteristic layout of a Buddhist monastery, falling into two parts, the *vihāra* and *saṅghārāma*. The latter part has well-preserved monks' cells enclosing the courtyard, and large rooms which were used for the *saṅgha's* meetings, meals and prayers. In the temple part, the centre of the courtyard is occupied by a *stūpa*, with flights of stairs on every side. The *stūpa* has a 'railing' of corridors, used by Buddhist monks and adepts to reach the shrine.

28 See B. A. Litvinsky, *Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia.*

The walls have niches containing statues of the Buddha in different sizes, sometimes one-and-a-half life size. The walls and vaults are painted with Buddha figures, seated on special pedestals in different attitudes, with individualised gestures of the hands and positions of the head. The colouring of the garments is likewise different.

There are several scenes depicting gift-bearing rich donators offering gold and silver vessels and flowers to honour the Buddha. The faces of the donators bear a striking resemblace to local types. When this scene was discovered, Tajik researchers even started arguing as to which part of Tajikistan these types should be associated with.

The most striking find has been a huge (about 12 metres) recumbent figure of the Buddha.

The monastery of Adzhina Tepa was built in keeping with the general Buddhist tradition, which is best known from the monuments of India and Afghanistan. The influence of India's Buddhist art is self-evident. Yet the masters of Ṭukhāristān did not blindly follow the canon. The excavations of Adzhina Tepa have graphically revealed the amazing tenacity of the local traditions and the originality of the schools of architecture and art of ancient Ṭukhāristān. Local sculptors and painters, builders and architects made use of the traditions and practices which had already taken shape in Central Asia and which they combined with the cultural traditions of the neighbouring countries, primarily India and Afghanistan (specially with the Gupta traditions of sculpture).

This, then, was a peculiar creative synthesis of Indian, Indo-Buddhist and Bactrian artistic traditions and it gave rise to the distinctive Ṭukhāristān school of art.

The main treasure of Adzhina Tepa is its clay sculpture. This, too, demonstrates the influence of Indian art, but also the prevalence of local traditions. It is noteworthy

that sculptures of secular nature have been discovered in this Buddhist monastery along with purely religious statues of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas. While the Buddha images are strictly canonical, the figures of laymen and monks[29] graphically demonstrate the influence of the local Bactrian school of art, which emerged and flourished in Bactria under the Kuṣāṇas, when Bactria was the core of a powerful empire.

The excavations of Adzhina Tepa have made it possible to reappraise the contribution made by the school of Bactria-Ṭukhāristān to the Buddhist art of Central Asia. Ṭukhāristān was the area which transmitted Buddhist culture to the Far East. Arriving at Ṭukhāristān from India, many elements of culture were considerably modified through the impact of local traditions, and advanced farther— to China, Korea and Japan— in novel forms.

Buddhist monasteries were not only centres of worship and rituals. The great educative role played by the famous Buddhist monastery at Nālandā (India) is well known. The Buddhist monasteries of Central Asia, too, may have been seats of learning. Indian culture, literature, medicine and astronomy reached Central Asia.

The monastery of Adzhina Tepa is not the only proof of the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia in the middle of the 1st millennium A.D. In recent years, many other monuments of Buddhist architecture and art have been discovered,[30] and, what is particularly important, written records, viz. Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in Brāhmī.

A fortified estate of the 7th century A.D. has been excavated on the hill of Zang-tepe, 30 kilometres from

29 Resarchers believe that one of the sculptured heads depicts Kaśyapa.

30 See B. A. Litvinsky, *Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia.*

Termez. Twelve fragments of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts on birch bark have been discovered there.[31] The fragments are small-sized, and it is difficult to reconstruct the full text. Excerpts that have been reconstructed show that these are parts of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, a canonical Buddhist work. Some of the excerpts deal with a meeting of the *saṅgha*, charity, an unrighteous act committed by a monk,[32] etc.

Still greater interest attaches to the find of a Sanskrit Buddhist manuscript in the vicinity of Merv (Turkmenia). It comprises more than 300 sheets of palm leaves. The tentative date is the 7th century A.D. At present Soviet researchers are studying the manuscript for publication. Preliminary studies have shown that it contains several Buddhist works, including the *Suttavibhaṅga*. The text makes special mention of the scribe who belonged to the Sarvāstivāda school.

This evidence is quite important in establishing the character of Central Asian Buddhism. Together with the data of Far Eastern texts and archaeological finds, it gives us ground to assume that the Sarvāstivāda school enjoyed considerable influence in Central Asia. This conclusion tallies fully with the evidence of earlier written sources and inscriptions from the ancient Indian and Kara-tepe finds, which J. Harmatta, as mentioned above, believes to prove the presence in the Termez area of both Sarvāstivādin and Mahāsāṅghika adepts.

31 L. I. Albaum, 'Noviye raskopki v Zang-tepe i indiyskiye dokumenty' (Latest Excavations of Zang-Tepe and the finds of Indian Documents) in *Ancient India*, Moscow, 1964.

32 G. M. Bongard-Levin, M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya and E. N. Tyomkin, 'Fragmenty sanskritskikh rukopisei iz Zang-tepe' (Fragments of Sanskrit Manuscripts from Zang-tepe), *Vestnik drevnei istorii*, 1965, No. 1, pp. 154-62; M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, 'Pamyatniki indiyskoi pismennosti iz Srednei Azii' (Indian Documents discovered in Central Asia) in *Ancient India*, Moscow, 1964.

We have cited only some of the new data yielded by archaeological finds and written sources on the historical and cultural ties between India and Central Asia. It goes without saying that this interesting problem merits closer study. But even the material cited in this paper clearly reveals that contacts between these two areas of world civilisation arose at an early period and were quite durable. These links were of paramount importance for the development of the culture of both lands, for their social, political and economic progress. Common cultural elements made outstanding contributions to the treasure-trove of world culture.

The centuries-old history of relations and cultural exchange between Central Asia and India also shows that, notwithstanding the considerable reciprocal enrichment and cultural impact (the character and direction of the contacts, their sphere and scope differing throughout the period), the cultures of the peoples of the two countries remained distinctive and original, and preserved specific local features and traits.

Such contacts promoted a more intensive development of local cultures and traditions. This was an important aspect of the contacts between Central Asia and India. The close relation which existed between the two areas in ancient times persisted and further developed in the subsequent periods and continued to exert a strong influence on the development of both the countries.

ANTIQUITIES FROM CANĀKĪ

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The village of Canākī lies on the Masaurhi-Dhanaruā road about 3 miles to the east of the Tāregnā railway station on the Patna-Gaya branch line of the Eastern Railway.[1] It is also called Cāṇakya-purī associated in local tradition with Cāṇakya, the well-known statesman and the minister of Candragupta Maurya. The village itself is situated on old ruins spreading over several acres of land. About 400 yards to the south-east of the village lies, on the northen bank of the river Dardhā, an extensive elevated tract of land covered with oldbrickbats and potsherds of grey and black-slipped pottery. This piece of land is called Canākīgaḍh. The entire area has now been brought under plough and the elevation is annually being reduced. Close to the west of the *gaḍh* lies a large tank measuring 1600′ × 450′ said to have been excavated by Cāṇakya. The major portion of the tank is now filled up and has been brought under paddy cultivation. To the north of the tank, on an extension of the said *gaḍh*, lie the ruins of old brick structures. But we do not know whether they represent the ruins of some religious establishment or of residential buildings. According to the local people, old brick walls are generally traced in this area in the course of digging or ploughing.

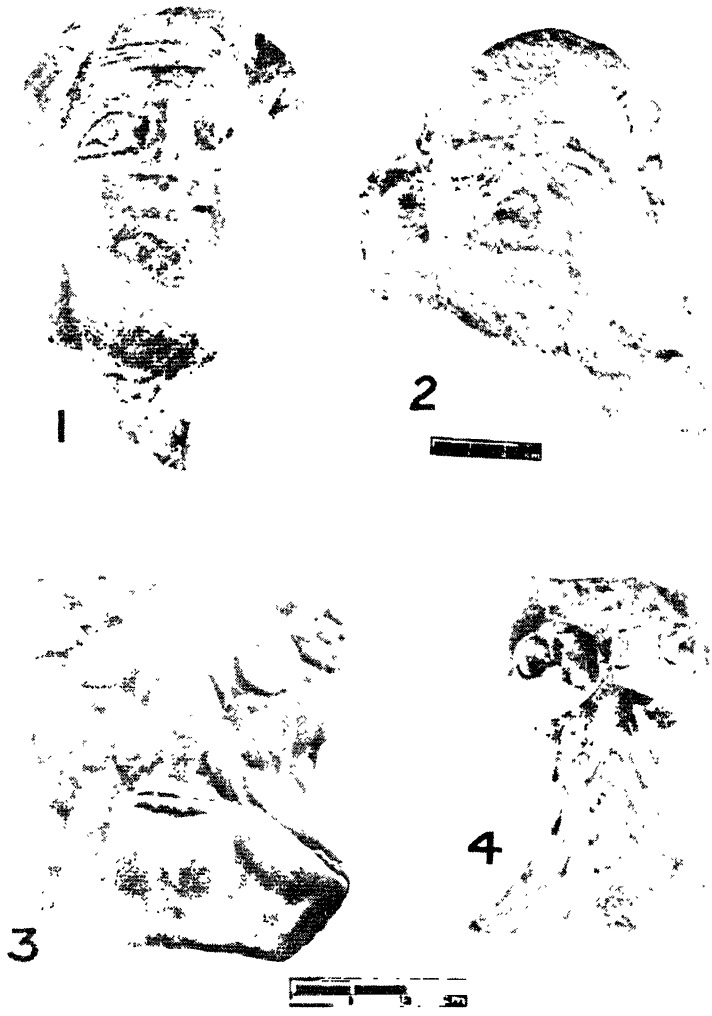
1 It is only 16 miles to the south of Patna (ancient Pāṭaliputra). A hoard of silver punch-marked coins was discovered at Tāregnā. There are other villages like Harlā-Sāī, Ramā, etc., having extensive ruins yielding images of the Gupta and Pāla periods.

During recent years, a large number of antiquities were brought to light by the villagers while digging earth or ploughing the field at Canākī, though, unfortunately, the majority of these were destroyed due to their ignorance and it is said that some of the objects were taken away by interested persons of Patna.

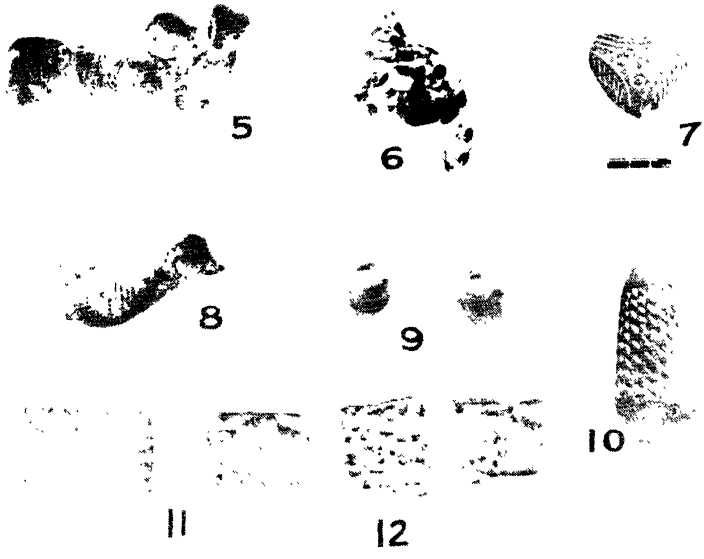
On the eastern fringe of the village, there lie beneath a banyan tree, two images of Viṣṇu, one each of the Sun and Gaṇeśa of the Pāla age and many other mutilated images now under worship. The sacred place is called Mahādev-thān or Mahādeva-sthāna. Adjacent to the village, on the western slope of the mound (on which the village itself is situated) lies a modern temple called Satī-thān (Satī-sthāna) or Devī-sthān. In front of the temple, the villagers have collected a large number of broken images, discovered here and there in the vicinity of the village, for worship.

It may be noted in this connection that some terracotta figurines, stone and terracotta beads, terracotta skin-rubbers and cast copper coins were found in the possession of some villagers when the author of this note visited the village in the month of September, 1968. The finds may be described here as follows.

Terracotta Human Heads. A terracotta head (No. 1) of a male figure is of special interest. It is moulded and is 4″ in height. It shows a young and charming face wearing a turban. The folds of the turban are shown by incised lines. Each of the eye-balls has a hole in the centre. It has a prominent nose and rounded and open lips and bears a *tilaka*. From the stylistic point of view, it may be assigned to the Śuṅga age, if not earlier still. The style of the turban may be compared with that of the Yakṣa figures represented on the railings of the Sanchi and Bharhut *stūpas*. The actual posture of the whole figure cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge ; but it seems that it represented a devotee. It exhibits no religious emblem ;



Antiquities from Canākī, Nos. 1-4.



Antiquities from Canāki. Nos 5-10

but wears a head-dress (turban) which is secular in character.

Another terracotta head (No. 2) of a fen ale exhibits rounded face, sharp nose, open lips and combed hair. It is 5″ in height. The treatment of the eyes is similar to that of No. 1. One of the ears is broken. The object is made of medium clay and is not properly baked. It shows some affinities with the Mathurā school of plastic art and may be assigned to the Kuṣāṇa age. It bears no religious sign, and it is extremely difficult to form an idea of the original posture of the figure.

Terracotta Female Figurines. A terracotta female figurine (No. 3) exhibits superb beauty and perfect aesthetic sense. The lower portion of the body below the waist is broken. It is completely moulded. The eyes and nose are rubbed off. The mouth, breasts and arms are naturalistically treated. The figurine wears big ear-lobes (of two different shapes and sizes), highly decorated head-dress and a necklace. Her left shoulder is covered by a folded and fine drapery. An interesting feature of the figurine is that, she stands by the side of a tree showing remarkable affinity with the *Sālabhañjikās* or *Yakṣiṇīs* represented on the railings of the *stūpas* of Bharhut, Sanchi and Bodhgaya. Exhibiting a highly developed art of modelling, it may be assigned, on grounds of style, to a later phase of Śuṅga art. The present figurine may be regarded as a tree-spirit and as meant for worship. A similar figurine is preserved in the Patna Museum.[2] The head and the lower portion of the body of another terracotta figurine (No. 4) are lost. It shows prominent breasts with concentric circles on each of

2 Cf. S. A. Shere, *Terracotta Figurines in the Patna Museum,* Plate, 12, Arch. 9408, Female figurine. The figurine has been assigned to a Śuṅga date.

them. The body below the breasts shows incised lines and the figure might represent a snake-goddess.[3] The prominent breasts suggest its association with the Mother-goddess or fertility goddess.[4] It may be noted in this connection that similar figurines have also been found at Sonepur[5] and Patna.[6] The present specimen may be regarded as representing a snake goddess which was a popular deity in Magadha from very early times.[7]

Terracotta Animals and Birds. A terracotta bull,[8] an elephant's head and two birds (one of them broken) were also found in the village. The bull, with high hump, is very crude and disproportionate and is hand-made. The horns and ears are not marked. It has no legs, no tail. The eyes are

3 Although the head of the figurine is missing, it appears that it had a snake head and female body.

4 For this characteristic of fertility goddesses, cf. C. C. Das Gupta, *Origin and Evolution of Indian Clay Sculpture*, p. 134.

5 See Plate.

6 Cf. Shere, *op cit.*, Plate, Patna I-Arch. 8722 and 5707.

7 For the prevalence of Nāga worship in Magadha, see *Mbh.*, Vaṅgavāsī ed., II. 29. 9ff.; cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 328 ff.; *JBRS*, Vol. XXXIX, Pts. 1-2, pp. 41 ff. A Biharsharif inscription published by D. C. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 237 ff., proves the continuity of Nāga worship at Rajgir. Another Nāga associated with Magadha region is Mucalinda. According to Buddhist tradition, when there was a great shower of rain at Uruvelā (modern Bodhgaya) where the Buddha was spending the third week after his enlightenment, the Nāga king Mucalinda sheltered him by winding his coils seven times around the Buddha's body and holding his hood above the Buddha's head. See Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. II, pp. 638-39.

8 Among the animals discovered at Harappan sites, the bull occupies a very important position (cf. Marshall, *ARASI*, 1928, Pl. XLIV, fig. a; Mackay, *ibid.*, Pl. XCVII, Nos. 12-14). The bull often occurs on the Mauryan monuments and the silver punch-marked coins of ancient India. Animal and bird toy-carts are commonly found at ancient sites. Cf. Shere, *op cit.*, Plate, 5-Arch. 4410; 2-Arch. 1885-Toy; Altekar and Mishra, *Rep. Kum. Excav.*, 1951-55, Pl. LVII, Nos. 1-4.

indicated by round appliques. There are two round horizontal holes pierced across the body so that two rods or sticks were passed through them to serve as an axle for two wheels on either side in order to make a bullock-cart to be used as a toy. A string was tied-up to its neck to facilitate to motion the cart. The bull is well-baked and washed in red ochre colour. It is 4.7" in length.

The elephant's head is also hand-modelled and made of fine clay. It is well-burnt and its grey section shows that it was fired in the oxidising condition (a process generally adopted for firing the N.B.P. ware). The tusks are broken; but the ears are prominently shown. An interesting feature of it is its painting. A thin black coating was first applied on the surface and then spotted with light brown paint before it was baked. This piece was obviously a toy and, owing to rough use, is mutilated.

One of the birds from Canākī is broken, while the other (No. 8) is well-preserved and complete.[9] It is a beautiful piece and shows a life-like representation and fine hand-modelling. It looks like a sparrow. The wings are shown by incised lines divided into two parts. The tail is marked by two concentric circles. The eyes are shown by appliques in round. There is a small hole on the beak to represent the nostril which might have also been used for hanging it on a cord. The bird seems to have been used as a toy. The incision and the concentric circle design which it bears were the characteristic decorative features of the Mauryan period.

Terracotta Beads. The finds include six terracotta beads,[10] three of them special and three pear-shaped. They are

9 Similar concentric circles occur on the Mauryan pillar discovered at Kumrahar. Cf. Altekar and Mishra, *op cit.*, Pl. V, No. 4.

10 Cf. Plate.

all wheel-made and belong to three different sizes. It seems that the bigger specimens were tied around the neck of domestic animals. The small ones were also worn by poor ladies.

Terracotta Flesh- or Skin-rubbers. We have also two terracotta skin-rubbers, one of them circular and 4″ long. The surface is incised with parallel horizontal lines. The opposite side in both cases is rubbed off. The other skin-rubber is 3″ square. It is ½″ thick. The obverse shows an incised mat design, while the reverse is blank. It may be noted in this connection that the earliest specimens belong to the Harappan age, and have also been found at places like Taxila, Hastinapur, Kausambi, Rajgir and Kumrahar. Buddhist literature refers to earthen ware foot-rubbers, the use of which was forbidden by the Buddha.[11]

Cast Copper Coins. Interestingly enough, we have also three rectangular cast copper coins from Canākī.[12] They are all of the same type bearing the figure of the elephant, *svastika*, triangle-headed banner and taurus on one side, and tree-in-railing, hollow-cross, three-peaked hill with crescent and taurus on the other. The cast copper coins of uninscribed series had a wide circulation and a survey of their findspots suggests that they were the common currency of North-Eastern India. The places of their discovery include Basadh,[13] Rajgir,[14] Maner,[15] Sonepur,[16]

11 Altekar and Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

12 Cf. Plate.

13 *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62, p. 5; Krishnadeva and Mishra, *Vaiśālī Excavations*, 1950, pp. 6, 58 ff.; *Report on Vaiśālī Excavations*, 1958-62 (under publication), Chapter on Coins; *Indian Archaeology*, 1959-60, p. 16.

14 *JNSI*, Vol. I, p. 5; C. R. Ray Chaudhury, *Catalogue of Early Indian Coins in the Asutosh Museum*, pp. 27, 30, 36.

15 The coins from Maner are being published by the author.

16 *Report on Sonepur Excavations* (under publication), Chapter on Coins.

Kumrahar,[17] Nandangadh,[18] Chirand,[19] and Madhuri[20] in Bihar. Other places in India where cast coins have been found are—Taxila,[21] Ujjain,[22] Rajghat,[23] Sankisa,[24] Ahichchhatra,[25] Hastinapur,[26] Indorkhera,[27] Besnagar,[28] Bairat,[29] Tripuri,[30] Kausambi,[31] Rupar,[32] Maheshwar,[33] Navdatoli,[34] Bangadh,[35] Harinarayanpur,[36] Tamluk,[37] and Chandraketugadh[38]—the last-named being the eastern most limit. The present specimens are surface finds and therefore we are not sure of their date ; but the coins of

17 *JNSI*, Vol. XII, Part II, pp. 144 ff ; Altekar and Mishra, *op. cit.*, 1951-55, pp. 19, 92 ff.

18 *ARASI*, 1935-36, p. 64, Pl. XXIII.

19 *Indian Archaeology* (cyclostyled copy), 1963-64, Pl. I, II ; *JNSI*, Vol. XXIX, Part II, p. 3.

20 Register of Presentation to the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, No. $\frac{6510}{C2375}$; cf. Smith, *IMC*, Vol. I, Pl. XXII, 16.

21 *Ancient India*, No. 9, pp. 116 ff.

22 N. R. Banerji, *Excavations at Ujjain*, 1959, pp. 74 ff. ; *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, Part II, p. 177.

23 *Indian Archaeology*, 1960-61, p. 37 ; 1961-62, p. 56.

24 *Ibid.*, 1954-55, p. 15.

25 *ASR*, Vol. XI, p. 25.

26 *Ancient India*, No. 1, p. 39.

27 *Indian Archaeology*, 1954-55, p. 14.

28 *ASR*, Vol. XI, p. 25.

29 *ARASI*, 1913-14, pp. 210 ff.

30 M. G. Dikshit, *Tripuri*, 1952, pp. 121 ff.

31 *ASR*, Vol. X, p. 4 ; Das Gupta, 'Coins from Kosam' in *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 82 ; G. R. Sharma, *The Excavations of Kausambi*, 1957-58, pp. 19-20, 80 ff.

32 *Ancient India*, No. 9, p. 125.

33 H. D. Sankalia, B. Subba Rao and S. B. Deo, *The Excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli*, 1952-53, pp. 16-26, 66 ff.

34 *Loc. cit.*

35 C. R. Ray Chaudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

36 *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 29, 31.

37 *Ancient India*, No. 9, p. 153.

38 C. R. Ray Chaudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

this series, discovered in the course of excavations from stratified layers at various ancient sites, prove that they were in use during the Maurya, Śuṅga and the Kuṣāṇa periods though a few also survived in the Gupta age.

It is thus seen from the foregoing discussions that the village of Canākī might have enjoyed an important position in ancient times; unfortunately, no spade work has so far been done in this area. Exploration and excavation of the place may throw fresh light on the history of Bihar.

THE KALINGA REGION IN HINDI LITERATURE

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Orissa was well known in the medieval Hindi literary works from the fourteenth century. Narapati Nalha, author of *Bīsaldev Rāsā* (c. middle of the 14th century) mentions Orissa and speaks of its king as if he had a mine of diamonds in his palace. The plot of this poem derives its main motif from the unique fame of the Orissan king. King Bīsaldev of Ajmer has married Rājamati, daughter of king Bhoja of Dhārā. One day the king takes airs about his power and position. The newly wedded wife warns him not to be proud in the face of the king of Orissa who had such untold wealth that there was virtually a mine of diamonds in his mansion producing jewels as profusely as the mines of Śākambharī produced salt in the territory of the Cauhān king (verse 29). This seems to be an echo of the vast treasures of king Coḍagaṅgadeva (1078-1147 A. D.) of Orissa who was credited with the building of the temple of Jagannātha at a cost of five lakh tolās of gold and further endowing the deity with ornaments worth one lakh tolās. His successors Anaṅgabhīmadeva III (1211-1238 A. D.) and Narasiṁhadeva I (1238-64 A. D.) were equally great builders, the latter being responsible for the construction of the matchless Sun temple of Konarak. The cumulative effect of these Himalayan charities was felt in the form of such literary reverberations as embodied in the early Hindi work of Narapati, which is to be assigned even to the thirteenth century according to tradition.

Thus thwarted by his own queen, prince Bīsaldev decides to go to Orissa to see things with his own eyes,

He does so and stays at the Orissan court. Then the forlorn lady, overcome with grief, sends a messenger with an imploring letter for her husband to return. The Paṇḍit took seven months to travel from Ajmer to Orissa (verse 100), a distance of 700 *kos* (verse 89). The poet then gives an intimate pen picture of the people. 'They respect the bull and yoke the cow ; drink the scum of boiled rice and keep back the grain ; such is the miraculous power of Lord Jagannāth that the bell in his honour tinkles without the clapper' (verse 100). The Paṇḍit first approached the temple where the ascetics and mendicants were performing austerities, and paid his homage to the Deity : 'O Immortal one, of the red eyes, when there was neither the Meru nor the earth, you alone, O Jagannāth, did exist' (verse 101). He entered the palace, met Bīsaldev and delivered him the letter. The Prince at once decided to return ; but the king of Orissa took him to the inner apartments where the Chief Queen (*Paṭṭamahādevī*) coaxed him to stay on, and the king ultimately kept him for another day before bidding farewell.

The earliest Sūfī poem in Avadhī, written by Mulla Daud in 1370 A. D., is *Candāyan*, of which only fragments have so far come to light. Here also Orissa occupies an important place in the development of the plot. Lorik, the hero, and his beautiful wife Candā are announced to the king of Kaliṅga by a boatsman. The king sends several messengers, one after another, to bring Lorik to his palace, and finally ten Brāhmaṇas are sent, who successfully persuade Lorik to repair to the Kaliṅga king's court ; the king is much pleased and sends Lorik to Orissa with an escort of his ten Brāhmaṇas. In Orissa, as ill luck would have it, Candā is bitten by a serpent, but is ultimately brought back to life by a charmer. Lorik then goes to Sārangpur.

The next most important reference occurs in the famous poem *Padmāvat* by Maliḳ Muhammad Jāysī (1540 A. D.),

The hero, prince Ratan Sen of Chittor, goes to Singhal-dīp and Orissa at an important stage in the journey. He traverses several stages, viz., the hilly tract east of Chittor, the dense Daṇḍaka forest in the Vindhyan region, the territory between Bidar and Chanderi, and Andhiār Khaṭolā (Sagar and Damoh Districts) and Gaḍh-Kāṭaṅgā (Jabalpur-Mandla tract), and reaches Ratanpur, the famous capital of the Kalacuris, twenty miles north of Bilaspur. Jāysī's reference is so important that it bears partial quotation :

dakkhin rahai Tilaṅgā /
uttar mānjhe gaḍhā Khaṭaṅgā // 6
mānjh Ratanpur saunh duārā /
Jhārkhaṁḍ dai bāun pahārā // 7
āgen pāun Oḍaisā bāen dehuso bāṭ /
dahināvart lāikai utaru samuṁdrake ghāṭ // 8
Padmāvat, 138. 6-8.

The reference to *Duār* is extremely important. 'In the middle of the route is Ratanpur and in front is Duār ; leaving Jhārkhaṇḍ to left, one would put his foot in Orissa'. The Duār was a technical geographical term, e. g., 'numerous passes and ways, known as Duārs, still exist between Assam and Tibet through Bhutan'.[1] It is the same Duār that must have formed an important feature in the physical geography of Orissa while we proceed along the course of the Mahānadī. The term is quite an old one, since we find it in the *Mahābhārata.*[2]

1 B. K. Barua, *A Cultural History of Assam*, p. 101 ; also Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, *The Place of Assam in the History and Civilisation of India*, Banikanta Kakati Lectures, 1954, p. 5 for Duārs in Assam ; p. 76 for Bhutan Duars.

2 *Kaliṅga-rāṣṭra-dvāreṣu Brāhmaṇāḥ Pāṇḍav-ānugāḥ |*
abhyanujñāya Kaunteyam=apāvartanta Bhārata ||
(Ādi-parvan, 207. 10, Poona ed.), i.e. the Brāhmaṇas accompanying the Pāṇḍava Brothers having reached the Duārs of the Kaliṅga-rāṣṭra took leave of Yudhiṣṭhira and returned.

At the time when Jāysī wrote, *Gajapati* was the title of the kings of Orissa. He seems to have been *Mahārājādhirāja* Gajapati śrī-Pratāpa-Rudradeva (1507-48 A. D.) who accorded a warm reception to the Chittor prince and arranged for him a fleet of boats to transport him to the island of Singhal.*

* [See also 'A Ramble into Hindi Literature in Search of Orissa and the Jagannāth' by K. R. Qanungo in *The Orissa Historical Research Journal,* Vol. I, No. 1, April, 1952, pp. 41-47.—D.C.S.]

KAUṆḌINYA—HIS AGE AND IDENTITY

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Introduction. In ancient times, India's cultural contact extended over a wide region of Asia. The area known as South-East Asia is mainly that part which is covered by the East Indies, Burma and the Peninsula of Indo-china, excluding Tonkin which, though a part of Indo-china, had its political and cultural contact with China rather than with India. It was almost all over this vast area that, during the early centuries of the Christian era, we come across the settlements of the Hindus. The most striking fact in connection with this colonization of South-East Asia is that, notwithstanding the large area and the long duration of this colonization, it has found no place in any historical records of India, nor have we even a faint echo of it in our extensive literature.

The interesting aspect of this story of colonization lies in the fact that it was a cultural colonization not followed by political conquests—a peculiar feature of which there is hardly any parallel in the history of mankind. Its beginnings go back a very long way in time and it is almost certain that the results seen today were, in the main, not achieved by military expeditions, but by peaceful trading and religious teaching—and therefore all the more permanent.[1] The great cultural colonization accompanied with political settlements in the beginning of the Christian era or even effected by the ancient Indians earlier in those far-off lands could be known to their successors only about forty years ago, i.e., in the beginning of the twentieth century, and this in itself

1 May, *The Culture of South-East Asia*, p. 25.

speaks of the complete lack of evidence in Indian sources regarding the marvellous achievements of their forefathers.

Scholars are generally agreed that colonists from India began to cross the seas and enter those far-off lands from the beginning of the Christian era onwards and they followed at least three different routes to reach those countries. The earliest settlers probably embarked at the port of Amarāvatī and landed at the port of Martaban in Burma. Some settled in the Thaton region and the delta of the Salwin river and later on in the region of the Irawadi round about Pegu, while others pushed on southwards and finally found 'a resting place in the fertile rice plains of Siam'.[2] Compared with the local inhabitants, they possessed a decidedly much higher civilisation and brought with them their own culture and religion.

In Gupta times, however, these missionaries and traders travelled to Indonesia and other parts of South-East Asia through the port of Tāmralipti (Tamluk) on the Hooghly river. In Pallava times, they followed the southern route from Kāñcīpura either straight across to Margui and Tenasserim or slightly southwards to Takua-pa and the Puket Island (Junk, Ceylon) or Trang in Siam, or again southwards through the straits of Malacca to Sumatra, Java and Borneo. The archaeological remains round about these places also confirm this assumption and there is also a persistent local tradition in favour of early migration of Indians across this route.

The fourth route carried the travellers and merchants to Palembang and Java through the open sea south-west of Sumatra.[3] Besides these, the entire sea-route round the

2. May, *op. cit.*, 28.
3. *Ibid.*, 28-29.

Island of Singapore and either up the Gulf of Siam or across the China Sea to ancient Funan and Campā does not seem to have been in general use.

Apart from the sea-routes, there was a regular trade-route by land between Eastern India and China through Upper Burma and Yunnan. On the authority of the Chinese Chroniclers, we know that the merchants used to travel from China across the whole of North India and Afghanistan to Bactria with their merchandise in the second century B.C. It was the land-route by which twenty Chinese priests came down to India, and according to I-tsing, a certain Indian king built a temple for these travelling Chinese priests in the third or fourth century A.D.[4] Along this route one could easily travel to Lower Burma and other parts of Indochina from different points, and Kia Tan, a Chinese writer, also refers to a land-route between Annam and India.[5] The Burmese chronicles also refer to a more direct route between Eastern India and Burma through Arakan. Moreover, persons of an Indian caste and feature are yet to be seen on the coast near Takua-pa,[6] while colonies of Indian descent still survive on the coast of the Bay of Bandon, and they trace the arrival of their ancestors from India by an overland route across the Malay Peninsula.[7]

Thus, archaeological and literary evidence clearly confirms that the earliest Indian settlers reached and settled in the different colonies in the beginning of the Christian era, i.e. about the second century A.D., and gradually implanted their own culture on the soil of the country of their adoption.

4 R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Culture in South-East Asia.*
5 *Journ. As.*, 1919, p. 461.
6 R. C. Majumdar, *loc. cit.*
7 Wales in *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. IX, No. I, pp. 1 ff.

Founders of Hindu Colonies. The question now naturally arises—who were the early founders of the different colonies in South-East Asia? Notwithstanding the researches of the Western and Indian scholars in recent times, their identity and places in India cannot be determined with certainty. It has been established beyond doubt that this unique colonization was an all-India affair and the adventurers both from North and South India had equal hand in effecting this revolution. But their great leaders are still almost unknown to history though sometimes we do have stray references to some of them in tradition and legends.

It has been suggested that whenever there was a state of chaos and lawlessness in any region due to changed political situation, the Hindu immigrants were quick to take advantage of it and seized the royal power. These immigrants, as we know, included all sorts of people—the merchants, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, etc., following different arts and crafts.[8] They came in different waves of immigration from India and exploited the situation there whenever it afforded an opportunity to them. This suggestion, though hypothetical, is indirectly corroborated by local traditions current in different Hindu colonies about their founders. We have one such tradition relating to the establishment of the Hindu political authority in Cochin-china and South Cambodia. The story also figures prominently in the Chinese records of the third century A. D.

It is said that an Indian named Kauṇḍinya came from the west in the first century A. D. and, between 240 and 245 A.D., a successor of Kauṇḍinya, named Fan-chan sent an embassy to India.[9]

8 R. C. Majumdar, *loc. cit.*
9 May, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

Towards the end of the fourth century A. D. another Indian Brāhmaṇa, also named Kauṇḍinya, in response to 'A voice from Heaven', travelled to Funan from the state of P'an-p'an in the Malay Peninsula and was received, with open arms by the people who elected him their king. He introduced Indian customs.[10] The story goes that Funan, a kingdom in this locality, was once visited by an orthodox follower of Brāhmaṇism who came in a trading vessel. The female ruler of this place came to plunder his vessel, but later being over-awed by his military prowess, submitted to him and married him, and the former now began to rule over the country.

This story is further confirmed by an inscriptional evidence (dated 657 A. D.)[11] relating to the foundation of Bhavapura, the capital of Kambuja. This inscription records that a Brāhmaṇa named Kauṇḍinya married Somā, the daughter of the Nāga king, from whom the local royal family sprang up.[12] This hero is known to the Chinese annalists as Huen-tien, identified with Kauṇḍinya.

Both the tales are obviously different versions of the same story, though the one refers to Funan and the other to Kambuja. Nilakanta Sastri suggests that this is a corrupt version of the Indian legend better preserved in a Sanskrit record from Campā. Moreover, it bears a family resemblance to the origin of the Pallavas of South India as given in the Amarāvatī inscription.[13]

We have yet another somewhat similar tradition relating to the foundation of the Kambuja empire, which states that a son of a certain king of Indraprastha, having been banished by his father, occupied the country by defeating

10 *Ibid.*, p. 35.
11 *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, ed. Majumdar, pp. 14, 34.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 34; Sastri, *History of Śrīvijaya*, p. 19.
13 *History of Śrīvijaya*, p. 20.

the local ruler. He then married the daughter of a Nāga ruler who in turn helped him in extending the boundaries of his kingdom. Similar is the story of the foundation of the Ligor kingdom in Malay Peninsula, and of the Java, Campa, Burma, Borneo and other Hindu settlements of those days.

Kauṇḍinya. Of these Hindu colonies, the kingdom of Kambuja occupies at once the most prominent and exalted position. Apart from the fact that it constituted the largest kingdom in South-East Asia, it also witnessed the remarkable evolution and growth of art and architecture producing some of the most notable monuments like Angkor Vat, which still excite the wonder and admiration of the world. Both by their massive character and unparallelled grandeur, the monuments of Kambuja 'form the most brilliant testimony to the richness and splendour of a civilization of which the written records give but an imperfect picture'. In respect of architecture, however, Kambuja surpasses even the motherland.

The founder of the first historical dynasty which was responsible for this magnificent growth and development of Kambuja, in the field of politics, art and literature, was Kauṇḍinya, a Brāhmaṇa from India, reference to whom has been made by the Chinese ambassador K'ang T'ai who visited Funan sometime between 245 and 250 A. D., as noted above.

He further refers to a number of kings of this dynasty, one of whom is said to have died at the age of ninety. The latter's third successor sent an embassy to China in 243 A.D. Kauṇḍinya, therefore, must have reigned in the first century A.D., if not earlier. This is the earliest authentic date relating to the foundation of Hindu political authority in Indochina, for the present.

We have further reference to the arrival of a Brāhmaṇa, named Kauṇḍinya from India who, it is said, came to rule in Funan through P'an-pa'n—a locality in the Malay Peninsula

and was elected king by the people there. He is also credited with having introduced Indian laws, manners and customs.

It is to be noted in this connection that this tradition bears close resemblance to the older tradition of the first Kauṇḍinya. We are further told that this Kauṇḍinya came direct from India and the same was true of the first Kauṇḍinya also though this is nowhere clearly referred to.

The second Kauṇḍinya thus seems to be an historical personality. His story, according to R.C. Majumdar, 'undoubtedly proves that there was a fresh wave of Indian colonization which was probably much stronger than the first and exercised greater influence upon the culture of the people'.[14] We are told that, during the time of the first Kauṇḍinya, Indian culture did not make any impression on the people of the region for nearly three or four centuries and it was only after the fresh (or second) wave of immigration that the Indian colonists attained greater success about the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. It was during this period that a strong wave of Indian culture swept over nearly the whole of South-East Asia.

It has been further argued that the word *fan* formed a part of the names of all the kings who ruled in the intervening period, *i.e.*, from Fan-che-man who succeeded the last descendant of the first Kauṇḍinya to the accession of Hindu Candana who was immediately followed by the second Kauṇḍinya. Scholars generally believe that *fan* is the Chinese transliteration of *varman* which is the name-ending of a Kṣatriya in India. Recently, however, R. Stein has suggested that it was an ethnic title which denotes an indigenous person as opposed to a Hindu immigrant. This theory naturally envisages that the Hindu colonization spent

14 R. C. Majumdar, *loc. cit.*

its force, and there was a revival of indigenous influence at the beginning of the third century A.D. which continued for two centuries till a second wave of colonization, under Kauṇḍinya II, planted Hindu culture once again.

The above interpretation suggests that Hindu culture received a serious set-back for some time and was pushed into oblivion by the revival of indigeneous habits and practices during the third and fourth centuries A.D. But, with the advent of Kauṇḍinya II, once again the entire situation changed and Hindu culture took its deep root into the soil and flourished unchecked transforming the structure of the indigenous society.

The above interpretation, however, does not wholly conform to the facts known from epigraphic records of the period discovered in the various countries of South-East Asia. The language of the inscriptions is pure Sanskrit and they speak of the gradual spread of the different Indian religious sects—Brāhmaṇist, Buddhist and Jain. Besides, images of Brāhmaṇic gods and goddesses and those of the Buddha found in different parts and belonging to this period also reflect the smooth progress of Hindu culture. It is true that after the first Kauṇḍinya the indigenous political powers asserted themselves for some time ; but they could not subdue the surging Indian culture which had, by and large, engulfed the whole of South-East Asia. The advent of the second Kauṇḍinya, however, gave it a great impetus and virtually supplanted the indigenous culture for centuries to come.

As regards the foundation of Hindu kingdom in Kambuja, we have again almost a similar local tradition which avers that the kingdom was founded by one Kambu Svāyambhuva, a king of Āryadeśa, who, on the death of his wife, married the daughter of a Nāga ruler, a great devotee of Lord Śiva. This Kambu, who was obviously no other than

Kauṇḍinya, is said to have turned the avid land into a beautiful country, like Āryadeśa, by his magical power.

The above discussion clearly shows that there were two Kauṇḍinyas who appeared on the political scene of South-East Asia in two different periods and were responsible for the foundation of Hindu kingdoms in Funan, Kambuja and other countries. To say that the first was a 'mythical figure' and the second a 'historical one' does not make much difference or sense. As a matter of fact, Kauṇḍinya was not the real name of either of the two : both of them belonged to the Kauṇḍinya clan or *gotra*, i.e., a family-name. The parallel can be seen in the Janaka dynasty of ancient Mithilā, of which all the kings subsequently came to be known as Janaka. The reference to Kauṇḍinya in local traditions as well as in the inscriptions of Kambuja and other countries of South-East Asia also clearly confirms this contention. It, therefore, appears that both the Kauṇḍinyas belonged to the same *gotra, i. e.* the clan of Kauṇḍinya, one of the great sages of ancient India, which besides, Northern India, spread later to South India as well.

We have the following historical references to this Kauṇḍinya who is always referred to as the progenitor of a dynasty and not as a real king.

(1) The Proasat Prem Loven inscription[15] (5th century A.D.) of Guṇavarman, son of Jayavarman and Kulaprabhāvatī,[16] which records the consecration of a foot-print of Viṣṇu, called Cakratīrthasvāmin, and states that Guṇavarman was born in the family of Kauṇḍinya.

(2) The Bayang temple inscription of Bhavavarman[17] refers to his descent from Kauṇḍinya and Somā.[18]

15 Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, pp. 3-4.
16 *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2, verses 1-2.
17 *Ibid.*, pp. 34, verses 1 and 23.
18 Also cf. *ibid.*, p. 14, verses 3.

(3) The Prah Einkosei inscription of Jayavarman V (dated Ś 890, 892), after an invocation to Lord Śiva (vv. 1-4) refers to king Bālāditya of Aninditapura (vv. 5-6) of the race of Somā and Kauṇḍinya, and then follows a eulogy of his descendant, king Rājendravarman (vv. 8 ff.).[19]

(4) An inscription of Campā[20] (dated 657 A.D.) speaks of the origin of the Hindu kingdom of Kambuja in the following words : "It was there that Kauṇḍinya, the foremost among Brāhmaṇas, planted the spear which he had obtained from Droṇa's son, Aśvatthāman, the best of Brāhmaṇas."

The *History of the Liang Dynasty* (502-56 A.D.) contains the earliest account of P'o-li (Bali) and gives us the following account of the king of the country : "The king's family name is Kauṇḍinya and he never before had any intercourse with China. When asked about his ancestors or about their age, he could not state this, but said that the wife of Śuddhodana was a daughter of his country."[21]

(6) According to Schlegel, Kauṇḍinya was the name of the said king ;[22] but we have no historical data to support this contention.

(7) From another inscription of Kambuja (665 A.D.) we learn that Kauṇḍinya Jayavarman of Funan died in 514 A.D. Obviously this king belonged to the Kauṇḍinya clan which dominated the political scene of Funan and Kambuja for long.

These and other references to the Brāhmaṇa Kauṇḍinya or the Kauṇḍinyas clearly establish that the first historical dynasty in Funan (of which Kambuja formed a part as a

19 *Ibid.*, p. 286, verse 5.
20 Majumdar, *Campā*, Bk. III, p. 23 ; *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part I, p. 127
21 Quoted by Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
22 *Ibid.*, p. 194, note 2.

vassal state in the beginning) came to be founded by Kauṇḍinya, the Brāhmaṇa who came from India.

Kauṇḍinya's Identity. As regards the identity of this Kauṇḍinya no efforts have been made by scholars to show whether he was a legendary figure or a historical personality. The statement, noted above, that the first Kauṇḍinya was a mythical figure and the second one a historical personality does not carry us far. There is no doubt that Kauṇḍinya II belonged to the clan of Kauṇḍinya I and was as much a legendary or historical figure as the first one. Details about both are lacking and nothing can be said with certainty about either of the two. To us it appears that both were legendary figures, belonging to the same stock and coming from the same place. The one has really been confused with the other as the following facts will show.

B. R. Chatterjee and Coedès mention the prominent role of the Kauṇḍinya clan in South India. But the passages referred to mention only the Kauṇḍinya *gotra.* As these *gotra* names are really traced to mythical personages and have nothing to do with historical figures, Majumdar rightly suggests, "it is as logical to locate Kauṇḍinya in South India because the Pallavas belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra.*" Recent researches have shown that this Kauṇḍinya was an ancient sage of Mithilā and did not belong to South India as suggested by Coedès and others.

We are told that he was born in the Satya-yuga, (Kṛta-yuga) in the village of Brahmapura near the famous Kapileśvara Āsthāna in Mithilā, supposed to be the abode of sage Kapila. His wife was Śītā and they had a son named Suśīla. Sumantu was his father-in-law and his wife belonged to the Vaśiṣṭha *gotra.* Well-versed in different branches of Vedic learning, Kauṇḍinya was also a staunch non-believer in the beginning and, for this, he had to face terrible

calamities and undergo penances.[23] At last he left his home and took to meditation and became a great *ṛṣi* and *gotra-pravartaka*, i. e. progenitor of a *gotra* which was current in Mithilā for long. The place where he meditated was known as Kauṇḍinya-saras (*i. e.* Kauṇḍinya's tank) which also finds mention in the *Mithilāmāhātmya* section of the *Bṛhadviṣṇu Purāṇa*.[24]

We have the following references to Kauṇḍinya or the Kauṇḍinyas in our ancient literature—(1) Kauṇḍinya has been mentioned as one of the disciples of Sāṇḍilya.[25] (2) There was a great *ṛṣi* Kauṇḍinya at the court of Yudhiṣṭhira.[26] (3) In two out of twenty-six *ekādaśīs* (*Ekādaśīmāhātmya*), Kauṇḍinya is prominently referred to as a great sage and religious preacher who is also said to have visited the Punjab and different parts of the country as a preaching sage.[27] (4) In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, he is referred to in the following words : *Pārāśara-Kauṇḍinīputrāt Pārāśara-Kauṇḍinīputraḥ*.[28] (5) In the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa-koṣa*, we have an account of Kauṇḍinya along with other ancient sages.[29] (6) He is also referred to in the *Taittirīya* and *Maitrāyanīya Prātiśākhyas*.[30] (7) Kauṇḍinya is one of the commentators on the *Pāśupatasūtra* and is said to have flourished between the fourth and sixth centuries. It appears from his comments that Pāṭaliputra and Ujjain were

23 Cf. *Hitopadeśa*.

24 *Mithilāmāhātmya*, Adhyāya 3, vv. 43-46 ; also cf. Vibhakara, *Gotrarṣi Kauṇḍinya* (in Maithilī), pp. 5-7 ; *Skanda Purāṇa* (*Ananta-vratakathā*).

25 Rai, *Vedic Index*, p. 212.

26 *Mbh.*, Sabhā-parvan, 4-16 ; also cf. V. S. Agrawala, *Mahābhārat kī Nāmānukramaṇikā*.

27 *Gotrarṣi Kauṇḍinya*, pp. 9-10.

28 *Śabdakalpadruma*, Pt. iii.

29 Cf. *ibid.*, s.v. *Viṣṇugupta*. [No.—Here *Kauṇḍinya* is a mistake for *Kauṭilya*.—D.C.S.]

30 *Taitti.*, 5.38 ; 18.3 ; 19.2 ; 17.4 ; *Maitrā.*, 5.40 ; 2.5 ; 4. 2 ; 6.3 ; 2. 6.9.

prominent cities in his life-time.[31] (8) Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (2. 4. 70) mentions by way of illustration : *Āgastya-Kauṇḍinyor = Agasti-Kuṇḍinaś = ca* which shows that the Agastya and Kauṇḍinya *gotras* were popular during his time. (9) Amongst the *naiyāyikas*, the expression *Kauṇḍinyatakra-nyāya* is very popular and this shows that he was ranked as one of the great *naiyāyikas* (e. g. *Sarvebhyo Brāhmaṇebhyo dadhi dīyatām Kauṇḍinya-nyāya-takram*, etc.). (10) In ancient times, in Mithilā, the Kauṇḍinya *gotra*, like many onther *gotras*, was popular. It is evident from the enumeration of the *ṛṣis* given in Jyotirīśvara's *Varṇaratnākara* which was composed in the fourteenth century. Besides others, Pakṣadhara-miśra, the illustrious *mīmāṁsaka* of Mithilā, also belonged to this *gotra*. (11) This Kauṇḍina or Kauṇḍinya also composed a *Vṛtti* on the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*.

Besides the above, we have references to Kauṇḍinya in Āryadāsa's *Vādhūlaśrautabhāṣya*, *Nāradīya-Bhaktisūtra* and many other works.

From the above, it is probable that Kauṇḍinya was the progenitor of a *gotra* and belonged to the Sūtra age. That he was a Maithila is likely from the popularity of his *gotra* in Mithilā and the great reverence in which he is still held there, as is evident from Jyotirīśvara's *Varṇaratnākara* and other works of both earlier and later periods.

It, therefore, appears probable that Kauṇḍinya, the founder of the kingdoms in Funan and Kambuja, was not a historical personality, but a mythical figure. He was one of the great sages of Mithilā, and was the progenitor of the famous Kauṇḍinya-gotra which, in course of

31 *Gotrarṣi Kauṇḍinya*, p 11.

32 For details, see B. Upadhyaya, *Vaidik Sāhity aur Saṁskṛti*, p. 61.

33 For details, see *Gotrarṣi Kauṇḍinya*, pp. 1-16.

centuries, found its way into South India and South-East Asia as mentioned by Chatterji and Coedès. It was one of the members of this clan who ultimately founded the kingdoms of Funan and Kambuja. Like the Janakas of Videha, they also Christened themselves as Kauṇḍinya, e. g., Kauṇḍinya Jayavarman, etc. From the inscriptions and archaeological excavations carried on various sites, we know that this family of the Kauṇḍinya clan was ultimately responsible for the tremendous growth and spread of Indian culture throughout the whole of South-East Asia in course of centuries, traces of which are discernible even today.

THE LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS OF ORISSA

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Oriya, one of the major Indo-Aryan Languages, is spoken by the people of Orissa and is recognised by the constitution of India as the language of the State of Orissa. Beyond the borders of Orissa, it is also spoken in parts of Bihar, Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. It is called 'Oḍiyā' on account of its being a language of Oḍra which is an ancient name of the country known to the English as Orissa. The name of the language is pronounced by the people of Orissa as 'Oḍiyā' but not 'Uḍiyā' as many people from outside mispronounce it.

Besides Oriya, a number of languages of secondary importance are spoken in different parts of the State. For reasons not connected with linguistics, Orissa has been a place of residence for many non-speakers of Oriya, who speak some or other of the Indo-European or Dravidian languages. As will be clear from the census reports of Orissa, one-fifth of its entire population consists of tribesmen who speak a number of languages which possess no written records. The languages spoken in different parts of Orissa may conveniently be classed under three well recognised language categories, viz. (1) Indo-European, (2) Dravidian and (3) Austric. Among the Indo European languages, we have Oriya, Bengali, Hindi, Gujarati, Marwari, Chhatisgarhi and a foreign language, viz. English. Tamil and Telugu of the Dravidian group are spoken mostly on the southern border lands. The Austric group consists of languages like Bhumija, Bhuyan, Gond, Gadba, Ho, Kondha, Kol, Kui, Kisan, Laria, Muṇda, Mundari, Orang, Patua, Saura and Santal.

As elsewhere in India, the educated people of Orissa speak English as their second language. Since the inclusion of Hindi in the school curriculum and the introduction of Hindi films for entertainment, many people got scope to learn and speak Hindi with ease. Even without training in Hindi and Bengali, the educated people can instinctively understand them and can speak both the languages without strict observance of grammatical rules. In several parts of Orissa, men with very little or no education can smatter a few words or phrases in Hindi and Bengali. There is a common saying that an Oriya speaks Hindi when he gets angry. The Muslims, though small in number, speak Urdu in their homes and Oriya outside. It is interesting to note that the Pāṇḍās of Puri can speak any Indian language with ease because of their intercourse with visitors to Jagannath Puri from different corners of India.

The standard Oriya language (which is the language of books) of people at the universities and in the offices can be understood by the Oriya people throughout the State in spite of the preponderating dialectic variations in the border lands. Uptil now, no survey of the dialects of Oriya has been undertaken nor is there any literature giving details in the matter. But then reference may profitably be made to some of the well-known dialectic variations of the standard language in the border lands and in the heart of the under-developed Garjats which were until 1947 cut off from British Orissa as feudatory administrative units.

The people of the Garjats and those of the coastal districts of Orissa can be broadly divided linguistically into two major categories by reason of difference in the speaker's intonation. The speech pattern of the people of the Garjats is still considered with some prejudice.

One of the very important dialects is Sambalpuri (the language of Sambalpur) spoken in the District of Sambalpur and in the neighbouring Districts of Sundargarh, Kalahandi,

Balangir and Bauda. It is a mixture of Sanskrit, Oriya, Hindi, Chhatisgarhi and several other languages of the Austric group. This dialect is particularly impotant because of its vocabulary being mixed up with words of the tribal languages. It is interesting to note that, though Sambalpur is far away from the Ganjam region and the District of Koraput, yet there is a high degree of similarity in the words and their formation in the dialect of Sambalpur and in that of Ganjam and Koraput. This is because of the fact that Sambalpur in the west and Ganjam and Koraput in south are the chief centres of tribal culture. The languages of the coastal area were exposed to the influence of foreigners like the Muslims including Mughuls and the Europeans particularly the English. The Sambalpur area, being far away from the coastal Districts, was not so much exposed to foreign influence as is met within Balasore. But then, for a long time included in Madhya Pradesh and politically and socially cut off from coastal Orissa, Sambalpur developed a language on very different lines. The characteristic difference of Sambalpuri from that of the standard language lies in its very sweet musical intonation. The dialect is rich in folk songs and poetry ; but there is very scanty printed literature. The people of Sambalpur are rightly proud of their linguistic heritage and an attempt, howsoever small, is now being made to bring the language into print. Some scholars of Sambalpur refuse to accept Sambalpuri as a dialect, but takes it as a language next to Oriya. They claim for the Sambalpuri dialect a position that Maithili enjoys among the Bihari group of languages.

The type of Oriya that is spoken in North Balasore and in some parts of Mayurbhanj and Midnapore can be treated as dialectal. It is greatly influenced by the Bengali language. Illiterate people in those parts speak a

language in which a sentence may begin in Oriya and end in Bengali or *vice versa*, or a sentence may thoroughly be saturated with corrupt Bengali grammatical forms. The influence of Bengali is so predominant on the northern borders that small Oriya books popular among the common masses are written in Bengali characters, even though the language is Oriya. It may be remembered that for a long time Orissa formed a part of Bengal.

A form of Oriya language spoken in South Orissa particularly in the Districts of Ganjam and Koraput is a Telugu-mixed version of Oriya, both the vocabulary and the intonation of which are very peculiar. The difference between standard Oriya, Sambalpuri and Dakshini (of the south) is so clear-cut that they can be distinguished without efforts. Many Oriya people in the border land speak Telugu as freely as they speak Oriya.

For a pretty long time the District of Ganjam formed a part of Madras, where the Oriya-speaking people were compelled to study Telugu along with Oriya. It is therefore no wonder that about fifty per cent of the common Oriya words have Dravidian roots which is difficult to realise without proper linguistic outlook. But then the Dravidian languages are in essence so different from the Oriya language that, even after hundreds of years of intercourse, they have not influenced the Oriya language in the way Bengali has influenced it in the north and Hindi in the west of Orissa. It is rather interesting to notice that for about two hundred years Ganjam remained the centre of Oriya literary culture and a number of outstanding figures like Gopa Krisna, Kavisurya and Gopinatha Nanda sprang from that dialectal area.

It is also interesting that most of the tribesmen inhabit the Garjats and the Districts of Ganjam, Koraput and Sambalpur. Among the Garjat areas (so called before the merging of the Princely States in 1947), Mayurbhanj,

Keonjhar and Sundargarh are largely inhabited by the tribesmen. Alongside other important tribal languages, Mundari and Santali are spoken in Mayurbhanj, and Saura, Kondha, Gadba and Paraja in Koraput. None of these languages possesses any literature. The Christian missionaries worked on these languages in their own way. Recently, at the Linguistic School of Poona, some Indian linguisticians (including the writer himself) have made a beginning in the scientific analysis of Mundari, one of the important tribal languages. An outstanding Oriya novelist, Sri Gopinatha Mohanty, interested himself in the life and language of the tribal people of Ganjam and Koraput. The Government of Orissa are making attempts at the anthropological study of the tribal peoples. The study of their languages is essential for the proper understanding of some aspects of the Oriya language itself.

An account, however small, is given here of the chief tribal tongues distributed over the hills and dales of Orissa. Santali is one of the major tribal languages spoken by the largest tribal population of Orissa. It is concentrated in the District of Mayurbhanj and constitutes twentythree per cent of the total population of that District. Arranged next in order of importance from the point of view of number come the speakers of Kondha, Kui, Saura and Ho.

The Kondhas inhabit mostly the Districts of Ganjam, Koraput and Phulbani. A point of linguistic interest may be noted in the gradual dying out of the native language of the Kondhas of Phulbani due to regular intercourse between the Kondhas and the Oriyas. The Kondhas speak a sort of Oriya outside their homes. Many families have even adopted it inside their homes. It is necessary to know that a serious philological study of Oriya vocabulary demands a knowledge of many of the tribal languages since the latter have greatly influenced the Oriya language.

The speakers of Kui are sprinkled over the Districts of Sundargarh, Kalahandi, Ganjam and Puri.

The Saoras of the Ganjam and Koraput Districts are known by various names. In Telugu, they are known as Savara and in Oriya as Saura. They speak a language belonging to the Munda family. George Grierson thinks that their language is greatly influenced by Telugu and is closely related to Kharia and Juang. The speakers of Ho are distributed over the Districts of Balasore, Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh and Kalahandi.

The Juangs and Bhuyans inhabit the jungles of the Keonjhar and Dhenkanal Districts. The Juangs form the most important section of the tribal population of Keonjhar in the central belt of Orissa. They speak a language developed on the same lines as Mundari.

The Kisans of the Sundargarh District are one of the least known tribes of Orissa who live side by side with the Orangs, and their language bears traces of affinity with that of the Orangs. But much scientific study is necessary before anything can precisely be said about it.

To sum up, in studying the tribal languages, it may generally be said that though some regions are marked out for particular tribal peoples, there is a sprinkling of all types of tribesmen all over the State of Orissa. These days, education is being served out to the tribal people in the medium of standard Oriya. To the extent it will succeed, the Oriya language will be richer and the tribal languages may ultimately be weakened into extinction, though, may be, in a far distant future.

In the past, the Oriya language has been mostly influenced by Bengali, Urdu, Arabic, Marathi and English so much so that the common man speaks a language unwittingly making use of a very mixed vocabulary. The future will provide ample interest to the linguistician when Hindi becomes the Lingua Franca of India and the tribal peoples

are linguistically developed through the medium of standard Oriya.

Now the distribution of languages and dialects in Orissa stands as follows. The standard Oriya language can be understood all over Orissa among the Oriya people. The major dialects of Oriya are spoken in Sambalpur in the west, Ganjam and Koraput in the south, and Balasore in the north. Various unrecorded tribal languages are distributed all over Orissa particularly in the hills of the Garjats and the Agency areas of the Districts.

MENĀL STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF BHĀVA-SOMEŚVARA, VIKRAMA SAṀVAT 1235

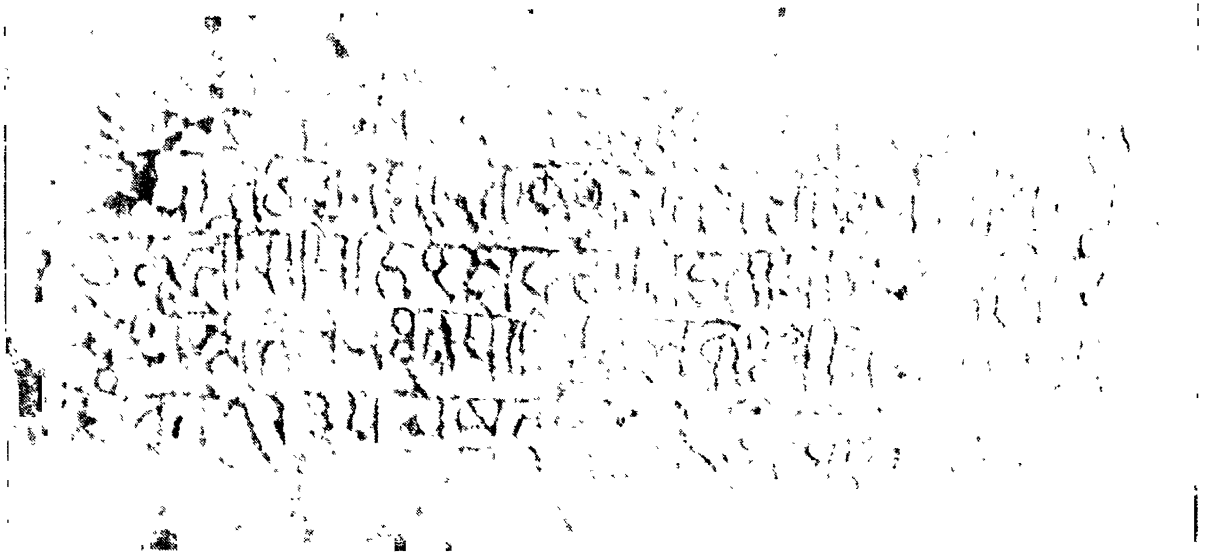
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The estampage of this inscription was kindly sent to me by the Government Epigraphist for India for deciphering and editing. The record is inscribed on the pedestal of a stray image of a bearded *Yogin*, named Bhāva-Someśvara. The image was found at Menāl, Chitorgadh District, Rajasthan. The title *Bhāva* applied to the *Yogin* shows that he was a Pāśupata Śaiva saint, and was probably the chief of the Pāśupata monastery at Menāl.

The inscription consists of five lines containing only one verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. There is no poetic beauty in it, and the repetition of the words *paripūrita* and *prāpta* jars on the ears. The inscription is dated the 12th day of dark fortnight of the month of Jyeṣṭha in Vikrama Saṁvat 1235.

TEXT

1 Om // [Bā]leṁdo(ḥ*) paripūrita-sva-vidhinā
prāpt-otsava-sre(śre)yadhī(sī)
2 vikhyātiḥ paripūritā katham=iti prāptā svayaṁ-
kīrtinā /
3 uddhūllī(?) c=āpi hi śattravo=sya nihatā prāpta-
(sya*) rājya-śriyaṁ
4 so=yaṁ mūrttimayaḥ tapo-titilakaḥ śrī-Bhāva-
Someśvaraḥ // 1 //
5 Saṁvat 1235 Jyeṣṭha-vadi 12 nipphaṁna (ṣpannā)
mūrttimi (r=i)ti (//*)



Menal Inscription of Bhāva-Someśvara, Saṁvat 1235

The record begins with a symbol for *Om* or *Siddham*. The first word of the verse, though mutilated, can fairly be restored as *Bāledo(ḥ*)*. The last word of the first line appears to read *sre ya dhī* which may be a mistake for *śreyasī*. Again, in the third line, one of the first two letters is redundant, and a conjunct letter after the word *prāpta* (probably *sya*) is lacking. If we ignore the second conjunct letter in the beginning of this line, the remaining four letters would read *ullīcāpi* which yields no sense.

In view of the above difficulties, the precise significance of the verse remains a moot point. According to our re torations and emendations, however, the verse may be construed as follows :

paripūrita-sva-vidhinā svayaṁ-kīrttinā [janena] prāpt-otsava-śreyasī paripūritā bālendoḥ vikhyātiḥ kathaṁ prāptā iti ? rājya-śriyaṁ prāptasaya ullīcāpi (?) śatravo (yena)*[1] *nihatāḥ so= 'yaṁ mūrttimayaḥ tapo-'titilakaḥ śrī-Bhāva-Someśvaraḥ ||*

"How was the celebrity (*vikhyātiḥ*) of the new moon, which is so perfect (*paripūritā*) and so delightfully excellent (*prāpt-otsava-śreyasī*), attained by the self-renowned [person] (*svayaṁ-kīrttinā*) whose own means were so perfect (*paripūrita-sva-vidhinā*) ? He, the excellent ornament of austerities (*tapo-'titilakaḥ*), [by whom] are killed the ..... enemies of him, who had acquired the reins of the kingdom, is here in the form of the image (*so='yaṁ mūrttimayaḥ*), the illustrious and venerable (*Bhāva*) Someśvara."

According to this interpretation, the first half of the verse appears to be a question, and the latter half its answer.

Now, we find that Someśvara,[2] the father of Pṛthvīrāja

1 Since we have the relative pronoun *saḥ* in line 4, the pronoun *yena* seems to be understood here.

2 It is interesting to note that the name of the bearded ascetic given in the inscription is also Someśvara.

III, died in Vikrama Saṁvat 1234.[3] There is the Bāḍlā inscription of this monarch dated in Vikrama Saṁvat 1234.[4] According to astronomical calculations, the birth of Pṛthvīrāja falls in Vikrama Saṁvat 1223.[5] He was therefore only 11 years old when he assumed the reins of administration in Vikrama Saṁvat 1234[5] and 12 years when he fought against Muḥammad Ghūrī in Vikrama Saṁvat 1235 (1178 A.D.).[4] It is also stated that he had to fight against Nāgārjuna, the surviving son of Vigraharāja IV, who was biding his time and, encouraged by the young age and inexperience of Pṛthvīrāja, had risen to rebellion and captured Guḍapura and even became the ruler of Ajmer according to some historical sources.[6] As the date of the present inscription is Vikrama Saṁvat 1235, it falls just a year after Pṛthvīrāja's accession. It may, therefore, be assumed that the self-renowned person mentioned in the inscription was Pṛthvīrāja III whom the ascetic Bhāva-Someśvara might have helped in his battles against his enemies with the forces of his followers.

3 Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Cauhan Dynasties*, Delhi, 1959, p. 72.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 71. [The first battle between Ghūrī and Pṛthvīrāja is stated to have been fought in 1191 A.D.—D.C.S.]

5 *Loc. cit.* This conflicts with Dr. Sharma's statement at p. 73, that Pṛthvīrāja assumed the reins of administration by Vikrama Saṁvat 1237, and that his mother acted as his regent after the death of her husband (p. 72).

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74. Nāgārjuna must have advanced to attack soon after Pṛthvīrāja assumed power in Vikrama Saṁvat 1234 which date is supported by his Bāḍlā inscription.

GLIMPSES OF THE BUDDHIST ART OF ORISSA

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Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri and Udayagiri, three obscure hills of the Assia Range in the Cuttak District, have lately emerged into limelight as a large and flourishing centre of Mahāyāna Budd ism in early mediaeval Orissa, through the efforts of Ramaprasad Chanda, Superintendent of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Haran Chandra Chakladar of Calcutta University and lastly Mrs. Debala Mitra, Director of the Archaeological Survey.[1] The numerous sculptures, recovered from the ruins of an extensive Buddhist monastery, spread over the three neighbouring hills, have aroused considerable interest among scholars devoted to the study of Indian culture and aesthetics. For, apart from the intrinsic merit and supreme quality

1 In this article, I have tried to highlight the aesthetic merit of some of the sculptures from the area first explored by R. D. Banerji, R. P. Chanda, H. C. Chakladar, and myself between 1930 and 1945. Further light on the antiquarian wealth of the site has been thrown by the archaeological excavations conducted since 1958 at the Ratnagiri hill by Mrs. Mitra, revealing a vast Buddhist complex, almost rivalling that of Nalanda. It consists of *stūpas,* shrines and elaborately carved monasteries including a multistoried one which "was in occupation from *circa* eighth to thirteenth century . . . . The site has also yielded a rich crop of Buddhist images of bronze and stone and terracotta sealings and excels all other excavated monuments in sculptural exuberance". They have also confirmed the testimony of Tibetan traditions that Ratnagiri was a great centre of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna learning and art. See *Archaeological Remains, Monuments and Museums,* Part I, New Delhi, 1964, pp. 97-98. See also *Indian Archaeology—A Review,* 1957-58, 1958-59, etc., published by the Archaeological Survey of India.

of the finds, they cover an important and hitherto unbridged gap in the historical evolution of Indian art. During the Gupta period, the artistic activity, throughout the land, was regulated more or less by the plastic tradition, specially associated with the Sarnath School. After the fall of the Guptas, however, this uniformity of style was disturbed, and the various provinces began to develop local and regional styles of their own based more or less on the Classical Gupta tradition. Thus there grew up the Central Indian, Orissan, East Indian and Kashmir styles.

The vigorous school of art which thrived on the soil of Orissa, in the mediaeval period, from the 8th century A.D. onwards, with its centres at Bhubaneswar, Puri, Konarak and Khiching, was hitherto unconnected with the parent stream of Gupta art. The ruins of Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri and Udayagiri provide this important link.

LALITAGIRI

Of the three hills, the sculptures from Lalitagiri (Nalatigiri) are the earliest and decidedly the best. They probably belong to the later part of the 7th century A.D. An evident indication of their early origin is supplied by the strong and indelible impress of the Gupta plastic language of the Sarnath School.

If we take for example, the standing image of Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi (Fig. 1) now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, we are at once captivated by its extraordinary beauty. A rare touch of extreme delicacy and spontaneous charm distinguishes this enchanting piece of artistic craftsmanship. The modelling of the slender streamlined limbs of the tall figure, standing in *tribhaṅga*, is extremely soft and graceful. The expressive face is handled with an amount of care and sensitiveness, reminiscent of the best Gupta tradition, as reflected in the suave and summary modelling.

The leading lines, defining the principal image and the subsidiary female attendants, are almost vertically parallel. Again, the flowing grace and delicate rhythm of the supple tapering limbs is marvellously echoed by the sinuous curve of the beautiful lotus stem carrying the *vajra*. Even the sitting figures of Tārā, characterised by the easy and charming pose of their pliant bodies, seem to grow naturally out of the lotus seats, so as to harmonise with the prevailing sense of unrestricted linear freedom. The round and undulating curves of the tiara, the necklaces, the girdle, the lotus pedestal and the aureoles as well as the tongues of fire encircling the back slab, supply adequate checks to the vertical urge and create the wonderful stability of composition. Moreover, the relief is sufficiently raised from the background to bring the image in conspicuous prominence and to allow a charming play of light and shade on the smooth surface of the sloping body. By contrasting the precise and minute carvings of the gorgeous *mukuṭa* and other jewellery against the smooth surface, the supple roundness of the features is greatly enhanced. This prevailing sense of smoothness and undisturbed continuity is, however, sought to be enlivened by the judicious introduction of wavy folds of the drapery, in between the legs and the agitated flamboyant scrolls bordering the upper half of the stela.

This Vajrapāṇi can be advantageously compared to the so-called Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva from Sarnath.[2] What strikes us is the complete identity in arrangement and composition. Taking into account the difference in plastic conceptions, due to varying local techniques, this remarkable likeness, specially in composition, betrays obvious influence

2 D. R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, Calcutta, 1914, Pl. XXX-C.

of the Gupta aesthetic formulae inherent in the Post-Gupta School of Sarnath, upon the early mediaeval school of Orissa. Through this comparative study also, we are able to assess the date of the Orissa Vajrapāṇi. As the Sarnath Mañjuśrī belongs to the late 7th century A.D., the latter example too can be reasonably placed in the same period.

The principal stylistic characteristics, noted above, also distinguish the other Bodhisattva figures from Lalitagiri. Chanda remarks, "The modelling of these Orissan mediaeval images, though not realistic, is characterised by freshness and movement like the best images of the Gupta period. Their face wears an expression of the active benevolence intermixed with the spirit of passive contemplation. So it must be recognised that in these images the artist attained remarkable success in giving form to the divine conception of the followers of the religion of Bhakti, whose spiritual emotion is directed to a personal being ready to bestow both boon (*vara*) and protection (*abhaya*) to His (or Her) devotees. But even if the spiritual significance of these images is ignored, no connoisseur will hesitate to include the Bodhisattavas found on the Nalatigiri among the most lovely things shaped by the hand of man. When compared with the contemporaneous Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Pallava sculptures, these Orissan sculptures, though lacking the dramatic vitality of the former, surpass them in serenity and gracefulness."[3]

But the element of vitality was not altogether foreign to this particular group of sculptures. This is proved by a look at the statue of the goddess Tārā. Although heavily formed, the whole being is impregnated with wonderful

3 *Exploration in Orissa* (*Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, No. 44), Calcutta, 1930, p. 20.

force and arresting energy. This is conveyed by the fine sweep of the outstretched hand above the head and emphasised by angular projection of the lower arm. It is further carried along by the vigorous movement of the striding leg, pressing down a dwarf with considerable force. Such striking representation of vibrating energy, skilfully conducted along the gliding curves of the supple round body, is admirably balanced by the firm central line, slightly tilted, running down from the head to the straight erect foot. The whole figure is a perfect combination of divine dignity, sweeping movement and restrained force. It affords a delightful glimpse into the critical moment, when the mighty goddess in her awful fury, is going to strike the enemy with a crushing blow.

This particular figure should be compared with similar reliefs representing Durgā killing a demon from Bihar,[4] and the fleeing daughter of Māra, carved on the base of an image of the Buddha in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* from Sarnath.[5] From a study of the two latter reliefs, whose attitude, form and composition are almost surprisingly analogous and the fact that both of them apparently belong to the 7th century A. D., we can safely ascribe the Orissan Tārā to the same age.

RATNAGIRI AND UDAYAGIRI

Chanda observes, "One striking feature of the early mediaeval sculptures found on the three hills, Nalatigiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri, is their stylistic differences. The images on the Nalatigiri are marked by regular longish face with pointed chin, the images on the Ratnagiri by

4 Kramrisch, 'Pāla and Sena Sculpture,' *Rupam*, October, 1929, Fig. 1.

5 Sahni, *op. cit.*, Pl. IX.

broad face with roundish chin and those on the Udayagiri by still broader face."[6] But a close scrutiny of the extant sculptures would exclude the possibility of such rigid division according to hills. Of course the images on the Nalatigiri, being earliest in age, are endowed with some peculiarities noted above, which go to form a single group. Some of the images, again, from Udayagiri, probably belonging to the 8th century, may be grouped into another distinctive class. With the advance of age, certain mannerisms creep into the images of this class. The face is broad and squarish, with a protruding chin. The modelling of the body is less refined than the preceding group from the Nalatigiri and is characterised by flatness and heaviness. However, they are not without a special sensuous charm and massive grace of their own. Their peculiar *jaṭāmukuṭas*, with outwardly a d upwardly spreading deep ridges, are to be specially noticed. Such type of *mukuṭas* survived in the late mediaeval art of Khiching in Mayurbhanj, testifying to the intimate relation which existed between the two centres of Orissan art.

The style and execution of this second group of images are strongly echoed in some contemporary products of the art of Magadha. There is more than a fleeting resemblance between these works and a seated image of the Buddha on the summit of the Gurpa Hill in the Gaya District.[7] In technique and treatment, as well as in some of the ornamental details, they agree to a remarkable degree. As the Magadhan idol has been assigned to the reign of Mahendrapāla, i.e. about the close of the ninth century, its Orissan parallels cannot be much earlier.

6 Chanda, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

7 J. C. French, *The Art of the Pāla Empire of Bengal*, London, 1928, Pl. XXI.



Fig 1 Vajrapāni, Lalitagiri, Cuttack District ; now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.



Fig 2.—Bodhisattva (c. 7th century A.D.), Jajpur, Cuttack District.

Yet another trend is perceptible in some other examples hailing from all the three hills. The sculptures belonging to this group are distinguished by further heaviness and softness. An exaggerated emphasis on the fleshy mass tends to an inevitable impression of drooping and flabby inertness. Possibly this characteristic may be taken as the development of the massive rotundity of the popular Gupta school (cf. Chanda, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV. 1). Some of the later sculptures, although disclosing general signs of frigidity and conventionalism, are sometimes animated by great liveliness and movement. The beautiful Heruka from Ratnagiri, which may be ascribed to the 9th century A.D., successfully illustrates an abiding sense of rhythm and graceful movement through the dancing pose.

In 1941, in course of my explorations in Orissa, I discovered a monumental sandstone image of Bodhisattva (Fig. 2), almost full size, lying under a shed near the Muktimaṇḍapa at Jajpur (Virajākṣetra), noted for its Śaivite association. Although fragmentary, this little noticed image, remarkable in more than one respect, measuring about 18ft. from crown to the broken knee, has a very close stylistic affinity to the 7th-8th century Bodhisattvas from the nearby Assia hills and presumably transported to Jajpur by a local zamindar from that site. In any case, it is undoubtedly the largest Buddhist image surviving in Eastern India.

THE LAST PHASE

It is apparent that the great Buddhist monastery on the hills lost its importance and influence from the 13th century A.D., perhaps owing to the surging tide of Brāhmaṇical revival. But that Orissa continued to be a stronghold of Buddhism even in this late period, is attested by the discovery of many Buddhist images, in sites widely apart from one another such as Baud, Khiching and Chauduar, by

R.D. Banerji[8] and Chanda. The remarkable discoveries of Mrs. Mitra have also greatly added to our knowledge. The bronze masks of the Buddha from Chauduar is particularly expressive and significant (cf. Chanda, *op. cit.*, Pl. VIII. 3). The examples of the 11th-12th century A.D., however, are marked by stiffness and flat angularity, accompanied by stereotyped overcrowded employment of motifs and ornaments, which not only betray undeniable traces of decadence, but also indicate the approaching end of the Buddhist art in Orissa.[9]

8 R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Calcutta, 1931, Vol. II, Chap. XXX on Plastic Art with Plates. [*Devadāsis* of the great Buddhist monastery at Saloṇapura near Jaypur are mentioned in an inscription of the 12th century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 272; Vol. XXXV, p. 97).—D.C.S.]

9 In my article on "Relation between the Buddha Images of Orissa and Java", *Modern Review*, November, 1933, I tried to show the influence of the Orissan School on the art of Java. Benjamin Rowland has accepted my theory regarding the impress of certain Lalitagiri (Orissa) images on the Buddha statues of Borobudur, besides their close affiliation with the Sarnath School (*Art and Architecture of India*, London, 1935, pp. 265, 270).

AN ILLUSTRATED INDIAN MANUSCRIPT

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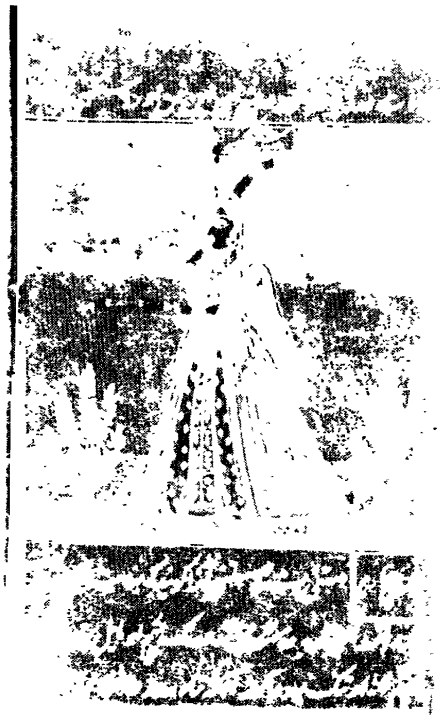
I have recently come across an interesting manuscript written in *Nastaliq* characters. It is a Persian translation of some Hindī work, the name of which is not mentioned. The last part of the manuscript, which probably contained a collophon, is not available, and we have to speculate on the date on the basis of the stylistic idiom of the illustrations which are the most interesting contribution of the manuscript. The text sets out the well-known types of women classified in four varieties, viz. Padminī, Citriṇī, Śaṅkhinī and Hastinī. These four types are illustrated by beautiful miniatures and are also described in the text.

Besides the types of women, a classification of Nāyakas (love-heroes) are also described and illustrated. The types of Nāyakas described include *Anukūla-nāyaka* (a lover who is favourably inclined), a *Parakīyā-nāyaka* of two varieties, e.g. *Pracchanna* and *Prakāśa*. One of the miniatures illustrates the situation of *Saṁyukta-śṛṅgāra* (love in union). The details of architecture and drapery characterise the illustrations as Rajput Qalam. The most significant detail, both in the masculine and feminine types, is the descending 'scorpion locks' running parallel to the ear. This is a characteristic Rajput convention. On the basis of these characteristics, we may assign the miniatures to the Rajput School and definitely not to the Mughul. The composition of the pictures as well as the text may be assigned

approximately to the early 18th century. The pictorical style lends an attractive flavour to the manuscript which will appeal to all lovers of Rajput painting. The miniatures may be regarded as unique since we cannot recall any analogous examples hitherto known.



Padminī



Hastinī



Anukūla-nāyaka



Samyukta-śṛngāra

BRIBERY AND ADULTERATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

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I

As in ancient Rome,[1] bribery was rampant in ancient India. The Smṛti texts and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* frequently refer to the practice of bribe-taking. And we have stories both in the Pāli Jātakas and the Sanskrit works about bribe-seeking officials and judges and it is needless to say, our early Smṛti writers and other story-tellers have no kind word to say about such corrupt people.

The *Kātyāyanasmṛti*[2] defines *utkoca* (bribe) as what is obtained in the following ways, viz., by giving (or threatening to give) false representation of a person as a thief or a felon or as one who breaks the rules of decent conduct, or as an adulterous person, or by pointing out those who are of bad character, or by spreading false reports about a person. The author further observes that a man offering bribe should not be fined, but that the intermediary may be fined and, if the person accepting the bribe is an official of the king, he should be made to return the bribe and pay a fine eleven times as much to the king.

The earlier Smṛti writers, however, prescribe a much more drastic punishment for the bribe-seeker. Both Manu[3] and Viṣṇu[4] ordain that the entire property of a bribe-consuming official should be confiscated by the king.

1 For bribery in ancient Rome, see *ERE*, Vol. IV, p. 121.

2 Verses 650-51 ; see also Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, p. 473. [For *utkoca* in an inscription, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 24. —D.C.S.]

3 IX. 231.

4. V. 176.

Yājñavalkya[5] provides, in addition, banishment for such an official. Kauṭilya[6] gives a detailed account of how to apprehend such an official and like Yājñavalkya ordains banishment for the corrupt people.

In the Pāli Jātakas, we have several stories about corrupt judges and officials. The story contained in the *Bhaddasāla-jātaka*[7] may be quoted in this connection.

One day some men who had been defeated in a case of litigation at the court on a false charge, seeing Bandhula (general of the king of Kosala) approach, raised a great cry and informed him that the judges of the court had supported a false charge against them. So Bandhula went to the court, and himself decided the case, and gave each man his due. The crowd uttered loud shouts of applause. The king asked what happened and, on hearing all, was much pleased ; and all those corrupt officers he sent away, and gave Bandhula charge of the court ; thenceforward Bandhula gave correct judgment in all cases. The former judges no longer received bribes, and poisoned the king's ears against Bandhula and finally succeeded in getting him killed by the king's soldiers.

Such stories are also found in several other Jātakas;[8] in most cases either a judge or the priest of the king is the guilty person. In one story we find a queen giving bribes.[9] All these stories indirectly prove the evidence supplied by the Smṛti texts and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* regarding bribery.

In the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[10] we have an interesting story

5 I. 339—*Utkocajīvino dravyahīnān kṛtvā pravāsayet.*

6 See 4.4; also Shama Shastry's translation, p. 240.

7 No. 465 (ed. E. B. Cowell, trans. Francis and Neil).

8 Nos. 511, 528, and 542.

9 No. 546.

10 38.47 ff. (ed. Durgaprasad and Parab) ; see also *The Ocean of Story* (trans. Tawney), Vol. III, p. 210.

in which we find a treacherous Buddhist mendicant named Prapañcabuddhi offering splendid gifts as bribes to king Vikramāditya who, however, refused to be outwitted by that wily mendicant and before long succeeded in getting rid of him.

II

Ancient Indian tradesmen like their counterpart in modern India were not shy to resort to the practice of adulteration. In almost all the major Smṛti texts and in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, we have references to different types of adulteration and the kings have been advised not to show any leniency to the adulterators. In the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, mention is made of adulteration in such common commodities as butter, salt, scent, rice and molasses, and what is more interesting to note is that even medicine was not spared.[1] For adulterators of the above mentioned commodities, Yājñavalkya prescribes a fine of sixteen *Paṇas*. The same authority also refers to adulteration in some other things of daily use like timber, cloth, jewels, etc., and, in such cases, prescribes a fine eight times that of the original price of the things sold.[2] Manu also indirectly refers to the practice of adulteration when he warns the traders against resorting to the practice.[3] The author of the *Viṣṇusmṛti*[4] prescribes the heavier punishment (*uttama-sāhasa-daṇḍa*, i.e. a fine of 1000 *Paṇas*) for the adulterators. In the *Nāradasmṛti*[5] also, we have references to the practice of adulteration.

1 II. 245—*bheṣaja-sneha-lavaṇa-gandha-dhānya-guḍ-ādiṣu* |
paṇyeṣu prakṣipan=hīnaṁ paṇān dāpyas=tu ṣoḍaśa |

2 II. 246.

3 VIII. 203; IX. 286.

4 V. 123; see also XXXVII. 14.

5 II. 35-35; X. 7.

The *Arthaśāstra*[6] of Kauṭilya refers to the adulteration of rice, oil, alkali, salt, scent and medicinal articles and prescribes a fine of twelve *Paṇas* instead of sixteen as prescribed by Yājñavalkya, though for such commodities as timber, iron, precious stone, rope, skin, earthenware, thread, fibrous garment and woollen cloth, it prescribes a fine 8 times the value of the articles thus sold.[7]

6 See 4.2; also trans. Shama Sastry, pp. 234-35.

7 *Loc. cit.*

PROBLEMS OF KUṢĀṆA AND RĀJPŪT HISTORY

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I

NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF THE KUṢĀṆA EMPIRE

The Chinese got interesting information about the Yue-chi from Chang Kien who returned to China from Central Asia in 126 B.C. At that time, the Yue-chi had their capital at Kien-she to the north of the Oxus and had made themselves master of Ta-hia which had its capital at Lan-shi to the south of that river in the present Badakhshan area (Afghanistan). As we have seen, according to Fan-ye's narration of the events of the period 25-125 A.D., the capital of the Yue-chi was the old Ta-hia capital Lan-shi which remained their stronghold down to the fifth century A.D. "In the period of the *Hou Han-shu*, the Yue-chi had settled down in the old Ta-hia country and now represented the whole Ta-hia empire, i.e. as M. Chavannes puts it, henceforward they are the Ta-hia." This is supposed to have taken place between 126 B. C. and 25 A.D.[1] The suggestion, however, that the entire Yue-chi clan was then settled in the land to the south of the Oxus or that the Yue-chi settled on both banks of the Oxus were called Ta-hia is doubtful.

According to the *Shi-ki*, 'Ta-hia is situated more than 2,000 *li* south-west of Ta-wan (Ferghana) and south of the Wei water (Oxus) ..... The people have no supreme

1 Sten Konow, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. liv.

ruler ; but the various towns appoint minor chiefs. The soldiers there are weak and fear warfare; they are skilled in trading and marketting."[2] It is this people who appear to have been subjugated by the Yue-chi.

According to the *Hou Han-shu*, as we have elsewhere seen, the Yue-chi "transferred themselves to Ta-hia and divided that kingdom into five *hi-hou*, viz. (1) Hiu-mi (capital—Ho-mo), (2) Shuang-mi (capital—Shuang-mi), (3) Kuei-shuan (capital—Hu-tsao), (4) Hi-tun (capital—Po-mao) and (5) Kao-fu (capital—Kao-fu)."[3] This seems to suggest that the entire Yue-chi people settled in Ta-hia to the south of the Oxus. But the *Chien-Han-shu* refers to the conquest of Ta-hia by the Yue-chi and then to the five *hi-hou* and thus seems to suggest that the five principalities originally owed allegiance to the Yue-chi king of Kien-she.[4]

Elsewhere we have referred to the locations of the above five states, as proposed by Marquart : (1) Hiu-mi = Wakhan in North-Western Afghanistan ; (2) Shaung-mi = Chitral; (3) Kuei-shuang—between Chitral and the Panjshir valley in Afghanistan; (4) Hi-tun = Parwan on the Panjshir ; and (5) Kao-fu = Kabul.[5] Marquart also identified Ta-hia with Tu-ho-lo (Tukhāra) about which the *T'ang-shu* says, "It is to the west of the Tsung-ling (Pamir) and to the south of the river Wu-hu (Oxus). It is the old territory of the Ta-hia."[6] It will be seen that all the five territories lay to the south of the Oxus. In the first half of the first century

2 *Ibid.*, pp. lv-lvi.

3 *Ibid.*, p. lvi. See note 5 below.

4 Cf. Mukherjee, *Stud. Kush. Gen. Chron.*, Vol. I, pp. 7, 122. Kadphises I may have made Lan-shi his captial after having subdued the four *hi-hou* and assumed the title of king

5 Sten Konow, *loc. cit.* A later writer regards Kao-fu to be a mistake for Tu-mi.

6 Know, *op. cit.*, p. lvii ; cf. "Fo-ho-lo (Baktra) bordering northwards on the Oxus" (Beal, *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, p. 48).

A.D., K'iu-tsiu-k'io (Kujula Kadphises or Kadphises I) of the *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang subdued the four other *hi-hou* and became king. "He invaded An-si (Parthia) and seized the territory of Kao-fu (Kabul). Moreover, he triumphed over Pu-ta (near Kabul) and Ki-pin (Kafiristan and the adjoining eastern area) and entirely possessed those kingdoms."[7] This description seems to suggest that the founder of the Kuṣāṇa kingdom did not rule over any tract to the north of the Oxus.

The *Hou Han-shu* goes on: "K'iu-tsiu-k'io died when he was more than eighty years old. His son Yen-kao-chen (Wema Kadphises or Kadphises II) bacame king in his stead. He again conquered Tien-chou and appointed a general there for administration. From this moment the Yue-chi became extremely powerful. In all the kingdoms they were spoken of as 'king of Kuei-shuang'; but the Han stuck to their old designation and called them Ta Yue-chi."[8] It may be noticed that nothing has been said here about the expansion of the Kuṣāṇa kingdom under Kadphises II beyond the Oxus in the north. Tien-chu (Sanskrit *Sindhu*) seems to indicate the Western Punjab or the Sind-Punjab region. The capital of both Kadphises I and Kadphises II may have been at Lan-shi in Badakhshan.

The next important Kuṣāṇa king Kaṇiṣka I seems to have been an adventurer like Ikhtiyār-uddīn Muḥammad bin Bakhtiyār Khaljī who conquered wide areas of Bihar and Bengal when Muiz-uddīn Muḥammad bin Sām and his generals were laying the foundation of the Turkish Muslim empire in North India. The earliest inscriptions of Kaṇiṣka, dated in his 3rd regnal year, have been found in different parts of U.P. and he seems to have succeeded gradually

7 Sten Konow, *op. cit.*, p. lxii.

8 *Loc. cit.*

in extending his political influence over Western India including Rajasthan, Gujarat and Northern Maharashtra and also over West Pakistan and Afghanistan. Traditions recorded by Hiuen-tsang represent him as a king of Gandhāra having its capital at Puruṣapura (Peshawar), his power reaching the neighbouring states and his influence extending to distant regions, as we have seen. This shows that he ruled over Gandhāra and other territories, though even kings of distant countries were his subordinate allies. The Surk Kotal (Northern Afghanistan) inscription of year 31 of the Kaṇiṣka era referring to Kaṇiṣka's temple, suggests the inclusion of Ta-hia in Kaṇiṣka's empire. There is no proof that he ruled over any territory to the north of the Oxus.

"As he kept order by military rule over a wide territory reaching to the east of the T'sung-ling (Pamir), a tributary State of China to the west of the Yellow river, through fear of the king's power, sent him a prince or a few princes as hostage;"[9] "when Kaṇiṣka was reigning, the fear of his name spread to many regions so far even as to the outlying vassals of China to the west of the Yellow river. One of these vassal States, being in fear, sent a hostage to the court of king Kaṇiṣka, the hostage being apparently a son of the ruler of the State."[10] The above statements of Hiuen-tsang do not show that Kaṇiṣka's dominions included any Trans-Oxus territory.

Kaṇiṣka himself admits, according to a tradition, that he

9 Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 124; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World, op. cit.*, p. 119—"Then the tribes who occupy the territory to the west of the river (Yellow river) sent hostages to him." The hostages were kept in 'India' (Indus region) in winter, in Kāpiśa in summer, and in Gandhāra in autumn and spring. It is possible that king Kaṇiṣka also had seasonal residence in those territories.

10 Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 292; Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-08. The winter residence of the hostage or hostages was in Cīnabhukti in the Punjab.

failed to subjugate the peoples of the countries to the north. Before his death, Kaṇiṣka is stated to have said, "I have subjugated three regions ; all men have taken refuge with me ; the region of the north alone has not come in to make its submission."[11] This seems to go against the possibility of the expansion of Kaṇiṣka's power to the north of the Oxus.

There is another fact which suggests that Kaṇiṣka's empire extended in the north to the southern edge of the Tsung-ling range or Tagdumbash Pamir, i.e. "the meridional range or ranges which buttress the Pamir on the east and divide it from the Tarim basin."[12] It is stated that, about the year 90 A.D., the Yue-chi king (no doubt Kaṇiṣka I) sent a force of 70,000 horsemen under his general Si, across the T'sung-ling, to attack the Chinese general Pan-chao who had subjugated Khotan, Kashgar, Kucha and Karashahr. "The army of Si probably advanced by the Tashkurghan pass, some fourteen thousand feet high, and was so shattered by its sufferings during the passage of the mountains that when it emerged into the plain below, either that of Kashgar or Yarkand, it fell an easy prey to Pan-chao and was totally defeated."[13]

That Afghanistan continued to be in the empire of the immediate successors of Kaṇiṣka I is suggested by the Wardak (near Kabul) vase inscription of Huviṣka, though no inscriptions of Vāsiṣka, Kaṇiṣka II and Vāsudeva have as yet been discovered in that area. Thus the belief regarding the inclusion of certain Trans-Oxus regions in the empire of the Kuṣāṇas of Kaṇiṣka's house is no better than an unproved guess.

The *Book of the Laws of Countries* of Bardesanes (second

11 *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 388 ; Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 1924, p. 285.
12 Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 27.
13 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

half of the second century A.D.) refers to the "Bactrians who are called Qushani (i.e. Kuṣāṇa)."[14] This Bactria, the territory of the Kuṣāṇas, is described by Ptolemy (middle of the same century) as follows: "Bactriane (Bactria) is bounded on west by Margiane (Merv) along the side already described; on the north and east by Sogdiane, along the rest of the course of the river Oxus; and on the south by the rest of Areia (Herat) extending from the extreme point towards Margiane—the position of which is 109°—39° and by the Paropanisadai (people of the region of the Hindukush) along the parallel thence prolonged, through where the range of Paropanisus diverges towards the sources of the Oxus which lie in 119° 30'—39°."[15] The above description of the boundaries of Bactria does not include any part of the Trans-Oxus territory in it.

It is generally assumed by historians that, after the death of the Kuṣāṇa king Vāsudeva (latest date year 98 of the Kaṇiṣka era probably corresponding to 176 A.D.), the Indian empire of the Kuṣāṇas fell into decay. But the *Wei-lio* says that, during the time of the three kingdoms (221-77 A.D., but referring to the period before 239 A.D.), "Ki-pin, Ta-hia, Kao-fu and Tien-chu were all subject to the Great Yue-chi."[16] Since Tien-chu seems to mean the Indus region, the statement seeks to suggest that, about the first half of the third century A.D., the Kuṣāṇa empire was confined to West Pakistan and Afghanistan. It must, however, be noted that the evidence of the *Wei-lio* has to be reconciled with certain known facts of history. In the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., the Kuṣāṇas were vassals

14 B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

15 *McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, ed.. Majumdar-Sastri, p. 267.

16 *Toung Pao*, Serie II, Tome VI, Leide, 1905, pp. 538-39.

of the Sassanians of Iran. On some coins of the Sassanian king Hormazd II (301-10 A.D.), he assumes the title *Kuṣān Malkā* (King of the Kuṣāṇas) or *Kuṣān Malkā Malkā* (King of the Kuṣāṇa kings).[17] This has to be read along with the tradition that Ardashīr I (226-41 A.D.) "conquered Balkh, Khurasan and Kabul and advanced as far as Sirhind beyond the Satlaj."[18] Certain coins of the Sassanian type and fabric, bearing legends in the Nāgarī (really, late Brāhmī), Pahlavī and modified Greek alphabets are attributed to Sassanian rulers flourishing in the Indus valley.[19] The *Wei-lio* therefore refers to the period before the subjugation of the Kuṣāṇas by Ardashīr I.

The Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I is supposed by some scholars to have been drafted in 262 A.D., while others think that it was finally revised at a later date. The epigraph speaks of Sassanian occupation of the Kuṣāṇa territory (called Kwshnhshtr = Kushanshahr and, in Greek, Kouseneon ethnos) which is said to have been bounded by Mrgw (Merv), Hryw (Herat), Skstn (Sakstān, Seistān), Twarn (located in Baluchistan), Mkwrn (Makran near Baluchistan) and P'rtn (located in Baluchistan), Hndstn ('India', i.e. the valley of the Indus), Pshkbwr or Paskibouron (identified with Peshawar) and the frontiers of K'sh (identified with Kashgarh), Swgd (Sogdiana) and Sh'sh'st'n (identified with Tashkent).[20] In our opinion,

17 Paruck, *Sassanian Coins*, pp. 89, 281-82; Chatterjee, *The Age of the Kuṣāṇas*, pp. 111 ff. Coins with similar titles are attributed to most of the Sassanian kings.

18 Paruck, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 79-81. Ardashīr is generally believed to have established his supremacy over Bactria (MacGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia*, p. 401; Sykes, *History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 394).

19 Paruck, *op cit.*, pp. 98, 270-71; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 30; B. Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 107 ff.

20 B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 89; cf. Mariq and Honigmann, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, 1953, pp. 11, 94f.; *BSOAS*, Vol. IX, p. 854; *American Journal of Semitic Language and Literature*, 1940, p. 407.

even if these boundaries of the Kuṣāṇa empire in the second half of the third century A.D. are fully accepted, they do not suggest the inclusion of any part of the Trans-Oxus country within the Kuṣāṇa territory.

According to the Chinese annals, during the reign of the Wei dynasty (386-556 A.D.), about 430 A.D., Ki-to-lo (Kidāra), a prince of the Great Yue-chi clan, separated himself from the main body and established the Little Yue-chi kingdom to the south of the Hindukush with Po-lu-sha (Peshawar) as his capital.[21] The causes of this revolution appears to be the continued domination of the Oxus valley by the Sassanians and the settlement, in the Trans-Oxus country, of the Huns who troubled the Sassanians from c. 420 to 557 A.D. In the struggle with the Huns, the Sassanian king Fīrūz I (459-84 A.D.) lost his life.[22]

About 455 A.D., the Huns invaded the Gupta empire in India, but appear to have been repulsed by Skandagupta (455-67 A.D.).[23] Even about the beginning of the fifth century A.D., Kālidāsa, in his *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 66-68) locates the Hūṇas on the bank of the Vaṁkṣu (Oxus).

The capital of the Huns, probably at Herat in Afghanistan, was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Song-Yun in 519 A.D. and he says that the Huns received tribute from forty neighbouring countries.[24] In 520 A.D., Song-Yun visited

21 Alfred von Gutschmid, *Shahis von Kabul*, p. 196. The Paikuli inscription is said to speak of the Kuṣān Ṣah, the kings of Surāṣṭra and Avanti and twelve Ṣaka kings of the interior who had been to Ctesiphon to swear allegiance to Narses (293-303 A.D.). Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. I, p. 63; Vol. V, p. 41.

22 Paruck, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

23 *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965 ed., pp. 323-24 (Bhitari pillar inscription, verse 8).

24 Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, p. 335.

Kan-to-lo (Gandhāra) which was then under a Hun chief[25] We know that the Hūṇa kings Toramāṇa and Mihirakula ruled over the whole tract from Kashmir in the north to Malwa in the south about the first quarter of the sixth century A.D.[26] After the defeat of Mihirakula at the hands of Yaśodharman of Mandasor and Bālāditya of the Gupta dynasty of Magadha, the Hūṇa king's dominions were confined to the Kashmir region.[27] The Hun kingdom in Afghanistan was destroyed by a combined onslaught of the Sassanian king Khusrū I Anoshirvan (531-79 A.D.) and the Turks who had displaced the Huns from the Trans-Oxus territory and settled there. The Sassanian kings Bahram V (590-91 A.D.) and Bistam (592-96 A.D.) sought refuge with the Turks and lost their lives amongst them.[28] About 630 A.D., Hiuen-tsang found the whole region from Turfan to Merv and from Lake Issykkul to the Hindukush under the control of the Khān of the Western Turks.

The above discussion will show that the Kuṣāṇa monarchs from Kadphises I to Vāsudeva I, who flourished in the first and second centuries A.D., ruled over more or less extensive dominions, but that their successors became vassals first of the Sassanians in the first half of the 3rd century A.D., then of the Huns from the first half of the fifth century A.D. and finally of the Turks from about the latter half of the sixth century A.D.[29] Small chiefs of Kuṣāṇa extraction may have been flourishing in various

25 *BEFEO*, 1903, pp. 461-17.

26 Cf. *Select Inscriptions, op. cit.*, pp. 470 ff.; Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, pp. 78-79, 82-83.

27 *Select Inscriptions*, p. 419 (Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman, verse 6) ; also Watters, *op. cit.*, pp. 288 ff.

28 Paruck, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 112-13.

29 Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 289 ff., 333 ff.; H. C. Ray, *Dyn. Hist. N. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 56ff.

parts of Afghanistan and West Pakistan and the neighbouring areas;[30] but their contribution to the culture of the region concerned must be regarded as negligible. Even if the ruler of the kingdom of Kāpiśa or Kafiristan, called a Kṣatriya by Hiuen-tsang, was a scion of the Kuṣāṇa clan, he had also nothing to do with the territories to the north of the Oxus.

We have reports regarding the discovery of Kuṣāṇa coins in the southern part of the Central Asian Republics of the USSR lying to the north of the Oxus. Coins, however, are often seen to have travelled far away from their land of issue for various reasons, and that is why Eastern India is not definitely included in the Kuṣāṇa empire by scholars, even though many hundreds of Kuṣāṇa coins, mostly of copper, have been found in that region.[31] The discovery of a hoard of Kuṣāṇa gold coins at Dabra Dammo in Abyssinia[32] apparently indicates trade relations between India and Abyssinia in the early centuries of the Christian era and certainly not the inclusion of parts of Africa in the Kuṣāṇa empire.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that, in case art objects of the Gandhāra style are discovered in places lying to the north of the Oxus, the fact cannot be regarded as proof of the inclusion of that area in the Kuṣāṇa empire on the grounds that the Gandhāra School flourished in the region of the capital of the Kuṣāṇas. There are well-known instances of the movement of art objects, motifs and styles and of artists and artisans from one territorry to another.[33]

30 Cf. Chavannes speaking of Badakhshan remaining a Yue-chi stronghold as late as the fifth century A.D. (*T'oung Pao*, II, viii, p. 187).

31 See below.

32 Cf. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, Delhi, 1968, p. 347.

33 Cf. "Sculptures of Mathura style and workmanship have been

Another point that may be mentioned here is that the dynastic name Kushānou (Kuṣāṇa) has been read on the silver coins of the king named Heraus or Miaus,[34] who is therefore supposed to have been the father or grandfather of Kujula Kadphises (Kadphises I).[35] We consider this suggestion quite unconvincing, because, according to Chinese evidence, Kujula had originally been the Yue-chi cheiftain of the Kuei-shuang (Kuṣāṇa) chiefdom, and later he subjugated the four neighbouring chieftaincies and became the first king of the five chiefdoms. It is difficult to believe that Kujula's father and grandfather, who were petty chiefs, issued any coins at all.[36] Another difficulty is that the name Śaka has also been read on the coins of Heraus or Miaus. If this king was really a Kuṣāṇa (we doubt the possibility), he may have ruled over Northern Afghanistan between Vima's death and the establishment of Kaṇiṣka's power, or when, after Huviṣka, the Kuṣāṇas of Kaṇiṣka's house appear to have lost their hold on the said area. Such a division of the Kuṣāṇa kingdom may have happened before the second quarter of the third century A.D. when, according to the *Wei-lio*, Ta Yue-chi dominions included Ki-pin, Ta-hia, Kao-fu and T'ien-chou.

found in widely distant regions" (S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculptures*, p. 62) ; see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 200. See also below.

34 Whitehead, *Catalogue*, Vol. I, pp. 163-64 and notes.

35 Cf. K. Bulychov in *Sovietland*, No. 1 (226), 1969, N.P. 75, pp. 44-45 (The Search for the Fourth Empire--Soviet Scientists on the Kushan Kingdom—Head of a Kushan Prince found during Excavations at Dalverzin-tepe).

36 Kujula issued only copper and bronze coins while Heraus or Miaus issued silver money. The Kuṣāṇas did not issue or very rarely issued silver coins.

II

EASTERN BOUNDARY OF THE KUṢĀṆA EMPIRE

As we have seen, according to Chinese sources, the Yue-chi had their capital at Kien-she or Kien-chi in the Bukhara region to the north of the Oxus about the close of the second century B.C. when they were in possession of Ta-hia to the south of the Oxus and Ki-pin (Kafiristan together with the adjoining eastern areas) lay on the southern frontier of their kingdom. We have also seen how the territory was soon divided into five principalities each under a chief. These chiefdoms are sometimes located by scholars in the Wakhan, Chitral and Kabul regions and in the valley of the Panjshir river. It has further been mentioned that, about the beginning of the first century A.D., K'ieu-tsieu-k'io (Kusuluka = Kujula Kadphises of the coins), the chief of the Kuei-shuang (Kuṣāṇa) territory, conquered the other four principalities and became king. We have also said that he occupied Kao-fu (Kabul), overcame Po-ta (near Kabul) and Ki-pin (the Kafiristan region) and became completely master of these areas. After his death at the age of more than 80, as also indicated above, his son Yen-kao-chen (Vima Kadphises of the coins) succeeded him and conquered T'ien-chou (Sindhu = India, probably meaning the Punjab region) which he placed under a governor.[1]

The extent of Vima Kadphises' Indian possessions under his viceroy cannot be determined ;[2] but there is no doubt that king Kaṇiṣka of the Kuṣāṇa clan, whose dominions

1 See above ; see also Sten Konow, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. xii ff., liii ; Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 1938 ed., pp. 382ff. ; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. Majumdar, pp. 137ff.

2 We do not believe that the Khalatse (Ladakh, Jammu and Kashmir) inscription belongs to this monarch. See *Select Inscriptions*, 1965 ed., p. 134 and note 2.

included at least the whole of U P., and who had his capital or at least one of his capitals at Puruṣapura (Peshawar in West Pakistan), flourished at a later date. Inscriptions dated in the 3rd year of Kaṇiṣka's reign found in different parts of Uttar Pradesh suggest that he was originally the ruler of the central regions of Northern India and occupied the north-western parts of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and also Afghanistan at a later date.[3]

Kadphises I issued copper or bronze coins. On the obverse of his issues, we have the name of the Greek 'King, the Saviour' Hermaius, the Kuṣāṇa ruler being represented on the reverse as 'the Kuṣāṇa Chief', though, on his later coins issued by him independently, the ruler is styled 'the Great King, the King of Kings'.[4] His son and successor Kadphises II introduced a gold coinage of the weight standard of 124 grains or 8.035 grammes, which was suggested by the Roman *aureus*. His copper-bronze coinage is extensive. In the legend of his coins,[5] he is called *Soter Megas*, 'the Great Saviour'.

A ruler known only by his title *Soter Megas*, which associates him with Kadphises II, issued coins, a large number of which have been found in the Punjab and Afghanistan. This 'nameless' king we are inclined to associate with the 'nameless' Kuṣāṇa rulers known from the Panjtar inscription[6] of the year 122 (65 A.D.) as 'the

3 Sten Konow wrongly reads the date of the Peshawar casket inscriptions as year 1 of Kaṇiṣka's reign. See *ibid.*, pp. 135 ff.; cf. N. G. Majumdar's *List of Inscriptions*, No. 60. So far the earliest date of Kaṇiṣka's reign is year 3. The Kosam inscription is really dated in that year and not in year 2 (see *Sel. Ins., op. cit.*, p. 136 and note 2).

4 According to some scholars, Kadphises I flourished sometime later than Hermaius; but it is improbable. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. Majumdar, p. 138.

5 Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 138-39.

6 *Select Inscriptions*, p. 130.

Great King, the Kuṣāṇa' and from the Taxila inscription[7] of the year 136 (79 A.D.) as 'the Great King, the King of Kings, the *Devaputra*, the Kuṣāṇa'. The title *Devaputra* connects the said ruler with another called '*Devaputra*, the Great King, the King of Kings, Kuyula-Kara Kaphsa' who is known from the coins issued by him. It is probable that the issuer of these coins was the semi-independent governor of the Indian possessions of Vima and that this governor is mentioned in the Panjtar inscription (65 A.D.), Kujula-Kara Kadphises, probably the Kuṣāṇa ruler mentioned in the Taxila inscription (79 A.D.), being his son and successor. Kujula-Kara, and possibly also his father about the closing years of his life, appear to have ruled independently for sometime after the death of Vima and to have succeeded even in extending their power over Afghanistan. Kaṇiṣka's role in the Kuṣāṇa conquest of Northern India seems to be similar to that of Ikhtiyār-uddīn Muḥammad bin Bakhtiyār Khaljī, who was a follower of Malik Husam-uddīn Aghul-Bak, in the Turko-Muslim conquest of the same land under Muiz-uddīn Muḥammad bin Sām and the latter's general Quṭb-uddīn Aibak about the close of the twelfth century. Kaṇiṣka seems to have ousted Kujula-Kara and assumed his title *Devaputra*,[8] sometime after having consolidated his position in Uttar Pradesh.[9]

Kaṇiṣka ruled from his capital at Peshawar over a vast empire extending from Northern Afghanistan and its

7 See *ibid.*, p. 133.

8 We know that, according to an Indian custom, the victor may appropriate the title of the vanquished. See Sircar, *The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā*, p. 37, note 3. The same may have been the custom of some of the foreigners. The Guhilas of Mewar, who followed the custom, are regarded by some scholars as of foreign origin. See *ibid.*, p. 6; cf. *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1909, pp. 167ff.

9 For the above reconstruction of Kuṣāṇa history, see above; also *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. Majumdar, pp. 137ff.

neighbourhood in the west to Eastern Uttar Pradesh in the east and from Kashmir in the north probably to Sind and Northern Maharashtra in the south. As to the inclusion of Afghanistan and Kashmir in Kaṇiṣka's empire, reference may be made to the Surkh Kotal inscription[10] and the tradition recorded in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[11] The inclusion of the Sind region in Kaṇiṣka's empire has been inferred from the find of the Suivihar (former Bahawalpur State) inscription,[12] and that of Malwa and Gujarat and parts of Rajasthan and Maharashtra has been supposed on the basis of the discovery of the inscription of Vāsiṣka at Sanchi (former Bhopal State) in Eastern Malwa[13] and of the possibility of the Saka Satraps of Western India having originally owed allegiance to the house of Kaṇiṣka.[14]

In the east, the inscriptions of Kaṇiṣka have been discovered in Uttar Pradesh at Set-Mahet (on the borders between the Gonda and Bahraich Districts), Kosam (Allahabad District) and Sarnath (Varanasi District).[15] As regards Kaṇiṣka's relations with Bihar, there is a tradition according to which Kaṇiṣka advanced against Soked (Sāketa near Ayodhyā, Faizabad District, U. P.) and Pāṭaliputra (near Patna, Bihar) in Eastern India and took away the Buddhist scholar and poet Aśvaghoṣa

10 *Journ. As.*, 1958, pp. 345ff.; *BSOAS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 47ff.

11 I. 168ff.

12 *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 139-40.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 150-51. See also the Sanchi inscription of year 22, speaking of a *Rājan* named Vaskuṣāna who is either the same as Vāsiṣka or a local ruler under Kaṇiṣka I. Cf. Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. I, pp. 278, 386 (No. 829). A large number of copper coins of the Kuṣāṇas have been found at Sanchi (*ASI, AR*, 1934-35, p. 84) and in a locality in the former Indore State (see Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. XII, pp. 43-44).

14 See Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins*, p. cvi.

15 *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 135ff., 144ff.

from there.[16] The king of that city, who was the suzerain of Eastern India, being defeated by the Yue-chi, offered to pay 9 lakh pieces of gold; but he was unable to collect the huge sum and gave, instead, the Buddha's alms-bowl and also Aśvaghoṣa and a miraculous cock.[17]

The Early Licchavis of Nepal used a reckoning which is now supposed to be identical with the Kaṇiṣka or Śaka era of 78 A.D.[18] The use of the era in Bihar has been supposed to be indicated by the recently published Kaḷḷvan inscription[19] dated in the year 108. Some coins issued by the Kuṣāṇas have also been discovered in Bihar and the neighbouring regions.[20] The question is therefore whether Bihar and its neighbourhood formed a part of Kaṇiṣka's empire. Scholars are not unanimous on this point, one group regarding it possible and another group doubting the possibility.[21]

Those scholars who doubt the possibility of Bihar's inclusion in Kaṇiṣka's empire may argue that the possible spread of Kaṇiṣka's era in Bihar and Nepal does not presuppose the spread of Kuṣāṇa power in those territories. The use of the Scytho-Parthian era of 58 B.C. of East Iran

16 H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 1938 ed., p. 395. According to the Chinese translation of Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, composed shortly after the reign of Kaṇiṣka, "In the family of the Kiu-sha (Kuṣāṇa) there was a king called Chen-t'an Kia-ni-ch'a (Candana or Candra Kaṇiṣka). He conquered Tung T'ien-chu and pacified the country. His power spread fear; his good fortune was complete. He set out to return to his kingdom. The route passed through a broad, flat land." Tung T'ien-chu is regarded by some scholars as a part of Eastern India (Sten Konow, *op. cit.*, p. lxxv).

17 See *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, ed. Sastri, p. 237; cf. *Journ. As.*, 1936, pp. 61-121. The Chinese analysts say that Kaṇiṣka subdued the east, south and west, but that the north remained unconquered.

18 *Select Inscriptions*, 1965, p. 378, note 1.

19 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 229ff.

20 See below.

21 Cf. *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 43.

(later called Vikrama-saṁvat or the era of King Vikramāditya) seems to have been carried to the Indus valley by the Scythians and Parthians, from there to Rajasthan by the Mālavas ; and from there to Uttar Pradesh by the Maukharis ;[22] the use of Kaṇiṣka era, in the same way, may have been carried to Bihar by the Mitras of of Ahicchatra or Kauśāmbī. A branch of the Mitras, which probably migrated to the east, is known to historians as the Mitras of Magadha.[23] The Licchavis of Bihar likewise may have carried the use of the era of Kaṇiṣka to their new home in Nepal. So far as the discovery of Kuṣāṇa coins in Bihar is concerned, it may be argued that coins travel and may therefore be carried from one area to another by traders, soldiers, pilgrims, plunderers and others, and attention may be drawn to the discovery of the coins of the Śaka Satraps of Western India far away in the Akola, Amaravati, Yeotmal and Wardha Districts of Maharashtra, the Seoni and Chhindwara Districts of Madhya Pradesh and the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh.[24] It should, however, also be remembered that the coins of the Kuṣāṇas have been found not only in Bihar, but also in Bengal and Orissa. We should not, therefore, speak of the inclusion of Bihar alone in the dominions of Kaṇiṣka or of the Kuṣāṇas, but probably of Eastern India comprising Bihar, Bengal

22 See Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 242ff., 251ff.

23 Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 172, 174, 214.

24 V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. IV, p. 233 ; also Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 150ff. Sometimes it is argued that copper is a cheap metal and therefore copper coins did not usually travel far away from their place of issue. If we accept this view, the discovery of Kuṣāṇa copper coins in Eastern India would then prove the inclusion of the said region in the Kuṣāṇa empire. Copper coins are, however, known to have been the principal currency of some kingdoms of ancient India, and the copper money had no doubt very considerable purchasing power in early times. Thus the migration of copper coins from one territory to another even in the course of trade is probable.

and Orissa. This makes the problem relating to the discovery of Kuṣāṇa coins in Eastern India a subject of careful examination.

Kuṣāṇa coins discovered in Eastern India belong to three classes, viz. (1) gold, (2) copper, and (3) imitation in both gold and copper.

(1) *Gold Coins.* We have records of the discovery of some stray gold coins only. These, however, may have been part of some hoards which were mostly melted down. The discovery of Kuṣāṇa gold coins has been reported from several places in Bihar and Bengal. In Bihar, the findspots are Sultanganj (Bhagalpur),[25] (2) Monghyr,[26] (3) Belvadag (Ranchi)[27] and (4) Bodhgaya (Gaya),[28] while, in Bengal (West Bengal and East Pakistan), gold coins of the Kuṣāṇas have been reported from (1) Mahasthan (Bogra, East Pakistan)[29] and (2) Malda (West Bengal).[30]

There are also some imitation Kuṣāṇa coins in gold from the same region.[31]

25 See *Ind. Num. Chron.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 81 ff., Plate III, No. 1 for one coin of Huviṣka; cf. Vol. I, Parts I-II, p. 86.

26 See *ibid.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 79ff., Plate II, Nos. 2-3, for two coins probably of Kaṇiṣka.

27 See *JBORS*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 231-32.

28 See Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, p. 10, for one coin of Huviṣka found under the *Vajrāsana*. A gold talisman of the type of Huviṣka's coins was also found here. For a gold coin and a gold talisman, cf. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, Plate XXII, Nos. 11 and 17. Out of the 3 gold talismans imitating the gold coins of Huviṣka, one was discovered at Kumrahar; the second came from Bodhgaya and the third from Patna city. See Altekar and Mishra, *Kumrahar Excavations*, 1951-55, p. 131.

29 See *JPASB*, NS, Vol. XXVIII, 1932, pp. 127 ff., Plate I, No. 1 for one gold coin of Vāsudeva.

30 See *loc. cit.*, Plate I, No. 2.

31 See Chanda, *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 4, for one imitation coin of Vāsudeva in base gold; see *JPASB*, Vol. XXVIII, *loc. cit.*, Plate I, No. 3, for a gold coin imitated from Kaṇiṣka's issues.

(2) *Copper Coins.* Numerous hoards and stray finds of Kuṣāṇa copper coins from Bihar, Bengal and Orissa have been reported. In Bihar, mention may be made of (1) Kumrahar (Patna),[32] (2) Basarh (Muzaffarpur),[33] (3) Buxar (Shahabad),[34] (4) Nandangadh (Champaran),[35] (5) Vatara (Darbhanga),[36] (6) Darbhanga,[37] and Karra Thana (Ranchi).[38]

In Bengal, copper coins of the Kuṣāṇas have been found at some places including Tamluk in the Midnapur District.[39] A large number of copper coins of the Kuṣāṇa type have been collected by the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal, Calcutta, aprarently from the southern Districts of the State.[40] Some of these may be genuine issues of the Kuṣāṇa kings, though many appear to be of the imitation type.

In Orissa, copper coins of the Kuṣāṇa kings have been

32 See *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, Part II, pp. 144ff., for 52 coins including 2 of Vima Kadphises, 12 of Kaṇiṣka and 30 of Huviṣka; see Altekar and Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 99, Plate LXX-B, Nos. 20-21, for 7 coins (2 of Kaṇiṣka and 5 of Huviṣka).

33 See *JBORS*, Vol I, Part II, p. 232, for some coins of Kadphises II. A few coins were discovered from Raja Bisalka Gadh (*Indian Archaeology*, 1958-59, p. 12). See K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute's *Report on the Vaisali Excavations*, 1958-62 (in the press), for another lot of 9 coins (3 of Kaṇiṣka, 4 of Huviṣka, 1 of Vāsudeva and 1 unidentified). See also S. R. Roy, *A Guide to the Vaisali Museum*, Part II, pp. 16-17, Nos. C 49-59.

34 See *JNSI*, Vol. XII, Part II, pp. 121ff., for nearly 400 coins (23 of Vima Kadphises, 159 of Kaṇiṣka, 172 of Huviṣka and 38 unidentified).

35 See *ASJ, AR*, 1936-37, p. 50, for 3 coins of Kaṇiṣka and 2 of Huviṣka.

36 See *An. Rep. K. P. Jayaswal Research Inst.*, Patna, 1961, p. 4, for a hoard of 500 coins.

37 See *Ind. Num. Chron.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 82 for some coins apparently collected from the Darbhanga region.

38 See *JBORS*, Vol. V, p. 78, note 2 for one coin of Kaṇiṣka.

39 See *Proc. ASB*, 1882, pp. 113, for a coin of Kaṇiṣka.

40 See B. Chatterjee, *The Age of the Kuṣāṇas*, p. 238 and note 42.

reported from Bhanjakia and elsewhere in th· Mayurbhanj District,[41] Sitabhinji (Keonjhar),[42] Viratgadh (Mayurbhanj),[43] old Nayagadh State,[44] and Sisupalgadh (Puri).[45]

(3) *Imitation Coins.* Copper issues imitated from the types of the Kuṣāṇas have been found in large numbers in Eastern India, especially in Orissa. The type was characterised as 'Purī Kuṣāṇa' because a hoard of such coins was at first found in the Puri District of Orissa.[46] Later on, similar coins being discovered in other parts of Orissa, scholars began to call the type 'Oriya Kuṣāṇa'.[47] Now hoards of such coins have also been discovered in Bihar as we shall see. Thus the type should better be called 'Imitation Kuṣāṇa' in preference to 'Purī or Oriya Kuṣāṇa'.

Reference has been made above to the possibility of the occurrence of imitation copper coins in the collection of the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal, which have been apparently gathered from the southern Districts of the State.

41 See *ASI, AR,* 1924-25, pp. 131-32 for a hoard of the coins of Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka (together with imitation coins) discovered at Bhanjakia in 1923. See *JNSI,* Vol. II, p. 123, for some Kuṣāṇa copper coins in the Baripada treasury. R. D. Banerji mentions 112 Kuṣāṇa copper and 282 imitation copper coins (*History Orissa,* Vol. I, pp. 111ff.).

42 See *JNSI,* Vol. II, p. 124; Vol. XIII, Part II, pp. 69-72, for a few coins together with imitation issues.

43 See *JNSI,* Vol. II, p. 124; Vol. IX, Part II, p. 107, for a few coins with a large number of imitation issues.

44 See Cunningham's *ASIR,* Vol. XIII, p. 116, for a hoard referred to by Beglar.

45 See *Ancient India,* No. 5, p. 97, for one coin each of Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka together with 4 imitation issues.

46 For the Manikaratna (Puri District) hoard, see Hoernle, *Proc. ASB,* 1895, pp. 61-65.

47 *JNSI,* Vol. II, p. 126; Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 69.

Discovery of similar imitation coins in gold has been reported from Bengal, and we have mentioned above a coin imitated from the Kaṇiṣka issues and to the barbarous imitations of a gold coin of Vāsudeva. We have also referred to a number of talismans imitated from the gold coins of the Kuṣāṇa kings, which were found in Bihar. The obverse of the gold coin discovered at Sisupalgadh in the Puri District of Orissa, imitates the Kuṣāṇa motif, its reverse showing the head of a Roman emperor ; it may be assigned to the category of imitations. The coin has been tentatively assigned to the 3rd century A.D. on the strength of an indistinct legend[48] which is supposed to mention a king named Dharmadamadhara.

Imitation copper coins of the same class have been reported from the Mayurbhanj District,[49] Balasore,[50] Manikaratna (Puri),[51] Ganjam District,[52] Viratgadh (Mayurbhanj),[53] Sitabhinji (Keonjhar),[54] Sisupalgadh (Puri),[55] and Naugaon and Khiching (Mayurbhanj).[56] The Gulka and Jaugada coins, noticed by Beglar, appear to belong to the same class.[57]

48 *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Part I, pp. 1 ff.; *Anc. Ind.*, No. 5, pp. 97-100.

49 See *JNSI*, Vol. IX, p. 107.

50 For a hoard of 910 coins, see *ASI, AR*, 1924-25, p. 130. One of the coins bears the legend *ṭanka* on the reverse in Gupta characters.

51 For a hoard of 548 coins, see *Proc. ASB*, 1895, pp. 63-66.

52 *Madras Journ. Lit. Sc.*, N.S., No. 7, 1838, pp. 75-78.

53 For a few Kuṣāṇa copper issues and a large number of imitation coins, see *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 124 ; Vol. IX, Part II, p. 17.

54 See *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 124 ; Vol. XIII, Part I, pp. 69-70, for a few copper and imitation coins.

55 See *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 97, for 4 imitation copper coins found along with 2 genuine copper issues (one of Kaṇiṣka and the other of Huviṣka).

56 See *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 124, for a hoard of 105 coins from Naugaon.

57 Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. XIII, pp. 72, 116.

In Bihar, imitation coins have been reported from the Rakha hill (Singhbhum)[58] and a village in Barabhum (formerly in the Manbhum District, but now in Dhanbad).[59]

The discoveries discussed above clearly prove that both gold and copper coins of the Kuṣāṇas as well as their imitations were in use in the markets of Eastern India, though the copper issues were the popular currency especially in Orissa. These copper coins appear to have been the regular money like the Mughul *Rupiya* of silver, while the gold coins were apparently treated as bullion meant for presentation and hoarding like the Mughul *Muhr*.[60] This explains the small number of gold coins so far discovered, although we have no doubt that most of the gold coins, discovered from time to time since olden days, were melted down at the goldsmiths' shops for the manufacture of ornaments.

The discovery of large hoards of copper coins, of which some are genuine and others imitation, in and in the neighbourhood of Orissa suggests that either the genuine coins entered into the area from outside and the imitations were fabricated by local manufacturers when the source of the supply dried up, or the coins of both the types were minted in the region, the genuine coins during Kuṣāṇa rule and the imitation issues after the decline of the Kuṣāṇas. Thus, even in the first alternative, there is great possibility that the area formed a part of the Kuṣāṇa empire.

58 See *JBORS*, Vol. V, p. 78, for a hoard of 363 coins discovered from the northern slope of the hill; cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XI, p. 107. The word *ṭaṁka* is written on the coins in characters of the Gupta age. It was first noticed on the Rakha hill coins. See Allan's *Cat.* (*Anc. Ind.*), p. cxxii.

59 See *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III, pp. 727ff., for a hoard of 93 coins; cf. *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 124.

60 Cf. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 289.

Indian literary tradition refers to Muruṇḍa rule at Pāṭaliputra about the 2nd century A. D., sometime before the rise of the Guptas in the first quarter of the 4th century.[61] Ptolemy's Geography (c. 145 A. D.) also places the Maroundai (Muruṇḍa) in the same region.[62] It is thus possible that the Muruṇḍas became powerful in Bihar even before the time of the Kuṣāṇa king Vāsudeva whose known dates range between years 64 and 98 (142-76 A. D.). The Chinese annals speak of an ambassador of the king of Fu-nan, who reached, about the second quarter of the third century, the mouth of a large river (probably the Ganges) after a long voyage from T'eu-kia-li (probably Takkola) and went up the river to the capital of the king of the Meu-luen (probably Muruṇḍa), who sent the embassy back with a present of four horses of the Indo-Scythian country.[63] This possibly indicates the continuation of Muruṇḍa rule till the middle of the third century A. D. ; but, as we shall see, Viśākhamitra's Kailvan inscription of 186 A.D. may go against the above suggestion regarding Muruṇḍa rule.

As the Muruṇḍas are believed to be Scythians, their occupation of Bihar may be explained if it is supposed that they were originally Kuṣāṇa viceroys of Bihar or of Eastern India. Mention in this connection may also be made of the fact that the Purāṇas place a king of Magadha, with an un-Indian name, in the period before the rise of the Guptas. The name is variously quoted as Viśvasphāni, Viśvasphāṭika, Viśvasphāci, Viśvasphāti, Viṣyaphīni, Viśvasphīti, Viśvasphūrji, Viśvasphūrti, etc.[64] Probably this Magadha ruler was a Muruṇḍa.[65]

61 Cf. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938 ed., p. 450.
62 See Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, p. 140.
63 *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 774.
64 Cf. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text*, etc., p. 95.
65 See *ibid.*, p. 62, notes 28-29. "Of the Magadhas, the king will

The circulation of the gold coins of the Kuṣāṇa kings and their imitations in Eastern India, discussed above, raises another interesting point. It is well known that, there was practically no gold coinage in pre-Kuṣāṇa India and, even if there was, the gold currency had a very limited circulation.[66] Under these circumstances, a statement in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* assumes special importance. This work refers to the market town of Ganges which was situated on the river Ganges in the Ganges country, and observes, "It is said that there are gold mines near these places and there is a gold coin which is called *caltis*."[67] We have tried elsewhere to show that the *Periplus* was composed in the early years of the ninth decade of the first century A. D. during the reign of Kaṇiṣka.[68] It is probable that the said gold coin, prevalent in the deltaic region of Lower Bengal according to the *Periplus*, is the Kuṣāṇa gold currency introduced in the area during the reign of Kaṇiṣka I. Its name, *caltis*, which has not yet been satisfactorily explained,[69] may possibly be the Greek modification of an east Indian corruption of some Scytho-Kuṣāṇa word meaning 'a coin' or 'a gold [coin].'

The possibility of the expansion of Kuṣāṇa rule in

be the very valiant Viśvasphāni. Overthrowing all kings, he will make other castes [kings, viz.], Kaivartas, Pañcakas (or Madrakas, or Mādrakas or Yadus), Pulindas and Brāhmaṇas. He will establish those persons as kings in various countries. Viśvasphāni the magnificent [will be] mighty, Viṣṇu's peer in battle. King Viśvasphāni is said to be eunuch-like in appearance. Overthrowing caste, he will create another Kṣatriya caste. After gratifying the gods, manes and Brāhmaṇas once and again, he will resort to the bank of the Ganges and subdue his body; after resigning his body, he will go to Indra's world" (*ibid.*, p. 73).

66 Cf. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 2-3, 11.

67 See Schoff's trans., p. 48.

68 Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 119ff.

69 Schoff's trans., p. 259.

Eastern India raises another interesting problem. The issue of their own coins by the Śakas of Western India from a date before 119 A.D. and the absence of any Kuṣāṇa inscription in that area later than the Sanchi inscription (year 28 = 106 A.D.), referred to above, seem to suggest the feebleness of the hold of the successors of Kaṇiṣka I on the southern province of the empire ; but the Satrapal titles assumed by the Śakas show that they still acknowledged the allegiance of the Kuṣāṇa kings. The decline of Kuṣāṇa power seems also to be indicated by the rise of the Yaudheyas and others in the Rajasthan-Punjab region in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. The absence of Kuṣāṇa inscriptions in Central and Eastern U. P. after those of the early years of Kaṇiṣka I and the rise of the Maghas of Kauśāmbī and others, from the 2nd century A.D., point to a similar decline in the hold of the successors of Kaṇiṣka over the eastern region of his empire. We have also to note that, besides the coins of Kaṇiṣka's successors in Bihar, a large number of Huviṣka's copper coins have been discovered in Orissa and some coins of Vāsudeva also in Bengal. Thus Eastern India may have acknowledged at least the nominal suzerainty of the Kuṣāṇas till the reign of Vāsudeva whose latest known date is the year 98 (176 A.D.). Like the Maghas and others, the Gangaridae of Deltaic Bengal and the Maroundai living above them in the Ganges valley probably owed nominal allegiance to the Kuṣāṇas when Ptolemy wrote his Geography about the middle of the second century A.D.

Can it be suggested that the Kuṣāṇa hold on Eastern India was maintained through the Muruṇḍas ?[70] There is, however, at least one difficulty in believing that the Muruṇḍas ruled continuously over Bihar and probably also

70 The Muruṇḍas are identified by some scholars with the Kuṣāṇas. See *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III, p. 729.

over parts of Bengal and Orissa from the first half of the second to the middle of the third century A.D. We have referred to the Kailvan inscription of year 108 = 186 A.D. which shows that the heart of the Patna District was being ruled at that time by *Rājan* Ārya-Viśākhamitra whose humble royal title suggests a political status no better than that of the Magha kings. We have to remember, however, that, just as in the case of the records of the Śaka Satraps of Western India, neither the Kailvan inscription nor the Magha epigraphs mention the overlord of the local rulers. It is difficult to say whether there was a long drawn struggle between the Muruṇḍas and the scions of the local ruling families, in which both sides were successful in their turns. Or, was Viśākhamitra a subordinate of the Muruṇḍas ?

Reference may also be made, in the same context, to the discovery, in Bengal, of a number of sculptures in which distinct affinities with the Kuṣāṇa art idiom have been recognised. These sculptures include the red stone torso of a deity (probably Kārttikeya) from Mahasthan (Bogra District, East Pakistan), the Sūrya images from Kumarpur and Niamatpur (Rajshahi District, East Pakistan), the head and bust of the Buddha-Bodhisattva in mottled red sandstone from Chandraketugarh (24-Parganas District, West Bengal), the Viṣṇu image from Hankrail (Malda District, West Bengal) and a colossal head from Dinajpur (East Pakistan). The main point of Kuṣāṇa affinity of some of these sculptures is the Turkish dress called *udīcya-veśa* consisting of a long tunic covering the body from the neck to the knees (*gūḍho pādād = uro yāvat*). In the opinion of scholars, the stern economy that confines the main effect to the surface and to angles and lines is not unlike that in the protrait statue of Kaniṣka. The broad and heavy features, such as the broad shoulders, have affinities with the early Kuṣāṇa Buddha-Bodhisattva type of Mathura,

The fact that the hands of the images, whether raised to the level of the shoulder or lowered down to the hips, exhibit the elbow at some distance from the body is another Kuṣāṇa feature. The raised eye-brows of the Viṣṇu image, which is rarely noticed in later sculptures, also indicate affinity with the Kuṣāṇa art idiom. The colossal head from Dinajpur has some resemblance with the Buddha-Bodhisattva type of Mathura and with the contemporary sculptures of the Gandhāra school.[71]

It is not possible to be sure whether the above sculptures point to the inclusion of Bengal in the Kuṣāṇa empire or to the migration of western artisans or art motifs or sculptures to Bengal.[72] Their existence, however, cannot be dissociated from the problem of the expansion of Kuṣāṇa power over the eastern regions of India.

71 On this subject, see S. K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, 1962 ed., pp. 11 ff.

72 See above.

III

THE KALACURI-HAIHAYA AND SINDA ELEMENTS IN THE RĀJPŪTS

1. *Kalacuri-Haihaya*

Several branches of the Kalacuri clan ruled in different parts of India during the early medieval period, the most famous among them being the Kalacuris of Northern Maharashtra and Malwa (6th and 7th centuries A.D.),[1] of Tripurī near Jabalpur (from the 9th to the 12th or 13th century A.D.), of Ratanpur (from the 10th to the 12th century A. D.) and of Kalyāṇa, i. e. modern Kalyani in the Bidar District of Mysore (12th century A.D.). A section of these Kalacuris, settled in the Rajasthan region, is mentioned in some lists of the 36 respectable clans of the Rājpūts.[2]

According to D. R. Bhandarkar, the Haihayas poured into India after the Kuṣāṇas, and the Kalacuris of Tripurī and Ratanpur were a sept of the Haihayas. He draws our attention to the Anuśāsana-parvan (153.3) of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa* (v. 1868) which mention the Haihaya king named Kārtavīrya Arjuna (i.e. Arjuna, son of Kṛtavīrya). This king was also called Sahasrārjuna and Sahasrabāhu and ruled from the city of Māhiṣmatī (modern Maheśvar or Māndhātā in the Nimar region on the Narmadā). Bhandarkar further points to the claim of the Kalacuris calling themselves Haihayas and tracing their descent from the said Arjuna in their records.[3]

1 Bhandarkar is no doubt wrong when he says that the power of the Kalacuris "does not date earlier than *circa* 875 A.D." (*Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*, Calcutta reprint, p. 29).

2 Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Calcutta ed., Vol. I, p. 87 ; ed. Crooke, Vol. I, list facing p. 98.

3 *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*, Calcutta reprint, pp. 28 ff.

That the Kalacuris were essentially foreigners who probably entered into India in the train of the Hūṇas seems to be suggested by their very name which is written differently as Kalatsuri, Kaṭaccuri and Kalacuri, the last being sometimes Sanskritised as Kalicuri, a fantastic interpretation of which is also offered in works like the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* of Jayāṇaka.[4] Some scholars think that the name of the people is derived from the Turkish title *Kulchur*.[5]

However, Bhandarkar's suggestions that the Kalacuris were a sept of the Haihayas and that the Haihayas were foreigners seem to be wrong. The fact appears to be that the Haihayas were an ancient people of India while the foreign clan of the Kalacuris, that entered into India probably along with the Hūṇas, claimed descent from the former, just as numerous medieval ruling families claimed to have descended from the solar, lunar, Yādava or Nāga dynasty.[6] The Kalacuris appear to be represented as Haihaya for the first time in the records of the Cālukya houses of Bādāmi and Veṅgī.[7]

According to the Purāṇic accounts of the ancient Indian dynasties, Yadu (7th in descent from Vaivasvata Manu, the progenitor of the solar and lunar races) had four or five sons, of whom Sahasrajit (Sahasrada or Sahasrāda) and Kroṣṭu (or Kroṣṭṛ) were prominent, and the descendants of the former were named after his grandson Haihaya.[8]

4 *IHQ*, March, 1942, p. 80.

5 See P. C. Bagchi in *Proc. IHC*, Aligarh Session, 1943, pp. 44-45.

6 Sircar, *The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā*, p. 5.

7 Vinayāditya (681-97 A.D.) of Bādāmi defeated the Haihayas, and the Haihaya princesses Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī were the queens of Vikramāditya II (733-43 A.D.). The Eastern Cālukya king Viṣṇuvardhana IV also married a Haihaya princess. See *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. xlv.

8 Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad.*, pp. 87-88.

The genealogy of the Haihayas, as found in twelve Purāṇas, says that they comprised five clans called after Vītihotra, Śāryāta, Bhoja, Avanti and Tuṇḍikera, who were distinguished members of the clan and were all called Tālajaṅgha.[9] In the historical section of the Purāṇas, Puṇika is said to have killed his Vītihotra master and raised his son Pradyota (a contemporary of the Buddha, 566-486 B. C., according to the Buddhist sources) to the throne of Avanti when the Bārhadrathas of Magadha had passed away and the Vītihotras were ruling in Avanti.[10] The same section further says that, contemporaneously with the Śaiśunāgas, 28 Haihayas and 20 Vītihotras ruled side by side with 24 Aikṣvākus, 27 Pāñcālas, 24 Kāśis, 32 Kaliṅgas, 25 Aśmakas, 36 (or 26) Kurus, 28 Mithilas and 23 Śūrasenas and that all these Kṣatriya clans were uprooted by Mahāpadma Nanda who founded the Nanda dynasty about two generations before Alexander's invasion of India (327-324 B.C.).[11]

Considering the vague reference, in the said historical section of the Purāṇas, to foreigners like the Śakas who are placed many centuries later, the above details seem to preclude the possibility of the Haihayas having entered into India after the Kuṣāṇas, i.e. many years after the entry of the Śakas.

The Haihaya king Arjuna, the son of Kṛtavīrya and the lord of Māhiṣmatī, is well known not only to the Purāṇas, but also to both the epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and

9 *Ibid.*, p. 102.

10 *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 18—*Bārhadratheṣv=atīteṣu Vītihotreṣv=Avantiṣu | Sunikaḥ* (*Puṇikaḥ*) *svāminaṁ hatvā putraṁ samabhiṣekṣyati || miṣatāṁ Kṣatriyāṇāṁ hi Pradyotaṁ Suniko* (*Puṇiko*) *balāt*, etc. See Sircar *Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition*, p. 26.

11 Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Sircar, *Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition*, pp. 51 ff.

Mahābhārata. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[12] once Rāvaṇa, the Rākṣasa king of Laṅkā, attacked the Haihaya monarch Arjuna when the latter was sporting in the waters of the Narmadā. The Rākṣasa ruler was defeated and captured by his enemy, but was released at the request of the sage Pulastya. The *Mahābhārata*, likewise, mentions the said Haihaya king in several interesting stories. In the Anuśāsana-parvan,[13] we are told how the Haihaya king Arjuna became proud on receipt of a boon from Dattātreya and began to regard the Brāhmaṇas as inferior to the Kṣatriyas. In another story in the Āśvamedhika-parvan,[14] Haihaya Arjuna is represented as having conquered the whole earth and gone to attack the Brāhmaṇa hero Paraśurāma who is stated to have defeated and killed him. The story of the carrying away of the sage Jamadagni's *homa-dhenu* forcibly by the Haihaya king Arjuna of the Anūpa country on the Narmadā and the consequent slaughter of the king by the sage's son Paraśurāma is often repeated in the epico-Purāṇic literature.[15]

Now, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is usually believed to have obtained its present extent and contents as early as the close of the second century A.D.[16] while the *Mahābhārata* is supposed to have developed into its present form during the period from the fourth century B.C. down to the fourth century A.D.[17] If the Haihaya clan and its rulers are so well known to these old works, it is indeed impossible to believe that the Haihayas entered India 'after the Kuṣāṇas'

12 VIII. Chs. 36-38.

13 Chs. 152-57.

14 Ch. 29.

15 *Mahābhārata*, XII. 49; cf. III. 114-16; *Bhāgavata*, IX. 15-16; *Agni*, 4-5; *Skanda*, Āvantya, Revā, 218; Nāgara, 67; etc

16 Winternitz, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 516.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 465.

probably meaning the age of the Imperial Guptas who flourished from the 4th to the 6th century A.D.

Bhandarkar draws our attention to the Purāṇic story of Bāhu and Sagara.[18] The Ikṣvāku king Bāhu was deprived of his kingdom by the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas with the assistance of the Yavanas, Kambojas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, etc. He died at Aurva's hermitage where his queen gave birth to his posthumous son Sagara. The prince received his training from Aurva and, when he grew up, defeated his father's enemies and was bent upon destroying them. The foreigners then took refuge at the hermitage of the sage Vasiṣṭha, the preceptor of the Ikṣvāku family. The sage assured them about their safety and advised Sagara to spare their lives. Sagara therefore did not destroy them, but compelled them to change their appearance. Thus the Śakas were compelled to shave off half of their head, the Yavanas and Kambojas to shave off the entire head, the Pāradas to keep long hair, the Pahlavas to keep long beard, and the like.[19]

It is quite clear that the story was fabricated in order to explain certain peculiarities of the foreigners settled in India by suggesting that their peculiar characteristics were due to their defeat at the hands of Sagara just as, according to the *Rājatarangiṇī*, the Turuṣkas shaved off half of their head and walked with their hands at the back as a result of their defeat at the hands of king Lalitāditya of Kashmir.[20] The fabrication was done after the advent of

18 *Foreign Elements*, etc., pp 28-29.

19 See Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind*, Vol. I, pp. 41 ff. Cf. *ardhaṁ Śakānāṁ śiraso muṇḍaṁ kṛtvā vyasarjayat | Yavanānāṁ śiraḥ sarvaṁ Kambojānāṁ tath=aiva ca | Pāradā mukta-keśāś=ca Pahlavāḥ śmaśrudhāriṇaḥ*, etc.

20 See IV. 17—*bandha-mudrābhidhānāya paścād-bāhū tad-ājñayā | Turuṣkā dadhate vyaktaṁ mūrdhānaṁ c=ārdha-muṇḍitam* || There are

the Indo-Greeks (Yavanas) and Scytho-Parthians, i. e. as late as the early centuries of the Christian era. It scarcely proves the Haihayas' entry into India after the Kuṣāṇas, i.e. in the age of the Guptas.

We therefore do not agree with Bhandarkar that the Haihayas were a foreign people entering into India after the Kuṣāṇa age and that the Kalacuris were actually a sept of the Haihaya clan.

2. *Sinda*

The name Sinda or 'Sindoo' (Sindhu) is applied to one of the 36 respectable Rājpūt clans in some of the traditional lists.[21]

According to D. R. Bhandarkar, the Sindas were a foreign tribe that settled in the Siwalik region and came from the north to the south. He draws our attention to the Bhairanmatti (Bagalkot Taluka, Bijapur District, Mysore) inscription mentioning the Sinda prince Pulikāla, born in the Nāga race and enjoying the *Nāga-dhvaja* (serpent-banner), *Vyāghra-lāñchana* (tiger-crest) and the hereditary title *Bhogāvatīpura-parameśvara* (supreme lord of the town of Bhogāvatī which is the capital of the Nāgas in Pātāla or the nether world). It is said in the record that the serpent king Dharaṇendra came from the underworld to see the earth and from him was born the long-armed Sinda at Ahicchatra in the region of the river Sindhu (Indus). This Sinda became the king of the Sinda country, married a Kadamba princess and became the progenitor of the Sinda clan.[22]

several other cases of the same type. See Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 ff., for the Dākṣiṇātyas and the Gauḍas respectively in the *Rājatarangiṇī* (IV. 180) and the Haraha inscription of Īśānavarman (*Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965 ed., pp. 387-88, verse 13).

21 Tod, *op. cit.*, Calcutta ed., p. 87.

22 Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 47 ; cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 576.

Bhandarkar further draws our attention to the traditions that an early member of the Cāhamāna clan also came from Ahicchatra, while the Kadamba king Mayūravarman went to the Himalayas and, when he returned, brought from Ahicchatra a number of Brāhmaṇas to be settled in his kingdom. In Bhandarkar's opinion, this Ahicchatra was situated in the Himalayas and is mentioned by Hiuen-tsang. He thinks that Hiuen-tsang's Ahicchatra, which was "naturally strong, being flanked by mountain crags," could have only been a place in the Himalayas and not in the Gangetic plains, so that it cannot be modern Rāmnagar (Bareily District) near Badaun in U.P. It is further suggested that the name of the country, in which the Himalayan Ahicchatra was situated, was Sapādalakṣa which is the present Siwalik or Savālakh range (running parallel to the Himalayas for about 200 miles from the Beas to the Ganges), though originally "it included the Districts of Kumaun, Gadhwal, Kangda, Hoshiarpur and so forth, in fact all that part of India between the Chamba State and Nepal."[23]

Much of what Bhandarkar says about the clan of the Sindas, the city of Ahicchatra and the country of Sapādalakṣa, however, appears to be wrong.

The Sindas or Chindas were a Dravidian people of the Kannaḍa-speaking area, but settled in different parts of North India and fabricated different stories of their origin in the fashion of many other mediaeval royal families. It is true that, in some traditions, their name was Sanskritised as *Sindhu* and was associated with the river of that name.[24] But it has to be remembered that the story is not the same with the different branches of the clan. The Sindas

23 Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

24 *The Struggle for Empire*, ed. Majumdar, p. 215.

of Karṇāṭa claimed both the Nāga and the Sindhu (Indus) origin,[25] while the Chindakas (i. e. Chindas) of Madhya Pradesh claimed Nāga origin only.[26] The Sindas of Gayā, on the other hand, claimed Sindhu origin, and a descent not from the Nāgas, but from the lunar race.[27] The Madhya Pradesh and Gayā branches of the clan thus appear to have left their original home in Karṇāṭa when the fabrication of the mythical genealogy was still in the formative stage. This seems to be clear from the history of another Chinda family of North India known from the Dewal (Pilibhit District, U.P.) inscription[28] of Lalla who was the son of Malhaṇa from Aṇahilā of the Culukeśvara (Cālukya) family, apparently a ruling house of Karṇāṭa origin. This inscription of 992 A.D. mentions Malhaṇa's father Vairavarman and elder brother Bhūṣaṇa. The interesting fact revealed by the record is that the Chindas of Pilibhit claimed descent from the sage Cyavana and not from either the Nāga or the Sindhu river very probably because they had left their original home in the Karṇāṭa country at a still earlier date.

The above analysis will show that Bhandarkar's contention about the Sindas being a foreign tribe coming to the south from their settlement at Ahicchatra in the Himalayan region is not at all supported by any evidence and is apparently incorrect. The Karṇāṭa origin of the Sindas seems to be suggested by the discovery of their early records in that country and by their eagerness to contract matrimonial alliances with Karṇāṭa families. We have referred

25 *Bomb. Gaz., op. cit.*, pp. 572ff.; Sewell, *Hist. Ins. S. Ind.*, pp. 214ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 230ff.

26 *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 214ff.

27 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 82, note 1; Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 137-38.

28 Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 92.

above to the marriage of Malhaṇa of the Chinda family of Pilibhit with Aṇahilā of the Culukeśvara or Cālukya dynasty. Reference may also be made to the marriage of Śaṅkarādevī, daughter of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mathana of Aṅga, with Devarakṣita of the Chikkora branch of the Sinda family of Gayā.[29] It may also be noted that the names *Kanhara* and *Kannara* occurring in the Chindaka family of Bastar are Kannaḍa corruptions of Sanskrit *Kṛṣṇa* while the name of Dhārāvarṣa-Jagadekabhūsaṇa reminds us of names ending in *varṣa* amongst the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Karṇāṭa.[30]

As regards the location of Ahicchatra, the Bijholi inscription[31] seems to place it in the Sambhar region in the western part of the Jaipur Division and its neighbourhood. Verses 10-12 of the said inscription read as follows—

Śrī-Cāhamāna-kṣitirāja-vaṁśaḥ
paurvo = 'py = apūrvo na jaḍ-āvanaddhaḥ |
bhinno na c = āṁgo na ca raṁdhra-yukto
no niṣphalaḥ sāra-yuto nato no || 10
lāvaṇya-nirmala-mahojjvalit-āṁga-yaṣṭir =
acch-occhalac-chuci-payaḥ-paridhāna-dhātrī |
uttuṁga-parvata-payodhara-bhāra-bhugnā
Śākambhar = ājani jan = īva tato = 'pi Viṣṇoḥ ||11
viprah Śrī-Vatsa-gotre = 'bhūd = Ahicchatrapure purā |
Sāmaṁto = 'naṁta-sāmaṁtaḥ Pūrṇṇatallo nṛpas = tataḥ ||12[32]

29 Cf. Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 137.

30 See Bhandarkar's List, p. 395 ; Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 251.

31 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 84ff.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 103. Bhandarkar seems to have misunderstood the evidence of this record. The comparison of a dynasty (*vaṁśa*) with a bamboo (*vaṁśa*), found in verse 10 quoted, is also noticed in another

The above stanzas first introduce the Cāhamāna royal family, then the Śākambharā (Śākambhrī) territory which became the mother, as it were, of Viṣṇu (i.e. Vāsudeva, the earliest king of the Cāhamāna family) and finally speak of the Brāhmaṇa chief Ananta born in the Vatsa or Śrīvatsa *gotra* at Ahicchatrapura and also of his successor Pūrṇatalla. This suggests that the city of Ahicchatra, associated with the Cāhamāna family, was situated not in the Himalayas, but in the region around the Sambhar lake, standing on the borders of the Jaipur and Jodhpur Divisions of Rajasthan.[33] Sambhar was the name of a Nizamat in the Sekhawati region of the old Jaipur State and the goddess Śākambharī is still worshipped in a temple at Sakrai about 20 miles from Raghunathgarh in the said area.

The above conclusion further suggests that the location of Sapādalakṣa in the Jaipur area and its identification with the Cāhamāna kingdom, as suggested by epigraphic records, is justifiable.[34] The Cāhamāna kingdom is often mentioned as the Śākambharī or Sapādalakṣa country and

epigraph from Rajasthan. The Ajmer inscription (12th century A.D.) has the following stanzas--

Tasmāt=samālambana-daṇḍa-yonir=
abhūj=janasya skhalataḥ sva-mārgāt |
vaṁśaḥ sad=aiv=oḍha-raso nṛpāṇāṁ
anudgat-aino-ghuṇa-kīṭa-randhraḥ || 34
Samutthito='rkād=anaraṇya-yonir=
utpanna-punnāga-kadamba-śākhaḥ |
āścaryam=antaḥ-prasarat-kuśo='yaṁ
vaṁśo='rthināṁ śriphalatāṁ prayāti || 35

(*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 182). There are also other instances.

33 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 88-89; see Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1054.

34 Cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 1060 ff.

one of the kings of this family is called 'the Sapādalakṣīya *Rājā* of Śākambharī.'[35]

The name Sapādalakṣa means that the territory consisted of one lakh and a quarter *grāmas* (the real meaning of the word being doubtful) and reminds us of such names as Pādonalakṣa applied to the kingdom of the Jajapellas of Narwar,[36] while the number of 'one lakh and a quarter' *grāmas* is known to have been allotted not only also to the Nizamabad-Karimnagar region of Andhra Pradesh,[37] but to no less than seven other tracts in a Purāṇic list of 72 countries, e.g., (1) Purasāhaṇaka, (2) Narendu (Varendra), (3) Atilā(jā)ṅgala, (4) Sayambhara (Śākambhara), (5) Mevāḍa, (6) Karnāṭa and (7) Yugala or Puṅgala.[38] The territories in the Karṇāṭa region were generally mentioned along with a number, e.g. Gaṅgavāḍi 96000, Kuknūr 30, etc., and the influence of this custom in noticed is Western India in geographical names like Aṅkottaka-caturaśīti (Ankottaka-84), etc.[39] There is little doubt that Sapādalakṣa was the name of the Cāhamāna kingdom in the Jaipur region and that it does not appear to have had any particular significance as Bhandarkar believes. Sapādalakṣa is also the same as Siwalik or Savālakh, though this name seems to be based on a tradition that the range had 125,000 hills or peaks. In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to associate the Cāhamānas with the Siwalik range.[40]

Two inscriptions from Gayā in Bihar mention king Aśokacalla or Aśokavalla as the lord of Sapādalakṣa kings

35 *Ibid.*, p. 937.
36 Sircar, *Stud. Geog. And. Med. Ind.*, p. 204, note 3.
37 *Ibid.*, pp. 201 ff.
38 *Ibid.*, p. 204, note 3.
39 *Ibid.*, p. 198.
40 Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1054, note 1 ; cf. p. 939, note 3.

and as the overlord of Puruṣottamasiṁha of the Kāma country.[41] Bhandarkar identifies the Kāma country with Kumāun on the grounds that another inscription of this king has been found in Gadhwal. Unfortunately, no such Gadhwal inscription is known and the Kāma territory may be identified with the district round Kāmān near Bharatpur.

While there is an inscription saying that Kadamba Mayūravarman established his power on the summit of the Himavat mountain, the Kargudari epigraph of the Hangal Kadambas states that Mayūravarman came from the Himalayas and brought from Ahicchatra eighteen Brāhmaṇas for settling them in the Kuntala (Karṇāṭa) country. These late traditions are certainly of no historical value.[42] We have similar stories regarding the migration of Brāhmaṇas to Bengal and Tamil Nadu from centres of learning in U. P. such as Kānyakubja and Kolāñca (Kroḍāñca) in the case of Bengal and Kuśasthalī (Kuśasthala or Kānyakubja) lying in the Antarvedi territory in the case of Tamil Nadu.[43] Just as Ahicchatra was the capital of the Pañcāla country in ancient times, Kānyakubja was regarded as the capital of the said country in the early medieval period.[44] The settlement of a large number of Śrāvasti Brāhmaṇas in the Hili-Balurghat region of North Bengal led to the change of the name of the area from Pāhuniyojana to Śrāvasti.[45] It is easier to believe that such centres of learned Brāhmaṇas were in the plains of U. P. and not in the hills. Indeed a hill-station as the seat of learned Brāhmaṇas is unknown in the history of Indian social

41 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 342-46.

42 See *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 227.

43 See the stories of Ādiśūra and Arindama in *Stud. Soc. Adm Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 29.

44 Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E Ind. Lit.*, p. 71 ; cf. p. 168.

45 *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind., op. cit.*, pp 20-21.

life. Thus Ahicchatra should better be identified with Rāmnagar near Bareily and need not be placed in the Himalayas.

Bhandarkar thinks that the Nagara- or Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas of Gujarat, to whose clan he assigns the Guhila dynasty of Mevāḍ,[46] received their name from Nagar or Nagarkoṭ in the Siwalik hills (the city being, in his opinion, in the neighbourhood of Ahicchatra) and that they settled in Gujarat in large numbers at modern Vaḍnagar (often Sanskritised as Vaṭanagara or Vṛddhanagara). He is inclined to identify the Nagara- or Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas of Gujarat, Mysore, and Nepal and the divisions named Nāgara, Nagarī or Nagarīā among the Kashmiri, Kanaujia and Maithil Brāhmaṇas.[47] The suggestion is, however, based on the wrong assumption that there was only one Indian city named Nagar in the ancient and medieval periods. There is some evidence to prove that such was not the case. Pāṭaliputranagara was called Nagara or Śrīnagara,[48] while the name of the present village of Nagar near Uniyara in the Tonk District of Rajasthan is, likewise, the *nām-aikadeśa* of the ancient name Mālava-nagara.[49] The city of Nagarahāra in the eastern fringe of Afghanistan was another Nagara. The Greek geographer Plolemy calls it Nagara or Dionysopolis (i. e. the city of Dionysus)[50] while the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien calls it Na-kie Nagara),[51] though Hiuen-tsang gives the name as Na-kie-lo-ho (Nagarahāra).[52] In the lexicon

46 *JASB*, 1909, pp. 181 ff.
47 *Op cit.*, pp. 61 ff.
48 *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, p. 107.
49 *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 164, note 2.
50 Cf. Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, p. 128.
51 Law, *Hist. Geog. Anc. Ind.*, p. 113.
52 See Sircar, *Cosm.*, etc., p. 151.

Kalpadrukośa, Nagara is given as another name of the town called Vṛddhanagara at Siddhapura.[53] We have also to note the name of Śrīnagara or Śrīnagarī, the capital of Kashmir, which is often mentioned as Nagara.[54] Kaliṅga-nagara, capital of Kaliṅga, appears to be mentioned as Nagara in certain Gaṅga inscriptions.[55] In the same way, Purī in Orissa is an abbreviation of Puruṣottama-purī or Jagannātha-purī,[56] and Madhyamikā-nagarī is modern Nagarī near Citoḍgaḍh.[57] Thus all the Nāgaras need not be assigned to the same Nagara identified by Bhandarkar with Nagarkoṭ.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

54 Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, p. 442, note 13.

55 Cf. Śrīpura (*loc. cit.*). Likewise, Śaṅkarapattana later came to be known as Pattana (*Rājat.*, V. 213). See *The Bhārata War and Purāṇic Genealogies*, ed. Sircar, p. 112, note 21, for Nagara=Kaliṅganagara.

56 *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, p. 162, note 21 ; *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 193.

57 *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit., loc. cit.*

IV

THE HŪṆA AND NĀGARA-BRĀHMAṆA ELEMENTS

1. Hūṇa

Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*[1] (4th or 5th century A.D.) speaks of the Hūṇas as settled on the bank of the Vaṁkṣu or Oxus, while the Junagadh inscription[2] (455-57 A.D.) of Skandagupta (455-67 A D.) refers to the king's anxiety in selecting an efficient governor for Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar) and the Bhitari pillar inscription[3] of the same king mentions his struggle with the Hūṇas. Skandagupta therefore may have repulsed a Hūṇa invasion of the western part of the Gupta empire. A Mandasor inscription[4] (c. 532 A.D.) of the Aulikara king Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana of West Malwa speaks of Hūṇa rule in that region before his own rise and to the still earlier Gupta occupation of the West Malwa area. Thus Gupta rule in West Malwa had been overthrown by the Hūṇas who were driven out by the said Aulikara king. The same inscription further speaks of Yaśodharman's victory over Toramāṇa's son, the Śaiva king Mihirakula,[5] apparently the Hūṇa king Gollas

1 IV. 67-68.

2 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 1965 ed., pp. 309-10, verses 7 ff.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 323, verses 8.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 419, verse 4—
Ye bhuktā Gupta-nāthair=nna sakala-vasudh-ākrānti-
dṛṣṭa-pratāpair=
nn=ājñā Hūṇ-ādhipānāṁ kṣitipati-mukuṭ-āddhyāsinī yān=
praviṣṭā |
deśāṁs=tān=dhanva-śaila-druma-gahanā-sarid vira-bāh-
ūpagūḍhān=
vīry-āvaskanna-rājñaḥ sva -gṛha-parisar-āvajñayā yo bhunakti ||

5 *Ibid.*, p. 419, verse 6—
Sthāṇor=anyatra yena praṇati-kṛpaṇatāṁ prāpitaṁ n=
ottam-āṅgaṁ
yasy=āśliṣṭo bhujābhyāṁ vahati Himagirir=durga-sābd-
ābhimānam |

mentioned in the work (547 A.D.) of Cosmas Indicopleustes.[6] As a result of Mihirakula's defeat, it is said, his rule came to be confined to the Himalayan region. That Mihirakula was a devotee of Śiva is also indicated by his coins bearing the representation of the bull and the legend *jayatu Vṛṣaḥ*, 'Victorious be the Bull (Śiva).'[7] The 7th century Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang speaks of Mihirakula as having his capital at Śākala (Sialkot in West Pakistan) and as having been defeated and imprisoned by the Buddhist king Bālāditya of Magadha.[8] The grammar of Candragomin seems to refer to the Gupta victory over the Hūṇas in the 5th or 6th century.[9] The forces of the Maukhari feudatories of the Guptas appear to have fought on Bālāditya's side.[10] The Eran inscriptions[11] of Mātṛviṣṇu and Dhanyaviṣṇu, the Gwalior inscription[12] of Mihirakula and the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman referred to above suggest that Toramāṇa and his son ruled about the first quarter of the 6th century A.D. Both Toramāṇa and Mihirakula are mentioned in the distorted account of the *Rājatarangiṇī*[13] as ancient kings of Kashmir.

That the Hūṇas were an important force in the political and social life of the Punjab, Rajasthan, Malwa and Gujarat

nīcais=ten=āpi yasya praṇati-bhuja-bal-āvarjjana-
kliṣṭa-mūrdhnā
cūḍā-puṣp-opahārair=Mihirakula-nṛpeṇ=ārccitaṁ
pāda-yugmam ||

6 Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 1924, p. 336.

7 Sircar, *Stud. Ind. Coins*, p. 376, Pl. XIII/15.

8 Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 288.

9 Thakur, *The Hūṇas in India*, pp. vii-viii. Candragomin illustrates *laṅ* or the Imperfect Tense by the sentence *ajayajjapto Hūṇān* in which °*jjapto* has been supposed to be a mistake for °*j=Jarto* or °*d=Gupto*, the second of the two being more probable.

10 *Ibid.*, p. vii.

11 *Select Inscriptions, op. cit.*, pp. 334 ff., 420 ff.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 424 ff.

13 I. 289 ff.; III. 102 ff.

regions during the early medieval period is clear from their mention in a large number of literary and epigraphical records. Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*[14] describes Prabhākaravardhana (c. 580-605 A. D.) of Thaneswar as 'the lion to the deer that were the Hūṇas', while his eldest son Rājyavardhana is described as fighting with the Hūṇa archers in Uttarāpatha (the tract of land beyond the Eastern Punjab) near the Himalayas.

King Devapāla (c. 810-50 A.D.) of the Pāla dynasty of Eastern India claimed to have humbled the Hūṇas,[15] while a Hūṇa contingent formed a part of the Pāla army for several centuries.[16] A copper-plate inscription[17] of 899 A.D., from Una near Junagadh in the Kathiawar region of Gujarat, mentions the Cālukya chief Balavarman, who owed allegiance to the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj, as having killed Jajjapa and other kings and 'freed the earth from the Hūṇa race'. An inscription[18] of the Paramāra king Vākpati II Muñja (973-96 A.D.) of Malwa refers to the Hūṇa-maṇḍala as part of his kingdom, while traditions credit his father, king Sīyaka II, and his younger brother, king Sindhurāja (996-1000 A.D.), with victory over the Hūṇas.[19] An inscription[20] from Ajmer, dated 1153 A.D., speaks of a Hūṇa royal family.

The merger of the Hūṇas, in the Indian society apparently as Kṣatriyas is indicated by a number of

11. *Select Inscriptions, op. cit.*, pp. 334 ff., 420 ff.
14 See trans. Cowell and Thomas, Indian reprint, pp. 101, 132.
15 Maitreya, *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 74, verse 13—*utkilit-Otkala-kulaṁ hṛta-Hūṇa-garvaṁ kharvīkṛta-Draviḍa-Gurjjara-nātha darppam.*
16. Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 135-36.
17 Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 41.
18 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 108, text lines 7-8.
19 *Navasāhṣāṅkacarita*, X. 14 and 90; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 235, verse 16.
20 Bhandarkar's List, No. 289.

epigraphic records. The Guhila king Allaṭa of Medapāṭa (Mevāḍ) married Hariyādevī who was the daughter of a Hūṇa king, as stated in the Atpur inscription[21] of 977 A.D. According to Hemacandra, Cālukya Durlabha of Gujarat, who ascended the throne in 1009-1010 A.D., won Durlabhadevī in a *svayaṁvara*, but had to fight with the rival claimants for Durlabhadevī's hands, including the king of the Hūṇa country.[22] The Khairha plates[23] (1072 A.D.) of Kalacuri Yaśaḥkarṇa mention Āvalladevī, queen of king Karṇa (1041-71 A.D.), as born in the Hūṇa clan.

Under the above circumstances, it is no wonder that the name Hūṇa is applied to one of the 36 respectable Rājpūt clans in some of the traditional lists. Out of the 4 traditional lists of the 36 clans quoted by Tod, two (quoted from 'Ancient Manuscripts' and the *Kumāracaritra*) mention the name as 'Hun or Hoon' and two (quoted from Cand Bardāi's *Pṛthvīrājarāso* and 'Kheechee Bard by name Mogje') as 'Hool.'[24] This is apparently due to the fact that, in the medieval alphabets of Northern India, often the form of *ṇ* (cf. *Hūṇa*) closely resembled that of *l* (cf. *Hūla*).

Unfortunately, uncritical attempts have been made by some writers, eager to credit the Rājpūts with the purity of blood they claimed, to prove that *Hūla* (and not *Hūṇa*) is the correct reading in the *Pṛthvīrājarāso*, and our attention is drawn to the fact that the clan name Hūla is still

21 *Ibid.*, No. 85.

22 Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 945-46.

23. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1227.

24 *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Calcutta ed., Vol. I, p. 87; cf. Bhandarkar, *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*, Calcutta reprint, p. 33.

current in Marwar.[25] This, however, is obviously a puristic attempt to disprove what is quite evident, and scarcely deserves to be seriously considered. It is probable that the Rājpūt tribe now called Hūla are the modern representatives of the medieval Hūṇas.

2. *Nāgara-Brāhmaṇa*

As we have seen, D. R. Bhandarkar tried to prove that the Guhilas of Mevāḍ belonged to the stock of the Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas of Gujarat, who entered India, in his opinion, along with the Maitrakas (who later became the rulers of Valabhī, i. e. modern Valā near Bhavanagar in Kathiawar, Gujarat), about the close of the fifth century A.D. in the train of the Hūṇas.[26] We have also seen how his suggestion that the Nagara- or Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas received their name from that of their early home at Nagar, i. e. Nagarkoṭ, is not at all convincing. Bhandarkar further drew our attention to the thirteen family names (called *śarman* in the Gujarat-Maharashtra region) of the Nāgaras, viz. Datta, Gupta, Nanda, Ghoṣa, Śarmā (Śarman), Dāsa, Varmā (Varman), Nāgadatta, Trātā (Trāṭṛ), Bhūta, Mitra, Deva and Bhava, and to the fact that no less than ten of the above thirteen cognomens are found among the Kāyasthas of Bengal, e. g. Datta, Gupta, Nandī (Nanda), Ghoṣa, Śarmā (Śarman), Dāsa, Varmā (Varman), Bhūta, Mitra and

25 C.V.Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. II, 1924, p. 26; cf. U. Thakur, *The Hūṇas in India*, p. 238. Equally uncritical is their criticism of the theory of foreign origin of the Gurjaras proposed by scholars like D. R. Bhandarkar. See Vaidya, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 241; cf. Bhandarkar, *Foreign Elements*, *loc. cit.*; also R. C. Majumdar, *JIH*, Vol. XLV, Part III, December, 1967, pp. 829-30.

26 See Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 57; cf. also Bhandarkar's paper in *JASB*, 1909.

Deva.[27] Since the Śrīmāla-Brāhmaṇas of Marwar have also nine of these cognomens (e. g. Nanda, Trātaka or Trāṭṛka, Mitra, Bhūta, Dāsa, Gupta, Ghoṣa, Datta and Deva), Bhandarkar concludes that "the Nāgara and Śrīmālī Brāhmaṇas and the Bengal Kāyasthas originally belonged to the same race."[28]

Another suggestion offered by Bhandarkar is that these family names "cannot possibly be, in all cases, mere name-endings." "For the name-endings that we generally meet with are the names of gods, such, e. g., in *Maṇiśaṅkar*, or some terms descriptive of being devotees of those gods, such, e. g., in *Ambādās*."[29] He further argues that, if these cognomens are mere name-endings, it is inconceivable how Varman (Varmā) could have found a place in the list of Nāgara-Brāhmaṇa family names, for *Varman* (*Varmā*) is a suffix attached to the names of Kṣatriyas only. Bhandarkar therefore concludes, "at least ten of these *śarmans* (family names) represent the names of families or tribes that were incorporated into the Nāgara Brāhmaṇa caste." Following the same line of argument, Bhandarkar further observes, "Mitra, one of the *śarmans* (family names) among the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, really represents one of such tribes or clans amalgamated into the caste. And we have already seen that the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas first came to notice during the rule of the Valabhī kings who were Maitrakas. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion, as I have stated elsewhere, that Maitraka and Mitra denote one and the same tribe."[30]

27 *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population, loc. cit.* Nanda and Nandī (Nandin) are really not the same, the former being a family name among the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 60, note 148; cf. p. 61.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

It is a matter of regret that we are inclined to disagree with all the above views expressed by Bhandarkar. In our opinion, all the family names quoted above are stereotyped name-endings.[31]

The tendency to distinguish persons belonging to different *varṇas* or social grades by their names developed gradually. According to the *Manusmṛti*[32] which may be assigned to a date before the rise of the Imperial Guptas in the fourth century A.D., an *upapada* suggestive of *śarman* (happiness), *rakṣā* (protection), *puṣṭi* (prosperity) and *preṣya* (service) has to be added respectively to the names of the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra *varṇas*. This later developed into the prescription to suffix the words *śarman* or *deva* to the name of the Brāhmaṇa, *varman* (*varmā*) and *trāṭṛ* (*trātā*) to that of the Kṣatriya, *bhūti* and *datta* to the Vaiśya's name and *dāsa* to the name of the Śūdra.[33]

Although the tendency of coining names of the members of one family with the same ending was not quite unknown even in the pre-Christian age, family names of the types suggested by the *Manusmṛti* and later works of that class for the different *varṇas* took a long time to be the general fashion. Thus Mitra was a popular name-ending with the

31 See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 422 ff.

32 II. 31-32—

maṅgalyaṁ Brāhmaṇasya syāt=Kṣatriyasya bal-ānvitam |
Vaiśyasya dhana-saṁyuktaṁ Śūdrasya tu jugupsitam ||
śarmavad=Brāhmaṇasya syād=rājño rakṣā-samanvitam |
Vaiśyasya puṣṭi-saṁyuktaṁ Śūdrasya praiṣya-saṁyutam ||

33 Cf. *śarm-āntaṁ Brāhmaṇasya syād=varm-āntaṁ Kṣatriyasya ca |*
gupta-dās-āntakaṁ nāma praśastaṁ Vaiśya-Śūdrayoḥ ||
(dhan-āntaṁ c=aiva Vaiśyasya dās-āntaṁ c=Āntyajanmanaḥ ||)
śarmā devaś=ca Viprasya varmā trātā ca Bhūbhujaḥ |
bhūtir=dattaś=ca Vaiśyasya dāsaḥ Śūdrasya kārayet ||

(quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *gupta, dāsa, varmā, śarmā*).

See Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 197 note, 211 note; Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. II, Part I. pp. 250-51.

Brāhmaṇa dynasty of the Śuṅgas (c. 187-75 B. C.) and of the kings of Ahicchatra and Kauśāmbī, who flourished shortly before and after the Christian era, while, from about the beginning of the fourth century A D., the Pallava kings, who were Brāhmaṇas of the Bhāradvāja-gotra, had names ending in *varman.*[34] A person of the mercantile community seems to be called Bodhiśarman, like a Brāhmaṇa, in a Nagarjunikonda inscription of the third century A.D.[35] We have also Vaiśya-type names of Brāhmaṇas as Bhava-koṭigupta, Śivadatta, Bhavaskandatrāta, etc., in Pallava inscriptions of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.[36] In the fourth century A.D., the Kadamba kingdom was founded about the North Kanara District of Mysore by a Brāhmaṇa named Mayūraśarman whose successors, however, had all names ending with the word *varman.*

That the process of the creation of family names out of name-endings went on for a long time is also proved by other evidences at our disposal. The successors of Candragupta I (c. 319-35 A.D.), the founder of the Gupta empire, who was the son of Ghaṭotkaca and the grandson of Gupta, all assumed names ending in the word *gupta* and thereby led to the development of the name of the Gupta dynasty. In the same way, the successors of Gopāla I (c. 750-70 A.D.), who was the founder of an imperial house in Eastern India and was the son of Vapyaṭa and grandson of Dayitaviṣṇu, all assumed names ending in *pāla* and thereby gave rise to the name of the Pāla dynasty. In a number of East Indian epigraphic records of the Gupta and post-Gupta ages, including the Dubi and Nidhanpur plates[37]

34 Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas,* pp. 390-91 ; also *Select Inscriptions,* 1965, pp. 456 ff.

35 *Sel. Ins.,* p. 234, text line 2.

36 Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.,* pp. 197, 211.

37 See P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmrūpaśāsanāvalī,* pp. 1 ff.; Sircar in *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXX, pp. 287 ff.

of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, the Brāhmaṇa donees, belonging to particular *śākhās* and *gotras* and apparently to the same families, are found to have generally names ending in the same word such as *ghoṣa, soma, pālita, deva, kuṇḍa, nāga, bhūti, soma, mitra,* etc. These had thus become stereotyped as family names. What is interesting in such cases is that many of these Brāhmaṇical cognomens do not conform to the prescription of certain authorities regarding the family names of the different *varṇas* as indicated above, while no Brāhmaṇa family in the Bengal-Assam region is now known as Ghoṣa, Soma, Pālita, Kuṇḍa, etc., which are, well-known non-Brāhmaṇa cognomens. This latter fact may suggest that some of the old Brāhmaṇical families have merged into non-Brāhmaṇa communities in the area in question.[38] Deva is no doubt a Brāhmaṇical name-ending according to our old authorities ; but it is now a cognomen of the Kāyasthas in Bengal. *Nāga* may be a clan name, though it may also be the stereotyped name-ending of persons named after snake-deities like Ananta-nāga, Seṣa-nāga, Kārkoṭa-nāga, etc.

It will be seen from our discussion that the Pallavas, Kadambas and Guptas, who had stereotyped name-endings as their family names, ruled in the fourth and fifth centuries and, therefore, ealier than the Maitrakas whose earliest record is dated in the year 502 A.D.[39] Thus the stereotyping of name-endings into family names began considerably earlier than the advent of the Maitrakas and Hūṇas in India. Moreover, the clear cases of the formation of the cognomens of the Guptas and Pālas prove that, at least in these cases, *Gupta* and *Pāla* were certainly not tribal or clan names.

38 Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 423-24.

39 See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965 ed., pp. 426 ff.

The fact that *Varman* (*Varmā*), later regarded as a typical Kṣatriya family name, is a cognomen of the Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas only shows that, when the said surname developed among the Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas, the conception of Varman (Varmā) as a Kṣatriya cognomen had not become rigid. It should also be noted in this connection that the so-called Brāhmaṇa name-ending *śarmā* (*śarman*) is also a cognomen of the Bengal Kāyasthas who are not a Brāhmaṇa community.[40] Of course, it is possible to think that, Kāyastha (literally, 'a scribe') being a professional caste, the Kṣatriyas and Brāhmaṇas adopting the profession of scribes may have been merged into the community.

The family name Maitraka, by which the Valabhī kings are known, may be derived from Mitra or the Sun-god, and they may have been Sun-worshipping Iranians settled in India.[41] But the names of most of the Maitraka kings end in *sena* (the secondary names of some of them ending in *bhaṭa*), and none of them ends in the word *mitra*.

We are thus unable to agree fully with Bhandarkar when he says, "the present Nāgara Brāhmaṇa caste is a curious combination of Brāhmaṇic and non-Brāhmaṇic elements. Two of their *śarmans* (family names), viz. Śarmā (Śarman) and Deva are, as laid down by the Smṛtis, name-suffixes of the Brāhmaṇas; one, viz., Varmā (Varman), is that of the Kṣatriyas; two others, viz., Datta and Gupta, are those of the Vaiśyas; and one, viz. Dāsa, of the Śūdras. All these elements, it may therefore be argued, combined to form the Nāgara caste. But the correct view appears to me to be to take all these *śarmans* (family names) as the names of

40 See Bhandarkar quoted above, and also *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *Kāyastha*, quoting both the Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhīya and Vārendra *Kulapañjī* works.

41 Cf. Sircar, *The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā*, p. 6.

tribes or clans that were amalgamated into the Nāgara caste."[42]

It may be admitted that the Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas and Bengal Kāyasthas are both mixed communities having the blood of different *varṇas*; but the family names discussed above are mostly quite clearly stereotyped name-endings as indicated by the cases of the Guptas and Pālas and can hardly be the names of different tribes or clans. Most of the above family names can be easily explained as developed out of name-endings, e. g. Ghoṣa from Mañjughoṣa (one having a pleasant voice), Vajraghoṣa (one having a thundering voice), etc.; Mitra from Devamitra (a friend of the gods), Rāmamitra (a friend of the god Rāma), etc.; Datta from Haridatta (given by or dedicated to the god Hari), Durgādatta (given by or dedicated to the goddess Durgā), etc.; Dāsa from Rudradāsa (a servant of the god Rudra), Ambādāsa (a servant of one's mother or of the Mother-goddess), etc.; Sena from Mahāsena (bearing the name of the god Kārttikeya), Devasena (one whose forces are the gods), etc.; Vasu from Amitavasu (one having great wealth), Dharmavasu (one whose wealth is his virtue), etc.; Kuṇḍa from Bhaktikuṇḍa (one who is the receptacle of devotion), Premakuṇḍa (one who is the receptacle of love), etc.; Pālita from Bandhupālita (one reared or protected by his friends), Devapālita (one reared or protected by the gods), etc.; Soma from Ravisoma (bearing the name of the solar and lunar deities), Bhānusoma (bearing the name of the solar and lunar gods), etc.; Guha from Gaṇeśaguha (bearing the names of the gods Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya), Vināyakaguha (bearing the names of the gods Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya), etc.; Deva from Indradeva (bearing the name of the god Indra), Agnideva (bearing the name of the fire-god),

42 *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

etc., etc. Moreover it is a significant fact that these family names can scarcely be traced in the lists of peoples in the epics and Purāṇas and later works like the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*. If Bhandarkar's theory that family names were essentially the names of clans would have had any substance, at least a number of the said family names would have been often mentioned as tribal names in the works of Sanskrit and Pali-Prakrit literature and also of the regional Indian languages. This is certainly not the case.

V

FRESH LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF RAJASTHAN

Recent study of a number of inscriptions from the Rajasthan area has thrown considerable light on the early and medieval history of Rajasthan. We are inclined to discuss the evidence of some of these records in the present section.

An inscription of considerable importance was discovered in the Bhramaramātā temple at Choṭī-Sāddī in the old Mevāḍ State, which is situated near the Neemuch station on the Ajmer-Khandwa railway line.[1] The record was noticed by Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha in his *Rājpūtānekā Itihās* (Hindī), Vol. II, 1932, pp. 1442 ff., though this notice is full of mistakes while the text of the epigraph quoted by him contains, besides errors, a large number of lacunae.

The date of the Choṭī-Sāddī inscription, as given in the last stanza, is the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Māgha in the year 547 apparently of the Vikrama era, the day falling in January 491 A.D. On that date, a king named Gauri built a temple of the Mother-goddess. He was a Kṣatriya of the Mānavāyani clan and was the son of Yaśogupta, grandson of Rāṣṭra (Rāṣṭravardhana), great-grandson of Rājyavardhana and great-great-grandson of Puṇyasoma of the Mānavāyani family. The poet, who composed the *praśasti*, had a very poor knowledge of the Sanskrit language. His name was Bhramarasoma, who was the son of Mitrasoma and the grandson of Jīvadharaṇa. The last sentence of the inscription says that the *pūrvā* was written (*likhitā*) by Aparājita who meditated on, or was favoured by the feet of Prince (*Rājaputra*) Gobhaṭa who

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 120 ff.

may have been the son of king Gauri. The word *pūrvā* means 'the above-cited' with reference to *tithi* (date) or *praśasti* (eulogy). The word *likhitā* seems to suggest that Aparājita wrote down the eulogy on the piece of stone, with some material, for facilitating the work of engraving. This Aparājita was apparently a royal officer serving under Prince Gobhaṭa.

The importance of the Choṭī-Sāddī inscription lies in the fact that it reveals the existence of a new line of rulers who flourished about the second half of the 5th century in the area about the borders of Rajasthan and Malwa.

Another inscription[2] of *Mahārāja* Gauri has been found at Mandasor (now spelt Mandsaur, headquarters of a District of that name in Madhya Pradesh) and shows that he owed allegiance to the Aulikara king Ādityavardhana of Daśapura (i.e. Mandasor). This epigraph records the construction of a tank in the suburbs of Daśapura by Gauri for the merit of his deceased mother. Since the excavation of a tank at the place where the funeral pile of a dead person stood is a well-known custom, it is possible to think that Gauri's mother died at the capital of his overlord. She may have been a princess of the Aulikara family.

That the Aulikara king Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana, whose only known date is 532 A.D.,[3] ruled over considerable parts of Mevāḍ is indicated by several records. A fragmentary stone inscription[4] from Citoḍgaḍ, which seems to have been brought from Nagarī in the same neighbourhood, has been attributed to the reign of Yaśodharman. An interesting fact about this epigraph is that it refers to a *Rājasthānīya* or viceroy ruling over the territory around Daśapura and Madhyamā or Madhyamikā, i.e. Nagarī

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 127 ff.
3 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965 ed., pp. 411 ff.
4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 53 ff.

near Citoḍgaḍ. Thus Nagarī (Madhyamikā-nagarī) seems to have been the headquarters of a district of the Aulikara kingdom during Yaśodharman's reign in the first half of the sixth century A.D. It has also to be noted that a Mandasor inscription[5] of 532 A.D. mentions Yaśodharman's *Rājasthānīya* Abhayadatta who was ruling over an area containing many districts under his officers and lying between the Vindhya and Pāriyātra and extending as far as the Sindhu or the Arabian Sea. Since the Aravalli range forming a part of the old Pāriyātra lies to the west of Mevāḍ, the above description of the western province of Yaśodharman's kingdom shows that much of Mevāḍ was in the possession of the Aulikaras at least during the said king's reign.

The Kanaswa (old Kotah State) inscription of 738 A. D. mentions a Maurya king named Dhavalātman (Dhavalappa) while the Dabok (old Udaipur State) inscription, now assigned to 644 A.D., speaks of Dhavalappa (Dhavalātman) enjoying the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara.*[6] A fragmentary inscription[7] from Mathurā has now revealed the names of the following Maurya kings of apparently the same house—(1) Kṛṣṇarāja belonging to the Maurya dynasty ; (2) in his family, Candragupta ; (3) his son Āryarāja, and (4) the latter's son Ḍiṇḍirāja *alias* Karka who burnt the city of Kānyakubja (Kanauj in the Farrukhabad District, U.P.). The inscription has been assigned to the latter half of the seventh century A.D. when the Maurya king Ḍiṇḍirāja Karka appears to have flourished.

The date of the Dabok inscription of Guhila Dhanika,

5 *Sel. Ins., op. cit.*, pp. 415-16, verse 19.

6 See Sircar, *The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā*, p. 51 ; Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 18 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 122 ff.

7 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 207 ff.

who was a feudatory of the imperial Maurya ruler Dhavalappa, was variously read and interpreted by the earlier writers on the subject ; but it has now been shown that the date has to be read as year 701 which should be referred to the Vikrama era. If, thus, the date of the Dabok inscription is Vikrama 701, i.e. 644 A.D.,[8] we have to believe that Harṣavardhana (606-47 A.D.) of Kanauj, to whom the Guhilas appear to have originally owed allegiance, lost his hold on Rajasthan sometime before his death. This reminds us of the fact that Maitraka Dhruvasena II was Harṣa's son-in-law and vassal or subordinate ally, though the former's son Dharasena IV assumed imperial style by the Gupta-Valabhī year 326 (644-45 A.D.),[9] i.e. a few years before the death of Harṣa.

The Jain tradition representing king Yaśovarman (c. 725-53 A.D.) of Kanauj as a descendant of Candragupta Maurya[10] is generally regarded by the historians as doubtful ; but the burning of the city of Kanauj by a Maurya ruler in the latter half of the seventh century A.D., as now revealed by the Mathura inscription, seems to suggest that after all the Jain tradition may be correct and may really refer to Yaśovarman's relations with Karka Ḍiṇḍirāja who was the grandson of a Maurya king named Candragupta[11] and through him with the ancient Maurya dynasty of Pāṭaliputra which was founded by the great Candragupta in the fourth century B.C.

Some recently discovered epigraphs have revealed the names of the following six rulers of the Kiṣkindhā branch of the Guhila dynasty[12] of Mevāḍ—

1) *Mahārāja* Paḍḍa (about the first quarter of the

8 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 100 ff.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 101 ; Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1348-49.
10 Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 194.
11 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 166 ff.
12 Sircar, *The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā*, p. 58.

seventh century A.D.) known from the Kalyāṇpur stone inscription of his time.

2) *Avāptāśeṣamahāśabda* Devagaṇa (second quarter of the seventh century A D.) known from the two Ḍuṅgarpur copper-plate grants—one issued by Bhāvihita in 653 A.D. and the other by Bābhaṭa in 689 A.D.

(3) *Samadhigatapañcamahāśabda* Bhāvihita (third quarter of the seventh century A. D.) known from his Ḍuṅgarpur copper-plate grant issued from Kiṣkindhipura in 653 A.D.

(4) *Mahārāja* Bhetti (eighth decade of the seventh century A.D.) known from his Dhulev or Ṛṣabhdev copper-plate grant issued from Kiṣkindhā in 679 A.D.

(5) *Samupārjitapañcamahāśabda* Bābhaṭa (ninth decade of the seventh century A.D.) known from his Ḍuṅgarpur copper-plate charter issued from Kiṣkindhipura in 689 A.D.

(6) Kadachi (sometime in the eighth century A.D.) known from the Kalyāṇpur stone inscription of his time.[13]

Of two recently published inscriptions[14] of the Pushkar-Ajmer region, the first records certain gifts made by Malhaṇa in favour of the god Puṇḍarīkākṣa (Viṣṇu) of Puṣkara and their ratification by the local ruler Durgarāja in Vikrama 994 (938 A.D.). The second inscription records the gifts of Durgarāja and others made in favour of the god Rannāditya (Sūrya, hu band of the goddess Rannā = Rājñī) about Vikrama 1013 (956 A.D.). The most interesting information supplied by the second epigraph is that Durgarāja was a *Mahantaka* under *Mahārājādhirāja* Siṁharāja

13 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. ff., 5 ff.; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 167 ff.; Vol. XXXV, pp. 55 ff.

14 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 239 ff.

who was no doubt the Cāhamāna king of the same name. The extension of Cāhamāna power in the Puskhar-Ajmer region about the middle of the tenth century A.D. is an interesting addition to our knowledge. The epithet *Mahantaka* applied to Durgarāja seems to be the same as *Mahattaka*, *Mahattara* or *Mahattama* which was the designation of the leaders of the village and district councils of administration.

An inscription, written mainly in the Rājasthānī language and Nāgarī script, is incised on a stone embedded in a step-well called Gaṇeś-bāwḍī at Toḍā Rāising in the Jaipur District of Rajasthan, about 16 miles to the north of Deolī and 20 miles to the south-west of Tonk. Daya Ram Sahni, who noticed the epigraph in his *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sambhar*, failed to realise the importance of the record.

The date of the inscription, quoted in lines 4-5, is the second *tithi* of the dark-half of Mārgaśīrṣa in Vikrama 1604 and Śaka 1469, i.e. in 1547 A.D. The name of the week-day is given as *Vārhanīpati* which apparently stands for *Bṛhaspati* (Thursday). The date is irregular, but must have fallen in October-November, 1547 A.D.[15]

At the beginning of the inscription is a passage in Sanskrit invoking the grace of the god Gaṇeśa which is followed by a stanza containing an adoration to the god Vighnavināśana (Gaṇeśa), praised as the Supreme Being. The above is followed by the date already discussed above. Next come the names of the following persons *Pro* (*Prohita* = *Purohita*) Kānhaḍa (Sanskrit *Kṛṣṇa*), his son *Pro* Nārāyaṇa, his two sons *Pro* Maheśa and *Pro* Cakrapāṇi,

15 The *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, No. B-413 (p. 69) gives the regular equivalent of the date of the inscription as the 9th December 1546 A.D. This is possible, however, only if the month is regarded as *amānta* and the years are taken to be current.

and the latter's sons *Ci* (*Cirañjīva*) Kāśīdāsa and *Ci* Kimudāsa. *Pro* means 'a priest' and *Ci* means 'long-lived'. The inscription does not clearly state the relation of Kāśīdāsa and Kimudāsa with the construction of the step-well which is its object, though there is little doubt that the two brothers were responsible for the excavation of the step-well or at least its supervision.

The following passage quotes the genealogy of *Rāo Rājā* Rāmacandra in whose jurisdiction the *bāwḍī* was excavated. He was the son of *Rājā* Pṛthvīrāja and the grandson of *Rājādhirāja Rājā* Sūryaseni (possibly *Sūryasena*). This section also mentions *Kuṁwara* (*Kumāra*) *Ca* (*Ci* = *Cirañjīva*) Parasarāma (Paraśurāma) who seems to have held the area around the step-well as his *jāgīr*. These rulers of the Toḍā Rāisingh region are not known from any other inscription. The reason for applying a more dignified title to one of them is not clear.

Next is introduced the *vāra* or reign-period of *Pātisāha* (*Pādshā* or *Bādshā*) Asalema Sāhī (Islām Shāh, 1445-54 A.D.), the son of Sera Sāhī Sūra, i.e. Sher Shāh (1439-45 A.D.) of the Sūr dynasty. Then follows the mention of *Rāṇā* Udaiyasiṁghadeva (Udayasiṁhadeva), son of *Rājā* Saṁgrāmadeva, as ruling over the Kumbhalamera-rājya.

It is interesting to note that the independent or imperial status of *Rājā* Saṁgrāma is especially indicated in the inscription which describes him as *sarva-bhūmikau khasama* (the lord of the entire earth), which is a conventional designation of Indian Imperial rulers, and as *ghoḍā lākha 11 kau khasama* (the lord of eleven lakhs of horses or horsemen). The mention of Udayasiṁha, the ruler of Kumbhalamera, after that of the emperor (*Pātisāha*) Islām Shāh undoubtedly points to the fact that the *Rāṇā* was regarded as a feudatory of the Muhammadan monarch, even though his father Saṁgrāmadeva (i.e. Saṁgrāmasiṁha or

Sāṅgā) was an independent king. Udayasiṁha's association with Kumbhalamera and not with Citrakūṭa or Citoḍ seems to suggest that Citoḍ was not his capital at the time when the Toḍā Rāising inscription was drafted.

The style of mentioning *Rāo Rājā* Rāmacandra, his immediate liegelord *Rāṇā* Udayasiṁha, and the latter's overlord *Pātisāha* Islām Shāh without clearly specifying the relations of one with the others in words is well known from a number of late medieval documents from Rajasthan. Thus an inscription[16] from Rāmpurā near Mandasor, dated Śaka 1547, introduces the Mughul emperor Salema Shāha (Salīm Shāh = Jahāngīr), his feudatory *Rāṇā* Karṇasiṁha of Mevāḍ and the latter's subordinate at Rāmpurā as follows—

Dilī-rāja Pātisāha śrī-Salema Sāhajī (/) Citrakūṭarāja vāsa Udepu[ra] Rāṇā śrī-Amarasīghajī (/*) tasya putra Rāṇā śrī-Karaṇasīghajī (/*) Rāmapura-rājakara Rāva śrī-Candrabhānajī (/*) tasyā Rāṇī Cohāna Prabhāvatībāījī bāvaḍī prāsāda bāga udhāsyo (/*)*

Translation—"The illustrious emperor (*Pātisāha* = *Bādshā*) Salīm Shāh, is the ruler of Dīlī. The illustrious *Rāṇā* Amarasiṁha is the ruler of Citrakūṭa ; but he resides at Udayapura. His son is the illustrious *Rāṇā* Karṇasiṁha. The illustrious *Rāo* Candrabhānu is [the ruler] of the Rāmpura State. His Cauhān queen is Prabhāvatībāījī who made the step-well, the palace and the garden."

Two other inscriptions[17] from Sitamau near Mandasor have similar passages. The first of them is dated Vikrama 1761 (1705 A.D.) and contains the passage—*Pātasāha-śrī Oraṁgajebaḥ Rāṇā-Amarasīghaḥ Jāgīr̤dāraḥ Rāṭhoḍa-Kesodāsa* i.e. the Rāṭhoḍ Jāgīrdār Keśavadāsa under *Rāṇā* Amara-

16 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 192-93.
17 *Ibid.*, p. 193, note 1.

siṁha owing allegiance to the Mughul emperor Aurangzeb. The other inscription, dated Vikrama 1775 (1718 A.D.) has—*Pātasāha śrī-Sapharakasenajī Amarasīghajī Mahājrājajīḥ Kesodāsajī*. This record mentions the same Keśavadāsa styled *Mahārāja* as a subordinate of *Rāṇā* Amarasiṁha who was a feudatory of the *Pātisāha*. *Sapharakasena* is the corrupt form of the name of emperor Farrukhsiyar (1713-19 A.D.). It should also be noted that *Rāṇā* Amarasiṁha II of Udayapura was dead before the date of the inscription and was succeeded by Saṅgrāmasiṁha II.

The latter part of the Toḍā-Rāising inscription mentions the names of four of the artisans or masons who were employed in the construction of the step-well. The writer of the epigraph was *Jo* (*Joṣī* = *Jyotiṣin*) Rāmadāsa, and the expenditure for the excavation was *ṭaṁ* (*ṭaṅka*) 1001 probably meaning the silver rupees of Sher Shāh. The equivalent of the above amount is also given in the Mevāḍ currency, though it is difficult to understand the correct amount mentioned in this connection.

The importance of the Toḍā-Rāising inscription lies in the fact that *Rāṇā* Udayasiṁha (1537-72 A.D.) of Mevāḍ is represented in it as a feudatory of the Sūr emperor Islām Shāh (1545-54) A.D.), son of Sher Shāh (1539-45 A.D.). We know that, in Vikrama 1594 (1537 A.D.) Udayasiṁha was recognised as the *Rāṇā* of Mevāḍ by the feudatories at Kumbhalgaḍh and also that he recovered Citoḍ from Vanavīra about three years later in Vikrama 1597 (1540 A.D.).[18] He was a contemporary of all the rulers of the Sūr dynasty (1539-56 A.D.) founded by Sher Shāh, though very little was so far known about the *Rāṇā*'s relations with the Sūrs. According to the Muslim chroni-

18 Ojha, *Udaypur-rājyakā Itihās* (*Rājpūtānekā Itihās*, Vol. II), pp. 714 ff.

clers, Sher Shāh occupied Citoḍ in 1543 or 1544 A.D., although they are silent as to whether the *Rāṇā* offered his allegiance to the Sūr emperor or continued to hold sway over parts of Mevāḍ outside the Citoḍ region as an independent ruler. Tod does not mention the Sūr occupation of Citoḍ; but Wolsely Haig says in his discussion on Sher Shāh's campaigns in Rajasthan, "He (Sher Shāh) left Khavass Khān and 'Isā Khān Niyāzī to establish his authority in Marwar and marched to Chitor, the keys of which were sent to him by the officer who held it on behalf of *Rāṇā* Uday Singh of Mewar."[19] Qanungo says, "He (Sher Shāh) spent a few months at Agra and rejoined his camp at Ajmer about the middle of June, 1544. From Ajmer he marched towards Chitor which he easily acquired. ... ... Mewar had not yet recovered from the evil effects of the civil dissensions which ended with the installation of the boy king Udai Singh in 1542 A.D. (see Tod's *Rajasthan*, pp. 330-35), Chitor was placed in charge of Shamas Khān, a brother of Khawas Khan (Dorn's *History of the Afghans*, p. 140), Miān Ahmed Sarwānī and Hussain Khān Khaljī (Abbas, p. 235)."[20] Ojha quotes Abbas Sarwānī's *Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhī*, according to which Sher Shāh advanced against Citoḍ in A.H. 950 (1543 A.D.) after having dispersed the forces of Māladeva of Marwar: "Sher Shāh ... marched towards the fort of Citoḍ. When he was yet 12 *kos* from the fort of Citoḍ, the *Rājā* who was its ruler sent him the keys. When Sher Shāh came to Citoḍ, he left there the younger brother of Khawas Khān, Mīān Ahmed Sarwānī and Hussain Khān Khaljī. Sher Shāh himself marched towards Kachwara."[21] But the author of the *Udaypur-*

19 *Camb. His. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 55.

20 *Sher Shah*, 1st ed., pp. 332-33.

21 Cf. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. IV, p. 406.

rājyakā Itihās further observes in this connection, "It was almost the beginning of Udayasiṁha's reign. Thus it is possible that Udayasiṁha considered it unwise to fight with Sher Shāh and managed to send him away after making peace with him. Neither the Persian nor the local chronicles explain, as is expected in such a case, how Citoḍ came back into Udayasiṁha's possession [after the Sūr occupation]."[22]

As we have seen, very little has so far been said about Udayasiṁha's relations with Sher Shāh and his successors. But the Toḍā Rāisingh inscription suggests that *Rāṇā* Udayasiṁha not only acknowledged the suzerainty of Sher Shāh, but continued his allegiance to the Sūr dynasty down to the early years of Islām Shāh's reign. There is no reason to believe that Islām Shāh, represented as the overlord of the *Rāṇā* in October-November, 1547 A.D., himself subdued Udayasiṁha. The mention of Udayasiṁha as the ruler of Kumbhalameru suggests, as we have seen, that he was staying at the fort of Kumbhalgaḍh till the end of 1547 A.D. while Citoḍ continued to be in the possession of the Afghan governors employed by the Sūr emperors. The presence of a strong Afghan garrison at Citoḍ must have prevented the *Rāṇā* from throwing off the Sūr yoke.[23]

The date of Udyasiṁha's freedom from the Sūr yoke cannot be definitely determined. After the Afghan general Khawas Khān had taken refuge in the hills of Kumāun

22 *Op. cit.*, p. 718.

23 It has been observed (*IHQ*, Vol. XXX, pp. 311 ff; *Journ. Bomb. Univ.*, July, 1955, pp. 10-11) that the *Amarakāvya* represents Udayasiṁha as an independent monarch, while the *Vaṁśāvalī* (No. 872) states that Udayasiṁha defeated the Pathans. We do not attach any importance to such vague evidence and claims; cf. the representation of Udayasiṁha as having humbled the Mughul emperor (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 68, verse 30), although it is well known that Akbar defeated him and occupied a considerable part of Mevāḍ including Citoḍ.

Islām Shāh is said to have declared that he forgave all the former's offences and requested him to proceed against the *Rāṇā* of Udayapura who had again raised his head, plundered several of the royal possessions and carried off the wives and daughters of Muslims, although at the same time the governor of Sambhal was ordered to put the general to death as soon as he would come within reach.[24] This event took place in A.H. 959 (1551 A.D.) according to some authorities.[25] *Rāṇā* Udayasiṁha thus seems to have thrown off his allegiance to the Sūrs before the date of Khawas Khān's murder.[26] The reference to Sūr territory which was plundered by the *Rāṇā* and from which Muslim women were carried away, seems to point to the reoccupation of the Citoḍ region by Udayasiṁha.

Another interesting fact known from the Toḍā Rāising inscription is the inclusion of at least parts of the Jaipur District within the dominions of the *Rāṇās* of Mevāḍ. Cunninghum sketched the history of the place on the basis of Rājpūt traditions which have nothing to say on this point. This shows how untrustworthy those traditions are as a source of history. There is no mention of the chief Rāmacandra and his father and grandfather in Cunningham's account, though the *Amarakāvya* is said to state that Toḍā was given to Rāmacandra by *Rāṇā* Udayasiṁha.[27]

24 *Camb. Hist Ind.*, op. cit., p. 59; Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 531; N. B. Roy, *Successors of Sher Shāh*, p. 33.

25 Badāūnī's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, trans. Ranking, Vol. I, pp. 525-26.

26 The date is sometimes given as 1546 A.D. (*Camb. Hist. Ind., op. cit.*, p. 59) and 1550 A.D.=A. H. 957 (Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 532, note 1). Since the *Rāṇā's* insurrection must have been a widely known fact, the first of the dates is impossible. The Toḍā Rāising inscription shows that the *Rāṇā* did not throw off, the Sūr yoke before the close of 1547 A.D.

27 Cf. note 23 above.

ARDHANĀRĪŚVARA AND A COIN OF KAṆIṢKA

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In a recently published note,[1] Sri Om Prakash Singh has drawn our attention to the reverse device of an interesting coin classed along with the later Kuṣāṇa gold pieces by R. B. Whitehead who describes the device as follows: "Two-armed Śiva standing to front, with noose in right hand and long trident in left; behind him, bull standing to left."[2] But, a closer scrutiny reveals (i) that the left half of the chest is clearly that of a female with a round, well-developed and prominent breast; (ii) that the right half of the chest is seen with a *yajñopavīta*, (iii) that the neck is adorned with a necklace and (iv) that the left leg is covered upto the calf with folds, possibly of a *śāṭikā*, and Sri Singh rightly recognises the figure as the representation of the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva. In this connection, Sri Singh refers to the reverse device of a quarter *dīnāra* of Huviṣka[3] which depicts two figures, a male and a female, standing facing each other, the former described as Oesho and identified with Śiva[4] and the latter described as Nana and identified with Umā, the

1 *JNSI*, Vol. XXX, pp. 195-98.

2 *Catalogue*, Vol. I, Lahore, 1914, p. 211, Pl. XIX. 231. According to Whitehead, the figure depicted on the reverse side of the coin is the same as represented on the reverse of a coin of Vāsudeva (*ibid.*, p. 208, Pl. XIX, 209).

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 197; Pl. XVIII. 135.

4 For different explanations of *Oesho*, see D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 147 note 6; B. Chattopadhyay, *The Age of the Kuṣāṇas*, p. 62 and p. 216, note 53; *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 208.

consort of Śiva, whose figure is also met with on a gold piece of the same king where the goddess has been described as Ommo (Umā).[5] He observes that "this impelled the die-cutters belonging to later Kuṣāṇas to merge both the deities in one; it is significant that this union met with a public success in the sculptures of succeeding ages." He also observes that this is "most probably an early representation of Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva."

There is no doubt that this is one of the earliest representations of Ardhanārīśvara discovered so far. There is also little doubt that this concept of dual-divinity became much popular with the artists of the succeeding ages as is clear from the innumerable Ardhanārīśvara images found from different parts of India.[6] But the view that the die-

5 J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 126.

6 Of the places yielding the image of Ardhanārīśvara, mention may be made of Avantipur in Kashmir (Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, p. 143), Purapara now in East Bengal (N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, 1929, p. 130; *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, 1964, p. 306; *Dacca University History of Bengal*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I, 1943, p. 445), Orissa (H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, pp. 178-79 and Pl. 387), Badami (Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, p. 327, Pl. XCIV), Kodumbalur in Pudukkottah (K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, 1955, p. 756, fig 41), Nāgeśvara temple in Kumbakoṇam (*ibid.*, p. 756, fig. 42; *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, p. 329, Pl. XCV, fig. 1), Vāliśvara temple at Tiruvālīśvaram in the Tirunelveli District (*The Colas*, p. 756, fig. 46), Elephanta (*The Art of Indian Asia*, Plates 256, 258), Khajuraho (S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, 1957, p. 199, Pl. XXXVII, 172), Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore (*The Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 553-54, Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 4), Darasuram (*ibid.*, p. 554, Pl. XXXIX, fig. 4), Mahabalipuram (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 328-29; Pl. XCV, Pl. XCV, fig. 2), Tiruchchigāṭṭanguḍi in the Thanjavur District (*ibid.*, p. 330, Pl. XCCI, fig. 3), Kailāsanāthasvāmin temple at Kāñcīpuram (*ibid.*, p. 330, Pl. XCVI), Madura (*ibid.*, p. 331, Pl. XCVIII).

cutters of the Later Kuṣāṇas were responsible for combining the two divinities into one does not seem very likely in view of the fact that the deity which was represented on the coins seems to have become already popular. This is probable from the fact that a Kuṣāṇa miniature relief from Mathura (Mathura Museum, No. 2520) bears the representation of Ardhanārīśvara.[7] The relief, which is 10″ in length, 2″ in breadth and 7½″ in height was selected in 1933 by V. S. Agrawala from the collection of Pandit Radhakrishna and subsequently acquired by the U. P. Government for the Curzon Museum. There are four standing human figures of which the first (6½″ in height) represents Ardhanārīśvara. Agrawala's description of the image is as follows : "The image has two arms. The right hand is shown in *abhayamudrā* as usual in the Buddha-Bodhisattva images of the Kuṣāṇa period and is connected with the slab by means of a projection similar to that in the Katra Bodhisattva image of the Mathura Museum. The left hand holds a round mirror like the one held by the woman on railing pillar No. J. 5. Above the head is a prominent *jaṭā-jūṭa* covering slightly more than half the portion of the head. The coiffure on the left side is not clearly preserved as the image probably remained under water. The ear-pendants are alike in both ears. The chest on the right side is that of a man, and of a woman on the left marked by a *stana-parisara.* The girdle is sharply distinguished on the right and left sides of the coin. But the most important iconographic feature is the *ūrdhva-liṅga.* This feature also occurs on the four-armed combined Śiva and Liṅga image of the Kuṣāṇa period from Mathura, which was first described by Dr. Coomaraswamy.[9] The

7 *JISOA,* 1937, p. 124.
8 *Studies in Indian Art,* 1965, pp. 191-92, fig. 106.
9 *History of Indian and Indonesian Art,* p. 67, fig. 68.

right leg is slightly bent, the left is straight and wears a *dhotī* reaching down to the ankles, and also has a *pāda-valaya.*"

Agrawala is of the opinion that the Mathura relief represents the "earliest iconographic form of Śiva's *ardhāṅga* aspect which has been found in Indian art so far."[10]

10 *Studies in Indian Art,* p. 191.

ORISSA'S RESOURCES AND POPULATION DISTRIBUTION—A GEOGRAPHICAL EVALUATION

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Introduction. Orissa resembling a roughly hewn palaeolithic hand-axe with the tip pointing south-west intervenes between the moister W. Bengal and the drier Andhra. The name of the state refers to the fact that the Oriya-speaking people form the predominant group and lend a distinct cultural pattern to the area as a whole. Physiographically considered, the State comprises two broad divisions, the coastal plains and the interior tableland. [Map 1.] The tableland shares in the general build of the country to the north in Bihar, to the west in Madhya Pradesh and to the south in Andhra. The coastal plains also share in the features common to the eastern coastal strip of India. Nevertheless, there are certain regional differences that give a distinctive character to the Orissa terrain.

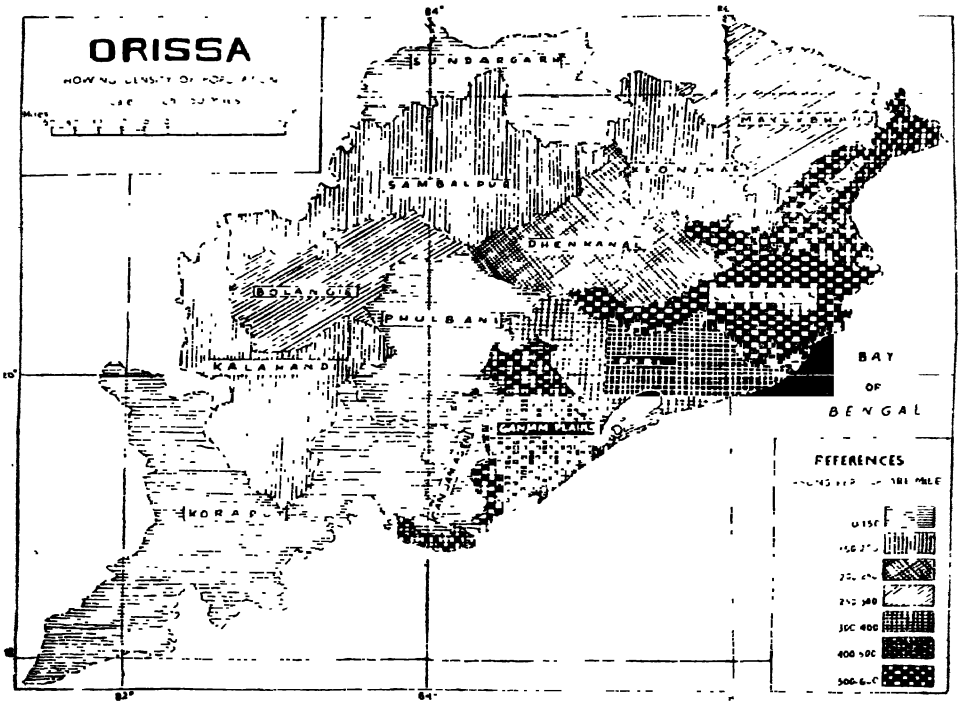
Physical Configuration. The plains of Orissa adjoining the coast stand out in marked contrast to the plateau to the north-west. But they really form intimate units of integrated hydrographic systems known as river basins. In fact, the plateaus, which form the catchment areas for the rivers, have provided materials that have gone to reclaim the deltaic stretches from the Bay of Bengal. The functional hydrological integration is still maintained and the slightest modifications in the thalweg in the lower reaches bring about consequent repercussions higher up and *vice versa.* So hydro-dynamically considered, Orissa actually consists

of the basins of the Mahanadi, Brahmani, Baitarani and a number of smaller streams further to the north and the south. The Saletekeri, a south-western offshoot of the Maikal hills belonging to the Satpura Range of Central India, separates the basin of the Wainganga from those of the Orissa rivers. The northern periphery of the Orissa river basins is formed by the Mainpat and the Netarhat plateaus and finally by the highlands of Singhbhum towards the north-east. To the south, the Bastar highlands stand between the Mahanadi and the river basins draining to the south in Madhya Pradesh. The area thus enclosed by the peripheral highlands is itself the meeting ground of the Eastern Ghats proceeding from the south and the Satpuras stretching from the west in Central India. The strike of the Eastern Ghat rocks is NE-SW while that of the rocks comprising the Satpuras is WNW-ESE. Both these trends are shared by the rocks of the Orissa plateau and it is reflected in the alignment of the ridges and spurs. As a result, the plateau has been divided into roughly rhomboidal blocks separated by valleys also with a broadly parallel disposition. Later complications in the drainage pattern have, however, been introduced by the tectonic pulsations, particularly during the Gondwana period and the Tertiary times. Slope analysis reveals that a considerable portion of the plateau adjoining Chattisgarh, which forms the Upper Mahanadi catchment area, stand at an approximate height of 1000 ft. and further that there is another higher plane at an altitude of 2000 ft. intervening between the first plateau and the coastal strip. Several notable peaks towering above them are Bankasamo (4182′) and Karlapat (3981′) in Kalahandi, Goaldes (2500′) in Daspalla, Mankarnacha (3600′) in Bonai, Gandhamardhan (3480′) in Keonjhar, Malyagiri (3900′) in Pal Lahara and Meghasani (3800′) in Mayurbhanj. The highest

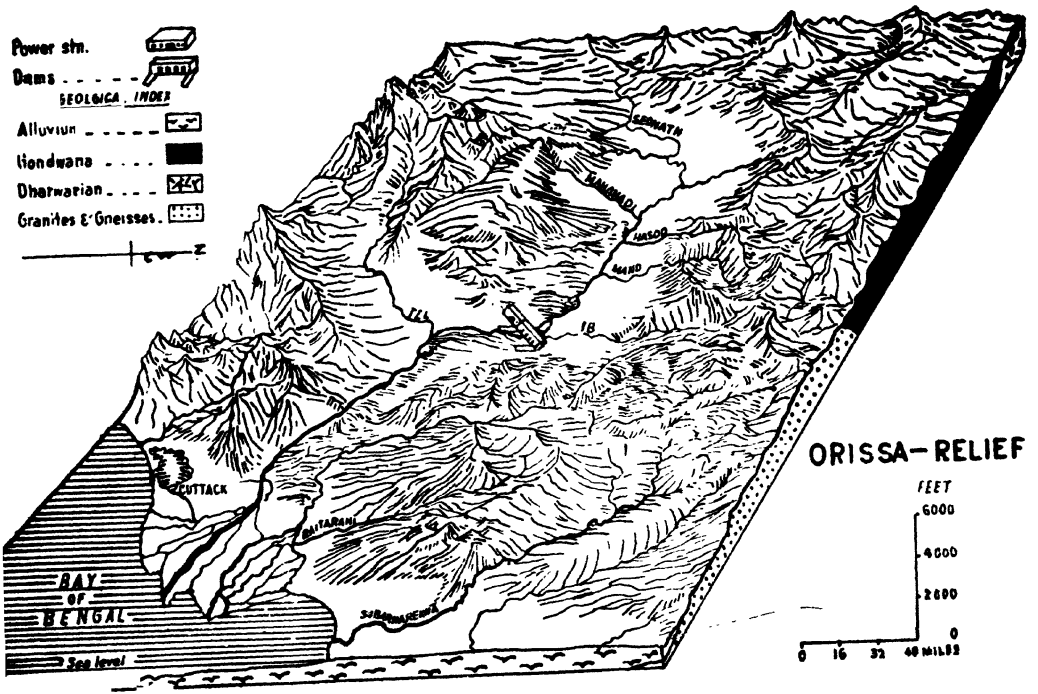
hills are, however, in the Koraput District and mention may be made of the Turaikonda (5244'), Polamokani (5201') and Deomali hills (S486').

Geology. The geology of Orissa and the Chhattisgarh region has been reproduced in the adjoining map based on information available from the Geological Survey of India. [Map 2.] The Chhattisgarh plains are mostly composed of sandstones and limestones of the Cuddapah (Pre-Cambrian) age. These rocks being of nearly horizontal disposition (very low dip) and generally of softer build have given rise to extensive monotonous plains. The Mahanadi and its tributaries flowing over these stretches of rocks have to negotiate a flat country and assume a graded character. But this grading is lost immediately as the rivers plunge into the archean terrain further east when the Mahanadi flows through precipitous gorges suggesting entrenched conditions. The Chhattisgarh region offers at least one instance in Orissa, in which lithological characters mask evidences of rejuvenation, so well preserved in areas not far off.

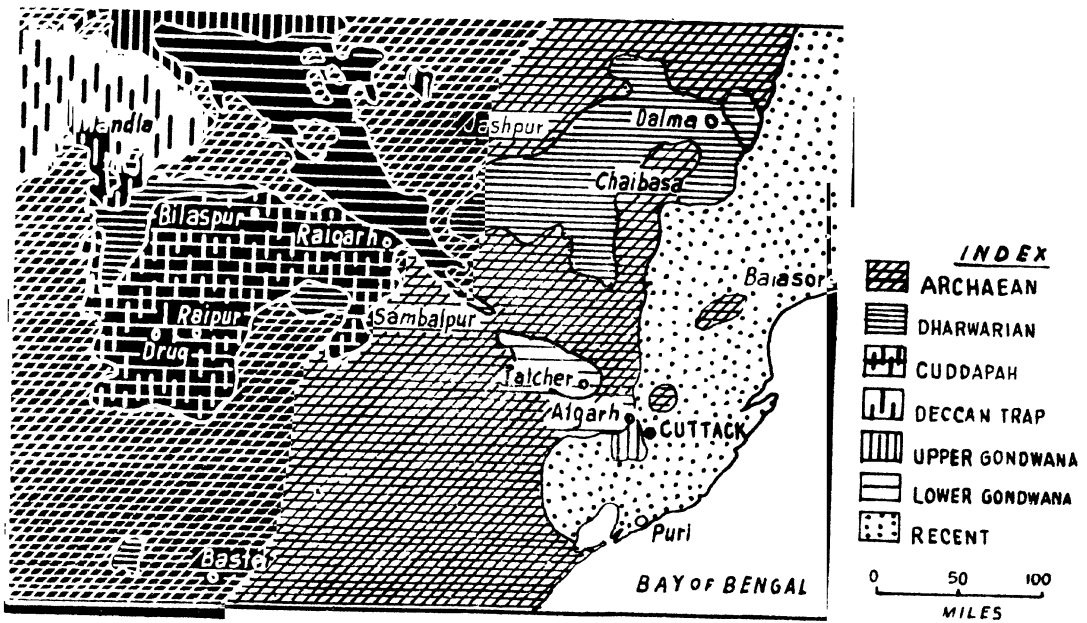
There is also a spread of Gondwana stretching from the Hasdo Valley to the Brahmani roughly along the northern bank of the Mahanadi. These consist of shales, sandstones and coal seams. The rest of the area including the high ridges and peaks are composed of igneous and metamorphic rocks ; granites and schists of early archean age as well as schists, limestones and quartzites of late archaean (Dharwar) times. A large part of this area (left white) is yet to be mapped and those that have already been covered should have to be scrutinised. Besides the above formations, there are evidences of marine transgressions in Mayurbhanj and adjoining areas indicative of fluctuations in sea-level during early Tertiary times due to eustatic and isostatic reasons. An extensive capping of laterite is


ORISSA
SUNDARGARH
SAMBALPUR
DHENKANAL
BOLANGIR
PHULBANI
KALAHANDI
KORAPUT
BAY
OF
BENGAL
REFERENCES

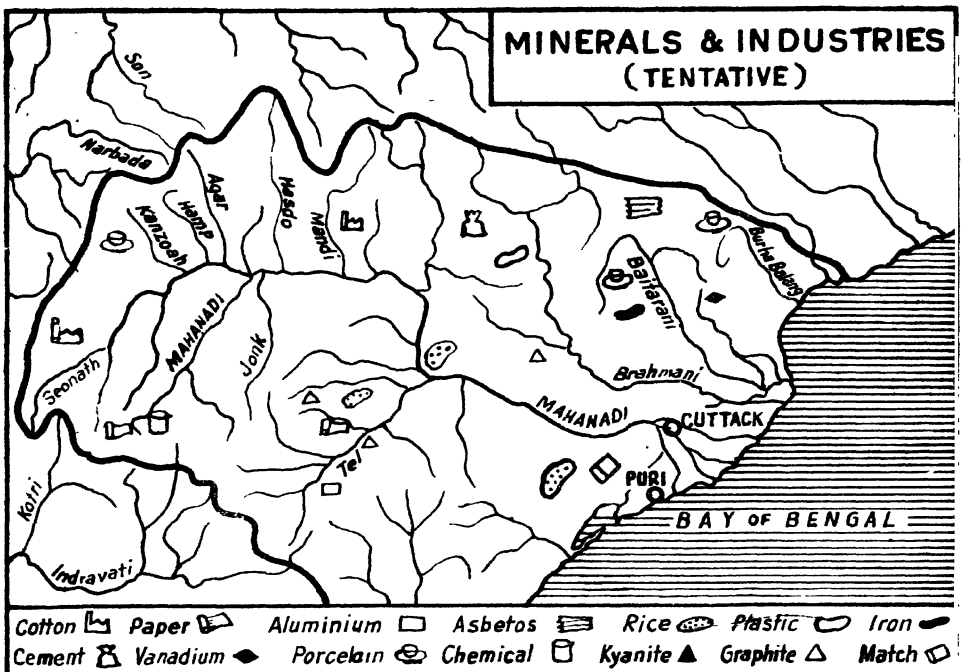
No. 1


Power stn.
Dams
GEOLOGICAL INDEX
Alluvium
Gondwana
Dharwarian
Granites & Gneisses
SAMBALPUR
HIRAKUD
BARAGARH
CUTTACK
BAITARANI
BAY OF BENGAL
Sea level
ORISSA – RELIEF
FEET
6000
4000
2000
0
0 16 32 48 MILES

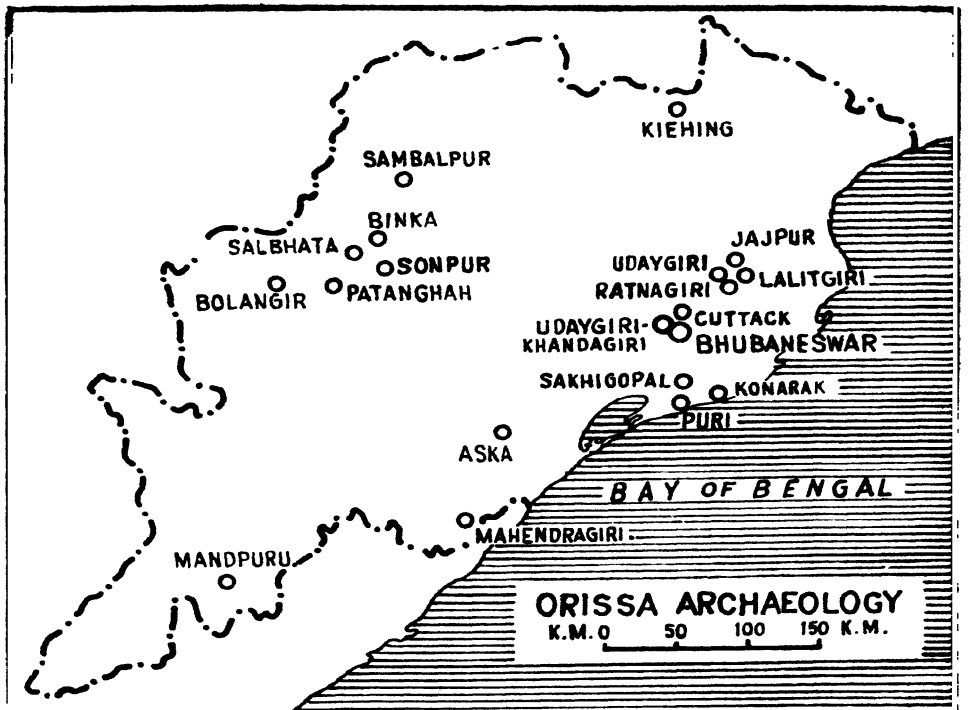
No. 2


Mandla
Jashpur
Dalma
Chaibasa
Bilaspur
Raigarh
Baiasor
Raipur
Sambalpur
Drug
Talcher
Angarh
CUTTACK
Puri
Basta
BAY OF BENGAL
INDEX
ARCHAEAN
DHARWARIAN
CUDDAPAH
DECCAN TRAP
UPPER GONDWANA
LOWER GONDWANA
RECENT
0
50
100
MILES

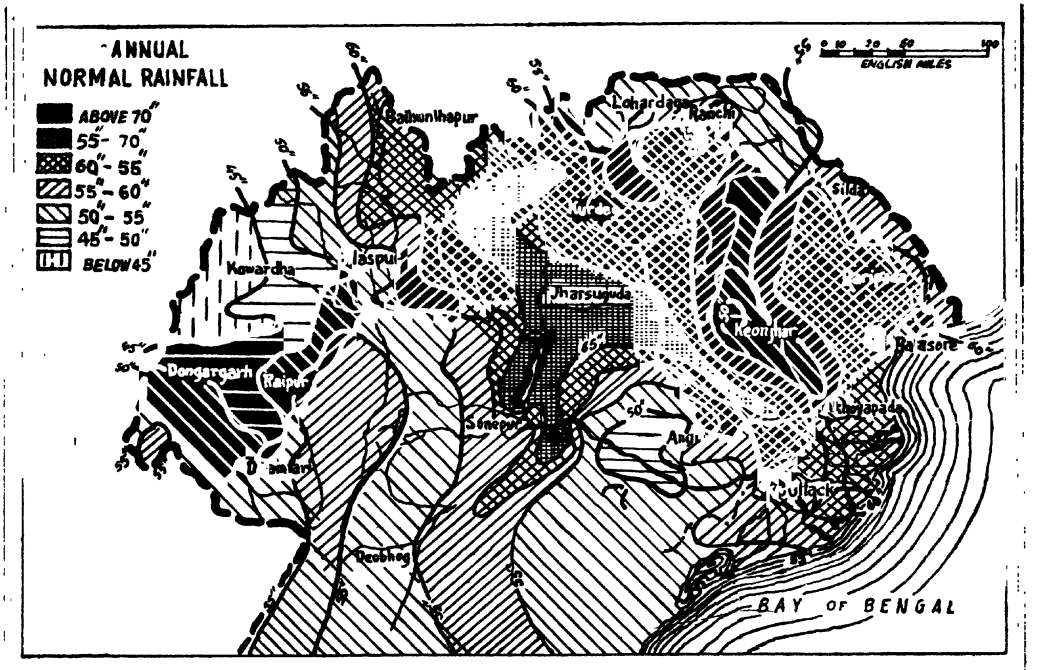
No. 3


MINERALS & INDUSTRIES
(TENTATIVE)
Son
Narbada
Agar
Hasdo
Hasdo
Mandi
Kanzoah
Hasdo
Seonath
MAHANADI
Jonk
Tel
Kolri
Indravati
Baitarani
Burha Balang
Brahmani
MAHANADI
CUTTACK
PURI
BAY OF BENGAL
Cotton
Paper
Aluminium
Asbetos
Rice
Plastic
Iron
Cement
Vanadium
Porcelain
Chemical
Kyanite
Graphite
Match

No. 3A


KIEHING
SAMBALPUR
BINKA
SALBHATA
SONPUR
BOLANGIR
PATANGHAH
JAJPUR
UDAYGIRI
LALITGIRI
RATNAGIRI
UDAYGIRI-
KHANDAGIRI
CUTTACK
BHUBANESWAR
SAKHIGOPAL
KONARAK
PURI
ASKA
BAY OF BENGAL
MAHENDRAGIRI
MANDPURU
ORISSA ARCHAEOLOGY
K.M. 0 50 100 150 K.M.

No. 3B


ANNUAL
NORMAL RAINFALL
ABOVE 70"
55"- 70"
60"- 55"
55"- 60"
50"- 55"
45"- 50"
BELOW 45"
0 10 30 60 100
ENGLISH MILES
Baldwanthapur
Kawardha
Jaspur
Lohardaga
Ranchi
Jhargugda
Keonjhar
Sildā
Balasore
Dongargarh
Raipur
Sonepur
Angul
Cuttack
Bhanjanagar
Pesbhag
BAY OF BENGAL

No. 4

found over most of the rocks of Orissan plateau and this is intimately related to the climatic phenomena of seasonal fluctuations of water tables. The del aic region and the flood plains in the upper catchment areas are built over with alluvik.

Geology and Distribution of Population. The entire plateau with limited exception is composed of ancient crystallines. These rocks under the influence of tropical climate and abundant monsoon-precipitation are highly susceptible to decomposition and very soon disintegrate into a loose matrix. Running water removes the softer minerals leaving the country to be enriched by quartz. This progressive enrichment in silica has led to progressive barrenness. This can be checked only by prevention of leaching and soil-wash aided by addition of humus to the soil. These measures are possible only where the slope is moderate enough for the purpose. Hence cultivation is restricted to moderate slopes. [Map 3]. The higher hills, where slopes are also steeper, were rarely reclaimed for cultivation. Even when the aboriginal people resorted to jhooming, the consequence was of a disastrous nature. Intensive soil erosion in jhoomed patches have imparted a bad-land topography. Now that many of these ridges and tablelands are soon to be brought within the developmental schemes of river valley projects, it is worthwhile to keep in view the petrological limitations for land-use planning.

On the other hand, the flood-plains and the deltaic stretches, by their very nature of formation, are regions that would permit intensive cultivation provided water supply is assured. These regions, therefore, have supported a large density of population. The population map of Orissa speaks eloquently of this. The demographic changes in Orissa, so long, have therefore been intimately bound up with

the vicissitudes of the flood-plain areas and deltaic stretches. The dominating factor behind such vicissitudes has all along been the question of water supply. This aspect will be discussed at length in the subsequent pages. The future developments in the distribution of population will not, however, be confined to the limits of agriculture and the riparian lands. Orissa has a wealth of natural resources, the techniques for the utilisation of which were not so far developed in the country. But with the present emphasis on industrialisation, a number of industries are likely to be developed that will attract population, and industrial and mining communities will spring up.

Natural Resources related to the Bed Rock. The geological formations in Orissa are known to contain a variety of economic minerals varying in size from replacement pocket lenses and fissure fillings up to extensive beds. The following may be mentioned here :

Metallic Ores : Iron, Manganese, Aluminium, Chromium, Vanadium, Titanium, Copper, Lead and Graphite.

Fuel : Coal of the bituminus variety.

Flux : Limestone.

Refractories : Kyanite, Quartz.

Other Minerals : Mica, Asbestos, Fireclay, China clay, Ochres (yellow and red).

Ballast Materials : Quartz pebbles, Dolerite chips and Laterite.

Among metallic minerals, Iron tops the list. The Dharwar rocks (Iron Ore series) of Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Bonai contain rich hematitic ores estimated at several million tons. The deposits at Badampahar, Gorumahisani and Sulaipat in Mayurbhanj have already become famous in international literature, both for their wealth and also for the scientific discussions relating to their origin. These

deposits are being worked for the Tata Iron and Steel Co., the Hindusthan Steel Ltd., and also for export. Export of Iron ores fetched more than 60 crores last year.

Besides producing Iron ores, the same areas are also noted for their supply of Manganese to the tune of millions of tons. [Map 3 A]. Manganese is produced from the same geological formations, the Iron ore series. The Dharwar formations also provide Chromite, Vanadimite, Kyanite, Steatite, Asbestos and China clay from the same areas. Graphite in workable quantities has been reported so far from Bolangir, and Limestone and Dolomite from Sundargarh. The entire supply of flux materials for steel manufacture is provided from the quarries at Birmitrapur. Besides, there are high grade Bauxite deposits in the Girlizuma hills of Korakut and the Karlapat hills of Kalahandi. Coal is rather restricted to the area along the northern bank of the middle Mahanadi valley and the adjoining area in the Brahmani catchment. The Talcher fields are most noted among these. The Coal in Talcher is, however, not of the coking variety and, this being essential for metallurgical purposes, it is worthwhile to investigate if blending can make Talcher Coal into metallurgical type. The output from Rampur, Hemgir, etc., are very small compared to that of Talcher where it is over 3 lakh tons annually. Mining provides a limited field for employment, because of the methods of exploitation.

Flora. The distribution of vegetation is purely a function of climate. Precipitations and temperature, rather than soil, determine the areas given over to different plant communities. The area under forest also varies from region to region. In Mayurbhanj, for example, the area under forest is slightly less than half the total area for the Districts ; in Dhenkanal it is slightly more than half the total area of the District ; it is 16% in Sambalpur and 9.5, 19.0

and 12.8 in Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam respectively. The above figures reveal the fact that the forest coverage for the plateau portion is quite sufficient for purposes of soil management and climate requirements except perhaps locally. In the coastal belts on the other hand, the percentage of land under forest is much below the critical value. The percentage should be stepped up to at least 20, i.e. 10% more land should be reforested.

The system of classification of forests by the Government is useful in this regard and is commendable. It at once gives an indication of the state of things. The classification is as follows: (i) Protection forests, i.e. reserved for soil management and climatic considerations; the area covered under this category is 10,256 sq. miles. (ii) National forests, i.e. those needed for providing raw materials for various industries. (iii) Village forests—to cater to the needs of villagers, e.g., fuels and agricultural implements; also for grazing. (iv) Treelands—those where forests would have to be regenerated.

The total area under forest amounts to 23,000 sq. miles, about one-fifth of the State. Timber and fuel form the most important items of forest revenue amounting to Rs. 50 lakhs approximately. Other items include: bamboo which is widely grown and used for paper pulp, Sabai grass also used for the same purpose, lac, resins, mahua for alcohol, barks and roots for tanning purposes and medicines and *kend* leaves for manufacturing *bidis* or country cigarettes. No accurate assessment of forest wealth is possible without a botanical survey which unfortunately is still to be undertaken.

Cultivated crops include rice, wheat, millets, potato, sugarcane and pulses. Cash crops are also raised, the chief of them being jute, tobacco and cotton.

Fauna. The forests also abound in a variety of wild

animals and provide plentiful supply of game. Tiger, leopard, deer, sambar, bison and animals of other kinds are met with.

Distribution of Population. The map on population would give an idea of its density in different Districts. It would show that the coastal Districts are more populous than the plateau. This is because the mainstay of the people has, so far, been agriculture. The percentage of people engaged in agricultural and allied activities is 82.1 whereas the rest derive their livelihood from miscellaneous activities. Agriculture again is dependent on soil and water supply, and the riparian tracts would be most convenient for this purpose. Hence the population is aligned riverwise. In the Mahanadi basin, for example, the highest concentration is in its delta, as the dot map would show. The second zone of concentration is in the Chhattisgarh area where the flat expanse, the easily cultivable soil and the various tributaries to the Mahanadi provide necessary facilities for agriculture. The same would be true for other river basins also. The geographical distribution of Archaeological structures is also confined to the areas having high population density from early days. [Map 3 B]. Only Dolmens, Menhirs and tools are found over wide areas in the plateau. The hydro-meteorological make-up of Orissa, then, provides a key to the vicissitudes through which the people have passed in course of the past centuries. For it is recorded by eminent historians that "of natural calamities the most dangerous are floods, inundation from the sea and famine...In this District (Balasore) cyclones were recorded on the 27th May, 1823, 31st October, 1831, and again in October, 1832. The most violent cyclones of recent years were those of 1872, 1885 and 1887. The cyclone of 1832 was followed by a severe drought in 1833 and from 1831 to 1833 more than 50,000 people perished

in the District. The cyclones of 1885 caused more damage in the Katak District than in Balasore. In addition to cyclones and tidal waves, the Balasore District suffers from inundation of rivers. [Map 4]. The Subarnarekha, Burhabalang and Baitarani are liable to periodical inundations and the flood waters of the Subarnarekha have sometimes travelled twelve miles inland. In 1868 a fortnight's heavy rain caused a flood which was the highest within the memory of men. [Map 5]. Another disastrous flood occurred in 1896 when the entire country remained under water for nearly a month. The last recorded flood was that in 1800 when the water level rose more than 18 inches than all previously recorded heights. In all of these floods, the whole of the cattle was destroyed, though loss of life was not so severe." The picture has not changed substantially even now.

Similar tales are also recorded not only for Cuttack, Puri and other coastal areas ; but harrowing tales of flood and drought also come from the inland plateau tract. The floods of September, 1955, involved the entire stretch of the delta though its intensity was more concentrated in the districts of Cuttack and Puri. The reason for the flood, as has already been suggested, is to be sought in the hydrometeorological characteristics. The rivers Mahanadi, Brahmani, Baitarani, Salandi, Kopali, etc., are all funnel-shaped and the heads of the funnels are in the plateau, the necks pointing south-east. The precipitation in these funnel-shaped catchments converge before entering into the deltaic tract. On the other hand, the rain-bearing cyclonic storms approach the coast from a S-E direction and proceed N-W over the plateau. Thereby, the deltaic channels receive rain earlier and remain inflated and therefore find it extremely difficult to dispose of the upland water when it arrives. The situation worsens where the

precipitation is concentrated within an incredibly short stretch of time. If, over and above this, high tidal currents are set up by the impact of the cyclonic storms, persisting for hours, as a result, the level of the sea rises, minimising the slope of the rivers. All these reasons sometimes combine to catastrophic effects from which the people in the deltaic tract have suffered so much and so often. Statistical data go to prove that even catchments of comparatively smaller streams, like the Tel, may cause floods lower down the confluence with the Mahanadi due to local rain-storms.

It has now been proved that the problem of floods in Orissa rivers should be tackled through integrated developments of river basins. The Hirakud Project has well shown the way, however inadequately. The other dams provided in the blue print of the Mahanadi should not be delayed. The Satkosia and the Naraj along with the Hirakud Dam would provide adequate flood protection. The Brahmani and the Baitarani, as also the Burhabalang deserve equal attention. With the moderation of floods and the generation of power, it may ultimately be possible to bring about a realignment of population and their shift to the plateau as centres for industries develop in the upper valleys where power would lit up the slumbering resources.*

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Part III

REMINISCENCES AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

SECTION I

TEACHERS

GEORG THIBAUT

(1848-1914)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Asutosh Mookerjee lighted the lamp of learning in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture through a German scholar, Georg Thibaut, who was appointed the first Carmichael Professor of AIHC when the chair was created in the year 1912.

Georg Thibaut was born in Heidelberg, Germany, on the 23rd March, 1848. He studied in Heidelberg and Berlin, and worked as assistant to Maxmüller in England in 1871. In 1875, he was offered Professorship at the Benares Sanskrit College. From 1879 to 1888, he acted as Principal there. From 1888 to 1895, he was Professor in the Allahabad College and worked also as Principal there from 1895.

Thibaut is famous for his studies in the celebrated astronomical work, Varāhamihira's *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (which he translated into English in collaboration with Sudhakar Dvivedi) and in the *Śulbasūtras* on which he contributed a paper to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XLIV, Part I, 1875). He also edited and translated into English the *Vedāntasūtras* in three volumes (1890-1904) and Vidyāraṇya-muni's *Vivaraṇaprameyasaṅgraha* (*Indian Thought*, Vols. I-III, 1907-11). He translated, in collaboration with Ganganath Jha, Śrīharṣa's *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* under

the title *Sweets of Refutatian* (1913). He contributed many papers on ancient Indian astronomy and mathematics which include 'Contribution to the Study of the Jyotiṣavedāṅga' (*JASB*, 1876) and 'On the *Sūryaprajñapti*' (*ibid*, 1880).

When, from 1907 onwards, the University of Calcutta started inviting distinguished scholars, both Indian and foreign, for Readership Lectures at the University, Georg Thibaut was one of the first batch of scholars who were appointed Readers of the University. He delivered lectures on the 'Astronomies of the Ancient Oriental Nations.'

Thibaut occupied the chair of the Carmichael Professor during the session 1913-14. He died on the 16th October, 1914, in Berlin (Lichterfelde).*

Ramesh Kumar Billorey

* The author is greatful to Prof. Alsdorf of Hamburg University and Dr. H. Winterberg of Max Müller Bhavan, Calcutta, for information about Georg Thibaut.

L. K. ANANTHAKRISHNA IYER

(1862-1937)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Dewan Bahadur Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, who died at the age of 75 on the 26th February, 1937, in his native village of Lakshminarayanapuram near Palghat, was one of the small band of pioneers in Indian Anthropological studies. He was for several years the curator of the Museum at Trichur and Superintendent of Ethnography of the former Cochin State. His first important work on the Cochin tribes and castes was published in 1909 in two volume which attracted the attention of European and American scholars. He followed this up with his monograph on the Syrian Christians and was entrusted in 1924 with the task of completing and editing the Ethnographic Survey of Mysore begun by Dewan Bahadur H.V. Nanjundayya in 1903. The large mass of material on the 34 tribes and castes of Mysore collected by Dewan Bahadur Nanjundayya was shifted and edited by Dr. Iyer who made also large additions and published the work in four volumes.

Dr. Iyer's reputation as an Anthropologist led to his being invited by Asutosh Mookerjee to organise the Department of Anthropology in Calcutta University of which he remained the Senior Lecturer and Head of the Department till his retirement in 1932. During his tenure in Calcutta University, he conducted several field trips with the advanced students of Anthropology, and published some important papers on the social and religious institutions of the peoples of India.

Dr. Iyer visited Europe in 1934 when he was awarded the degree of Hon. Doctor of Medicine of Breslau University and was elected an Honorary Member of the International Congress of Anthropologists, and also one of the Vice-Chairmen of its sections of Ethnography and Sociology. During the trip, Dr. Iyer visited Italy, France and Germany, besides England, and delivered several lectures in these countries. After his return from Europe, he was associated with Prof. Cipriani of Italy in carrying out some important anthropological investigation among the Coorgs.

Dr. Iyer was a corresponding Member of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, the American Bureau of Ethnology and the Anthropological Societies of Florence and Vienna. He was also a Foundation Fellow of the National Institute of Science of India and the Indian Academy of Sciences of Bangalore and Vice-President of the newly founded Indian Institute of Anthropology. He was also an Associate Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1910 to 1928.

In his private life, the Dewan Bahadur was very amiable and charming in his manners and his habits were those of a simple orthodox Brāhmaṇa.

B. S. Guha*

* [From the *Year Book* of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (*JPRASB*, 3rd Series, Vol. IV), 1938, pp. 131-32. The Dewan Bahadur took a few classes with AIHC, Group V (Anthropology).—D.C.S.]

SARATCHANDRA MITRA

(1863-1938)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Saratchandra Mitra, M.A., B.L., was born in a very respectable Kayastha family of Calcutta on the 15th November 1863. After a distinguished academic career, he started his life as a lawyer at Chapra in North Bihar, where his father was the Government Pleader. From his boyhood, however, his tastes lay in the dire tion of literary pursuits. While practising as a lawyer, he began his studies of the folk-lore and folk-beliefs prevalent in North Bihar, which he continued till the very end of his life. In 1921, the Department of Anthropology was started in Calcutta University, and Saratchandra joined the University to teach Social Anthropology, which he did till 1926, when he retired due to failing health and eye-sight.

Saratchandra was a man of amiable nature and was very much loved by a'l who came in contact with him. A very prolific writer, he contributed 362 papers to the Anthropological Society of Bombay, 107 to the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, 37 to the *National Magazine*, Calcutta, 34 to the *Man in India*, Ranchi, 24 to the Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 21 to the *Hindustan Review*, 12 to the *Journal* of the Department of Letters, and 45 to the Bihar and Orissa Research Society's *Journal*. Twenty more were pending publication in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* at the time of his death. The bulk of his papers were published by the Anthropological Society of Bombay, of which he was a Corresponding Member since 1895.* He was one of the pioneers of Anthropological studies in India and made

valuable contributions to our knowledge of myths, customs and folklore of the century. His knowledge of comparative folklore was vast and his "Studies in Bird and Plant Myths" regularly published in the *Journal of the Mythic Society* of Bangalore, are unique of their kind. By his death on the 15th of December 1938, at the age of 76, Indian Anthropology lost a most devoted and erudite scholar.*

* [Adapted from an obituary appearing in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXIX, No. 4. Saratchandra took a few classes with AIHC, Group V (Anthropology). A bigger biographical sketch of Saratchandra, with a list of his published writings, appeared in Sankar Sengupta's *Folklorists of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 53-87.—D.C.S.]

ABINASCHANDRA DAS

(1867-1936)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Abinaschandra Das, third son of Haricharan Das, a distinguished teacher and a Deputy Inspector of Schools, was born on the 19th February, 1867, at Bankura. Ramananda Chatterjee, another illustrious son of Bankura, was his lifelong friend and admirer. After taking his early education from Bankura, Abinaschandra joined the Ranchi Zilla School from where he passed the Entrance Examination in 1883 with credit. The subsequent examinations of Calcutta University, F.A. and B.A. (with Honours in English), he passed from the Patna College in 1886 and 1888 respectively. He entered the Presidency College, Calcutta, and passed the M.A. examination in English in 1889 and became a Bachelor of Law in 1891. He capped his brilliant academic career with the Ph. D. degree in History, which he obtained from Calcutta University in 1921.

Abinaschandra belonged to a generation that came very largely under the influence of the Hindu revival of the closing quarter of the last century. Though a child of English education, he represented the type of staunch nationalism.

In 1892 Abinaschandra joined the Bankura Bar as a pleader. Side by side with his practice, he took a keen interest in vernacular literature and journalism. He accepted service in the same year, under the Azimgunj Zamindary Estate (Murshidabad), as Manager and Gurdian Tutor of Bijoy Singh Dudhoria. Azimgunj now became the centre of his activities. He established himself as a literary figure and distinguished journalist. Abinaschandra nearly completed his thesis on 'Ṛgvedic India' at Azimgunj. He left

Azimgunj at the beginning of 1920 and joined the Alipore Bar for a short time.

English education had breathed a new life into the dry bones of India, and signs of religious and social revolt were evident on all sides. Patriotism was perhaps the only passion in Abinaschandra's life. He was a regular contributor to the leading English and Bengali periodicals from 1882. After working for sometime as correspondent of *The Indian Mirror* and *The Bengalee*, he became immensely interested in journalism. Narendra Nath Sen of *The Indian Mirror* and Surendra Nath Banerjee, a political leader of towering stature, played a prominent part in shaping and guiding Abinaschandra's public opinion on important political, social and religious questions.

The years 1904-06 saw the great upheaval of Swadeshi agitation. And Bengal witnessed a growing political consciousness during its partition in 1905. In these stormy days, Abinaschandra joined *The Indian Mirror* in the year 1905 as its assistant editor and remained there in the same capacity upto 1910. He was entrusted with the charge of editing *The Bengalee* in 1904-05. His exercise in the field of vernacular journalism proved to be very fruitful. His *Swadesh* launched as a weekly in 1905 had a chequered career. He had the credit of editing vernacular journals like *Zamindary Pañcāyet* (1892), *Gandhavaṇik* (1905) and *Sanātanī* (1910). He wielded a facile and powerful pen which enabled him to shape and direct public opinion in the country.

His growing reputation as a scholar attracted the notice of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who invited him to join Calcutta University. Dr. Abinaschandra Das joined the University in 1920 as Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture. He was closely connected with the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad and the Asiatic Society. The authorities of the Gurukul University invited him to deliver a course of lectures on

Vedic India. Abinaschandra presided over the Sarasvatī Sammelana and Veda Sammelana of the Gurukul University in connection with its silver jubilee celebration on the 16th March, 1927. His *Ṛgvedic India* was published by Calcutta University in 1921. His other monumental work, *Ṛgvedic Culture*, came out in 1925. He was the author of many other valuable books and monographs. He retired from Calcutta University in 1932. He contributed to the *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta University), *Calcutta Review*, *Modern Review*, and many other English and vernacular journals. A man of encyclopaedic learning, a historian and litterateur, a fearless journalist, an embodiment of self force, a patriot noted for his nobility of thought and deed and selfless devotion to service, Abinaschandra died on the 5th September, 1936.

Besides Abinaschandra's books mentioned above, his publications in English include *The Vaiśya Caste* (1903). Among his Bengali works, mention may be made of the novels *Palāśvan* (1896), *Kumārī* (1316 B.S.), *Araṇyavās* (1321 B.S.) and *Durgārāṇī* (1330 B.S.). There is also a poem entitled *Gāthā* (1909), a drama entitled *Prabhāvatī* (1329 B.S.) and a prose work called *Sītā* (1297 B.S.). Mention may also be made of *Nāhār Vaṁśa Paricay*, and *Gandhavaṇik Jātir Prācīn O Vartamān Itihās* (1330 B.S.). These do not exhaust the list of Abinaschandra's published works.

Haradhan Dutta*

* [A communication on Abinaschandra was also received by us from his son Dr. L. N. Das who is a medical practitioner of Bankura — D.C.S.]

ABANINDRANATH TAGORE

(1871-1951)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Abanindranath passed away on the 5th December full of years and honours. What he did for the revival of art in India and for "the restoration of nerve", so to say, among our artists, and of good taste among the public in our country, has become a part of the recent cultural history of India. Abanindranath has been acknowledged as the great artist who has been primarily helpful for present-day India to get back her soul in the domain of art. He, by the productions of his own genius in painting and the crafts and by training a number of very eminent artists, who later in life did a signal service in reviving the study and practice of art in India, came into the field at the turn of this century, although he had been a practising artist for some years before that.

As early as 1921, Rene Grousse, the eminent French histo ian and art-critic, had become quiet alive to the ignificant position of Abanindranath in the history of art in India. When Abanindranath took up the task of bringing our Indian intelligentia back to an appreciation of their national art, like all great men, he was at first misunderstood, and even vilified. But both by his pictures and by his writi gs, he was one of the greatest Bengali stylists of the present age, and people began to appreciate the value of his achievement and the importance of his ideas. Later on, what was originally apathy, and even opposition, became transformed into interest and enthusiasm, and finally into a profound respect.

Abanindranath was acknowledged as one of the leaders of the artistic world during the beginning of this century. He was a pioneer for the whole of India, and most of the artists of the two or three generations, during the first half of this century, within India, were either his direct pupils or the pupils of his pupils; or they derived inspiration from him in an indirect way. When our normal power of vision was lost in matters of art, when we were just groping our way in the domain of art, putting on the coloured glasses acquired from the European art school, and looking at everything in art through those glasses only, Abanindranath made his advent, and he tried to take away those coloured glasses from us and to restore to us our own power of sight (and insight) for art. At a veritable period of decay and crisis in the domain of art, Abanindranath came with the message of ancient Indian art which found a new expression through his tunes and his colours as well as his subject. He showed a new path to India, and removed from her the stigma of poverty in ideas and impotency in creation in the field of art.

Some of Abanindranath's famous pictures are 'A Moonlight Music Party', 'The Feast of Lamps', 'Lovers in Summer', 'The Woman going to her Tryst', 'The Siddhas of the Upper Air',' Buddha and Sujātā' and 'Shāh Jahān's Last Days'.

The first task of the teacher in painting is to enable the artist to see "the light that never was on sea and land", if his art was not to be merely imitative. After that, he has to train up the hand of the artist, to depict in sure and strong line, throbbing with life, what he saw and to bring in all the life and vitality, and verisimilitude and imaginitiveness which colour possesses. Abanindranath undoubtedly was successful in both.

Abanindranath followed the old tradition of Indian miniature painting on paper and silk in watercolour. So he has no big canvases (in the European style) to his credit. His pictures are all in the style of mediaeval Indian miniatures. But he showed a wonderful variety and sense of rhythm and colour in all of these. We can think of his first few romantic pictures which he painted in the nineties of the last century, including also that marvellous series of pictures illustrating Bengal Vaiṣṇava lyrics dealing with the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

Abanindranath's pictures representing various gods and goddesses are also well known—an Ardhanārīśvara here, or a Gaṇeśa there. But in this matter, he inspired his greatest pupil Nandalal Bose to the fullest. Apart from his romantic pictures, a few of his portraits are wonderful. They gave out in sensitive form and colour the Inner Man that is behind the portrait. He was also a great satirist in his art. We see the romantic vein in his illustration of the 'Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam' and, at the same time, we see the spirit of burlesque interspersed with his sense of romance as well as realism in that series which he calls "the Arabian Nights"—depicting the atmosphere of Indian high life in Calcutta during the latter half of the last century. His bird and animal sketches and his pictures of Indian types and Indian scenes are also very characteristic.

Abanindranath, of course, lives in his pictures ; and as the days pass, their value becomes greater and greater in the minds of art lovers. But over and above that, he lives also in the work of his most prominent pupils like Nandalal Bose, Asitkumar Haldar, Kshitindranath Majumdar, Surendranath Ganguli, Jamini Roy (who later on developed an independent line of his own, on the basis of Bengali folk art) and others. The greatest gift of Abanindranath

to his country and to the artistic world was his pupil Nandalal Bose.

In writing the History of Art and Culture in modern India, Abanindranath and his achievement have to be given their due place. His position in Indian art is as great as that of Rabindranath Tagore in literature. It is indeed a matter of good fortune that India has been able to nurse at the same time two incomparable sons of hers, in the field of literature and art, namely Rabindranath Tagore and Abanindranath Tagore. Such great men have been described as the blessings of God upon a particular people, and upon humanity as well.

Abanindranath was not only a great artist in line and colour and form, but had a discriminating eye which saw beauty in every form. In his later life, he had busied himself in finding out form and beauty in common things which were round about us and were discarded as useless junk; and with a little touch here and there, he could transform what was a useless branch or root of a tree, a clod of earth, or a piece of stone with a peculiar shape, into something artistic which came to acquire an aesthetic value and function. But there was another aspect of his artistic personality. He was a consummate artist in Bengali literature, and the little books which he has left are masterpieces of style in Bengali romantic as well as satirical writing—his *Śakuntalā*, *Kṣīrer Putul*, *Rājkāhinī* and *Bhūt-Petnīr Deś*, and also his satirical dramas in Bengali verse and prose. Abanindranath easily merits a chapter in the history of Bengali literature. He was also a master of many of the little artistic crafts which no real artist could ignore.

From all these aspects, we can only offer our homage of respect to a great Seer and a great Creative Artist, to a Conservator and a Renovator, and above all, to an Artist

who opened up our eyes and showed us how we could love, for the culture of our own soul, the great things that Art can bring to us and the Art of our country has left for us.

Sunitikumar Chatterjee*

* [Adapted from Prof. Chatterji's article in *JISOA*, Golden Jubilee Number, 1961. Help was rendered in this matter by Sri R. K. Billorey. Abanindranath occupied the chair of the Bageshwari Professor in 1926-29. See above, p. 8.—D.C.S.]

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

(1873-1942)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, son of Kaliprasad Chanda, was born at Śrīdharkholā in the District of Dacca, on the 15th August, 1873. After obtaining the B.A. Degree of Calcutta University in 1896 from the Duff College, Calcutta, he began his career as a school teacher first in a few non-government institutions of Bengal and U.P., and then in the Hindu School, Calcutta, whence he came over to the Rajshahi Collegiate School. In his leisure hours, Ramaprasad devoted himself to the study of Indian antiquity and anthropology, and occasionally contributed papers to Oriental periodicals. Chapters I and II of his *Indo-Aryan Races*, were the outgrowth of two such papers, published in the *East and West*, Bombay, in 1905 and 1907.

In the second session of the Bengal Literary Conference held at Rajshahi in 1909, Ramaprasad was introduced to Kumar Saratkumar Ray of Dighapatiya, who, on behalf of the organisers of the Conference, requested him to undertake the preparation of a work on the origin of the Bengali people, and he readily agreed. In the next session of the Conference held at Bhagalpur, he read a paper on the work entrusted to him and done during the year. He also accompanied Saratkumar Ray and Akshaykumar Maitra on a visit to the antiquarian remains in the vicinity of Bhagalpur. They were greatly impressed with the antiquities they saw, and, on their return, organised a party in April, 1910, to explore a few ancient sites in the neighbourhood of Rajshahi. In this trip, they collected no less than 32 pieces of sculpture, including the life-size statue of Pārvatī from Mandoil, now exhibited in the Varendra Research Society's Museum.

Ramaprasad persuaded Saratkumar to arrange for the preservation of the sculptures at Rajshahi in the hope that a centre of archaeological research might eventually be created there. This small collection formed the nucleus of the present Varendra Research Society's Museum at Rajshahi, which thus owes its inception to Ramaprasad's foresight.

Emboldened by the first success, the party ventured to undertake a second tour, in the following June, to explore the Archaeological remains about the borders of the Rajshahi and Bogra Districts. In course of this tour, Saratkumar, Akshayumar and Ramaprasad conceived the idea of organising a Research Society which was formally inaugurated in the following September as the Varendra Research Society. Saratkumar became its President, Akshaykumar the Director and Ramaprasad the first Honorary Secretary. Saratkumar contributed Rs. 200 per month towards the general expenses of the society till 1917, when the Government of Bengal sanctioned a recurring grant of Rs. 100 per month for the upkeep of the collection. Since then, Saratkumar's contribution was reduced to Rs. 50 per month and was continued to be paid for several years till the Society could support itself.

Year after year, the three organisers of the Society undertook tours of systematic exploration in different parts of Varendra (North Bengal) and succeeded in building up a valuable collection of archaeological treasures which were housed in 1919 in a museum building, erected by Saratkumar for the Society. Of the publications promised by the Society, Ramaprasad compiled the first of the series, *Gauḍarājamālā*, Part I, a small volume in Bengali dealing with the political history of Bengal during the early period. This and the Society's second publication, *Gauḍalekhamālā*, Part I, by Akshaykumar, both appeared in 1912 and were welcomed by the educated men of Bengal. Ramaprasad's

well-known work, the *Indo-Aryan Races*, appeared in 1916 and was highly appreciated by eminent scholars.

Encouraged by the success of explorations on the surface, the Society soon ventured to undertake excavations of ancient mounds, which, however, required technical experience. In response to the Society's representation, Sir John Marshall, then Director-General of Archaeology in India, very kindly agreed to take in Ramaprasad as an Archaeological scholar in his Department in 1917 to give him the necessary training in excavation work. During this period, Ramaprasad compiled *A Catalogue* for the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi, Bhopal State, in collaboration with Maulvi Muhammad Hamid and Pandit Ramchandra Kak. He also contributed two valuable monographs to the series of "Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India". These were *Dates of the Votive Inscriptions on the Stūpa at Sanchi* (Memoir No. 1) and *Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava Tradition* (Memoir No. 5).

Sir John Marshall proposed that Ramaprasad should be appointed an Assistant Superintendent of Archaeology and placed in charge of the Rajshahi Museum. The scheme did not, however, find acceptance with the Government of Bengal and had therefore to be abandoned. On his return from the Archaeological Survey, Ramaprasad h d a few misfortunes in his family and desired therefore to leave Rajshahi. How much the Varendra Research Society is indebted to him will be appreciated to some extent from the following observations of Saratkumar in a Presidential address, delivered at the Society, at its Annual General Meeting, held on the 27th July, 1927 : "For myself I can say that, but for his assurance of co-operation, I would never have agreed to incur the heavy expenditure that the maintenance of this institution in its earlier stage and the erection of this building involved, and would have never personally undertaken the troubles that the explora-

tions of sites and collection of antiquities for over a decade entailed."

Thanks to the kind offices of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Ramaprasad was appointed a Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture in Calcutta University in 1919. When the new Department of Anthropology was started, Ramaprasad became the Head of that Department.

But his experience at Rajshahi soon called him to the service of the premier museum of India. On the 23rd May, 1921, he was appointed Superintendent of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, to be in exclusive charge of this extensive and important collection. During the tenure of this office, in addition to his duties at the Museum including the rearrangement and development of the collection, he contributed the following monographs to the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India : (1) *The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India with special reference to Sculptures in the Indian Museum* (No. 30); (2) *The Indus Valley in the Vedic Period* (No. 31); (3) *Survival of the Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus Valley* (No. 41); and (4) *Exploration in Orissa* (No. 44).

The value of these works is based on his thorough and critical knowledge of original texts and monuments. They are of particular importance because of his attempt to co-ordinate archaeological data with ancient literary evidence. The number of articles contributed by him to the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India and other periodicals during this period is also by no means small.

Ramaprasad presided over the History Section of a Session of the Bengal Literary Conference. His small brochure entitled *Mūrti O Mandir* (Calcutta, 1924), which is of more than usual interest because of its many thought-provoking suggestions, was compiled in Bengali on this occasion for his Presidential address.

In Calcutta, Ramaprasad came in close touch with the Asiatic Society of Bengal. He became a member of the Society on the 1st September, 1920, and was elected a Fellow on the 1st February, 1922. He also joined the Council of the Society in 1921 as Anthropological Secretary and was re-elected to the same office in 1922, 1923, 1936 and 1937.

In recognition of his scholarly attaiments, the distinction of 'Rai Bahadur' was conferred on him in 1925. He retired from the Archaeological Survey of India in 1932. But although he had been suffering from heavy blood pressure for some time, he continued his studies with unremitting zeal. He was elected a Sectional President in a Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, but could not attend the gathering for reasons of health.

In spite of his bad health, he crossed over to England and read a paper at the World Anthropological Conference held in London in 1934. On a visit to the galleries of the British Museum, his enthusiasm was stirred by a collection of well-preserved mediaeval sculptures from different parts of Northern India, which were going to be weeded out in the rearrangement of the galleries of Oriental Religions. Ramaprasad was, however, so impressed with the importance of the collection that he volunteered to devote a monograph to it and assist the authorities of the Museum in their task of revision. The outcome of his labours in this connection was a small volume entitled *Mediaeval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum* (London, 1936). In appreciation of this work, R. L. Hobson, Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities and of Ethnography, British Museum, wrote in the Introduction : "The full explanations given of the various motifs will be widely welcomed. The subjects depicted in the sculpture reliefs are so complex that, without some instruction in their

meaning, the spectator is liable to be robbed of part of his pleasure by sheer bewilderment. When he understands the incidents depicted, as he will do after reading the stories told by the Rai Bahadur, he will be able to enjoy whole-heartedly the singular beauty of the Indian sculptor's work and to appreciate the enthusiasm which inspired this monograph."

About the middle of May, 1942, Ramaprasad paid a visit to Allahabad. There he fell a victim to Angina Pectoris and passed away peacefully on the 28th May. Thus ended a noble career given exclusively to study and research.

Niradbandhu Sanyal*

* [From his article appearing in the *Modern Review*, Calcutta, August, 1942.—D.C.S.]

HARANCHANDRA CHAKLADAR

(1874-1958)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The news of the passing away of Haranchandra Chakladar on the 19th January, 1958, was received with sincere regret by everyone who had occasion to come in contact with him. Absolutely straight-forward with a seriousness of purpose and austerity in habit, he won the unbounded devotion of those who worked with him. A great scholar, linguist, historian and anthropologist, burning with a zeal of patriotic fervour, Haranchandra was one of those in whom was to be found the ancient ideal of plain living and high thinking.

Born in a small village, Dakshinpara (Karttikpur), Faridpur (now in East Pakistan) in 1874, he graduated in 1896 and secured his M.A. degree in the following year.

In the prime of his youth Haranchandra came in contact with Satish Chandra Mukherjee of Swadeshi fame and the saint Vijaykrishna Goswami. The two played a great role in shaping his life and activity. It was at a time when Bengal, nay the whole of India, was feeling the pulsation of a great awakening : Swami Vivekananda was preaching his gospel of truth in the West and Sri Arabindo was stressing on the necessity of purification of the soul. Mukherjee wanted to give it a practical shape. His first step was to awaken in all a consciousness of the cultural heritage of the past and then to introduce a system of education which must be national in character and modern in outlook. With this object in view he founded "The Bhāgavata Catuṣpāṭhī" with Pandit Durgacharan Sankhyavedantatirtha as its head, and a monthly organ the *Dawn*. In all these, Haranchandra was his worthy

lieutenant, and the keen interest which he showed brought him a unique position in Oriental scholarship in later days. Through the medium of the *Dawn*, he brought home to the reading public a sense of appreciation of the cultural heritage of Ancient India and the condition of Bengal, especially that of the peasantry, under foreign domination. A man of manifold interests, wide experience, remarkable linguistic equipment (Sanskrit, English, German, French, Italian and a number of Indian languages) and a meticulously careful worker, he was particularly well qualified to deal with the great task entrusted to him. His style was clear and incisive and he showed, in everything he wrote, his command of the literature on the subject.

Besides being an active member of the literary section of the Dawn Society (founded in 1902), he worked hard for its industrial section and ran a store with a view to develop cottage industry and to popularise its output among the student community. And when the call for his wholetime co-operation came, he gave up his service in the Postal Department and joined the National Council of Education as one of its organisers and teachers in 1906. But in 1910, he severed his connection with the Council when he saw that his continuance would mean sacrificing his ideal which was so dear to him. Then he joined, in succession as teacher, the Ripon College (1913-15), the Bihar National College (1915-17) and again the Ripon College (1917-18). Then he was invited to join the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the University of Calcutta. On the opening of the Department of Anthropology in Calcutta University in 1920, his services were requisitioned for that Department. He served the University of Calcutta for about two decades and worked for sometime as Head of the Department of Anthropology. He retired from active service in 1937.

As an ideal Hindu of the old School, Haranchandra spent the later part of his life in studies and meditation. During this period, he was for sometime in charge of an Āśrama at Puri and retired from it only when his health did not permit him to continue any longer.

T. C. Raychaudhuri*

* [From *Man in India*, Vol. 38, No. 2, April-June, 1958, pp. 138 ff. Haranchandra's published works, besides articles appearing in the *Dawn* and other periodicals, include the following books—(1) *The First Outline of the Systematic Anthropology of Asia* (translated from the Italian original by V. G. Ruggeri), Calcutta, 1921; (2) *Studies in the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana*, Calcutta, 1924; (3) *Aryan Occupation of Eastern India in Early Vedic Times*, Calcutta, 1925; (4) *Social Life in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1929; (5) *Śri-Gurugranth Sāhibjī* (translated with notes from the Gurumukhī original), Vols. I-II, Berhampore (Orissa), etc. He translated Oldenberg's *Caste System of India* from German into English and published it in the *Indian Antiquary*. Haranchandra presided over the Section on Anthropology and Archaeology at the 23rd Session of the Indian Science Congress, 1936. His Presidential address dealt with 'Problems of Racial Composition of the Indian Peoples'.—D.C.S.]

DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR

(1875-1950)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, son of the eminent Indologist Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, was born on the 19th November, 1875. He grew up in a highly academic atmosphere created by his renowned father.

He passed the B.A. Examination of Bombay University from the Deccan College, Poona, in 1896, and began studying Law. But destiny conspired to divert the course of his academic life on to a different channel, and he was soon to give up his legal studies. One day an advertisement for the Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji Gold Medal and Prize attracted his attention, and he at once decided, without the knowledge of his father, to submit a thesis entitled "A Brief Survey of the Ancient Towns and Cities of Maharashtra Country in the pre-Mahomedan Period, i.e. 1000 A.D." The thesis prepared in a short time could not, however, carry off the coveted Gold Medal, but was adjudged to be good enough for a prize. Sir Ramkrishna, when he heard of it, found in young Devadatta a potential Indologist, and at once asked him to give up law and devote himself entirely to Indological studies. Devadatta, consequently, went in for the M.A. Examination,—took up 'Languages', i.e. English and Sanskrit, with optional papers in Pali and Palaeography,—which is somewhat similar to Ancient Indian History and Culture of the present day, and passed the M.A. Examination creditably in 1901. The same year he got an appointment in the Bombay office of 'Census of India, 1901' and soon became the Honorary Assistant Secretary of the Ethnological Survey of Bombay. Bhandarkar got himself interested in the study of ancient

tribes like the Āhīrs, Gurjaras, Guhilots, etc. While working on these tribes, he realised how these and various other foreign peoples penetrated India, ruled over parts of the country and were finally merged into the vast Indian population. These findings Bhandarkar successfully incorporated into the last of the Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji Lectures, entitled "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population," which he delivered at Bombay University in 1904.

Bhandarkar was soon offered two alternative appointments—a lucrative post in the Revenue Department and another, less promising, in the Department of Archaeology. He chose the latter, and joined the Archaeological Survey as Assistant Surveyor, Western Circle, on the 20th June, 1904. He worked in the Archaeological Survey for 13 years. Bhandarkar's sincerity of purpose, hard work and scholarly exposition of his findings were much appreciated by the authorities, though there was no material gain for him. From 1904 to 1907 his services were renewed from year to year, and only in 1907 he was given a four-year extension of service. This is said to have been done for a European officer's promotion to the post of Superintendent. In fact, Bhandarkar's claim was superseded by the appointment of A. H. Longhurst as Superintendent in 1910. But with the transfer of Longhurst to the Southern Circle, Madras, in 1911, Bhandarkar was duly promoted as Superintendent, Western Circle, the same year. Incidentally, he was the first Indian to hold that post. It is interesting to follow Bhandarkar's activities in the Archaeological Survey as recorded in the *Progress Reports of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, from 1904-05 to 1909-10 as Assistant Superintendent and from 1910-11 to 1917-18 as Superintendent.

As Superintendent of the Survey, Bhandarkar excavated at four sites, of which one round the 'Khām Bābā' or

Heliodorus pillar at Besnagar (ancient Vidiśā) near Sanchi and another in the heart of that ancient town, yielded startling results. He unearthed on the north of the Vāsudeva shrine a solid railing which was still then unknown elsewhere. One of the two wedges discovered underneath the railing proved on analysis at Sheffield to be genuine steel; and since the use of steel in India in the pre-Muhammadan days was then undreamt of, Sir Robert Hadfield made a special mention of Bhandarkar's discovery before the Faraday Society on the 23rd November, 1914. The third discovery of Bhandarkar at that site was lime-mortar in a structure of the Śuṅga period, which rivalled that of the Romans. His fourth discovery at the second site was in the form of firebrick picked up from *yajña-kuṇḍas* (sacrificial pits) which were dug up about the second century B.C.

In 1911 Bhandarkar was made the co-editor of the *Indian Antiquary* with Sir Richard Temple. His first work as editor was to revise and publish his famous lecture on "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population."

On the 15th November, 1912, D. R. Bhandarkar was awarded the Sir James Campbell Gold Medal by Bombay University, and was, incidentally, the second recipient of the Medal, the first being Sir Aurel Stein, the famous archaeological explorer.

In 1917, Bhandarkar was appointed for the second time the Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji Lecturer. The scholarship of Bhandarkar attracted the attention of the great educationist Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who considered Bhandarkar to be the most suitable person for the newly created post of Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta, and practically snatched him away from the Archaeological Survey against a stiff opposition from the authorities. D. R. Bhandarkar finally joined the University of Calcutta on the 1st July,

1917; but, according to a bilateral agreement, he was to hold simultaneously the post of Officer-in-Charge, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. Bhandarkar held that Indian Museum post till 1920.

As Carmichael Professor, Bhandarkar delivered three series of extension lectures, in the University of Calcutta. The first series was delivered in 1918 on "Ancient History of India, from 650 B.C. to 325 B.C." The second series delivered in 1921 was on "Ancient Indian Numismatics," while the third series relating to "Aśoka" was delivered in 1923. In 1925, Bhandarkar was appointed the Manindra Chandra Nandi Lecturer of the Benares Hindu University. The series of lectures that Bhandarkar delivered at Benares was on "Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity." These lectures duly published in book-forms speak eloquently of Bhandarkar's eminence as an exponent of ancient Indian history and culture. Bhandarkar was a Fellow of Calcutta University, and was conferred the Honorary Degree of Ph. D. in 1921 at a special convocation of the University.

D. R. Bhandarkar was nominated a Member of the Board of Trustees, Indian Museum, Calcutta, in place of Lord Carmichael, the first Governor of Bengal. He became Acting Treasurer and Acting Secretary of the Indian Museum several times and was the Vice-Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Museum from 1925 to 1927.

Professor Bhandarkar was associated with the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. He was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1918, and was its Philological Secretary for five years from 1920 to 1925.

After rendering nearly twenty years' service to the University of Calcutta, Bhandarkar retired from the post of Carmichael Professor in 1936. He was elected President of the Cultural Conference held in Calcutta the same year. He was President of the Allahabad Session of the Indian

History Congress two years later. Bhandarkar delivered the Sir William Meyer Lectures (1938-39) at the University of Madras on "Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture".

Bhandarkar was elected Honorary Fellow of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in 1943. He became Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Survey of India, and a Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission. He was also elected Honorary Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal as well as of the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta. The Calcutta Historical Society also elected him an Honorary Fellow. He was the Joint Editor of the *Indian Culture* for many years. Bhandarkar was awarded the Dr. Bimala Churn Law Gold Medal by the Asiatic Socity of Bengal for his contributions to ancient Indian history and archaeology.

D. R. Bhandarkar contributed a large number of papers to various journals, some of the most important amongst them being those published in the *Epigraphia Indica.* Bhandarkar contributed as many as seventeen important articles to this celebrated journal between 1900-01 and 1935-36. Another very important contribution of Bhandarkar to epigraphical studies is his "*List of the Inscriptions of Northern India written in Brāhmī and its Derivative Scripts, from about 200 A.C.*, which was published as an Appendix to the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volumes XIX-XXIII (1927-1928 to 1935-1936).

Bhandarkar lived upto the ripe old age of 75 years, and with his death on the 30th May, 1950, ended an academic career which was unique in many respects and full of activities for half a century.*

A. N. Lahiri

* [A *D.R.Bhandarkar Volume* was edited by B. C. Law and published from Calcutta in 1940. Bhandarkar published an important paper on the origin of the Rajputs in *JASB*, 1909, and another on the Deccan in the Sātavāhana period in *Ind. Ant.*, 1918.—D. C. S.]

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY

(Ardhendrakumar Gangopadhyay)
(Born 1881)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ordhendra Coomar was born on the 1st August, 1881, in the illustrious Gangoly family of Burrabazar, Calcutta. His grandfather Abinash Chandra Gangoly was an orthodox Brāhmaṇa and his father Arko Prakash Gangoly was an eminent officer of the Calcutta High Court. He inherited his love of art from his mother and his maternal grandfather Srinath Thakur who was an artist and a man of versatile genius.

Ordhendra Coomar's education began in Vidyasagar's Metropolitan School at Burrabazar. He passed his Entrance Examination in the year 1896 and took admission in the Presidency College where he studied for four years under eminent teachers like Percival, Monomohan Ghosh, P. C. Ray, J. C. Bose, Binayendra Sen, Jadunath Sarkar, Haraprasad Sastri and others. His classmates included Radhakumud Mookerji, J. L. Banerjee, Pramathanath Banerjee (Economist), Jaminimohan Mitra, Satish Chandra Ghosh (Civilian), Benoymohan Sehanabish and other brilliant students of the time. He obtained his B. A. degree in 1900 with Honours in English standing third in order of merit.

Ordhendra Coomar had to choose the profession of a Solicitor in the High Court of Calcutta ; but his interest in Art history developed under the guidance of his brother-in-law Abhay Charan Mukherjee who advised him to study John Ruskin. He also practised drawing and painting regularly and specialised in portraiture. His water-colour paintings in Indian style were frequently exhibited and

admired and sometimes sold at the Annual Exhibitions at Simla.

He came in contact with Dr. Abanindranath Tagore and developed an interest in the Oriental School of Painting. The famous Exhibition of the paintings of Abanindranath's New School in Paris in 1914, included some of Ordhendra Coomar's paintings. His queer presentation of the goddess Kālī was praised by Sylvain Lévi.

In 1905, Ordhendra Coomar became a Solicitor, quickly developing a lucrative practice. But he often visited different monuments and museums of India in search of art objects and took photographs of the masterpieces of Indian Art. Photography was his great hobby.

The first fruit of his study of Indian Art was a volume on South Indian Bronzes for which Sir John Woodroff wrote a preface. This was followed by a series of illustrated books and monographs on such subjects as Masterpieces of Rajput Painting, K. N. Majumdar and His Art, A. K. Haldar and His Art, Love Poems in Hindī, Indian Architecture, Art of Java, Konarak, Art of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Art of the Candellas, Art of the Pallavas, Orissan Sculpture and Architecture, Indian Art and Heritage, Art of Indian Terracottas, Vedic Painting, Landscape in Indian Literature and Art, Dasa Poi, Rūpa Śilpa (Bengali), Śilpa Paricay (do.), Europey Ādhunik Citrakalār Pragati (do.), Rāg Rāgiṇīr Nāmrahasya (do.) and Bhārater Śilpa O Āmār Kathā (do.)

Ordhendra Coomar next wrote an exhaustive treatise on the Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs. He also started the famous Art journal entitled *Rupam*, in which he wrote many articles throwing new light on various phases of Indian Art, e.g., 'the Mithunas in Indian Art', 'Origin of Kīrtimukha', 'the Cult of Agastya', etc.

One feature of his journal was the reproduction of sculptures through a process known as hand-made photogravure printing. Ordhendra Coomar got his illustrations

printed in Europe and established a high standard of printing and book-production in India. Sometimes he employed the Japanese wood-block process.

The *Antiquity of the Buddha Image* is his significant contribution to the study of Buddhist art.

He was closely associated with the progress of modern painting in his capacity as Secretary and afterwards as Vice-President of the Indian Society of Oriental Art. As Secretary, he organised exhibitions of the works of the modern artists in all parts of India and also in Java, Burma, Ceylon and latterly in different parts of Europe and America. He also wrote numerous publicity notes on Modern Movement of Art in Indian and foreign journals.

His hampionship of Indian Art led him to deliver illustrated lectures at the universities of India, Ceylon and China. He was appointed as Bageshwari Professor of Indian Art at the University of Calcutta for some months in 1943-44.

Ordhendra Coomar built up a good collection of Indian paintings (both mediaeval and modern), sculptures, bronzes, metal wares and illustrated manuscripts of outstanding quality. He is not only interested in pictorial art and architecture, but is also a lover of Indian music and drama. In his youth, he practised vocal music as well as violin and clarionet and took part in dramatic performances.

He has been preaching that the study of Art elevates the ordinary mind to a higher level of culture. He believes that every school, college and university should have museums and art galleries as potent instruments of education.

Ordhendra Coomar is a Fellow of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (of which he is now the oldest living member) and of the Lalit Kala Akadami, New Delhi.

Sudha Bose

RYUKAN KIMURA

(1882-1965)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ryukan Kimura was born on the 25th December, 1882, in Takeo city in the Fukui Prefecture, Japan. His original name was Shozaburo Kimura. He completed his education at the local Shinshu Primary School (31. 3. 1895) and at the Third Middle School of Nichiren Sect in the Kyoto Prefecture (31. 3. 1903). In 1907-11, Kimura graduated from the Tokyo University (Japan) and also from the Chittagong Sanskrit College (East Bengal, now in Pakistan). In 1911-14, he studied Buddhist Sanskrit and Ancient Indian Epigraphy under Prof. Haraprasad Sastri and graduated from Calcutta Uuiversity in 1914. Next year, he received the title *Vidyāratna*, and a gold medal for his proficiency in the Mādhyamika Philosopy. He then returned to Japan to receive Rabindranath Tagore who visited Japan the following year (1916). In the year 1916, Kimura changed his name to Ryukan Kimura.

In 1917, Kimura again joined Calcutta University in order to study history of Indian Buddhism under Prof. Haraprasad Sastri and next year (1918) was appointed Lecturer for teaching Buddhist History and Mahāyāna at Calcutta University. In the same year, he married Miss Masao Hashimoto on the 6th of December.

On the 1st April, 1929, Kimura was appointed Lecturer at Rissho University, Tokyo, and gave up his post at Calcutta University in 1931. He again changed his name to Nikki Kimura (4. 11. 1931). In 1937, Kimura was appointed Director of the International Buddhist Association and, in September, 1941, was made the Librarian of the Rissho University. He was made Emeritus Professor of the said University on the 1st April, 1953. In November

1955, Kimura visited India as a member of the Buddhist Mission attending the Buddha Jayanti Celebrations. He became the Director of the Ramakrishna Vedanta Society of Tokyo in 1958.

On the 17th October, 1965, Kimura was taken to the Kawakita Hospital (Suginami-ku, Tokyo) where he passed away after more than a month on the 25th November.

Kimura published a large number of articles in different periodicals. To the first fourteen Volmmes (1953-65) of the *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, no less than 13 papers (in Japanese) were contributed by Kimura on such subjects as Human Ethics, Dharma of the Mīmāṁsā School, Erotic Buddhism of India, Sāṅkhya-Yoga in the *Bhagavadgītā*, Vaiṣṇava Faith, Buddhist and Vaiṣṇava Sahaja Cults, Mahāyāna, Mantrayāna and Guhyayāna Buddhism, and National Character in India. Kimura is also the author of the following books in the Japanese language—(1) *Outline of Indian History*, (2) *The Indian People*, and (3) *Independence of India from the Historical Point of View.*

Minoru Hara*

* [We are grateful to Dr. Hara for this sketch of Dr. R. Kimura's life. A few of Kimura's works in English, e.g., *The Original and Developed Doctrines of Buddhism*, were published by Calcutta University. He read two papers at the 2nd and 4th sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference. He learnt Bengali and contributed a few articles to Bengali periodicals.—D. C. S.]

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

(Born 1885)

REMINISCENCES

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was really the father of the introduction of Post-Graduate teaching in Calcutta University. His right-hand man in the preparation of the new syllabuses in the different Departments was Sir Brajendranath Seal. The Post-Graduate Department as a whole came into being in 1916. When the Royal Sadler Commission, of which Sir Asutosh was a prominent member, visited the Rajshahi College in December 1917, the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi invited Sir Asutosh to preside over a meeting held in the Library Hall of the Rajshahi College, and he graciously accepted the invitation. I read at the meeting a paper on two land-sale copper-plate inscriptions of Budhagupta's time (two of the five Damodarpur copper-plates of the Gupta period). As a sort of reward for my decipherment of the ancient records, Sir Asutosh appointed me to a Lectureship in the then newly started Post-Graduate Department in Calcutta University for teaching Indian Epigraphy. I joined the University in 1918 and continued upto the latter half of 1919 when I had to go back to the Rajshahi College on obtaining the Senior Professorship in Sanskrit in the then Bengal Provincial Educational Service. As a Lecturer of the University, I had to work directly under D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Professor in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, and to teach Epigraphy to the students. In the batch of students I taught at the time were, among others, Nanigopal Majumdar (who rose before his untimely and unfortunate death to become a reputed officer of the Archaeological Survey of India), Benoytosh Bhattacharya

(the Iconographist who became the Director of the Oriental Institute of Baroda) and Tarak Chadra Das (who later became a Lecturer in Anthropology in Calcutta University). Besides Prof. Bhandarkar, my other colleagues at the time were Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. Surendranath Sen, Surendranath Majumdar Sastri and Jitendra Nath Banerjea (who just a little earlier got his M.A. degree) and still later N. P. Chakravarti. During this period of my service at the University, I found Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. S. N. Sen to obtain their Ph.D. degree. The former and myself got during this period the Griffith Prize of the University jointly.

Most of the present-day Post-Graduate teachers in different Departments in Calcutta University probably do not know that, at the initial stage of post-graduate teaching, we were compelled by Sir Asutosh (our President of the Post-Graduate Council) to prepare and submit synopses of our class-lectures for each session and these were printed and distributed among the students for their guidance.

There was at that time inter-relation between the allied Departments, specially those of AIHC, Sanskrit and Pali. It may be noted here that, by the directive of the President, I was associated with teaching in the Pali and Sanskrit Departments also and had to take some joint classes on particular subjects. Naturally I had to come in contact with teachers of those departments, and among them I may name here Dr. B. M. Barua, the blind linguistician Bijaychandra Majumdar, MM. Sitaram Sastri and MM. Phanibhushan Tarkavagish.

During my absence from Calcutta on account of my appointment to the Professorship of Sanskrit at the Rajshahi College and later on during my deputation to the newly established Dacca University as a Lecturer in the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali (1921-33), I enjoyed the privilege of remaining in contact with the Post-Graduate

Department of AIHC, Sanskrit and Pali as paper-setter and examiner in M.A. Examinations.

A second term of Lectureship (Honorary) in the Post-Graduate Departments came during my Senior Professorship in Sanskrit and Sanskritic Languages at the Presidency College, Calcutta (during 1933-40). Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, the then Vice-Chancellor, appointed me Honorary Lecturer and directed me to take some classes in the Sanskrit and Pali Departments. But during this period, AIHC students constantly sought my assistance in their study of Epigraphy. My paper-setting and examining in AIHC Department continued throughout, my colleagues in the Department during this period were Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Dr. H. C. Ray, J. N. Banerjea, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. N. R. Ray, Dr. B. C. Sen, H. C. Chakladar, Dr. K. D. Nag, Dr. D. C. Sircar, S. K. Saraswati and some others. Many brilliant students came out during this period and they have since attained high position in literary and other fields of work.

Even after my retirement from Government Educational Service in 1940, I continued to do the paper-setting and examining work of the Department of AIHC of Calcutta University upto the year 1967, thus having served my *alma mater* for about half a century.

Biographical sketch

Born in Dacca town, now in East Pakistan, on January 8, 1885. Passed the Entrance Examination from Kishori Lal Jubilee School, Dacca, in 1901, in First Division, with a Second-grade Government Scholarship. Read in the Dacca (Government) College wherefrom passed the M. A. Examination in Sanskrit (Group A), Calcutta University, in Class II, standing first among successful condidates in all the Groups concerned, in 1907, and getting the Sonamoni Prize of the University. Won Lewis Medal of Dacca

College in essay competition. Entered Government Educational Service in 1908 and served first as Head Pandit for three months in Dacca Collegiate School. Was East Bengal and Assam Government Research Scholar for carrying on researches in Palaeography and Epigraphy in the then Imperial Library under the linguist Librarian, Harinath De (1908-10). Officiated as Lecturer in Sanskrit in Dacca College in 1910. Was app inted substantively a Lecturer in Sanskrit in Rajshahi College and served there in 1911-18, during which period worked as an active member of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi. During these years, edited for the *Epigraphia Indica* for the first time the Belavo copper-plate grant of Bhojavarman, the Rampal copper-plate of Śrīcandra, the Dhanaidaha copper-plate of Kumāragupta I, the Tipperah copper-plate grant of Lokanātha, the Silimpur stone slab inscription of Jayapāla's time and, after the discovery of the five Damodarpur (land-sale) copper-plate documents of the Gupta period, deciphered and edited the same also for the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. XV). Won Griffith Prize of Calcutta University for the year 1917. Delivered a lecture in December 1917 before the members of the Sadler (Royal) Commission in a meeting organized by the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi on two Damodarpur copper-plates of Budhagupta's time. Was appointed Lecturer (on deputation) in the Post-Graduate Department in Calcutta University and served from July 1918 to the third quarter of 1919 as a teacher of Epigraphy in the Departments of AIHC, Sanskrit and Pali. Was recalled to Rajshahi College as Senior Professor of Sanskrit in the Bengal (then Provincial) Educational Service and worked there till the inception, in 1921, of Dacca University where served (on deputation) from July 1921 to July 1933 as Lecturer in the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali and where, in one session, worked additionally as Lecturer in Epigraphy

in the History Department of that University. Was deputed by Dacca University as a delegate to the Fifth Oriental Conference at Lahore in 1929-30 and there read a paper on the *Setutattvacandrikā*, a newly discovered Sanskrit commentary of the Prakrit epic, *Rāvaṇavaho* (*Setubandha*) of Pravarasena. Edited during this period the Baigram copper-plate of the Gupta year 128 which was published in the *Epigraphia India* (Vol. XXI). Obtained the degree of Ph.D. of Dacca University in 1933 on the thesis, *The History of North-Eastern Indica* (1st ed., 1934, and 2nd ed., 1967), adjudicated upon by Dr. Thomas, Dr. Barnett and Mr. Allan. Prepared, while at Dacca University, the press-copy of the Varendra Research Society's edition of Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacarita*, in collaboration with Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Pandit Nani Gopal Banerjee (published in 1939). Reverted to Government service as Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College, Calcutta, in July 1933 and soon after became Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Sanskritic Languages there, and served as such in Bengal Senior Educational Service till December, 1940. During this period (until 1941), served also as Honorary Lecturer in the Departments of Sanskrit and Pali, and helped students of the AIHC Department also in their studies. Was paper-setter and examiner in the M.A. Examinations of those three Departments and cotinued this work till 1967.

After retirement from government service in December, 1940, and from Calcutta University in 1941, translated *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* in Bengali (1st ed., Vol. I, 1950, and Vol. II, 1951; 2nd ed., with the original Sanskrit text, Vol. I, 1964, and Vol. II, 1967).

Served the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, in the Committee for Post-Graduate Training and Research and also as Chairman of the Board of Editors for Research Publications.

Published the following works during 1953-69 :— (1) Bengali ed. of Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacarita*, Calcutta, 1953 ; (2) *Prācīn-rājya-śāsana-paddhati* (Bengali), Calcutta, 1955 ; (3) Hāla's *Gāthā-Saptaśatī* (text with Bengali translation), Calcutta, 1956 ; (4) *Aśokan Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1959 ; (5) *Rāvaṇavaho* (*Setubandha*) of Pravarasena, with the commentary called *Setutattvacandrikā*, Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Publication Series, 1959 ; (6) *Lectures on Buddha and Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1961 ; (7) *Mahāvastu-avadāna* (with Bengali translation and English Introduction), Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Publication Series, Vol. I, 1962 ; Vol. II, 1965 ; Vol. III, 1969 ; (8) *Some Aspects of Kauṭilya's Political Thinking* (Burdwan University Extension Lectures), published by Burdwan University ; and (9) *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandin (Memoirs No. 1 of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1910), 1969. Contributed many articles in English and Bengali to various books and journals.

Was President of Section I of Indian History Congress, Gwalior Session, in 1952. Was appointed Adhar Chandra Mukherjee Lecturer of Calcutta University for 1958 and delivered a course of three lectures on 'Indian Life as revealed in the Buddhist Sanskrit Work, the *Mahāvastu-avadāna*', published by the Alumni Association, Department of AIHC, Calcutta University, Calcutta, 1960.

Was the recipient of a special honorary title of *Vidyā-vācaspati* conferred by the Calcutta Sanskrit College in a special convocation in 1963. Was the recipient of Indian Union President's award of 'Certificate of Honour in Sanskrit' on August 15, 1965. Elected Honorary Fellow of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in 1967.

Radhagovinda Basak

UPENDRANATH GHOSHAL

(Born 1886)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Upendranath Ghoshal was born at Rangia in Assam in 1886. He passed the M. A. Examination in History from the University of Calcutta in the year 1906. In 1909, he became a Lecturer in History in the Presidency College, Calcutta. The greatest part of his career as an educationist was spent in this college. In 1922, he obtained the Ph. D. Degree. He was intimately associated with the University of Calcutta in the capacity of a part-time Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. He engaged himself fully in Indological researches and edited the *Journal of the Greater India Society* (1930-42). His *History of Hindu Political Theories* came out in 1927. In 1929 was published his *Contributions to the History of Hindu Revenue System*, and in the next year (1930), *The Agrarian System in Ancient India*. All these works raised his status as a scholar and historian, and, in 1938, he was invited to participate in the International Congress of Historical Sciences held at Zurich He also took part in the International Congress of Orientalists at Brussels in Belgium. In 1941 he retired from the Presidency College and devoted himself entirely to studies. In 1944 was published his *Progress of Indian Historiography and Other Essays*, and in the next year, the first volume of his *History of Hindu Public Life*, the second volume of which came out in 1966. His *History of Indian Political Ideas* was published in 1959. He was elected the General President of the 23rd session of the Indian History Congress held at Aligarh in the year 1960. He was the President of the Asiatic Society for two terms (1962-63, 1963-64) and, as a recognition of his profound scholarship, the said Society made him an

Honorary Fellow. The Sanskrit College conferred on him the title *Bhāratatattvaśekhara.* His *Studies in Indian History and Culture* was published in 1964. Besides, he has contributed numerous research papers and reviews to learned journals. He has also written chapters in the *History and Culture of the Indian People* (Vols. II-VI) and *Comprehensive History of India* (Vol. II). His works reveal the scholarly experiences of a master mind and will be a source of inspiration to all those working in the field of Indology.*

* [Compiled by Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya from the biographical data supplied by Dr. Ghoshal's son Sri R. K. Ghoshal.—D.C.S.]

JIRO MASUDA

(1887-1930)

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Dr. Jiro Masuda was born on the 7th January, 1887, and died on the 24th June, 1930. His permanent address was 1152, O-aza-yuki, Yuki-shi, Ibaragi-ken.

Masuda graduated from Buzan University in Tokyo and studied also at the University of Calcutta (India) and at the University of Heidelberg (Germany). As a teacher, he was Professor at Taisho University and Lecturer at Waseda University, both in Tokyo.

Masuda's works include *Der individualistische Yoga-schule* in German. Besides, he published many papers in various periodicals.

Minoru Hara*

* [We are greatly indebted to Dr. Hara for the trouble he took in securing the above information about Dr. Masuda.—D. C. S.]

ARUN SEN

(1887-1968)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Arun Sen was born in Calcutta on the 2nd September, 1887. He was a student of the St. Xavier's School where he attained distinction from an early stage, obtaining prizes and scholarship in every examination. Specially in language, he showed remarkable proficiency. He obtained the highest mark (99 out of 100) in Latin in the Entrance examination. It was Harinath De, the eminent linguist, who inspired and guided him in the study of the Classical languages, Latin and Greek.

Arun Sen was admitted to Cambridge University where he obtained a high Historical Tripos. At Cambridge, he was very much influenced by G. Lowes Dickinson. While an under-graduate at Cambridge, he was drawn into the study of the art and culture of the Ancient world. In pursuit of the study of art, he became a close associate of Laurence Binyon and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. After his study at Cambridge, Arun Sen came to London to pursue his study of art. Together with Coomaraswamy, he devoted himself to the study of Oriental art in the British Museum for many years. He had close association with such eminent persons as Lady Herringham, Miss Dorothy Larcher, Clive Bell, Roger Fry and others. He was also called to the Bar.

On his return to India, Arun Sen was invited by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee to join the newly formed Post-Graduate Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of Calcutta University as a lecturer in Indian Art. With K. P. Jayaswal of Patna, he collaborated in some research programmes. He contributed articles to the *Indian Antiquary*,

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume, etc. For many years, he served on the Selection Committee of the Academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta.

Arun Sen passed away at the age of 81 on the 8th March, 1968.

Chitrabhanu Sen

NARENDRANATH LAW

(1887-1965)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The goddess of learning and the goddess of wealth do not live at the same place. So goes the proverb. But there are some cases in which the peaceful co-existence of the two is met with. Dr. Narendranath Law was such a case. In the field of learning and culture, Dr. Law's contribution was immense. So also was his contribution to the development of trade and commerce.

Narendranath belonged to the Suvarṇavaṇik community and was born in the famous Law (Lāhā) family of Calcutta on the 2nd October, 1887. His father, Raja Hrishikesh Law, was a great man of his times. Narendranath studied in the Metropolitan Institution and the Presidency College. He had a brilliant academic career. In 1910, he passed the M. A. examination in English from the University of Calcutta. In 1916, he obtained the Premchand Roychand Scholarship and, in 1922, the Ph.D. degree. For some years, Narendranath served the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, as an Honorary Part-time Lecturer. He presided over the Indian History Congress at its Agra Session in 1956.

Law began his career as a businessman. He was Director and Chairman of many a mercantile institution. He was for many years a member of the Central Directors Board of the Reserve Bank of India. From 1949 to 1953, he was the President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. In 1940, he was the Treasurer of the Indian Federation of Commerce and Industry.

Narendranath was also conscious of his social responsibility. For the purpose of administrative reforms, he joined the first and second Round Table Conferences held in London. For many years, he was a Councillor of the Calcutta Corporation. He was Chairman, for five years, of the Standing Committee of the Calcutta Corporation which

was concerned with the spread of free primary education. He was the Commissioner of the Calcutta Port for many years and was the Sherif of Calcutta in 1949.

Narendranath presided over many enquiry committees, of which special reference should be made to the investigations connected with the banks and industries. He was a member of the Calcutta University financial enquiry committee and also of the committees related to educational reforms. For many years, he was a Fellow of the University of Calcutta. Narendranath was a member of the Development Board of West Bengal and of the West Bengal State Financial Corporation. For more than twenty years, he was President of the Suvarṇavaṇik Samāj of Calcutta and the editor of its monthly organ. He was an active member of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad. He was also the President of the Vaṅgīya Dhanavijñāna Pariṣad established by Binaykumar Sarkar and used to give regular financial assistance to its monthly journal entitled *Economic Development.*

Narendranath started the celebrated periodical *Indian Historical Quarterly* and ably edited it from its inception in 1925. He used to write both in English and in Bengali. Narendranath's valuable works include *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity* (Vol. I), *Promotion of Learning in India by the Early European Settlers* (1916), *Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule by Muhammadans* (1916), *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, Inter-state Relations in Ancient India* (Part I), *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (1925), *Śrīkṛṣṇa and Śrīcaitanya* (1949), *Age of the Ṛgveda*, etc. He also edited such texts as the *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakoṣavyākhyā* by Yaśomitra. His personal library was utilised by many students and researchers. He used to help the students in many ways.

Narendranath died on the 15th November, 1965.*

* [Based partly on Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya's English translation of a Bengali note appearing in the *Māsik Basumatī*, Caitra, B.S. 1361.—D. C. S.]

RAMESHCHANDRA MAJUMDAR

(Born 1883)

REMINISCENCES

I joined as a Whole-time Lecturer in History in the Post-Graduate Department of Calcutta University in July, 1914. Most of the teaching work was then done by Part-time Lecturers, each taking up only a single paper. Some of them were Lecturers in Government colleges, and some were Barristers. To the former category belonged J. N. Das Gupta of the Presidency College, Calcutta, and Bepinbehari Sen of the Hooghly College. Among the Barrister lecturers, I remember S. Khuda Bux, M. N. Bose, N. N. Gupta and S. N. Datta. So far as I remember, Surendra Nath Majumdar was the only Whole-time Lecturer besides myself in History. The number of Whole-time Lecturers in all the subjects taken together were so few that the small room on the left, as one enters the Darbhanga Building from the north by the first small staircase, sufficed for the office as well as the sitting room of the Post-Graduate teachers of all the subjects. Its presiding officer was an old clerk who cared very little for the young teachers and more often than not stretched his legs on the table and enjoyed midday siesta. When on the first day I had to awaken him in order to get the Register for the class I was going to take, he did not leave his chair, but simply told me, "My boy (*ohe Chokḍā*), you will find the Register in that almirah."

I had to teach not only Ancient Indian History which was included among the alternative Special Groups, each comprising two papers, but also other periods of Indian History as well as General History. It was not till two or three years later that the University instituted the M. A. Degree for Ancient Indian History and Culture with a

complete course of eight papers in that subject alone. But, even then, and until I left in 1921, there was no separate Department for the subject, and it was included in the History Department.

Things changed for the better when post-graduate teaching in all the subjects was centralised in the University. It was a great change introduced by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in 1917 in the teeth of very stout opposition by many eminent educationists, both Indian and European. The new regulations to give effect to it were hotly discussed in several meetings of the Senate which I attended as a visitor. Gurudas Banerji led the opposition and was supported by the Principals of Presidency College, Scottish Churches College and Dacca College, who were all Europeans, and by the Principal of the Bangabasi College, Girischandra Bose. Sometimes there were tumultuous scenes, and I still remember the uproar caused by the remark of Mr. Archbold, Principal of the Dacca College, that the University of Calcutta was the sick man of India. After several meetings the new regulations were passed by majority and came into force. This changed the whole aspect of post-graduate teaching. For now a large number of whole-time teachers were appointed and there salary was met out of the increase in the fees of Matriculation and Intermediate Examinations, provided by a section of the new regulations, which formed one of the chief targets of attack against the measure. But even then there was no separate Department for Ancient Indian History which was instituted after I had left the University in 1921. Technically, therefore, the Golden Jubilee of the Department is somewhat premature, and I was never a member of the Department of which I have been asked to write my reminiscence.[1]

1 [The M.A. course in AIHC was started in 1918, and the first M.A. degree in the subject was awarded in 1919, while many 'Lecturers

Some time after 1911 was founded the Chair of Ancient Indian History and Culture associated with the name of Lord Carmichael, the first Governor of the Presidency of Bengal. Perhaps Dr. Thibaut, who was the Registrar of the University, held this Chair for some time, and then came D. R. Bhandarkar. According to the official Centenary Publication entitled "Hundred Years of the University of Calcutta" Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar occupied this Chair from 1927 to 1936 (p. 337). This is certainly wrong. For he had joined the University several years before I left in 1921.[2] Bhandarkar infused new enthusiasm in the Department and the appointment of H. C. Raychaudhuri and Ramaprasad Chanda gave impetus to the spirit of team-work in research in ancient Indian history and culture.

So long as there were M. A. Classes in the Presidency College, good students in History joined the M. A. class in that institution, rather than the Post-Graduate Classes in the University. But after the new regulation, which abolished the right of the Colleges to teach M.A., all the students for the M.A. Degree in History had to join the University Classes, and many good students took up Ancient Indian History when it was made a separate subject for the M.A. Degree. The combination of scholarly teachers and good students produced good results and the research in history in those days was practically confined to the ancient period of Indian history. The young teachers of the Department were encouraged and inspired by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and many of them gave good account of themselves. This was not liked by the senior teachers (part-

in AIHC' were appointed before 1932 when the Department of AIHC was formally separated from the Department of History. This delay may have been due to some technical administrative reason. Dr. Majumdar taught AIHC General Paper IV (Historical Geography of Ancient India which was never a subject of study in History).—D.C S.]

2 [Bhandarkar joined in July 1917.—D. C. S.]

time) of the Department recruited from different Colleges, who were unaccustomed to research and never appreciated its value. I may cite a personal instance. Sometime after I had joined the Post-Graduate Department as a Lecturer (only three years after passing the M. A. Examination), I was once walking in the Maidan in the morning when I found that Sir Asutosh was also walking, with several friends, as was his daily habit. Seeing them at a distance, I stepped aside when they drew near; but Sir Asutosh beckoned me with his hand to come near, and asked his friends to go ahead. As soon as they were out of hearing, he said, "The old men are very displeased with you and have made several complaints against you to me. I know they are all false; but you should be on your guard and always very careful." Without waiting for any reply from me, he immediately walked off to meet his friends leaving me overwhelmed with this signal proof of paternal care on the part of a great man for a junior Lecturer, only 26 years of age. During the seven years of my service in Calcutta University, I had many other evidences of his paternal care for me.

Sir Asutosh had a very broad vision of Ancient Indian History and Culture and provided for the study of special subjects by separate teachers. As a matter of principle, he reduced the number of lectures to be given by those teachers who did good research work in any special subject. He arranged for the teaching of Tibetan to the teachers and advanced students by some Tibetan Lamas in Darjeeling. Shortly after Sylvain Lévi had delivered some lectures at the University, he conceived the idea of sending a teacher to China for two years, and selected me for the purpose. As I got an appointment at Dacca University, I could not benefit by his offer; but later, if I remember aright, Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi was sent to China and his scholarly works, based on Chinese sources, proved the wisdom of the plan of Sir Asutosh. He also spent a lot of money to build

up a good library for Ancient Indian History. On one occasion, as soon as I brought to his notice the imminent sale of the library of an eminent Indologist by Heffer (Cambridge) he gave me a chit with instructions to R. Cambray & Co to immediately cable for the purchase of the whole library. He asked me to see Cambray with this and then report the matter to the Chief Accountant. It was about 8 A.M. and Sir Asutosh was anxious that the order for the books should be cabled as early as possible, and hence he made this arrangement. I followed his instructions ; but when I reported the matter to the Chief Accountant, he began to grumble and observed that an order involving such a huge amount was placed without the sanction of the appropriate Committees, etc. I told him he might speak to Sir Asutosh about all these and my duty was finished. There were no doubt irregularities ; but I know from my own experience in Dacca University that, on account of the delay involved in formalities in ordering for books, very often the books could not be had as they were already sold. After several such instances, I told Mr. Hartog, the Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University, the above story, with the observation that if he wished to equip the new University with a good library, he must follow in the footsteps of Sir Asutosh. He told me that he could not do it and he did not know that there was any Vice-Chancellor in India, with the single exception of Sir Asutosh, who would dare do the same.

Similarly, Sir Asutosh did not always follow the regular procedure for appointing teachers, if he could get a suitable candidate without it. H. C. Raychaudhuri was a Lecturer in the Presidency College, but was suddenly transferred to Chittagong shortly after his wife's death. He was extremely unwilling to go to Chittagong under the shadow of the great sorrow. I took him to Sir Asutosh and he immediately offered an appointment to him in the

Post-Graduate Department. What it meant for the Department is now known to all students of Ancient Indian History. Similarly I introduced Ramaprasad Chanda to Sir Asutosh. Chanda was then a mere school teacher, but had already established his reputation as a scholar. He was also taken in by Sir Asutosh without any advertisement or Selection Committee. I hope nobody should think that I say all this by way of denouncing formal regular procedure. But we should remember that everybody cannot wield Ulysses' bow. What proved to be salutary in the hands of Sir Asutosh may be dangerous and harmful in the hands of others.

I would also like to mention that we, junior Lecturers, felt highly elated and encouraged by the reference to our research works in the Annual Convocation Address by Sir Asutosh. In various other ways also, he always gave evidence of his paternal solicitude for us, and it is difficult to convey today any idea of what it meant for sustaining the spirit of the University teachers in spite of the very inadequate pay they received then.

Calcutta University attained a reputation for research in Ancient Indian History and Culture under the stewardship of Sir Asutosh (as Vice-Chancellor, and President of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching) which survived him for many years, but has not been equalled in any other University or even in Calcutta University in later times. For this, the chief credit must be given to the policy and personality of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who set the first great example in India of transforming an Examining University into a centre of learning and research.

R. C. Majumdar

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Rameshchandra Majumdar was born on the 4th December, 1888, in a middle class Vaidya family of

Khandarpara in the Faridpur District (now in East Pakistan). Maintaining throughout a uniformly good academic career, he obtained the M. A. Degree of Calcutta University in History and was placed in Class I. He was then awarded the Premchand Roychand Scholarship and also won the Griffith Prize. His thesis entitled *Corporate Life in Ancient India* earned for him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Calcutta University. He was appointed a Lecturer in History at the University and taught also the students of AIHC. After the creation of the University of Dacca, Dr. Majumdar was offered the post of Professor of History there. Later he became the Vice-Chancellor of that University. After retirement, he served the Banaras Hindu University and Nagpur University for sometime.

Dr. Majumdar delivered the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad Lectures at Boroda University, Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures at Calcutta University and William Meyer Lectures at Madras University. These lectures were published, respectively, under the titles *Ancient Indian Colonisation in South East Asia*, *Maharaja Rajballabh* and *Kambujadeśa*. At the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, he delivered the first series of the Birla Endowment Lectures which were published under the title *Three Phases of India's Struggle for Freedom*. His Extension Lectures at the Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, were later on published in a book entitled *Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century*. Likewise, his *Svāmī Vivekānanda* contains three lectures delivered at Patna University. As the Kamala Lecturer of Calcutta University, he delivered four lectures on the *Culture of Medieval Bengal* since published by the University. At the same University, he also delivered the G. C. Ghosh and Vidyāsāgar Lectures. For sometime, he was in the USA as Visiting Professor of Indian History at the Universities of Chicago and Pensylvania.

Besides the above works, Dr. Majumdar is the author of many others, viz. (1) *The Corporate Life in Ancient India*, (2) *Ancient India* (revised edition of *The Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilisation*), (3) *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East* (Vol. I—*Campā* ; Vols. II and III—*Suvarṇadvīpa*), (4) *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, (5) *Greater India*, (6) *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, (7) *Classical Accounts of India*, (8) *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1847*, (9) *History of the Freedom Movement in India* (in 3 volumes), (10) *History of Bengal* (in Bengali)—Ancient period, and (11) *Study of Sciences in Ancient India*. He is the editor of (1) the Dacca University's *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, (2) *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* and (3) *History of Bengal in the Mediaeval Age* (in Bengali). He is also joint-editor of the *Rāmacarita* and *Rājavijayanāṭaka*. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, sponsored by the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, is being published under his General Editorship. Of the eleven volumes of this series, eight have already come out.

Dr. Majumdar's invaluable contributions to Oriental Research have brought him many honours and distinctions. He was made President of the Indian History Congress, All-India Oriental Conference, and Institute of Historical Studies. He presided over the section of Indology in the XXIII International Congress of Orientalists held at Istambul in 1951, and served the Congress as a member of its Executive Committee. He was the President of the Asiatic Society and Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad. He is Associated Member of the Bureau of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, and the Vice-President of the International Commission for publishing a *History of Mankind—Cultural and Scientific Development* (sponsored by the UNESCO). The Government of West Bengal appointed him the Sheriff of Calcutta for 1967-68. Dr. Majumdar is Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Asiatic Society of Bombay,

and Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and also Honorary Member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. He was the recipient of the title of *Bhāratatattvabhāskara* conferred by the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, of the Cambel Gold Medal instituted by the Asiatic Society, Bombay, and the Sir William Jones and B. C. Law Gold Medals of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Dr. Majumdar received the Rabindranath Tagore Memorial Prize of the West Bengal Government for editing the volumes of the *History and Culture of the Indian People*. The University of Calcutta and Jadavpur conferred on him, in 1969, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (*Honoris Causa*).*

* [Compiled by Dr. D. R. Das on the basis of biographical data supplied by Dr. Majumdar.—D.C.S.]

BENI MADHAB BARUA

(1888-1948)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

B.M. Barua, a Buddhist scholar of great repute, was born in 1888 in the village of Pahartali, Mahamuni, in the District of Chittagong. He was born and brought up in poverty. Inspite of his strained circumstances, he tried his utmost to educate himself. He began his career as the Head Master of a local school. He took his B.A. degree in 1911 standing First among the successful Honours students in Pali, and, in 1913, took his Master's degree in Pali (Group A) in the First Class standing First among the students appearing in that year in the same subject. He then went to England as a State Scholar and was the first Indian to get the degree of Doctor of Literature from the University of London. He studied Indian religion and philosophy from Drs. T.W. Rhys Davids, F.W. Thomas, Hobhouse and Barnett. Besides religion and philosophy, he was an ardent student of Indian art. He was appointed a Lecturer in the University of Calcutta after his return from Great Britain. On account of his outstanding merit, he later became the University Professor of Pali. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee appreciated his merits and used to speak highly of him. The writer heard him saying, "Beni is a great scholar. It is difficult to find a scholar of his calibre." Benimadhab used to take great interest in his Department and was always after its improvement upto the end of his life. He died in March, 1948.

Benimadhab was elected a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in recognition of his great erudition and valuable contributions to Buddhistic studies. He was awarded the Dr. B.C. Law Gold Medal by the Society. The famous seat of learning in Ceylon, known as the

Vidyālaṅkāra Pariveṇa, conferred on him the title of *Tipiṭakācaria* (*Tripiṭakācārya*). He was one of the founder-editors of the *Indian Culture*. Although a great scholar of international repute, he was very amiable. Those who came in contact with him must admit that he was a fine gentleman, free from self conceit and insincerity. He had a strong sense of duty and responsibility. His valuable contributions to Indian philosophy and religion, especially Buddhism, Buddhist art, history, inscriptions, etc., bear ample testimony to his wide knowledge and sound critical judgment. They no doubt throw considerable new light on the subjects, which are treated in a spirit of scientific research, free from any *parti pris*. Benimadhab's notable contribu ions include the following :—(1) *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy* ; (2) *Prolegomena to a History of Buddhist Philosophy* ; (3) *The Ājīvikas* ; (4) *Role of Buddhism in Indian Life and Thought* ; (5) *Prakrit Dhammapada* (jointly with Sailendranath Mitra) ; (6) *Gayā and Buddhagayā* ; (7) *Ceylon Lectures* ; (8) *Philosophy of Progress* ; (9) *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves* ; (10) *Barhut Inscriptions* (jointly with Gangananda Sinha) ; (11) *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Parts I-II ; and (12) *Barhut* (in 3 volumes).

Besides the above, Benimadhab published about 60 papers in different periodicals.

B. C. Law*

* [It is a matter of great regret to us that Dr. Law breathed his last when these pages were going through the press. Son of Ambika Churn Law of the celebrated Law family of Calcutta, Bimala Churn was born on October 26, 1891, and died on May 3, 1961.—D.C.S.]

SHAHID SUHRAWARDY

(1890-1965)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Originally of Iranian descent, the Suhrawardies settled in the Midnapore District of West Bengal for quite a long time. Later the more brilliant members of the family migrated to Calcutta. This family is well-known in the cultural life of Bengal, because it gave birth to eminent men like Dr. Abdullah Suhrawardy, Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Sir Zahid Suhrawardy and others. Shahid Suhrarwardy was born in this illustrious family in 1890. He was the eldest son of Sir Zahid Suhrawardy, a former judge of Calcutta High Court. His younger brother H. S. Suhrawardy who was well known in Bengal politics since the days of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das was the Chief Minister of Bengal till August 14, 1947, and later became the Prime Minister of Pakistan (1955).

Shahid graduated from the University of Calcutta in 1908 with Honours in English. In 1909, he went to Oxford with a scholarship for studying History and Law and stayed there till 1913, the year Rabindranath Tagore received the Nobel Prize. When the Poet visited Oxford that year, Shahid met him and a life-long association of love and affection grew up between the two. After the Poet's death, Shahid wrote an illuminating article on him in the *Tagore Memorial Supplement of the Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, September 13, 1941, pp. 36-40.

During his stay at Oxford from where he graduated with Honours in History, he became well known in the literary and intellectual circles of England and Europe. Poet-Laureate Robert Bridges knew him well; D. H. Lawrence referred to him more than once in his lettters; R. C. Trevelyan wrote a poem about him. Among his Indian friends, mention may be made of Dr. Sunitikumar

Chatterjee, Dr. Probodhchandra Bagchi, Apurbakumar Chanda and Dilipkumar Roy (who wrote a brilliant obituary on Shahid in the Puja Number of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 1965). He met Pandit Jawharlal Nehru while in England and was initiated to socialism by Nehru who maintained a friendly relation with Shahid throughout his life.

In 1914, he went to Russia on a scholarship to study the Russian language which he already knew. In 1917, he became Reader in English at Imperial University and Women's University, Moscow. He also worked in the Universities of Paris and Prague. He taught English to Kerensky, Head of the Provisional Government of Russia in 1917 (before Lenin took over), and helped the latter in writing his autobiography. Shahid was caught in the Russian Revolution and fell out with the Bolsheviks ; he left Russia in 1920 and came to Paris. In 1921-28, he was associated with the exiles of the European Group of the Moscow Art Theatre, acting as one of its producers. During 1928-31, he was the theatrical expert (Art Section) at the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation under the League of Nations in Paris. His brilliant articles on Theatrical Art[1] and Modern European State[2] are the result of his experiences of this period. In this capacity, he visited all the well-known centres of art in the continent. While in Spain, Suhrawardy studied the influence of Islamic art in that country and wrote a book entitled *Mussalman Art in Spain* which is the beginning of his study of comparative art. He studied the treasures of art at the Hermitage in Leningrad, Prudo in Spain, Louvre in Paris and the art centres of Berlin, Rome and Naples, and learnt the principal languages of Europe. Besides English,

1 See S. Suhrawardy, *Prefaces*, Calcutta University, 1938, pp. 139-62.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 163-99.

he could read and speak fluently in Russian, French, German, Spanish and Italian. Later he learnt Chinese with the help of Dr. Probodhchandra Bagchi. I have seeen his personal library in Calcutta which contained standard works on art and literature in the languages noted above.

Shahid wrote an essay entitled "Wanderings of a Gourmet" which, as Prof. Sunitikumar Chatterjee told me, was an entertaining and informative dissertation on food, for Shahid was as great a connoisseur of good food as of art.

In 1932, he was persuaded by some friends to return to India after a continuous stay of 24 years in Europe and, recommended by Rabindranath Tagore, was appointed Rani Bageshwari Professor of Indian Fine Arts (attached to the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture) of Calcutta University, of which his uncle Sir Hassan Suhrawardy was Vice-Chancellor at that time. On joining the University, he broadbased the syllabus of art study and laid special stress on Comparative Art, Folk Art and writing of essays on art subjects. He delivered a series of lectures on Persian Art at the Visva-Bharati, for which he was designated as the Nizam Professor of Islamic Culture.

The years Suhrawardy occupied the chair of the Bageshwari Professor (till April, 1943) were the most fruitful of his life. His wide experience, illuminating analysis and sound discrimination were reflected in his lectures and in the Volume entitled *Prefaces*. Besides brilliant comments on many facets of Eastern art and culture, this volume contained an appreciation of the modern Bengali painter Jamini Roy who has now become world famous. In 1934, the University of Calcutta published Suhrawardy's *Mussalman Culture*, translated from the Russian work (1918) by V.V. Bartold, Professor of Islamic Studies at the Imperial University of St. Petersburg (Leningrad). Shahid maintained that art should generally be studied as an evolution in forms and rated

achievement of art in terms of involvement of the artist with the experience or mood which he tried to express through adequate technical skill. He laid the foundations of art study on a comparative basis. He said that, in examining and appreciating an object of art, one should always be impartial and impersonal and must not judge any art object from the view point as one's own personal likes and dislikes. One should critically assess an object of art by applying some basic principles, e.g. proper balance of volume and space, harmony, coherence, symmetry, technical efficiency, etc.

From about 1940-41 till August 1947, Suhrawardy served the *Statesman* (Calcutta) as its Art Critic, regarded by N.L. Emmerson, Assistant Editor of the paper, as 'probably the most accomplished that this journal has ever had'.[3] He critically analysed and established the modern movements in Indian art (both painting and sculpture) sponsored by the artists of the Calcutta Group and sculptors like Prodosh Dasgupta (now Director of the Museum of Modern Art, New Delhi).

Besides being an art-critic of eminence, Shahid was also a poet. His volume of lyrics, *Essays in Verse*, was published by the Cambridge University Press in 1937, and in 1948 Orient Longmans published his translations (in collaboration with the Chinese poet and scholar Liu-Yih-ling) entitled *The Poems of Lee Hou-Chu.*

In April 1943, he left the University and joined the Public Service Commission, Bengal, which he served as a member till August 14, 1947 ; thereafter he had to leave this country and to become a Member of the Federal Public Service Commission of Pakistan, Karachi, where he worked till 1952. He was then invited to the United States of America and was appointed Professor of Oriental Art at the Columbia

3 *The Statesman*, 21.8.1949.

University. He served at the same time as a Consulting Member, along with the world famous artist Publo Picasso and the well-known British art-critic Sir Herbert Read, on the Committee for Selection of Frescoes for Decorating the newly constructed UNESCO building in Paris. In 1954, he was appointed Pakistan's Ambassador to Spain, a country which he knew very well. At the same time, he was accredited to Morocco, Tunisia and the Vatican City. In 1959, he returned and lived a quiet life at Karachi where he died on March 3, 1965. He was a bachelor. A charming personality and a very good conversationalist, Shahid had always a smiling face and he never lost his temper.

His published works, besides a number of articles, include—(1) *Mussalman Culture*, Calcutta University, 1934 ; (2) *Mussalman Art in Spain* ; (3) *Prefaces*, Calcutta University, 1938 ; (4) *Essays in Verse*, Cambridge University Press, 1937 ; and (5) *The Poems of Lee Hou-Chu*, Orient Longmans, 1948.

J. K. Guha

KALIDAS NAG

(1891-1966)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The death of Dr. Kalidas Nag on the 8th November, 1966, removed "a vital cultural link between India and the world."

Son of Motilal Nag, Dr. Kalidas Nag was born in Calcutta in February, 1891. He had his early education at the Shibpur High School and passed the Entrance examination of Calcutta University in 1908. He then joined the Scottish Churches College, Calcutta, from where he graduated with Honours in History in 1912. Immediately after obtaining his M.A. degree from Calcutta University in 1914, he joined the staff of the Scottish Churches College as a Lecturer in History and continued to work there for the next four years. During these years, he travelled widely in India, took part in some archaeological excavations which were being carried out under the supervision of Rakhaldas Banerji, who located Mohenjodaro and other sites, and delivered many lectures in the educational institutions and learned societies in various parts of India. His reputation as a lecturer and scholar spread and, in 1919, he was invited by the authorities of the Mahinda College in Galle (Ceylon) to accept the Principalship of that institution. He worked in Ceylon for only a year after which he went abroad for higher studies. He joined the University of Paris and studied for 3 years. He also worked at his researches in the British Museum and at the India Office Library in London. In 1923, the University of Paris accepted his French thesis on the Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and awarded him the degree of D. Litt.

During his stay in Europe, Kalidas worked under the eminent Indologist Sylvain Lévi of the College de France,

who spoke very highly of his ability as a historian and an archaeologist. In Europe, he participated in several important international conferences. Kalidas read a paper on the Humanization of History at the Third International Congress of Education at Geneva (1921). He discussed 'Greater India—a study in Indian Internationalism' at the Peace Congress of Locarno (1923). He also joined the Congress of German Orientalists in Berlin, spoke at the Peace Congress at Prague and represented Calcutta University at the International Congress of Libraries and Librarians in Paris (1923). He made a study tour of the Museums, Art Galleries and important centres of learning and cultural activities in Italy, Spain, Germany, England, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland. He lectured at the Oriental Institute of Oslo and the Historical Academy of Stockholm. On his way back to India, Kalidas visited Alexandria, Cairo, Memphis and Jerusalem.

On his return to India from Europe, he was appointed a Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture at the University of Calcutta (1923), a post which he continued to hold upto 1953. In 1924, Kalidas accompanied Rabindranath Tagore to China and Japan. On his way back he visited Indochina, Java, Bali, Malaya, Burma and other countries. During this tour, he lectured on Indian art and culture at the Universities of Peking, Nanking, Keifung, Hankow, Shanghai, Kyoto, Tokyo, Batavia, Surabaya, Hanoi and Saigon. He was a member of the Governing Body of the Vishva-Bharati for nearly twenty years. He was Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for some years. He organized the Greater India Society and published monographs on "Indian Culture Abroad" under the auspices of this Society. About this time (1927), he published his *Greater India, a Study in Indian Internationalism.* He was invited as a temporary collaborator by the League of Nations in 1930 and after his work

there he was appointed Visiting Professor, Institute of International Education, New York, and he lectured on Indian History, Literature, Art and Culture at the Metropolitan Museum of New York and Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and at the Universities of Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Pensylvania, Chicago, Evenston, Pittsburgh, Minnesota, Los Angeles, South California, Berkley, Oregon and Montana. He returned to India in 1931. His most important work in 1932 was the publication of the *Golden Book of Tagore* on the occasion of the 70th birthday of Rabindranath. He delivered the Convocation address at the Gurukul University in 1934. In 1936, he went to Buenos Aires representing India at the world P. E. N. Congress. During his return journey he visited Argentine, Uruguay, Brazil, Ireland, South Africa and Ceylon. He was appointed Visiting Professor by the University of Hawaii and inaugurated the Indic Department of that University in 1937. He delivered lectures on the History of Indian Thought, Indian Sociology, Archaeology and Art. He also addressed the Honolulu Academy of Arts. He delivered an address on 'Above All Nations is Humanity.' The next year, he represented India at the Commonwealth Relations Conference, Sydney, and lectured at Perth, Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, Auckland and Wellington. He went to the University of Philippines as a Guest Professor and spoke on Tagore and Gandhi. He revisited Indochina, Siam, Malaya and Burma. The Second World War (1939-45) prevented him from going outside India for a few years. He wrote some books during these years and published *India and the Pacific World* (1940-41), *Tagore in China and Ceylon* (1944-46), *Indian History and Civilisation* and several monographs. He joined the first Asian Relations Conference at Delhi and World Pacific Conference at Santiniketan and worked on the Fullbright Committee in 1950-52.

About the same time, he went on a cultural mission to

the Middle East and lectured on Indian History and Art at the Universities of Teheran, Bagdad, Damascus, Beiruth, Ankara and Istanbul and toured Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt as an adviser of the Calcutta Art Society. He also helped in the publication of the *Bethune College Centenary Volume*, *Mahabodhi Diamond Jubilee Volume*, and the *Bi-Centenary Volume* published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Commemoration of Sir William Jones. He also published *Tolstoy and Gandhi*. He was for sometime a Fellow of Calcutta University and was appointed the same University's representative to the International Universities Association (UNESCO) in Paris. He was visiting Professor, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1951-52. In 1961-62, he visited Russia and later went to Hiroshima to obtain first hand knowledge of the devastation caused by the atom bomb.

Kalidas was an inspiring teacher, a profound scholar and above all a humanist. He travelled virtually over the world several times during his life. His later publications, viz. *China and Gandhian India*, *India and the Pacific World*, *Greater India* and *Discovery of Asia*, give us some idea of the universality of his knowledge and the dimensions of his comprehension.

In 1924, Kalidas brought out a French translation of Tagore's poem *Balākā* under the title *Cygne*. He helped Romain Rolland to write the biographies of Mahatma Gandhi (1923) and Ramakrishna and Vivekananda (1925-27).

Rabindranath once said, "for men like Romain Rolland, there does not exist the distinction between their country and the universe." This was true not only for Tagore himself, but also for Kalidas Nag.*

Kalyan Kumar Ganguli

* The author is thankful to his pupil, Sri R. K. Billorey, for help rendered in the preparation of this note.

HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI

(1892-1957)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

When Hemchandra Raychaudhuri passed away in Calcutta in the evening of the 4th of May, 1957, very few Indians realised the nature of the loss caused by the sad demise of the great scholar. But, to those who were acquainted with him personally or with his invaluable works, the news came as a rude shock, even though they knew that he had been suffering from a protracted illness and that there was little hope of his recovery. Still it was a great loss to them, since, even from his sick-bed, Raychaudhuri was acting as a source of inspiration to the sincere students of history.

At the beginning of his *magnum opus*, *Political History of Ancient India* published by the University of Calcutta, Raychaudhuri observes, "No Thucydides or Tacitus has left for posterity a genuine history of ancient India," and he took upon himself the task of reconstructing this lost history in greater details than what was offered in the earlier part of Smith's celebrated *Early History of India*. Smith's attempt practically relates to the period beginning with Alexander's invasion of India in 327-324 B.C. even though he wrote a few pages on the earlier period from c. 600 B.C. But Raychaudhuri pushed back the commencement of the historical period to the 9th century B.C. when the great Kuru king Parikṣit flourished according to the chronological scheme proposed by him.

In the first part of this magnificent work, Raychaudhuri dealt with the pre-Bimbisāra period of Indian history on the basis of a careful analysis of the early Indian literary traditions which, as he showed, are not devoid of genuine

historical elements. It was no easy task. He had to go through the entire Vedic and Epico-Purāṇic literature and various other Sanskrit and Prakrit works as well as the Buddhist and Jain texts. But proper utilisation of the great mass of material thus collected is more difficult, since that requires special competence. However, Raychaudhuri was eminently suited to the work. The great popularity of his *Political History of Ancient India* (from the Accession of Pariksit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty) is clearly demonstrated by the fact that it has run no less than six editions since its first appearance in 1923.

Hemchandra Raychaudhuri was born on the 8th April, 1892, in the village of Ponabalia in the Buckergunge District. Son of Manoranjan Raychaudhuri, Zamindar of Ponabalia, and Taraṅgiṇī Devī, Hemchandra received his early education at the Brajamohan Institution, one of the best schools of the time, founded by Aswinikumar Datta at Barisal. He passed the Entrance examination of Calcutta University in 1907 having stood first among the students of the then province of East Bengal and Assam. Thereafter he came to Calcutta and studied first at the General Assembly's Institution later Scotish Churches College) and then at the Presidency College from which he graduated in 1911. Having stood first among all the Honours Graduates of Calcutta University during that year, Hemchandra obtained the Eshan scholarship. In 1913 he stood first in the M. A. examination in History and subsequently became a Griffith Prizeman in 1919 and was also admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.) of Calcutta University in 1921.

Immediately after obtaining his M.A. degree, Raychaudhuri worked first as a Lecturer at the Bangabasi College, Calcutta, for a short time (1913-14) and then joined the Bengal Education Service and served at the Presidency College, Calcutta, for three years (1914-16). In 1916, he

was transferred to the Government College, Chittagong. About this time, he was considerably distressed owing to the illness of his wife, whose untimely death soon afterwards acted heavily upon his nerves, and the transfer increased his troubles. Fortunately, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was then in need of talented youngmen for the new course of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta. He offered a lectureship to Raychaudhuri who readily gave up his post in the Bengal Education Service and joined the University as a Lecturer in 1917. In 1936 when D. R. Bhandarkar retired, Raychaudhuri succeeded him as Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, a position that he held down to June, 1952. Before this appointment, for a year in 1928, he acted as Reader and Head of the Department of History at the University of Dacca.

As a man, Raychaudhuri had an extremely affectionate and sensitive nature. Whoever came into his contact was charmed by his amiable behaviour. He was an exceptionally successful and inspiring teacher. But he lived more or less a life of seclusion, though the urge for knowledge never allowed him any rest. He devoted all his time and energy in studies. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, while paying tribute to his memory, remarked that Hemchandra knew nothing but books.

Raychaudhuri's scholarship was universally recognised. His treatment of historical topics was characterised by originality, sound judgement and learning and he never sacrificed critical caution to the passion for novel theories. Indeed, Raychaudhuri's name was a guarantee for dependable work. In 1946, he was made a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and later, in 1951, was awarded the Society's B. C. Law gold medal for his contribution to the cause of Ancient Indian History and Culture. In 1941, he had presided over a section of the Indian History Congress

held at Hyderabad, while he was elected General President of the Congress for its Nagpur Session held in 1950.

It is interesting to note that, as an author, Raychaudhuri was not exceptionally prolific, and this is because he insisted on quality rather than quantity. His second famous work, entitled *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, was published by Calcutta University and has run two editions (1920 and 1936). It is regarded as the most useful source book by all serious students of Vaiṣṇavism. Raychaudhuri also contributed a number of articles to learned periodicals, all of which have been incorporated in his *Studies in Indian Antiquities* (1932 and 1958), the second edition of which, also published by the University of Calcutta, appeared a year after his death. The papers in this volume are characterised by clarity of thought and are suggestive of the vast range of Raychaudhuri's scholarship. He contributed chapters to such works as the Dacca University's *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (1942). Even when he was bed-ridden, he contributed an important chapter to the *Early History of the Deccan* edited by G. Yazdani. He wrote the *Advanced History of India* (for B. A. Students) in collaboration with R. C. Majumdar and K. K. Datta.[1]

B. C. Law and N. N. Bhattacharya.[2]

1 We are thankful to Prof. D. C. Sircar for the help we have received from him in the preparation of this note.—N.N.B.

2 From their note appearing in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.

PANCHANAN MITRA

(1892-1936)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Dr. Panchanan Mitra was born in Calcutta on the 25th May, 1892. He was the grandson of the younger brother of Raja Rajendra Lall Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., and was the great-grandson of Janamejay Mitra, a great Urdu poet and writer of repute.

Dr. Mitra graduated from Ripon College in 1912 standing first in the First Class in English and passed the M.A. Examination in the same subject from the Presidency College in 1914.

He served the Bangabasi College as Lecturer in English in 1915-19 and was Lecturer in the Departments of Ancient Indian History and Culture and Anthropology of Calcutta University from 1919 to 1929. In 1918, he obtained the Premchand Roychand Scholarship, for his work on 'Prehistoric Culture and Races of India' (pub. Calcutta University, 1923 and 1929).

After securing the Ghosh Travelling Fellowship in 1929, he travelled widely in the Pacific islands. During his tour, he made an extensive study of the Polynesian culture and customs and obtained, in 1930, the Ph.D. degree of Yale University, on a thesis entitled *The History of American Anthropology*. After returning to Calcutta, he became the Head of the Department of Anthropology.

Dr. Mitra presided over the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress in 1933 and was also the President of the Anthropogenetics Section, Indian Population Congress, in 1936. He was a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland and an Associate Member of the American Museum of Natural History.

Some of Dr. Mitra's outstanding works are *Prehistoric India* (1923), *History of American Anthropology* (1930) and *Indo-Polynesian Memoirs* (pub. B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, 1933). He read a paper entitled 'Cultural Affinities between India and Polynesia' at Indian Museum in 1931. He also contributed a large number of papers to various journals and publications including the *Encyclopaedia Italiana.* In collaboration with Krishnacandra Das Satyasrayi, he wrote several works on religion and philosophy.

Dr. Mitra was an Honorary Magistrate in Calcutta (1919-24), but gave up the position at the call of the Non-cooperation Movement and worked in conjunction with C. R. Das and Subhas Chandra Bose.

On the 25th July, 1936, Dr. Mitra passed away creating a great void in the world of scholarship.

Sm. Arati Mitra

NIRANJANPRASAD CHAKRAVARTI

(1893-1956)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Born at Krishnagar (Nadia District, W. Bengal) on the 1st July, 1893, Niranjanprasad Chakravarti graduated from the local government college and took the M.A. degree of Calcutta University in Sanskrit (Group I). He was appointed a Lecturer in Sanskrit and Pali in the University in 1917. He also taught epigraphy to the students of the AIHC course. He was awarded a Government Scholarship in 1921 for study in Europe and worked at the Sorbonne (Paris) and Berlin Universities. His work entitled *L'Udānavarga Sanskrit*, published in Paris in 1930, is the result of these studies. In 1924, Niranjanprasad went to England and worked on Central Asian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions under E.J. Rapson and was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Cambridge. Returning to India, Dr. Chakravarti served the Post-Graduate Department of Calcutta University as a Lecturer in Sanskrit for some years. Thereafter he joined the Archaeological Survey of India as Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy and rose successively to the posts of Government Epigraphist for India (1934), Deputy Director General (1940), and Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India (1948). His career in the Department was distinguished by the zeal and thoroughness with which he edited the successive volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica*, to which he also contributed some original papers.

Dr. Chakravarti edited the Sanskrit inscriptions from Java in Part II of B.R. Chatterjee's *India and Java* and also contributed learned papers to the *Annual Reports* of the Archaeological Survey of India, *Ancient India* and

Yazdani's *Ajanta*, Part III. After his retirement (1950) from the Archaeological Survey, his services were utilised by the Government of India and the Indian Parliament in various capacities such as those of the Adviser to the Government on Archaeology and Officer on Special Duty in the Loksabha Secretariat. In the latter capacity, he took a leading part in designing the mural decorations of the Parliament Building with scenes depicting successive phases of our history and culture from the dawn of civilisation to the attainment of independence in 1947. He was deputed to Indonesia by the Government of India at the request of the Indonesian Government for offering his advice about the best methods of preserving the wonderful historical monuments in that country. At the instance of the Government of India, he visited China for studying the world-famous ancient Buddhist cave-paintings of that land. Finally, at the personal request of the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, he undertook a difficult journey across the Himalayas to Ladakh. He succeeded in making a magnificient collection of over 200 bundles of the Tanjur and Kanjur manuscripts which now form one of the treasures of the Central Archaeological Library in New Delhi.

Dr. Chakravarti served for some years as editor of the well-known Art journal, *Roopa Lekha*, which is the organ of the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society. His merits as a scholar earned for him well-deserved recognition from many quarters. He was a member of many learned bodies including the International Committee on Sites and Monuments set up by UNESCO. He was elected a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in 1949. He was President of the All-India Museums Association at its Gwalior Session in 1952 and of the Indian History Congress at its Ahmedabad Session in 1954. His Presidential speech at the Indian History

Congress was remarkable for the vigorous plea which he put forward for starting a series of Research Institutes in this country for the benefit of our advanced students. Modest and unassuming in his manners, Dr. Chakravarti retained to the end the love and esteem of all his friends and colleagues.

Niranjanprasad died on the 19th October, 1956.*

* [Adapted from the Obituary Notice appearing in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXXI, 1955-56, and the Asiatic Society's *Year Book* for 1956 (Vol. XXIII). We are indebted to Niranjanprasad for the opportunity he gave us to serve the Epigraphical Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India.—D. C. S.]

NALINAKSHA DUTT

(Born 1894)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Born in Calcutta in 1894, Nalinaksha Dutt (Datta) graduated in 1913 from the Chittagong College with Honours in Pali and was awarded the Jubilee Post-Graduate Scholarship of Calcutta University. He obtained admission to the M.A. course in Pali in the Post-Graduate Department of the said University, which was then just started. He had to go to the Sanskrit College for the lectures of Mahāmahopādhyāy Satishchandra Vidyabhushan, to the Indian Museum for lectures of Rakhaldas Banerji on inscriptions and for the lectures of Taraporewala and Surendranath Majumdar Sastri to the Darbhanga Building of Calcutta University. Along with the M.A. Classes, Nalinaksha also attended the Law Classes. In 1915, he passed the M.A. Examination in Pali standing First in Class I and, in 1916, passed the B.L. (LL.B.) Examination with very high marks.

In 1916, Nalinaksha was offered the post of Professor of Pali in the Judson College, Rangoon (Burma), when Maung Thi was the Professor of Pali in the Rangoon Government College. In 1917, Sir Asutosh wanted him and he joined the Post-Graduate Department of Calcutta University as a Lecturer in Pali. The Government of that time was against the creation of the Department and put the University to financial difficulties. There were occasions when the salary of the Lecturers and Professors could not be paid in time. Sir Asutosh made overdrafts against the Endowment Funds of the University in order to pay their salary. Asutosh started the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, to which Nalinaksha contributed a paper. It

was accepted for publication in spite of Satishchandra Vidyabhushan's adverse opinion and was published in the Journal. This was a great encouragement to Nalinaksha, which drew him to researches in the field of Buddhism. He continued to be a Lecturer in the Post-Graduate Department, while Dr. Benimadhab Barua was the Professor of Pali and the Head of the Pali Department.

In 1918, Nalinaksha was awarded the Premchand Roychand Scholarship (Calcutta University) on his thesis entitled *Four Buddhist Schools*. In 1921, he obtained the Ph. D. degree of Calcutta University on a thesis entitled *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools*. After some years, he proceeded to London for further studies. About that time, there were several Indian students at the School of Oriental (later Oriental and African) Studies of the University of London. The revolutionary, Har Dayal, was allowed by London University to carry on his studies there. Har Dayal (who made an attempt on the life of Lord Hardinge) and Nalinaksha worked in the same field of Buddhism. F. C. Turner and L. D. Barnett were appointed Supervisors of the research work of Nalinaksha and Hardayal respectively ; but Turner expressed his inability to guide Nalinaksha so that he was permitted to go to the Continent to work under the guidance of other competent scholars. Nalinaksha completed his thesis, entitled *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hīnayāna*, in Belgium under the guidance of Louis de la Vallée Poussin. His thesis was examined by A.B. Keith, L.D. Barnett and F.C Turner and was approved for the D.Litt. degree in 1931. The other two Indians who obtained the same degree about the time were Sunitikumar Chatterjee and Sushilkumar De, the rest (including Hemchandra Ray and Sarojkumar Das) obtaining the degree of Ph.D.

On his return to Calcutta, Nalinaksha continued his work as Lecturer in the Department of Pali and had to teach

Buddhism to the AIHC (Group III) Classes. One of his earliest students was Probodhchandra Bagchi (1918-20). After the retirement of Dr. Benimadhab Barua, Nalinaksha became Professor and Head of the Department of Pali in 1946, Sailendranath Mitra, who was senior to him in the Department, having been made Secretary of the Post-Graduate (Arts) Department a few years earlier. Nalinaksha, who retired in 1958, donated about Rs. 20,000 to Calcutta University for instituting stipends for Pali students.

Nalinaksha studied the French, German and Tibetan languages. He is the Vice-President of the Institute of Tibetology at Gangtok, Sikkim. He was for many years a member of the Council of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and also became its President for two years. He took part in the 2500th Buddha Jayanti Celebrations organised by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in New Delhi, and later participated in the Celebrations in Japan. He was invited by the Academy of Sciences in the USSR to deliver lectures on Buddhism.

Nalinaksha's *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hīnayāna* was published in 1930. It gives a clear idea of the evolution of Buddhism from the simple teachings of the Buddha contained in the early texts of the Orthodox School to the highly abstruse philosophical tenets of the Mahāyāna School. Nalinaksha edited the *Pañcaviṁśatisahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (1934) and also the large and valuable collection of the Gilgit manuscripts in eight volumes. Besides these, he published *Early Monastic Buddhism* in two volumes (1941-45) and edited other Buddhist texts like the *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā*, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (Bibliotheca Indica, 1952), the *Bauddha Saṁgraha* (1962) and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (1966).

Sm. Kshanika Saha

JITENDRANATH BANERJEA

(1895-1966)

REMINISCENCES

It is more than 50 years ago that the idea struck the mind of the great educationist, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, to organise study and research in Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta. The University was then expanding its activities in the study of various subjects under his fostering care, and post-graduate studies had by that time mostly been concentrated there. Money was urgently needed for all this expansion, and Sir Asutosh was striving his utmost to procure it from various sources. The Bengal Government of those days was extremely apathetic, if not antagonistic, to his far-reaching schemes, and was not helping him with adequate grants urgently needed for the phenomenal development of the University in its different branches. Post-graduate study and research in the past history and culture of India were thought to be one of the most imperative duties of an expanding centre of learning, and Asutosh was earnestly seeking financial aids for putting his ideas into action. It was partially through the munificence of one of the eminent philanthrophists of contemporary Bengal, Maharaja Manindrachandra Nandy of Cossimbazar, that Sir Asutosh was able to do this.

In 1912, a Chair in the name of Baron Carmichael, the Governor of Bengal at that time, was founded in the University, and Dr. Georg Thibaut, the great Sanskritist, was appointed to it. But no arrangement could then be made for regular teaching of Ancient Indian History and Culture for want of funds. This state of affairs continued for some time, and it was not till 1917-18 that regular courses of study in different branches of the subject could be

introduced in the post-graduate stage. D.R. Bhandarkar, an able officer of the Archaeological Survey of India with sound knowledge in diffcrent branches of Indian archaeology, was brought as the next Carmichael Professor, and put in charge of these studies. The first regular batch of students was admitted to the fifth year class in the subject in 1918, who appeared in the M.A. Examination in 1920. Some young scholars, all First Class M.A.s in History, had already been appointed by Sir Asutosh for the teaching of and research in several sections of Indology and History. Four M.A.s of the first batch of AIHC students were also recruited for this purpose, and it must be said to the credit of all of them that these new recruits fully justified th ir selection. I mention only a few of the teachers who are now dead, but who shed a lustre on the name of the University by their outstanding contributions to different branches of Ancient Indian History and Culture. Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri who succeeded Dr. Bhandarkar as Carmichael Professor, joined the Post-Graduate Department after resigning from Government Service, and showed his mettle for original research. The books and papers which were brought out by him during his long tenure of service in the University were all first-class productions. He was one of the most eminent Indian scholars, who set a standard of critical research to be emulated by younger aspirants after scholarship in the field of Indology. Nanigopal Majumdar, one of the first batch of AIHC students, though not connected for long with post-graduate teaching and research in the University of Calcutta, became one of the most eminent scholars in Indian epigraphy, and one of the first successful workers in the pre- and proto-history of India. His promising career was untimely cut short by an assassin's bullet, while he was exploring the ancient sites in Sind. But the monographs and papers which were brought out in the course of the short span of his scholarly life bear the stamp of

originality and high merit. Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi, a classmate of Majumdar, became the only eminent Indian Sinologist, whose numerous works on the relationship between ancient India and China throw a flood of light on the cultural history of these two old countries. His many contributions in several other fields of Indology, mainly on different aspects of ancient Indian religion, still serve as beacon to the workers in the same field. He was for a long time associated with our University till he joined the Visva-Bharati University first as its Professor and Head of the Department of Indology, and then its Vice-Chancellor. His premature death, eight years ago, was a great and irreparable loss to the world of Indologists.

It is not possible, in the short space of this article, to refer to many other scholars closely associated with the Department from its inception. They passed away leaving their distinguished marks on Indological studies and research. No reference has also been made on purpose to those alumni of the University of Calcutta, who are still alive and who have been carrying on research themsleves and guiding the advanced students of this subject in their studies in or outside the University. It will only be necessary here to point out that many of the living and dead scholars had the good fortune to come in contact with the great educationist, Sir Asutosh. It was his inspiration and encouragement that helped them to bring out what was best in them, and it was their cumulated work which was one of the principal factors in placing the University of Calcutta among the top-ranking centres of learning in India. It must also be pointed out in this connection that the example set here in the matter of organised study and research in the various branches of Indology was soon followed by many other Universities in India, the first to come in the wake being the Banaras Hindu University.

The present writer, an humble student of History in

the University of Calcutta, had the good fortune to have been associated, in some way or other, with the Department since its very inception. He takes a legitimate pride in this long association.

J. N. Banerjea*

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The Asiatic Society in particular and the world of Indologists in general became poorer by the sad demise of Jitendranath Banerjea on the 12th of May, 1966. His relations with the Society were long and fruitful. An active member since 1938, Jitendranath was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1950. He ably served the Society as Historical and Archaeological Secretary in 1954 and 1955 and from 1961 to 1964 and also as General Secretary from 1956 to 1959. He contributed a few learned papers to the publications of the Society and reviewed a number of books in the Society's Journal. He was the recipient of the B.C. Law Gold Medal for the year 1961. In the field of Indological studies, Jitendranath was regarded as a great specialist in the Brāhmaṇical religious systems and iconology as well as in Indian numismatics, and his disappearance from the field created a void which shows no prospect of being filled up in many years.

Jitendranath belonged to a respectable Kulīna Brāhmaṇa family of the village of Śikhirā in the Hooghly District of West Bengal. He was born at Meerut in U.P. on the 16th of August, 1895. He passed the Matriculation Examination of Calcutta University in 1912 from the Maharaja's High School at Kalna in the Burdwan District of West Bengal, and graduated four years later, with First Class Honours

* [Adapted from his note in the *Souvenir* of the 7th Reunion of AIHC Students, 1964.—D.C.S.]

in History, from the Scottish Churches College, Calcutta. In 1918, he obtained the M.A. degree of Calcutta University in History and was placed in the First Class. He was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the same University in 1942 on his thesis entitled *Studies in the Development of Hindu Iconography.*

Soon after he had obtained the Master's degree, the far-sighted educationist, Asutosh Mookerjee, recruited young Jitendranath for the newly instituted M.A. course in Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta, as Assistant to the then Carmichael Professor, D. R. Bhandarkar. And from 1918, he continuously served his *alma mater* till his retirement in August 1959 after 41 long years. Sometime after his appointment at the University, Jitendranath was promoted to the post of a Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture and finally occupied the Chair of the Carmichael Professor from July 1952 to August 1959. In 1958, Jitendranath was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts and was also nominated Vice-President of the University College of Arts. On the occasion of his retirement from Calcutta University in 1959, Jitendranath's friends and pupils presented him with a Felicitation Volume entitled *J. N. Banerjea Volume* (Calcutta, 1960).

Jitendranath's *magnum opus* is the *Development of Hindu Iconography* which was published by the University of Calcutta in 1941, a revised second edition of it appearing fifteen years later in 1956. This work on Brāhmaṇical inconology is of outstanding merit and is not likely to be antiquated or superceded in the near future. His Bengali work entitled *Pañcopāsanā*, published in 1962 and dealing with the five popular Brāhmaṇical religious systems (Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Śākta, Saura and Gāṇapatya), was awarded the Rabindra Prize by the Government of West Bengal. He contributed a number of papers to learned periodicals and also some chapters to such publications as

the Dacca University's *History of Bengal*, the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan's *History and Culture of the Indian People* and the Indian History Congress' *Comprehensive History of India.*

Jitendranath's reputation as a front-rank Indologist brought him many laurels. He was Correspondent [for life] of the Archaeological Survey of India, a Corresponding Member [from India] of the Commission Internationale pur une Histoire du Development Scientifique et Culturel de l'Humanité of the UNESCO and a Charter Member of the International University Foundation of New York, USA. Jitendranath presided over the Ancient India Section of the Indian History Congress at its Patna Session in 1946, the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India at Cuttack in 1949 and the History Section of the Nikhil Bhārat Vaṅga Sāhitya Sammelan at its Lucknow Session in 1954. The Indian History Congress honoured him by electing him General President for its Allahabad Session in 1965. Unfortunately, he could not attend the Session of the Congress owing to failing health. His Presidential address, read out at the Congress, contains some interesting personal reminiscences. As a tribute to Jitendranath's scholarship, Maria-Therese de Mallmann dedicated to him her *Les Ensignments Iconographiques de l' Agnipurāṇa.*

After his retirement, Jitendranath enjoyed for sometime the UGC's research stipend meant for retired teachers and delivered a course of lectures each at the Universities of Lucknow and Calcutta respectively in 1962 and 1965. In his Dr. R. K. Mookerji Endowment Lectures at Lucknow University, he dealt with the light thrown by archaeological data on the development of religious systems like the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva. In April, 1965, Jitendranath delivered six lectures on Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion at the UGC Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta. He also presided over

the seminars on Indian Mother-goddess and Iconography of Tārā organised by the Centre on the same occasion. Unfortunately, he fell ill before the conclusion of the lectures and seminars.

As a man, Jitendranath's character was marked by sweetness of behaviour and mildness of temperament. He was a perfect gentleman, absolutely unassuming and unostentatious.

The author of these lines attended Jitendranath's lectures on Indian Numismatics in the Post-Graduate Classes as a student of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, in 1929-31. When therefore Jitendranath became incapacitated, by illness and failing eye-sight, to see his lectures on Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion through the press and the burden fell upon the shoulders of this pupil of his, the latter undertook the task gladly thinking it to be a sort of indirect payment of *guru-dakṣiṇā*, howsoever little and insignificant. It was indeed a great disappointment to him that Jitendranath passed away when the last few pages of the work were being printed off.

D. C. Sircar*

* Adapted from an Obituary Note appearing in the Asiatic Society's *Year Book* for 1966, pp. 128-31, and in Banerjea's *Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion* published by our Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC in 1966.

STELLA KRAMRISCH

(Born about 1895)

REMINISCENCES

The many years which I had been associated with the University of Calcutta have made it possible for me to do my work and, for this, I am intensely grateful. I joined the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in 1923 and left in 1950. I began as a Lecturer in Indian Art and was Professor when I left.

Stella Kramrisch*

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Daughter of Jacques Kramrisch, Scientist, and Berta, Stella Kramrisch was born in Austria and received her education at Vienna University. She was interested in Indian art and philosophy before coming to India, and gradually developed deep love and fascination for Indian studies. She became eager to come to India in order to study the monuments and sculptures on the spot. She came to London ; but being an Austrian, it was difficult for her to get a passport for India. It was necessary to prove that the object of her proposed visit was the study of Indian art and philosophy and that she was doing good work on the subject. In this connection, she wrote for help to many

* [Dr. Kramrisch, Curator of Indian Art, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Fairmount, Benjamin Franklin Parkway at Twentysixth Street, P.O. Box 7646, Phila. 19101, was silent about the date and place of her birth.—D. C. S.]

people including Rabindranath Tagore and O. C. Gangoly. After coming to India, Stella Kramrisch first served as a teacher at Visva-Bharati and was afterwards appointed Lecturer in Fine Arts in AIHC, Calcutta University. In 1922, Kramrisch delivered the Adharchandra Mukherjee Lectures at the University, the subject being 'The Contact of Indian Art with the Art of Other Civilisations'. In 1929, she married Laszlo Nemenyi (died 1950).

During the period 1937-40, she served the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, as Lecturer on Indian Art. After her return to Calcutta, 1944, the personal distinction of University Professor was conferred on her by the Senate of Calcutta University. She edited the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* in collaboration with Abanindranath Tagore.

In 1950, Stella Kramrisch became Professor of the Art of South Asia, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., USA. In 1954, she also became Curator of Indian Art, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

During her stay in India, she travelled far and wide in order to study monuments and sculptures. Her works in English include—*Principles of Indian Art* (1924); *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* (1924); *History of Indian Art* (1929); *Indian Sculpture* (1932); *Asian Miniature Painting* (1932); *A Survey of Painting in the Deccan* (1937); *Indian Terracotta* (1939); *The Hindu Temple* in 2 Volumes (1946); *Art and Crafts of Travancore* (1948); *Art of India* (1954); *Indian Sculpture in the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (1960); and *The Art of Nepal* (1964).

Besides these, Kramrisch has contributed numerous papers on Indian architecture, sculpture, painting and ritual to various learned periodicals. Her paper on 'Pāla and Sena Sculpture' was published in the *Rupam* (Calcutta, 1927), edited by O. C. Gangoly.

In his *Bhārater Śilpa O Āmār Kathā*, O. C. Gangoly writes,

"I always say that Stella Kramrisch has made us indebted by her notable work on Hindu Temples in two big volumes. What a priest could not do, what a Hindu could not do, what an Indian could not do, she did it."*

Ramesh Kumar Billorey

* Mainly based on *Who is Who in U.S.A.* 1967-68; cf. also O C Gangoly's Bengali book cited above.

NALININATH DAS GUPTA

(1902-66)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Nalininath Das Gupta was born in June, 1902, at Berhampore in the Murshidabad District, he was the eldest son of Janakinath Das Gupta and Sarojini Devi. His family hailed from Sonarang (Vikrampur) in the Dacca District (now in East Pakistan).

Nalininath received his early education at Berhampur. He matriculated from the Krishnanath Collegiate School in 1918, and graduated from the Krishnanath College in 1922. As a student of History in Dacca University, he had the opportunity of studying the subject at the feet of Dr. Rameshchandra Majumdar. Having obtained the M A. degree in 1924, he devoted himself ardently and sincerely to the study and research in various aspects of Ancient Indian History, which he continued with an unabated zeal and devotion till he breathed his last in Calcutta on January 7, 1966.

Nalininath's love for research was so great that he turned down offers of lucrative jobs in other fields. During his career as a research worker, he came in close touch with eminent scholars like Benimadhab Barua, D. R. Bhandarkar, Rakhaldas Banerji, B. C. Law and H. C. Raychaudhuri. He also came in direct connection with S. P. Mookerjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University. Nalininath joined Calcutta University first as a Tutor and then became a Lecturer and finally a Reader in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture.

Nalininath was associated with the *Indian Historical Quarterly* edited by N. N. Law, and was, for sometime, on the Editorial Board of the *Indian Culture.* Author of a considerable number of papers dealing with many aspects

of Ancient Indian History, he specialised particularly in Indian religion and epigraphy. One of his well-known works is *Bāṅglāy Bauddha Dharma*, which has been regarded as 'a great monument of his scholarship and industry' and 'an indispensable handbook on the subject'. He contributed the chapter on Buddhism (c. A.D. 1000-1200) to Volume V of the *History and Culture of the Indian People* (ed. R. C. Majumdar). He exhibited critical scholarship and mastery over the Vaiṣṇava religion and philosophy in editing the *Paraśurāmer Kṛṣṇamaṅgal*, a Bengali Vaiṣṇava *Maṅgalakāvya*.

He tried to enrich his mother tongue by writing original research papers in Bengali. In this respect, he may be regarded as a torch-bearer of the tradition set up by Akshaykumar Maitreya, Haraprasad Sastri and Rakhaldas Banerji. He wrote in an admirable style. Some of his Bengali articles have been included in his latest publication *Purātanī*. In 1931, he won the Griffith Memorial Prize and in 1932 the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Gold Medal, both of Calcutta University.

Nalininath was a successful teacher. His pupils found him loving, sympathetic and inspiring. He always used to encourage his students and stood by their side whenever necessary. His humour coupled with his sympathy towards his friends, colleagues, associates and students made him popular to all. As a man, he was a spirit of goodness, energy and lovable personality. He never deviated an inch from the lofty ideals for which he stood. A man of character and integrity as he was, he placed duty before self.

Besides the works already mentioned, Nalininath is the author of some other books, e.g., *Bhārater Nārī Paricay*, *Prācīn Itihās*, and *Prācīn Bhārater Itihās*. He also contributed a large number of papers to various learned periodicals.

Sm. Jayanti Das Gupta

GOLAPCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI

(Born 1909)

REMINISCENCES

It is an irony of history that India, which boasts of her ancient civilization, almost totally forgot her past. We should express our grateful thanks to the generations of scholars,—past and present, Indian and non-Indian, Asiatic and European,—whose patient labours have succeeded in piecing together the mosaic of information contained in our early records—both literary and archaeological, and thereby presenting a more or less coherent picture of our lost heritage. In this work of resurrecting our past from deep oblivion, the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, certainly played an important and active role. More than half a century ago, it was the unrivalled Sir Asutosh Mookerjee of hallowed memory, who fully realised the importance of the study of our ancient history and culture toward the fulfilment of our nascent aspiration, and established the Carmichael Professorship and founded the M. A. course in Ancient Indian History and Culture. His high hopes were amply justified by the work of the first generation of teachers as well as several students who themselves became distinguished teachers and researchers. To name them individually may involve invidious distinction. The collective efforts of these scholars made the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture the pride of the University of Calcutta and the model for other Indian universities. I only wish the Department will live upto its ideal and will not remain satisfied with its past achievement. I recall with genuine pride my more than twelve years' association with the Department.

G. C. Raychaudhuri

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Dr. Colapchandra Raychaudhuri, son of Manoranjan Raychaudhuri and younger brother of Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, was born at Barisal (now in East Pakistan) on the 23rd October, 1909. He studied at the Brajamohan School, Barisal, and the Brahmo Boys' School, Calcutta. He passed the Matriculation Examination of Calcutta University in 1926, graduated with Honours in History from the Presidency College, Calcutta, in 1930, and passed the M.A. Examination in History in 1932 from Calcutta University standing Second in the First Class. Next year he took his Bachelor's degree in Law in Class I. Following the footsteps of Hemchandra, Golapchandra started research work in the ancient period of Indian history and obtained the Premchand Roychand Studentship on the basis of his researches on the history of Mewar. He went to London for further studies in 1946 and worked under the guidance of L. D. Barnett; in 1948, he was awarded the Ph. D. degree of London University on his thesis on the Early Cālukyas of Bādāmi.

Golapchandra worked as a Lecturer in History first at the Victoria Institution, Calcutta (1936-45), and then at the Asutosh College (July, 1945, to September, 1948). In 1948, he was appointed lecturer in the Department of History and, later, of AIHC, Calcutta University. He was made the Secretary of the University Colleges of Arts and Commerce in 1955 and later became the Registrar of Calcutta University (1961-67). He is now a teacher at the Elmira College, Elmira, New York, USA.

Dr. Raychaudhuri presided over the Ancient India Section of the Indian History Congress at its Aligarh Session in 1960. He has published some articles in different journals.*

* [Adapted mainly from a Bengali note appearing in the *Māsik Basumatī*, Māgh, 1367 B.S.—D.C.S.]

Section II

STUDENT-TEACHERS

HEMCHANDRA RAY

(1896-1964)

Biographical Sketch

Hemchandra Ray was born in 1896 in a respectable Brāhmaṇa family of Machlandapur in the Sadar Subdivision of the Faridpur District of undivided Bengal. He completed his school education in the Faridpur Zilla School, and joined the Wesleyan College, Bankura. He took his B.A. degree with Honours in History from the Dacca College in 1918, and joined the post-graduate classes of the University of Calcutta. He was one of the first batch of students of Ancient Indian History and Culture, a regular course of studies in which was begun that very year. Hemchandra topped the list of successful candidates in the subject with social and constitutional history of ancient India as his special subject (Group II) in 1920, and was placed in Class I. Soon after he was absorbed in the expanding organisation of post-graduate teaching and research in the subject, as one of the Assistants of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the then Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture.

Hemchandra soon began his advanced studies, and published a few research papers in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in the early twenties of this century. He shortly became a member, afterwards a life-member and a Fellow of the Society. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, the manuscript of which had been discovered and translated into English by Dr. Shama Sastry, was chosen by him for his advanced studies and research, and he earned the Premchand

Roychand Studentship and the Mouat Gold Medal by doing sound and approved work on the subject. He also participated in the first systematic excavation of the ancient site of Paharpur (Rajshahi District, N. Bengal), jointly undertaken by the Varendra Research Society and Calcutta University under the overall supervision of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.

It must be incidentally stated here that, in the midst of his multifarious duties as a post-graduate teacher and a researcher of great merit, Hemchandra could find time to take an active and leading part in the sports organisation of the University, and was mainly responsible for introducing the teaching and practice of Ju-jut-su and Judo among the students. He was also associated with the Bengal Physical Culture Association, at first intimately during his stay in Calcutta, and even afterwards when he had gone over to Ceylon, till the time of his death.

It was, however, his stay in London as an advanced student of the School of Oriental Studies (London University), during the years 1927-29, that was very fruitful for the development of Hemchandra's scholarly career. The idea of writing a comprehensive history of India of the early medieval period, both from the political and cultural points of view, had dawned upon him at the early stages of his career as a post-graduate teacher. But he could only give a shape to it during his stay in London. He worked wholeheartedly and systematically on the topic under the expert guidance of L. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum. He exhibited patient, continuous and critical study in completing two volumes of the *Dynastic History of Northern India* (*Early Medieval Period*) which brought him the Ph. D. degree of the University of London. The work was published by Calcutta University, the first volume in 1931 and its companion afterwards in 1936. Hemchandra

was also later awarded the D. Litt. degree of London University. It was not, however, these research degrees only that brought him distinction; the two published volumes, his *magnum opus*, procured for him lasting name, fame and position among the select band of critical scholars in Indology.

Hemchandra had planned to follow up these two volumes by a third one dealing with the history of the minor dynasties as well as the administration, economic, social and religious condition and literary activities, and other relevant topics connected with the period. He had made some progress in this respect; but it is unfortunate that he could not complete it. He left Calcutta University in the early forties of this century for the Professorship of History in the University of Ceylon, Colombo, where he served with great credit and efficiency. During his stay at Colombo (Peradeniya), he became the Exchange Professor of History in the University of London for sometime. It was at Colombo, again, that he planned, in collaboration with some of his colleagues, the *University History of Ceylon*, two parts of the first Volume of which were published a few years ago. He retired from Ceylon University soon after he had been entrusted with the task of editing this History on account of superannuation, and joined the Vidyālaṅkāra University in Ceylon. He was serving there as Professor of History and Dean of the Faculty of Arts for sometime, when his end suddenly came a little less than two months ago; he was 68 at the time of his death. Hemchandra is survived by his wife and three children.

This short obituary note on the life and career of Prof. Hemchandra Ray cannot fully portray his many-sided activities, his strength of character, his gentlemanliness, and his profound scholarly abilities. I came into contact with him when he was in the University of Calcutta as one of its ablest teachers and researchers, and am proud

to claim him as one of my best friends. I admired him for his openness of heart and straightforwardness of character. He was to have retired soon from the Vidyālaṅkāra University and had already planned to settle in Calcutta in his retired life, and we were fondly expecting him to revive his former close association with, and activities in, the Asiatic Society. But this was not to be. Hemchandra's death did not only cause a great bereavement to his relatives and friends ; but it was also a great loss to the world of Indologists.

J. N. Banerjea*

* [Adapted from an Obiturary Note read at the Monthly Meeting of the Asiatic Society held on 14.1.1964 and appearing in the Society's *Year Book* for 1965, pp. 136-38.—D.C.S.]

NANIGOPAL MAJUMDAR

(1897-1938)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Stuart Piggott, writing about archaeological explorations in Baluchistan and Sind, observed, "Archaeological field-work, however, was not wanting in India itself, and the brilliant young Indian archaeologist, N.G. Majumdar carried out a comprehensive survey of Sind and the Indus plain between 1927 and 1931, defining the extent of the minor prehistoric settlements within the area dominated by the cities of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, and making certain very important excavations. He was undertaking fresh field-work in 1938 when he was killed by bandits in the Kirthar Hills."[1]

To many Western students of prehistory, Majumdar's name would be associated invariably with his great field-work, his valiant expeditions into the wilderness of Sind, and finally as he stood—at the age of fortyone—on the brink of perhaps a worldwide fame, the tragedy of his martyrdom. But Nanigopal Majumdar, like his early mentor R. D. Banerji, was not only an explorer in the great line of John Marshall and Aurel Stein. He was also a remarkable product of a tradition of oriental scholarship which had been built up through sheer painstaking erudition by the stalwarts of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. His unrivalled mastery of the rich Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī epigraphy of India, his passion for Kuṣāṇa numismatics, his abiding interest in the classical elements of Gandhāra iconography, all overwhelmingly bore out the influence of that tradition.

1. See *Prehistoric India*, Penguin, 1950, p. 17.

Nanigopal Majumdar, the eldest son of Dr. Baradaprasanna Majumdar, was born at the village of Debrājpur in the District of Jessore, Bengal, in 1897. Soon after he had passed the Matriculation Examination (Calcutta University) in 1914, he came in close contact with Rakhaldas Banerji of Mohenjo-daro fame. It was he who, along with Haraprasad Sastri and K. P. Jaysawal, first helped young Majumdar to acquire and sharpen his taste for Indian archaeology. After graduation from Sanskrit College (Calcutta) in 1918 with First Class Honours in Sanskrit, Majumdar joined the new M.A. course in Ancient Indian History and Culture at Calcutta University under Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. On completing his M.A. with a First Class in 1920, Majumdar joined the same year the said University Department as a Lecturer. During 1921-23, he was awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship and the Griffith Memorial Prize of the University. He left the University in 1924 to become Curator of the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi. His *Inscriptions of Bengal* was the product of this period. It was also on deputation from the above Society that he had assisted, on two occasions, Sir John Marshall in his famous explorations in Sind. In 1927, Marshall had Majumdar appointed to the cadre of the Archaeological Survey of India. Given independence, Majumdar now embarked upon a series of systematic surveys and excavations in the Indus Valley between 1927 and 1930, and wrote his celebrated memoir, *Explorations in Sind*. He was transferred to the Eastern Circle of the Survey in 1931 and made the Superintendent of the Circle in 1935. It was during this spell at the Eastern Circle that he carried out the valuable excavations at Lauriya-Nandangarh, Kosam and Durgapur. He was elected a Fellow—then the youngest—of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1936. But, as he kept on telling his superiors in the Survey, he still had work to do in Sind,

and so was able to get himself appointed Special Officer for Explorations in Sind in October, 1938. Nanigopalr Majumdar was leading a small expedition in the desolate Upper Manchar Lake area when, on the morning of the 11th November, 1938, his camp was suddenly attacked by a marauding band of heavily armed tribesmen. Majumdar was shot dead and the camp looted. His diary of the expedition, later recovered from amongst his papers, has since been published in *Ancient India*.

Given below is a list of some of the important works by Nanigopal Majumdar.[2]—(1) *A List of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. XX, 1924, No. 1, pp. 1-39 ; (2) *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, Rajshahi, 1929 ; (3) *Explorations in Sind* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 48), Delhi, 1934 ; (4) *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Parts I and II, Delhi, 1937 ; (5) *The Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. I, by Marshall and Foucher, Delhi, 1940—Part IV : *Inscriptions* edited, translated and annotated by N. G. Majumdar.

Tapas Majumdar

Nanigopal Majumdar, Special Officer for Explorations of the Archaeological Survey of India, was murdered under most tragic circumstances on the morning of the 11th of November, 1938, near Johi in the Dadu District of Sind. He was deputed from the 1st of October, 1938, for a period of 6 months to complete a survey of the prehistoric sites of the Indus Valley Civilization which he had so sucessfully carried out from 1927 to 1931. Soon

2 For a complete bibliography, see Charuchandra Das Gupta in the *Itihās* (Bengali), Vol. V, No. 1. The present account is based in part on Das Gupta's paper.

after the starting of work in the Upper Manchar Lake area, he was shot dead by a band of armed dacoits who attacked his camp.

Majumdar was the eldest son of Dr. B. Majumdar of Jessore, and was born on the 1st of December, 1897. After a successful scholastic career, he passed the B.A. Examination of Calcutta University with Honours in Sanskrit in the First Class and was awarded a Silver Medal and a Scholarship. In 1920, he passed the M.A. Examination in Ancient Indian History and Culture in the First Class and was awarded a Gold Medal. In the course of his studies, he was associated with teachers of the calibre of Mahāmahopādhyāy Haraprasad Sastri and Professor D. R. Bhandarkar. *En passant* it may be mentioned that it was the influence of Professor Bhandarkar, Mr. R. D. Banerji and Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda which was responsible for Majumdar developing a keen interest in Indian Archaeology. During 1921-23, he was awarded the Griffith Memorial Prize for an interesting thesis on Vajra. He also obtained the Premchand Roychand Studentship and the Mouat Gold Medal on a thesis entitled *A List of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*. He was appointed a Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta and served in this capacity till 1924 when he was selected for the post of Curator of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. During the period of his curatorship, he prepared his *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, and, as a result of this and other archaeological works, was selected in 1925 for archaeological training by Sir John Marshall, the then Director-General of the Archaeological Surv y. He was later deputed to Mohenjo-daro where a Chalcolithic Culture of the prehistoric times had then been discovered. After this training, he was appointed as Assistant Superintendent for Exploration in the Archaeological Survey in June 1927, and the first important work

carried out by him was a survey of the centres of the prehistoric civilization in Sind. On the 1st June, 1935, he was appointed Superintendent of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, and this post he held till the 1st of October, 1938, when he was placed on special duty to complete his survey of the prehistoric sites in Sind. In the Indian Museum, he re-organized the archaeological galleries of the Museum on modern lines, and entirely rearranged the prehistoric gallery. He also published two valuable guide-books for the collection in the Indian Museum, one dealing with the sculptures of the early schools and the other on the Gandhāra sculptures. While stationed in Calcutta, he also carried out excavations at various archaeological sites, such as Lauriya-Nandangarh (Champaran District), Kosam (Allahabad District), Durgapur (Burdwan District) and several other sites in Bengal. In addition, he deciphered and edited a large number of Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions which have thrown light on many complicated problems of Indian history.

Majumdar was one of the most distinguished products of the modern school of Archaeology in India, and was a very versatile scholar. The published results of his work bear ample testimony to his knowledge and the varied nature of his interests in the different branches of Indian archaeology. He was also a recognized authority on the early history of India, and presided over the History Section of the Pravāsī Vaṅga Sāhitya Sammelan held at Patna in December, 1937.

Most of Majumdar's works were published in the *Indian Antiquary* and *Epigraphia Indica*, while his *Explorations in Sind* appeared in 1934 as Memoir No. 48 of the Archaeological Survey of India.

He contributed a chapter dealing with the inscriptions of Sanchi to the *Monuments of Sanchi*, and another on the

prehistoric and protohistoric civilization to the India Society's publication entitled *Revealing India's Past.*

He was elected a Fellow of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in February 1936. He married Snehalata, the eldest daughter of Nalinimohan Sastri of the Sylhet College.

B. Prashad*

*[Adapted from an Obituary Notice appearing in the Asiatic Society's *Year-Book*, Vol. V, 1939, pp. 158 ff. See also J. K. Guha's reminiscences below.—D.C.S.]

PRABODHCHANDRA BAGCHI

(1898-1956)

BIOGRAPHIGAL SKETCHES

Prabodhchandra Bagchi was born in 1898 in the village of Srikol in the Jessore District (now in East Pakistan). In 1918, he graduated from the Krishnagar College with Honours in Sanskrit and in 1920, after taking his M.A. degree in Ancient Indian History and Culture from Calcutta University, he started his career as a Lecturer of the same university.

When in 1921, the well-known French Orientalist, Prof. Sylvain Lévi, came to Santiniketan as the first Visiting Professor at the invitation of Rabindranath Tagore, Prabodhchandra was deputed by Calcutta University to study Buddhism and Chinese language under him. Then he proceeded to Nepal with Prof. Lévi and worked under his direction in the famous Darbar Library. On his return from Nepal in 1922, he was awarded the Sir Rashbehari Ghosh Travelling Fellowship by Calcutta University and was placed on deputation to work in the Far East and in Europe under the direction of Prof. Lévi. Subsequently, he visited the archaeological remains of the ancient Indianized kingdoms in different parts of Indochina with the help of the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient (French School of the Far East). He then proceeded to Japan and visited the ancient centres of Buddhistic studies in that country.

After having spent nearly a year in the Far East, Prabodhchandra went to France. During the three years (1923-26) of his stay in Paris, he attended various courses in the College de France, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes and Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes. The teachers with whom he was associated were Sylvain Lévi, Paul Pelliot, Henri Maspero, Jules Bloch and Antoine Meillet. As a result of his researches in Paris, he published

in two volumes a remarkable work in French on the biographies of the Indian and other scholars who worked at the translation of Sanskrit Buddhist texts into the Chinese language—*Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Les Traducteurs et les Traductions*, tome I, 1927, et tome II, 1938, Sino-Indica, Publications de l'université de Calcutta. Another work of his is a critical edition of two ancient Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionaries, one compiled in Central Asia in the eighth century A.D. and the other by the famous Chinese scholar I-tsing in the seventh century A.D.—*Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois* : *Fan Yu Tsa Ming* de Li Yen et *Fan Yu Ts'ien Tseu Wen* de Yi-Tsing, tome I, 1929, et tome II, 1937, Sino-Indica, Publications de l' université de Calcutta. He was awarded by the University of Paris the degree of Docteur-ès-Lettrse in June, 1926, and then he returned to India and resumed his work as Lecturer in the University of Calcutta.

From 1927 to 1945, Dr. Bagchi was a member of the staff of the University of Calcutta. In 1929, he went to Nepal a second time, and brought back with him a select collection of old Sanskrit manuscripts. Since the publication of his thesis, he had been working unceasingly on various aspects of Sino-Indian studies, Indian history, Indian religions—particularly Buddhism and Tantrism, geography, linguistics and Indian cultural influences in Central and South-East Asia. Among his more important works, we may mention the following :—(1) *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* (trans.), 1929 ; (2) *Materials for a Critical Edition of the Old Bengali Caryāpadas*, 1938 ; (3) *Studies in the Tantras*, Part I, 1939 ; (4) *India and China*, 1944 and 1950 ; and (5) *India and Central Asia*, 1955. Besides these main works, Dr. Bagchi published many other Sanskrit manuscripts and critical studies, innumerable articles bearing on ancient Indian culture and India's relations with the rest of Asia.

In 1945, Dr. Bagchi joined the Visva-Bharati as the Director of Research Studies. As a matter of fact, this gave

a fillip to research activities at the Visva-Bharati. As Buddhism was the greatest civilizing force in the whole of Asia he paid much attention to the organization of Buddhistic studies by co-relating Sanskrit, Pali, Chinese, Tibetan and Japanese Buddhist literature. It was under the supervision of Dr. Bagchi that a full-fledged Department of Indo-Tibetan Studies started functioning in 1954. He also made arrangements for creating the post of a Visiting Professor of Japanese. As early as 1944, Dr. Bagchi started to edit and publish, in his personal capacity, the *Sino-Indian Studies*, a quarterly research journal dealing with Chinese materials on Indian history and civilization. Later this was taken over by the Visva-Bharati. He also planned to edit and publish another research journal, the *Visva-Bharati Annals*. The third research journal in Bengali started by him was *Sāhitya Prakāśikā*. In 1954, he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Visva-Bharati University, which post he held till his death in January, 1956.

In recognition of his valuable contributions to Oriental studies, Dr. Bagchi was made a *membre d'honneur* of the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and a Member of the Sahitya Akadami of India. In 1943, he was elected President of Section I (Ancient India) of the Indian History Congress (Aligarh Session). In 1946, he presided over the Pali and Buddhism section of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Nagpur. In 1947, he was sent by the Government of India to the National Peking University where he delivered lectures on Indian history and culture for two years. He visited China again in 1952 as a member of the Indian Cultural Delegation sent by the Government of India. During 1949-51, he was appointed the Hemchandra Basu Mallik Professor of Indian History by the National Council of Education, Bengal.

His was a personality which combined many things in one

—profound scholarship, outstanding abilities as an organizer and above all, manifold social and personal qualities. A true disciple of Sylvain Lévi, he shared with him most of his valuable ideas. Both of them considered Buddhism as the most distinctive form of Eastern Humanism and as such it was looked upon as the most significant contribution of India towards human history. That is why Dr. Bagchi devoted the greater part of his life to Buddhistic studies. The most distinctive feature of Dr. Bagchi's scholarship is its wide and all-embracing character. He had realized from the very beginning that, in the past, there were mutual contacts in various spheres and that the history of one country became inseparably linked up with the history of another. In a sense, his researches "have opened hitherto unexplored channels of research in our country and revealed vast treasure-houses of ancient international culture, about the existence of which our scholars had little notion." But this is not all. His simple and unassuming life is a thing rarely to be found in these days. His constant and genuine care and affection for his students will be remembered by all.

Kalyankumar Sarkar

Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi was born in a middle class family of the Magura Sub-Division of the District of Jessore (now in East Pakistan) on the 18th November, 1898. His father was Harinath Bagchi and he lost his mother at an early age. After passing the Matriculation Examination from the Jessore Zillah School, and obtaining the B.A. degree in 1918 with Honours in Sanskrit from the Government College at Krishnagar (Nadia District), he got himself admitted to the post-graduate course of Ancient Indian History and Culture, newly instituted by the University of Calcutta. He studied under the celebrated historians and Indologists like D. R. Bhandarkar and H. C. Raychaudhuri. He stood first in Class I in the M.A.

Examination in Group III (Religious History) and was soon appointed a teacher of the subject in the Department. Asutosh Mookerjee sent him to Sylvain Lévi at Santiniketan in 1921 and gradually Prabodhchandra became interested in learning the Tibetan, French, Nepali and Chinese languages. In the company of Lévi, he travelled to Indo-china, Japan and other Far-Eastern countries. He later visited Nepal and collected some valuable manuscripts.

In 1926, Prabodhchandra went to France to carry on research work under Sylvain Lévi and was in due course awarded the degree of Docteur ès Lettres. While in France, he visited several other European countries and also learnt the German language.

Prabodhchandra returned from Europe and rejoined the University of Calcutta. In 1945, the Visva-Bharati invited him to take up the charge of its Cheena-Bhavan which was founded in 1937 and was the centre of the study of Sino-Indian cultural relations. Later he became the Director of the research centre at the Visva-Bharati. He went to China in 1947 to deliver lectures at the National University of Peking on the history of Sino-Indian cultural ties. He was appointed the Head of the Visva-Bharati Vidya Bhavan in 1951. The following year he again visited China as a member of the Committee of cultural representatives of India invited by the Chinese government. In 1954, he became Vice-Chancellor of the Visva-Bharati University and was holding this post when he breathed his last on the 19th January, 1956, at the age of 57.

Prabodhchandra made outstanding contribution towards the study of Buddhist philosophy and Indian cultural heritage. His *Les Canon Buddhique en Chine* (1927), *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, and *India and China* distinguished him as an eminent Indologist. Among his other works *Kaulajñānanirṇaya and Other Minor Texts of the School of Matsyendranātha, Buddhist Dohās, Materials for a Critical*

Edition of Old Bengali Caryāpadas, Dohākoṣa, Studies in the Tantras, Introduction to the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, India and Central Asia, The Foundation of Indian Civilisation, etc., deserve special mention. Besides, a number of his articles were published in different journals. He also edited the Visva-Bharati's research periodicals.

Belonging to the *Paricaya* (ed. Sudhindranath Datta) group of writers and the *Sāhityacakra* of Pramathanath Chaudhuri, Prabodhchandra also used to write in Bengali and translated into Bengali some of his works like *India and China, India and Indochina, Buddhism and its Literature*, etc.

Prabodhchandra appreciated music and art. His attractive personality and profound scholarship, combined with his kind and affectionate nature, made him extremely popular among his students and colleagues.*

* [Adapted from Sri Subid Chatterjee's note based on Sri Subhamay Ghosh's Bengali Obituary appearing in the *Desh*, the 21st Māgh, 1362 B.S. (the 4th February, 1956), pp. 9-12—D.C.S.]

TARAKCHANDRA DAS

(1898-1964)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

When Tarakchandra Das died in July, 1964, not many students of international anthropology were aware that anthropology lost a very devoted analytical ethnographer of tribal India since the time of W.H.R. Rivers. Tarakchandra took inordinate pains to conduct various field investigations among the Purums of Manipur in the late 1930s and early 1940s. He hardly had any funds to conduct his researches and had to steal his time between heavy teaching assignments. Yet his monograph on the Purums (1945) was of such an excellent quality that a number of theoretical papers were written on the basis of this monograph in the *American Anthropologist* and *JRAI.*

Born in Dacca in 1898, Tarakchandra graduated with Honours in History in 1918 from the Rajshahi College. He came in contact with Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who inspired him to study the cultural heritage of India and to join the new course of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta. Tarakchandra secured M.A. degree in 1920 and carried on research work for sometime in his subject. In July, 1921, he joined the newly founded Department of Anthropology of Calcutta University as a research scholar and worked with Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda. He became an Assistant Lecturer in Anthropology in 1924 and retired as Reader and Head of the Department of Anthropology on the 31st January, 1963. He was really a self-trained anthropologist. His initial research interests were ifluenced by the school of diffusion which encouraged him to write an interesting paper on Sun-worship among the tribes of Eastern India (1924). Later he was influenced by the field methods of Malinowski

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Prabodhchandra appreciated music and art. His attractive personality and profound scholarship, combined with his kind and affectionate nature, made him extremely popular among his students and colleagues.*

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and became a rigorous functionalist. However, he could never disclaim his historian's training and encouraged his students to combine functional anthropology with genuine history. His historico-ethnographical studies on some Indian tribes (1927, 1931, 1931) elevated him in the horizon of ethnographers and he was regarded as the foremost Indian Anthropologist of his time. His papers in the XIVth and XVIth International Congress of Sociology (1950, 1952) revealed his command over the subject.

Tarakchandra's teaching career covered the long period of over 42 years and he built up a rigorous tradition of field method among Indian Anthropologists. He was convinced that, among all Social Scientists, the anthropologists had particular advantage in collecting field data on behaviour among the non-literate communities, whether tribes or castes. It was this conviction which led him towards the end of his life to get interested in various kinds of social problems, such as tribal welfare (1954), famine relief (1949), refugee rehabilitation, impact of industrialisation and so on. His Presidential address before the Indian Science Congress, Anthropology Section (1941), based on practical problems, received great appreciation from social scientists.

Tarakchandra strongly avoided publicity, yet his few articles and of course *The Purums* stand out as outstanding works in anthropological research in India. His students and colleagues who had the privilege of knowing him intimately are aware how ruthlessly he avoided any lowering of his standards. His publications are just like the exposed portion of an iceberg of which the major part remains concealed below the surface of the water. Indian social scientists who are genuinely concerned about developing a tradition of research in social sciences in this country should take serious note of his contributions.

The following are some of Tarakchandra's important publications: (1) *The Hos of Seraikella* (jointly with

Dr. A. N. Chatterjee), Calcutta University, 1927 ; (2) *The Bhumij of Seraikella*, Calcutta University, 1931 ; (3) *The Wild Kharias of Dhalbhum*, Calcutta University, 1931 ; (4) *The Purums*, Calcutta University, 1945 ; (5) *Bengal Famine*, Calcutta University, 1949 ; etc.*

* [From an Obituary Note supplied by Prof. M. N. Basu, Head of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University.—D.C.S.]

BENOYCHANDRA SEN

(Born 1899)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

A son of the late Prof. Dineshchandra Sen and Binodini Devi, Benoychandra was born on the 23rd August, 1899, at Faridpur (now in East Pakistan). He studied in the Scottish Churches Collegiate School and the Scottish Churches College, Calcutta ; in 1920, he graduated from the Presidency College, Calcutta, standing first in the First Class in the Honours Examination in History and obtained the Thakurdas Gold Medal and the Post-Graduate Jubilee Scholarship. He then took his M.A. degree in AIHC in 1922 from Calcutta University, topping the list of successful candidates in Class I, and was awarded the University Gold Medal and prizes. Later he took the Bachelor's degree in Law from the same University.

He started his professional career in 1923 as a Lecturer in History in the City College (Calcutta) and, in 1926, was appointed a Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta. He was awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship and the Mouat Gold Medal by Calcutta University on the basis of his *Studies in the Jātakas* which subsequently appeared in the pages of the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, published by the University. After a few years, he proceeded to Europe for higher studies and obtained the Ph. D. degree of London University in 1932 on his thesis entitled *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal.* The thesis, which was prepared under the supervision of L.D. Barnett of the British Museum, was published by Calcutta University in 1942.

Benoychandra's work on the early history of Bengal is a monument of labour, and exhibits great scholarship and

perseverance. He is also the author of some articles which appeared in various historical journals. His latest work entitled *Economics in Kauṭilya* has been just published by the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. He presided over the Ancient India Section of the Indian History Congress at its Nagpur Session in 1950. Benoychandra is also a lover of Bengali literature, a characteristic which he inherited from his great father. His first composition in Bengali was published when Benoychandra was a boy of ten. Several of his Bengali writings including short story, essay, historical article, etc , appeared in various periodicals.

Benoychandra is loved by his students.*

* [Adapted mainly from a note appearing in the *Māsik Basumati*, Agrahāyan, 1365 B.S. While he was serving the Department of AIHC and was also teaching in some other Departments of Calcutta University, Dr. Sen accepted an appointment in the Education Department of the Government of Burma and worked there for a short period. He came back to the Department of AIHC and later became a Reader. In 1962, Dr. Sen joined the P.-G. Research Department of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, as Professor. He retired from the said post in 1967. All the present teachers of the Department of AIHC (Calcutta University) including its Head (Prof. D. C. Sircar) are his students. Dr. Sen supervised the research work of Drs. S. K. Mitra, P. C. Chunder, Sm. R. Niyogi, Sm. P. Niyogi and B. Chattopaphyay. In his youth, he edited a periodical entitled *Itihās O Ālocanā*. A biographical sketch of Dr. Sen, also based on the said note in the *Māsik Basumati*, was received by us from Sri Sibsankar Sarkar.—D.C.S.]

DEBAPRASAD GHOSH

(Born 1903)

REMINISCENCES

I was a student of the Hare School, from which I passed my Matriculation Examination in 1919 in company with a galaxy of brilliant students who later on reached the topmost ladder in their respective spheres of activity. After that I crossed the compound to continue my studies in the Presidency College, from which I took my B.A. degree in 1923. Then I recrossed the same compound and the Peary Charan Sarkar Street and entered the portals of the University of Calcutta with which I had the proud privilege to be continually associated as Research Scholar and Research Fellow in Ancient Indian History and Culture, and as Curator, Asutosh Museum of Indian Art (1936-68), and concurrently Reader and Head of the Department of Museology during the last few years. In addition, for nearly thirtytwo years, I served as an Honorary Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. After completing my 65th year, I retired from University service in March, 1968. But subsequntly I have been reattached to the Department of Museology, being appointed by the University Grants Commission under their scheme of utilising the services of retired teachers.

At the time when we were Post-Graduate students, there was no Asutosh Building at all. Its site was then occupied by a fish market known as Paṭaldāṅgā Bāzār or Mādhab Bābu's Bāzār. Then the University offices, Library, Law College and the Post-Graduate Classes were all huddled up in the narrow confines of the Darbhanga Building. The general classes in AIHC were usually held in the dark rooms in the ground floor of the Darbhanga Building and

our Group (I-B) classes in one small room, accommodating the Fine Arts Seminar, later occupied by the Audit and Accounts Department. Among our teachers, there were D. R. Bhandarkar, Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, Hemchandra Ray, Prabodhchandra Bagchi, Kalidas Nag, Jitendranath Banerjea, Haranchandra Chakladar and Stella Kramrisch. Except one, unfortunately, all my teachers have passed away. From its very inception in 1917, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the main architect of the University, tried his best to make the Ancient Indian History and Culture course as one of the best in the University. It was also at his instance that Fine Arts (Group I-B) was created a separate Group in 1924. Umaprasad Mookerjee, Binayendranath Ray Chaudhury of Santosh, Gobindalal Pyne, Jyotsnanath Chatterjee and myself first opted for this Group, followed by Niharranjan Ray in the next year. I may be pardoned for mentioning here that, when I unexpectedly stood first in the First Class in the M.A. Examination in 1925, it created a mild stir in the University. For nobody expected it. After all, I was more or less a mediocre student in Economics in the under-graduate Honours course. Perhaps my passionate devotion to the subject can only explain this success. In this connection, I envy the lot of the present generation of students when so many text books are available to them. When we were Post-Graduate students, scarcely any text book was avaiblable on Indian art and antiquity. Coomaraswamy's *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* came out only in 1927. We had to base our studies principally on strenuous library work.

I still remember with pride how day after day for a number of years, I carried on my researches in the art and architecture of India, while preparing for my theses for the Premchand Roychand Studentship and the Griffith Memorial Prize, in the Fine Arts Seminar of the newly built Asutosh Building under the affectionate guidance of

Dr. Kalidas Nag, as a Research Scholar, and subsequently under Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar as a Research Fellow. I also recollect with interest, when there was no tram or bus connection of Ballygunge with Central Calcutta, I had to frequently walk all the distance from Ballygunge Station to the residence of Prof. Bhandarkar at Ballygunge Circular Road in connection with my studies. Dr. Nag placed me in charge of the Seminar. It was about 1926 or so that Dr. Nag along with his illustrious colleagues, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Dr. B. R. Chatterjee and others founded the Greater India Society. Myself and Niharranjan Ray became its enthusiastic workers. At that time, Dr. Nag's inspiring guidance aroused in me an abiding interest in the study of Indian Art and Culture abroad, which after three decades culminated in my sojourn to Indonesia, deputed by the Government of India as a Visiting Professor in 1961. My long continuance as a teacher, specially in South-East Asian Art and Culture in the Department of AIHC may also be directly attributed in a great measure to this initial training. Further, during the War years my close association with my *Guru*, Prof. Stella Kramrisch, was very helpful in organising exhibitions in the Senate Hall on behalf of the Indian Society of Oriental Art. So far as I recollect, about the same time, I came in touch with Acharya Abanindranath Tagore, the first Bageshwari Professor of the University.

The younger generation of to-day may be surprised to learn that the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art was opened by me as the first Curator on the 15th April, 1937, with barely five objects, displayed improvisedly on some high and low benches, secured from the Post-Graduate classes, in the room formerly occupied by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in the south-west corner of the old Senate Hall. During the following years, students and teachers of AIHC and also of some other Departments greatly contributed in enriching the

Museum. Also I recall with great pleasure happy memories of intimate association with successive batches of students of the Department of AIHC who were responsible for the success of several large art and archaeological exhibitions in the main Senate Hall organised by me with the assistance of Dr. Kalyankumar Ganguli who was then the Assistant Curator.

D. P. Ghosh

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Born in 1903, Debaprasad Ghosh had a brilliant academic career in the University of Calcutta with which he was associated since he took his M.A. degree in 1925 in AIHC in Class I. He was awarded a Research Scholarship and later a Research Fellowship of the University, and obtained the Premchand Roychand Studentship in 1927, the Mouat Medal in 1930 and the Griffith Prize in 1931. As the Founder-Curator of the Asutosh Museum, Debaprasad had the rare opportunity of building up the first University Museum in India from the very scratch. Later he became a Reader and the Head of the Department of Museology. Author of many research papers, he was associated with Calcutta University in various capacities, viz. Member of the Senate and Academic Council, Secretary of the Standing Committee for Museology, and Honorary Lecturer in the Department of AIHC for the last thirty-one years. In 1961, he was deputed by the Government of India to Indonesia as a Visiting Professor. He is also a Visiting Lecturer of the Department of Architecture and Town Planning at the Bengal Engineering College and the Government College of Arts and Crafts, Calcutta. Moreover, he was the President, Museums Association of West Bengal; Vice-President, Museums Association of India; Member, Central Advisory Board of Museums;

Member, Reviewing Committee for Museology, University Grants Commission; Associate Member, Art Purchase Committee, National Museum; Member, Board of Editors, *Lalit Kala*; Member, Indian National Committee, ICOM (UNESCO), etc., besides being member of various other museum governing bodies and academic institutions. He was elected General Chairman of the 5th Museums Camp, held in Calcutta under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, Government of India.*

* [From a note supplied by Sri D. P. Ghosh.—D.C.S.]

NIHARRANJAN RAY

(Born 1904)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Niharranjan Ray was born in a Brahmo family of Mymensingh (now in East Pakistan) on the 14th January, 1904. His father, Mahendrachandra Ray, was a teacher who dedicated his life to the cause of education. The ideal set up by his father created an impression on Niharranjan. Throughout his early career, first at the City School and then at the Mrityunjay School both at Mymensingh, he showed a keen interest in knowing and understanding the people with whom he lived and mixed.

After passing the Intermediate Examination, Niharranjan came to Calcutta and took admission for the B A. Examination in the Scottish Churches College which, however, he had to leave after sometime. Ultimately, he graduated with Honours in History (1924) from the Murari Chand College, Sylhet. In 1926, he passed the M.A. Examination (Calcutta University) in Ancient Indian History and Culture (Group I-B) standing first in Class I. In the same year, he was awarded the Mrinalini Gold Medal (Calcutta University) for his thesis on *The Political History of Northern India* (from the 6th to the 9th century A.D.). Later he also obtained the Sarojini Gold Medal. He was offered the Government of Bengal Research Fellowship in Indian Art and Archaeology for 1927-30. In 1928, he obtained the Premchand Roychand Studentship of Calcutta University and in 1931 the Mouat Gold Medal. In 1929, Niharranjan won the Griffith Prize and enjoyed the Research Fellowship of the University in 1930-32.

The University of Calcutta awarded him the Ghosh Travelling Fellowship for 1935-36 for going abroad. In 1936, he obtained the Diploma in Librarianship from London

University. In the same year, he secured the D. Let. et Phil. degree from Leiden University. He delivered lectures at the University of Leiden in 1935-36. He was associated with the teaching of Ancient Indian History and Culture in Calcutta University since 1932.

In 1937, Niharranjan was appointed Librarian of Calcutta University, and, in 1944, delivered Readership lectures in Indian Art and Culture. He became Bageshwari Professor of Indian Fine Arts in 1946, and assumed the charge of the Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in 1959. In that year, he also became the Vice-President of the University College of Arts. In 1960, he was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Calcutta University. In these capacities, he served till 1965 when he joined the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, as its Director. The University of Calcutta soon made him Emeritus Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture. He is Visiting Professor of the University of Delhi.

Niharranjan has often been invited to deliver Lectures at various universities of India and outside. He has travelled over all parts of the globe. In 1951-52, he was the Visiting Professor of Indian History and Culture, University of Washington. In that year and again in 1959-60, he was the Guest Lecturer at a number of American, British and European Universities. The Kerala and Baroda Universities appointed him Tagore Professor respectively for 1962-63 and 1966. The Gauhati University invited him to deliver the Mohini Devi Memorial Lectures in 1966. He delivered the Syamaprasad Mookerjee Lectures at Calcutta University in 1969.

Niharranjan is associated with numerous institutions. The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, elected him its General Secretary for three consequctive terms from 1944 to 1951. He

served the Bengal Library Association first as General Secretary for 1939-46 and then as President from 1946 to 1961. He was the President of the Indian Library Association for 1962-64. He was the Vice-President of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, from 1963, and the Secretary, Board of Trustees, Indian Museum, for 1961-66. In recognition of his contributions to the field of Oriental Studies, Niharranjan was elected President of the Indian History Congress for its Patiala Session in 1967. He was Cultural and Educational Adviser to the Government of Burma in 1952-54, Ford Foundation Consultant in 1952-53 and UNESCO Consultant in 1953-54. Since 1964, he is Chairman of the Executive Council, INSDOC, and the Executive Council, Publication Division, CSIR. He is Fellow of the British Library Association (London), Asiatic Society (Calcutta), Royal Asiatic Society (London), Royal Society of Arts (London), and International Association of Arts and Letters (Zuric). Besides, Niharranjan is Member of the Central Advisory Boards of Education, Archaeology and Anthropology, and of the Sahitya Akadami, Lalit Kala Akadami, Sangeet Natak Akadami, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, etc. He was a member of Parliament from 1960 to 1965.

The distinctions and honours, which Niharranjan received in India and abroad, are eloquent testimony to the recognition of his scholarship. His published works in Bengali include *Rabīndra-sāhityer Bhūmikā* (1937) and *Bāṅgālīr Itihās* (1949). The Government of West Bengal awarded to him the Tagore Memorial Prize for 1949 for the second of the said two books. His works in English include *Brahmanical Gods in Burma* (1932), *Sankrit Buddhism in Burma* (1936), *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma* (1946), *Art in Burma* (1949), *Dutch Activities in the East* (1947), *Maurya and Śuṅga Art* (1946), and *An Artist in Life—A Commentary on the Life and Work of Rabindranath Tagore* (1967).

Niharranjan was made 'Padmabhushan' by the President of India on the Republic Day, 1969.

D. R. Das*

Prof. Niharranjan Ray may be described as a 'telescopic historian'. He reveals history with a new orientation, a meaningful purpose. Not simply by cataloguing facts, nor unfolding new details, but by arranging broad and well-known facts of Indian and World history from a certain distinctive perspective, he projects a new outlook, a new ligh on history. His approach is synthetic rather than analytic.

Experiences of his life, together with his varied interests, have helped Niharranjan to view history and men and things in general from the broadest possible perspective. In other words, his mental structure is dominated more by horizontality than by verticality. Researches of plodding nature or catalogue type of work have little appeal to him. He thinks that a historical work packed with facts, however valuable, would be an apology for history, if the materials are not arranged in a certain manner and sequence and obviously through a certain perspective.

Niharranjan modestly disclaims the right to be called an active worker in the central arena of professional Indian History and describes his works as of a peripheral nature and experimental character. In the early part of his life, he wrote a few articles on the political history of early mediaeval India. His output relates, by and large, to the history and criticism of Indian Art. Of his works, the most important and widely read is the *Maurya and Śuṅga Art* (1946). A keen student of Coomaraswamy and Kramrisch though, Niharranjan has opened up a relatively new line of enquiry in this monograph. His approach to these two phases of

* [Based on the data supplied by Prof. Ray and a note appearing in the *Māsik Basumatī*, Śrāvaṇ. 1374 B.S., p. 676.—D.C.S.]

early Indian art is frankly sociological. Rightly he believes that the art language finds itself through the mediation of the social language and hence he has read Maurya and Śuṅga art in the larger context of life in that distant past. The causes of the essential differences between Maurya and Śuṅga art, he explains, are to be looked for in their socio-economic background. Thus while he attributes to the socio-economic policy of the Mauryan State, which was highly centralised and monopolistic, the courtly and sophisticated character of Maurya art, he finds in the art of the Śuṅgas a clear negation of the Mauryan attitude and a reflection for the first time of the results of the ethnic, social and religious fusion and integration that had been evolved through centuries on the Indian soil, more particularly in Madhyadeśa. The same sociological approach is also evident in Niharranjan's penetrating study of the art of the Gupta and Mediaeval periods of our history. His contributions on Indian Sculpture and Painting to Volumes III and V of the *History and Culture of the Indian People* bear testimony to his searching mind. In them, he has explained the meaning and significance of the expression 'mediaeval factor' and has pointed out the slow and gradual erosion of 'Classical' values and features and the emergence of a new aesthetic vision and artistic form in plastic arts in large areas of India, particularly Rajasthan and Gujarat which experienced the pressure of northern nomads from about the seventh century onwards. He has also contended that, by about the eleventh century, the 'Classical' came to an end in the art of painting, only to reappear, that too in a new context and situation, in the court painting of the Grand Mughals. Admittedly, Niharranjan has come out in his best in the said chapters. He has demonstrated that, in Indian history, regionalism, from about the seventh century onwards, became a feature not only in politics, but that it also pervaded all major spheres of our life and culture.

Niharranjan's contributions to Indo-Burmese study are no less worth considering. Collectively, *Brahmanical Gods in Burma* (1923), *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma* (1936) and *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma* (1946) have appreciably advanced our knowledge in the field beyond Duroiselle.

Bāṅgālīr Itihās (1949) and *Rabindra-sāhityer Bhūmikā* (1937) have established Niharranjan as a front-rank writer in Bengali. The first of the two works has added a new dimension to the art of Indian historiography by its refreshingly new approach. In it, the author has attempted to outline the history of the Bengalis, and not of Bengal, against the wide background of Indian history and civilization. Recently, Niharranjan has brought out another readable study of Tagore in *An Artist in Life* (1967).

A perusal of Niharranjan's works, brings out his three characteristics as a scholar and historian: first, a wide historical vision including in its ambit peoples other than Indians; second, a graceful literary style of writing, a phenomenon rarely met with in modern historical scholarship in India; and finally, a love and regard for the mother tongue.

In short, Niharranjan is a historian with a certain point of view and an author who knows how to write and with what suavity. He is one of our front-rank art critics, whose writings are an antidote to verbal elucubrations of word-spinners. As a man he is charmingly sociable and his pupils cannot but love him for his free-flowing affability.

Kalyankumar Das Gupta*

* [The biographical details in the first half of this article have been omitted.—D.C.S.]

DURGADAS MUKHERJEE

(Born 1906)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Durgadas Mukherjee was born in 1906 at Lucknow. His father Nagendranath Mukherjee was in the Indian Postal Service. He studied at the Barasat Government H. E. School, 24 Parganas, and passed the Matriculation Examination of Calcutta University in 1923 in the First Division. He graduated from the Scottish Churches College with Honours in History in 1927 and took his M.A. Degree in Ancient Indian History and Culture in 1929 standing first in the First Class. For a while, he served the Scottish Churches College as a Lecturer in History. In 1935, he became a Sino-Tibetan Scholar of Calcutta University and continued his work in that field till 1943. Next year he was appointed a Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. He became a Reader in 1963.

Mukherjee is better known as a linguist than as a historian. He has studied almost all the major languages of the world including Chinese, Tibetan, German, French, Spanish, Italian, Tamil, Latin, Persian and Arabic. He is an Instructor in Tibetan in Calcutta University and a Paper-setter in Italian and German. As he himself says, 'Language was my first love and it has retained its place in my affection even at this stage of my life.'

A quiet and introspective man, Mukherjee is the pattern of a gentleman, much liked by his students. He edited a Sanskrit text entitled *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* with Tibetan translation.

Asimkumar Chatterjee

SARASIKUMAR SARASWATI

(Born 1906)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Sarasikumar Saraswati occupies a prominent place in the galaxy of Indologists. Extensive study is manifest in his remarkable works on different aspects of Indology, such as coins, architecture, sculpture and painting. His works will keep his fame alive among generations of scholars.

Saraswati was born in 1906 in the village of Atrai in the Rajshahi District, famous for its Archaeological sites. His father, Satishchandra Saraswati, was a renowned lawyer in the District Judge's Court at Rajshahi. In his school days at Rajshahi, he was a student of R. P. Chanda, the noted historian and ethnologist. During his college career, he came into close contact of Akshaykumar Maitra. These two giants shaped and influenced his scholarly temperament to a great extent. The images preserved in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society gave him an additional impetus for historical and archaeological studies. He passed B.A. with Honours in History from the Presidency College, Calcutta, and secured the first place in First Class in Calcutta University in 1930 in M.A. in AIHC and was awarded a gold medal. He enjoyed Post-Graduate Research Scholarship in 1931-39 first under the then Government of Bengal and then under the University of Calcutta. He joined Calcutta University in 1940 and continued till 1949 as a Lecturer in the Departments of AIHC and Islamic History and Culture. Saraswati worked as Librarian of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, from 1949 to 1954. He again joined the AIHC Department of Calcutta University in 1954 and became Reader in that Department in 1959. He was Assistant Secretary of the Greater India Society (1935-40)

and General Secretary of the Indian Society of Oriental Art (1952-55). Besides, he has been connected, in different capacities, with a number of other organisations, viz., the Vaṅgīya Itihās Pariṣad, the Indian History Congress, the Asutosh Museum, the Art Section of the Indian Museum and the Asiatic Society.

In 1957, Saraswati was elected Fellow of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. He became the President of Section I of the Indian History Congress at the Trivandrum Session in 1958. He was the General Secretary of the Asiatic Society during 1960-63. He was appointed Professor and Head of the Department of Archaeology of Calcutta University, which post he held till 1967.

In 1966, Prof. Saraswati delivered a series of lectures at the Karnatak University, Dharwar. In 1967, he delivered lectures at different Universities of the USA and visited places of interest in Europe at the invitation of the J.D.R.III. Fund. In the same year, he joined the Banaras Hindu University as Professor and Head of the Department of Art and Architecture. He delivered the Radhakumud Mookerji Endowment Lectures at Lucknow in 1968. A few months ago, he delivered the Coomaraswamy Memorial Lectures on Indian Manuscript Paintings at New Delhi at the invitation of the Lalitkala Akadami. He has been nominated President of the Section of Fine Arts in the next Session of the All-India Oriental Conference.

For a long time, Prof. Saraswati has been rendering substantial help and guidance to the research scholars of different Universities in the various fields of historical research. He is the author of a number of valuable works, viz., (1) *Kurkihar, Gaya and Bodh Gaya* (jointly with K. C. Sarkar), (2) *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, (3) *Buddhist Shrines in India*, (4) *Glimpses of Mughal Architecture*, (5) *A Century of Historic Prints*, (6) *A Survey of Indian Sculpture* and (7) *Eighteenth*

Century North Indian Paintings. He contributed the chapters on Architecture to the volumes of the *History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay). His *Indian Art at the Cross Road* and *Indo-Islamic Architecture* are going through the press. Besides, he has also published more than 200 articles in different research journals of India and abroad. Prof. Saraswati wrote on Early Bengal Architecture in the Dacca *History of Bengal,* Vol. I. At present, he is engaged in the preparation of an authentic history on Indian Architecture. He has been one of the Trustees of the Indian Museum and was, for sometime, a member of the Advisory Board of Archaeology. The interesting themes of his writings include evolution of architectural style and miniature paintings.

Prof. Saraswati is now the greatest authority on the History of Indian Architecture, and is one of the few Art Historians having solid knowledge of numismatics and palaeography.*

Dipakmohan Sen

* [For some information, see a Bengali note appearing in the *Māsik Basumatī,* Kārttik, 1365 B.S., and another in English printed on the jacket of Prof. Saraswati's *Early Sculpture of Bengal,* 2nd ed., 1962. He obtained M.A. degree in AIHC Group I-A in 1929 and Group I-B in 1930. He was Secretary and Curator of the Victoria Memorial Hall for some time. In 1956, he was deputed to Nepal by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and the Government of India for collecting data from the manuscripts preserved in that country. Prof. Saraswati contributed the chapter on North Indian Art and Architecture to *A Comprehensive History of India,* Vol. II, ed. K. A. Nilakanta Śastri.—D.C.S.]

DINESCHANDRA SIRCAR

(Born 1907)

REMINISCENCES

My interest in historical studies was appreciated by my teachers in school and college, though circumstances compelled me to obtain B.A. degree (Calcutta University) in 1929 from the Rajendra College, Faridpur (now in East Pakistan), with Honours not in History, but in Sanskrit. During my college days, I collected a lot of manuscripts, one of which was Rāmānandarāya's *Jagannāthavallabhaṁ Nāṭakam* written in Archaic Bengali characters. My success in deciphering this manuscript was appreciated by my teacher, Satyakinkar Mukhopadhyay, then Professor of Sanskrit at the Rajendra College, and he was kind enough to advise me to study M.A. in Ancient Indian History and Culture with the Group of Inscriptions and Coins. That is how I heard the name of the above subject of study for the first time. Indeed, I have always felt indebted to my teacher for the above suggestion.

In July 1929, I was admitted to the M.A. course in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Group I-A (Epigraphy and Numismatics). D. R. Bhandarkar was then the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, and all the other teachers were Lecturers, there being no Reader in the Department at that time. Bhandarkar, whose reputation and bearing commanded our respect, taught us the Edicts of Aśoka (Paper V) once a week. His class was also attended by the students of Sanskrit I-Group and Pali C-Group. Amongst my classmates were Charuchandra Das Gupta (son of Hemchandra Das Gupta who was Professor of Geology, Presidency College, Calcutta) and Adrischandra Banerji (son of the great Indologist Rakhaldas Banerji), both studying AIHC, and Premdhar Chaudhury

of Assam, who was studying Sanskrit. Bhandarkar was expected to teach us Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions besides the Aśokan Edicts; but he succeeded in finishing only half of the Edicts, and we studied the other epigraphs by ourselves. Bhandarkar encouraged discussion on the difference amongst the interpretations of the records offered by different scholars. It made his classes interesting.

Among the Lecturers, A. C. Das taught us Ṛgvedic Civilization (Paper I), H. C. Chakladar—Later Vedic and Epic Cultures (Paper I), N. C. Banerjee—Political History of India from the 6th century B.C. (Paper II), H. C. Ray—Political History of Northern India (Papers II-III), H. C. Raychaudhuri—History of South India (Paper III) and Historical Geography from indigenous sources (Paper IV), P. C. Bagchi—Hisorical Geography from foreign sources (Paper IV), B. C. Sen—inscriptions of the Śakas, the Śātavāhanas, Khāravela and the Guptas (Papers V-VI), and J. N. Banerjea—Numismatics (Papers VII-VIII).

H. C. Raychaudhuri was the most impressive and inspiring teacher in the Department. In the very first of his classes, he was teaching us Purāṇic Cosmography, and his lecture charmed me so much that at once I became interested in Historical Geography. Among other teachers, H. C. Ray (who came back from England after getting his Doctorate from the University of London about the middle of our two-year session) and B. C. Sen (who went away to Europe about the middle of our session) were both interesting in their own way. But some of the classes were rather uninspiring even though there was no doubt about the depth of scholarship of the Lecturers in the particular subjects they taught. Chakladar and Bagchi dictated notes without much explanatory discussion, while N.C. Banerjee read out the pages of Raychaudhuri's *PHAI* with small observations on some statements here and there. The only question discussed by A. C. Das, in his own

way, was that of the hoary antiquity of the *Ṛgveda*, and everybody knew that we would have to answer that question at the final examination.

After obtaining my Master's degee in Class I in 1931 (about the close of the year), I came down to Calcutta from my village home near Faridpur on the 20th January, 1932. For selecting a subject for the purpose of carrying on research work, I then consulted D.R. Bhandarkar and H.C. Raychaudhuri. Bhandarkar advised me to work in the field of the ancient history of Bengal; but Raychaudhuri suggested that I should try my luck in the field of South Indian Epigraphy. Raychaudhuri pointed out that the discovery of inscriptions is not frequent in Bengal while there were too many scholars like R.P. Chanda, R.G. Basak, N.G. Majumdar, R.C. Majumdar, N.K. Bhattasali and others to try their hands on any new discovery; on the other hand, he said, in various parts of South India, many inscriptions are discovered every year though the number of competent scholars to deal with them satisfactorily was not too many. As a result of this, Raychaudhuri observed, some of the South Indian inscriptions were often inefficiently deciphered and interpreted, and that also sometimes in vernacular periodicals. In his opinion, a well-equipped and serious student of epigraphy and palaeography could make a name if he would apply himself devotedly to the study of early South Indian inscriptions. I accepted Raychaudhuri's suggestion and have always been conscious of my indebtedness to him for whatever small success I have attained in the field of historical research.

For well over two years in 1932-34, I went regularly to Bhandarkar's residence for studying in his library. I used to reach the place at 11 A.M. and to leave it at 6 P.M. every day without fail. Out of the seven hours' time at my disposal, I spent 1½ hours for Bhandarkar's work such as drawing up notes, checking references, preparing indexes,

correcting proofs, revising epigraphic texts and their translations, etc., and the rest of the time I utilised in studying the early South Indian inscriptions published in periodicals like the *Epigraphia Indica*, *Indian Antiquary*, etc., complete sets of which were available at Bhandarkar's place. This devoted study enabled me to write some interesting epigraphical notes in a few months' time, some of which were published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta) and the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (London), and this encouraged me to incorporate them in a small thesis and submit it for the Premchand Roychand Studentship (Calcutta University) in November, 1932. This thesis (pp. 1-126) was later published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. XXVI, 1935.

Today, in my sixties, I bow down my head to all my teachers, particularly to D.R. Bhandarkar for his encouragement and to H.C. Raychaudhuri for his sound advice and guidance. Bhandarkar sometimes told me that I was like a son to him while Raychaudhuri regarded me as the most successful research worker amongst his pupils. I am also conscious of my indebtedness to many others from whom I happened to receive encouragement in some form or other. I bow down my head to S.P. Mookerjee (who once said that I was the most successful among the youngmen enjoying research scholarship during the period he was Vice-Chancellor and President of the Post-Graduate Council) and to R.C. Majumdar (who, on a perusal of a copy of my dissertation appearing in the *Journal of the Department of Letters* was the first scholar to write to me that I had succeeded in advancing the knowledge of the subject much further). I must also pay my homage to Louis Renou and N. P. Chakravarti (who observed that I did not have much to learn from anybody about my subject).

Among my three classmates mentioned above, P.D. Chaudhury rose to the post of the Director of the State

Museum of Assam at Gauhati and A.C. Banerji recently retired as Officer in Charge of a Circle in the Archaeological Survey of India. It is a matter of great sorrow to me that C.C. Das Gupta, who obtained Premchand Roychand Studentship and the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.) of the Universities of Calcutta and Cambridge, died a few years ago when he was transferred from the post of Principal of the Darjeeling Government College to that of the Government College, Krishnagar. I feel sad when I remember how Das Gupta often expressed to his friends his pride at the fact that I was his classmate. When I received the Ph. D. degree in 1936, he took me to his mother and proudly explained to her that I was the first Ph. D. of Calcutta University amongst AIHC students. He often declared that, in his opinion, nobody, willing to write anything on any aspect of early Indian history and culture, could avoid my writings because they deal with all branches of the subject. It is part cularly painful to me to remember that he was saying this to a visitor even when he was in his death-bed.

I was appointed a Lecturer in the Department of AIHC in the middle of 1937 on the recommendation of H. C. Raychaudhuri who was then the Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department. I continued to teach in the Department till the middle of January, 1949, when I joined the Epigraphical Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, i. e. the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund, which again I left in June, 1961, to rejoin the University of Calcutta as Carmichael Professor of AIHC. Among the students who attended my classes during the period 1937-49 when I was a Lecturer in the Department, many have made their mark in various fields of activity. Unfortunately, some of them, like Rabischandra Kar and Sukeschandra Chandra who obtained their degree in 1939 and

became Superintendent in the Archaeological Survey of India, are no more. In this connection, mention may be made of—(1) Sm. Jyotirmayi Basu (1938), Professor, Magadh Mahila College, Patna ; (2) Sadananda Kashinath Dikshit (1938), Department of Archaeology, Government of Madhya Pradesh ; (3) Rameshkumar Ghoshal (1939), L.I.C.I., Calcutta ; (4) Dr. T. Vimalananda (1939), Professor, Colombo University ; (5) Dr. Sudhirranjan Das (1940), Reader, Calcutta University ; (6) Dr. Sisirkumar Mitra (1941), Professor, Govt. Sanskrit College, Calcutta ; (7) Dilipkumar Biswas (1942), Prosessor, Govt. Sanskrit College, Calcutta ; (8) Dr. Pratapchandra Chunder (Chandra) (1942), President, West Bengal Congress Committee ; (9) Dr. Amarendranath Lahiri (1948), Reader, Calcutta University ; (10) Purnendusekhar Naskar (1943), Bar-at-Law ; (11) Dr. Sm. Rama Niyogi (1943), Professor, Betnune College, Calcutta ; (12) Sm. Sudhamayi Sen Gupta (1943), Lecturer, Delhi University ; (13) Pareschandra Das Gupta (1946), Director of Archaeology, Govt. of West Bengal ; (14) Sm. Debala Mitra (1946), Director, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi ; (15) Dr. Sunilchandra Ray (1946), Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India ; (16) Amalendusekhar Naskar (1948), Advocate ; (17) Dr. Sm. Puspa Niyogi (1948), Lecturer, Calcutta University ; (18) Dr. Arabinda Bhattacharya (1949), Principal, Behala College, Calcutta ; (19) Debkumar Chakrabarty (1949), Superintendent, Dire torate of Archaeology, West Bengal ; (20) Dr. Sachindrakumar Maity (1949), Lecturer, Jadavpur University ; (21) Dr. Sm. Amita Ray (1949) Lecturer, Calcutta University ; (22) Haribishnu Sarkar (1949), Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India ; and (23) Dr. Upendra Thakur (1949), Reader, Magadh University (Gaya).

When I was made a Lecturer in 1937, I was the

youngest among the teachers of the Department and most of the other teachers were also my teachers. But when I left the University about the beginning of 1949, H. C. Ray and P. C. Bagchi had been elsewhere—the former at Colombo University and the latter at Visva-Bharati (Santiniketan), while there were some new entrants like Nalininath Das Gupta (deceased), Durgadas Mukherjee (now Reader, C. U.), Dr. Golapchandra Raychaudhuri (now at Elmira College, New York) and Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyay (now Professor, Visva-Bharati University). I remember with satisfaction that I happened to revise Chattopadhyay's thesis for the Premchand Roychand Studentship and, when he obtained the Studentship, Chattopadhyay kindly told me, "Dr. Sircar, it means yourself getting the Premchand Roychand Studentship for a second time." Two other persons whose D.Litt. theses I had occasion to revise sometime before my return to Calcutta University are Dr. A. N. Lahiri, now Reader, Calcutta University, and Dr. Sm. Bela Lahiri, now Reader, Jadavpur University. After coming back to the University in the middle of 1961, I had occasion to revise the D.Litt. thesis of Dr. H. L. Chatterjee, Principal, Women's College, Agartala, and to supervise the research work of Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, Dr. D. R. Das, Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, Dr. S. P. Singh, Sudhangshusekhar Mukhopadhyaya, Chunilal Chakravarti, Amalendu Sarkar, Kalipada Hore, Sm. Chitrarekha Sengupta and others.

D. C. Sircar

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Dineschandra Sircar was bron in a middle class Kāyastha family on Saturday, the 8th June, 1907, at the village of Salkathi Krishnanagar near Faridpur, the headquarters of a District of that name in Central Bengal, now in East Pakistan.

Dineschandra received his education in institutions affiliated to the University of Calcutta. He matriculated from the Faridpur Zillah School in 1925 and graduated from the Rajendra College (Faridpur), with Honours in Sanskrit, in 1929. In the year 1931, he obtained the Master's degree (Calcutta University) in Ancient Indian History and Culture (Epigraphy and Numismatics Group) standing first in Class I and securing the University gold medal and prizes. As a research scholar attached to the late Professor D.R. Bhandarkar, he worked in Indian epigraphy, palaeography and numismatics, while, at the same time, he also received training in research in the geography and political and cultural history of ancient and medieval India from the late Professor H.C. Raychaudhuri.

In 1934, Dineschandra obtained the Premchand Roychand Studentship (Calcutta University) on a thesis dealing with certain ruling families of the Eastern Deccan, which had been examined by the late Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (formerly Professor of Madras University) and the late Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit, then Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. His researches during the period of the Studentship brought him the Mouat Gold Medal in 1937. In the meantime he was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) of Calcutta University in 1936, on his thesis on the successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan, which had been adjudicated upon by the late Professors E.J. Rapson of Cambridge and F.W. Thomas of Oxford and the late Dr. L.D. Barnett of the British Museum.

In 1937, Dr. Sircar was appointed Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. After the second World War, the Rashbehari Ghosh Travelling Fellowship (Calcutta University) was offered to him for study at the Sorbonne (Paris) and a scholarship was also awarded to him by the Government

of France on the recommendation of the late Prof. Louis Renou. But the then Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India (the late Dr. N.P. Chakravarti) prevailed upon him and pursuaded him to join the Survey as Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy at Ootacamund (Madras State) in January, 1949. Soon he was made Superintendent for Epigraphy and finally, in 1955, became Government Epigraphist for India. As an officer of the Survey, Dr. Sircar travelled over all parts of India in search of inscriptions and succeeded in publishing hundreds of important epigraphs in various periodicals, about 200 of his papers appearing in the *Epigraphia Indica* alone. He not only cleared up the arrears in the publication of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* and *Epigraphia Indica*, but edited 8 parts of the said journal per year instead of its usual 4 parts. He also arranged for the publication of a number of volumes of the *South Indian Inscriptions* series.

In 1956, Dr. Sircar attended a conference on South-East Asian History held in London under the auspices of the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London), as an invitee and a representative of the Government of India, and got an opportunity of travelling in Western Europe. Dr. Sircar presided over the Early Medieval Section of the Indian History Congress at its Delhi Session in 1948, over the Annual Sessions of the Numismatic Society of India in Calcutta in 1955 and at Agra in 1956, and over the History Section of the All-India Oriental Conference in Delhi in 1957. He was the Chief Guest of Honour at the All-Orissa History Congress held at Bhubaneswar in March, 1969, under the auspices of the Utkal University.

In 1961, he left the Archaeological Survey and joined the University of Calcutta as Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture. The same year, the Government of India deputed him to the USSR where he delivered lectures at the Oriental Faculty of the Universities of Tash-

kent, Leningrad and Moscow. Soon he was appointed Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture (Calcutta University) and Director of the Centre of Advanced Study in that subject. Prof. Sircar is associated with institutions like the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and the Royal Numismatic Society, London. He delivered the following lectures at different Universities—(1-2) Carmichael Lectures and Raghunath Prasad Nopany Lectures at Calcutta University respectively 1962 and 1962-63 ; (3) Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji Endowment Lectures at Lucknow University in 1964 ; (4) Sir William Meyer Endowment Lectures at Madras University in 1966 ; (5) Extra Mural Lectures at Magadh University, Gaya, in 1968 ; (6) Rai Bahadur Bissessarlal Motilal Halwasiya Endowment Lectures (Calcutta University) on 'Problems of Rājpūt History' in December, 1968 ; (7) three lectures on 'Kuṣāṇa Problems' at the Kannada Research Institute (Karnatak University), Dharwar, in January, 1969 ; (8) two lectures on his experiences in the field of Epigraphical Research at the University of Mysore in January, 1969 ; and (9) four lectures on the Pre-Classical Phase of the History of Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature at the Summer School of the Institute of Indian Literature, Bangalore University, in May, 1969.

Prof. Sircar attended the International conference on the History and Culture of the Kuṣāṇas held in September-October, 1968, at Dushanbe in Tajikistan, USSR, where he presented a paper on 'Eastern India and the Kuṣāṇas'.

Prof. Sircar's published works include the following—(1) *The Early Pallavas*, Lahore, 1935 ; (2) *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, Calcutta, 1939 ; (3) *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1942 and 1965 ; (4) *A Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, Calcutta, 1943 ; (5) *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, Delhi, 1948 ; (6) *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, New Delhi, 1957 and 1967 ;

(7) *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, Hyderabad, 1958 ; (8) *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1960 ; (9) *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965 ; (10) *The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā* (R.P. Nopany Lectures), Calcutta, 1965 ; (11) *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966 ; (12) *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature* (W. Meyer Lectures), Calcutta, 1967 ; (13) *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieval India*, Vol. I—*Society*, Calcutta, 1967 ; (14) *Studies in Indian Coins*. Delhi, 1968 ; (15) *Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition* (Carmichael Lectures), Delhi, 1969 ; (16) *Landlordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India as revealed by Epigraphical Records* (R.K. Mookerji Lectures), Lucknow, 1969 ; and (17) *Problems of Kuṣāṇa and Rājpūt History* (Karnatak University and B. M. Halwasiya Lectures), Calcutta, 1969.

Besides the above books, Professor Sircar has edited some volumes of proceedings of the Seminars held at the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, such as (1) *Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India* (1966), (2) *The Śakti Cult and Tārā* (1967), and (3) *The Bhārata War and Purāṇic Genealogies* (1969). He has also published about one thousand papers, notes and reviews in the learned periodicals of India and outside, such as the *Epigraphia Indica, Indian Historical Quarterly, Journal of the Asiatic Society, Indian Culture, Journal of Indian History, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, etc.

Prof. Sircar is editor of the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, published by the Department of AIHC, University of Calcutta, of which Vol. I (Parts 1-2, 1967-68) has already been published and Vol. II will come out very shortly.

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar regarded Dineschandra as one of the very best of his students and mentioned him, as early as 1943, as one of the most renowned writers on Indian palaeography (cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol IX, 1943, pp. 176-77). Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri considered him to be the most

brilliant amongst his pupils and the strongest pillar of strength to the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, when he was its Head. Dr. R. G. Basak regarded Dineschandra as 'our greatest epigraphist'.

Prof. Sircar is not only a source of inspiration, but also of perspiration. For he himself works hard and expects the same from others. It has been said about a Russian story-writer, Konstantin Panstovsky, that "he used words sparingly, but gave them their full weight". The same could be said about Prof. Sircar. O. C. Gangoly, in his recently published book *Bhārater Śilpa O Āmār Kathā*, writes, "The love and respect which I have received from my appreciative and affectionate friends at the University of Calcutta are the source of energy and inspiration in my life. The profound cholarship, amiability and sweet humour of Dr. Dineschandra Sircar of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture moved me much and I am amazed at his depth of knowledge in ancient history and epigraphy. I constantly require the help of inscriptions in my pursuit of art history. In this respect, Dr. Sircar has helped me on several occasions unhesitatingly and with great sympathy. For this, there is no limit to my gratefulness to him."

Dineschandra Sircar has proved a worthy disciple of worthy masters and continued the grand tradition established by his predecessors, expanding the frontiers of Indological knowledge, ever widening the horizon of Indian history.*

Ramesh Kumar Billorey

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* Bibliography—*Māsik Basumatī* (Bengali), Jyaiṣṭha, 1369 B.S., pp. 284-85; *Gopīnātha Kavirāja Abhinandana-grantha*, Lucknow, 1967, pp. 649-50; Prof. R. K. Dikshit's *Foreword* to Prof. Sircar's *Landlordism and Tenancy, etc.*, Lucknow, 1969; *Eminent Educationists of India*, New Delhi, 1969; etc.

The following books of Prof. Sircar are now going through the press—(1) *Indian Palaeography ;* (2) *Studies in the Political and Administrative Systems in Ancient and Medieval India ;* (3) *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India ;* (4) *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. II; (5) *Some Medieval Inscriptions from Eastern India* (Magadh University Lectures); and (6) *In the Field of Epigraphical Studies* (Mysore University Lectures).

Among Dineschandra's appreciations from various scholars, reference may be made to the following—(1) ".....knowledge of Epigraphy and Palaeography..... of a very high order.....sound critical judgment and scholastic outlook.....has occupied a front rank among Indian scholars" (R. C. Majumdar, 1942) : (2) "..... unflagging industry, keen insight, sound judgment and loyal devotion to duty.....wide reading, power of exposition and critical acumen.....possesses qualities which, I do hope, will enable him to keep up the best traditions of Indian scholarship" (H. C. Raychaudhuri, 1942) ; (3) " . ...industry, accuracy and intellectual integrity ..... undoubtedly one of our ablest younger historians" (S. N. Sen, 1943) ; (4) ".....one of the first masters of Archaeology, an authority on Epigraphy and Numismatics and, with his unique knowledge of Sanskrit, possessed of a complete grip upon all the sources of Ancient Indian History, which is hardly excelled by any other scholar" (R. K. Mookerji, 1945) ; (5) ".....an author of great constructive power.....will be able to build up a school of research in his special branch of history" (J. N. Sarkar, 1946) ; (6) ".....one of the best men we have in the University of Calcutta" (S. K. Chatterjee, 1946) ; (7) ".....one of the best three intelligent pupils of mine .....noted for scholarship and clarity of thought..... diligence, intelligence and power of judgment" (D. R. Bhandarkar, 1947) ; (8) ".....accurate and incisive

scholarship and sober and well-balanced interpretation of data" (C. S. Srinivasachari, 1950); and (9) ".....the best epigraphist and historian of the younger generation" (Louis Renou, 1950).

As a historian, Dineschandra's name is generally regarded as 'a sufficient guarantee' for the merits of his published works (*Bhār. Vid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 77). In a recent review of one of his works, reference has been made to 'his excellence in a type of historical research which may be called the first level of synthesis, by which I mean the gathering together of related epigraphs, squeezing out every drop of information they will yield, and collating the evidence of literature, numismatics and the epigraphs of contemporary kingdoms in assessing their full significance.' The reviewer goes on, 'one can almost say of Professor Sircar that, like a hunger-artist, the less nourishment he has, the more he thrives.....Because of the concentration which he devotes to a subject, little escapes his scrutiny and much has a wider significance than one would at first suppose.....The result is a book which no one concerned with Rajput history can afford to overlook, which few concerned with Indian dynastic history would want to overlook, and from which many could profit' (*BSOAS*, Vol. 29, p. 399).

Indrani Kapur

AMARENDRANATH LAHIRI

(Born 1918)

REMINISCENCES

It was in 1939 that Dr. Kalidas Nag, initiated me in the study of ancient Indian history. He was kind enough to introduce me to Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, the then Carmichael Professor and Head of our Department, who, on hearing my case, advised me to take up Group I-A, i.e. Epigraphy and Numismatics.

Besides attending the University Library and the Imperial (now National) Library then at Esplanade, I would almost regularly go to the house of Dr. Nag at 283 Darga Road, Park Circus. The house, with a beautiful facade copied from the Ajanta Cave No. 2, had Dr. Nag's personal library with numerous books on our subject. The first thing I did there was to copy texts and translations of the Aśokan inscriptions and to trace the plates of Ojha's book on Indian palaeography, just to keep pace with Dr. D. C. Sircar's practical classes in the Indian Museum.

There was a congenial atmosphere in the University in our time. Our classes were generally held in the rooms of the second and third floors of the Asutosh Building, all situated near the lift. Only a few classes were held in a second-floor room of the Darbhanga Building, and they were mostly taken by Prof. Raychaudhuri. We were about forty students including four girls. The Head of the Department, and the Secretary, Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts (Sailendranath Mitra formerly of the Pali Department), were both nice to the students and considered their difficulties with sympathy.

We were fortunate to have a band of devoted teachers. Prof. Raychaudhuri used to teach us certain phases of political history covered by Papers II and III besides

indigenous accounts of ancient Indian geography. His teaching was of a high standard ; it was critical, to the point and quite impressive. He knew how to create interest in the subject and would often draw parallels from the history of other countries just to make his point clear. He would answer our questions with remarkable clarity. I still remember how, just after learning the letters of the Aśokan inscriptions, I reacted in a childlike manner at his statement that the characters of the Bharhut epigraphs showed a 'later development of the Brāhmī alphabet'. "That cannot be, Sir," I said, "for I do not find any difference between the writings of the inscriptions of Aśoka and those from Bharhut, both of which I can read now." He was obviously amused at this ; but was nice enough to explain the position to my satisfaction.

Dr. Hemchandra Ray taught us political history of Northern India of the post-Gupta period. He was an erudite scholar and a man of robust personality. But a sense of frustration somewhere in his subconscious mind would often make him restless and criticise people in authority in a ruthless manner. He was bitter that his abilities were not receiving adequate recognition.

Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi, a soft-spoken charming man and a scholar of repute, taught us Vedic culture and Classical sources of ancient Indian geography. Though his teaching was not always impressive because of a mannerism which rendered his lectures somewhat dull, he was respected by us all for his learning. I used to go to his house at 9 Rustomji Street (in the present Ballygunge Place) where he could always be seen in his well-equipped study—engaged in reading and writing.

Dr. Kalidas Nag used to teach us epic culture. With his handsome bearing, immaculate Bengali dress and charming voice, Dr. Nag commanded respect and popularity. He would keep us spell-bound by his oratory, and art of story-

telling. His great qualification as a teacher was his ability to create a healthy interest in the subject, which helped a student to pursue his course independently and in his own way. There was hardly a day when he was not delivering a popular lecture on topics of varied interests. I used to attend some of his lectures, and wondered how he could speak for hours even on unusual topics. He was a born speaker.

Jitendra Nath Banerjea (he did not get his doctorate then) used to teach us some aspects of the foreign sources of ancient Indian geography in the general class, and the coins of foreign rulers and the inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī characters in the Group classes. His teaching, though sound, was not always impressive. But his teaching of ancient coins in the Indian Museum gave us an unusual impetus, and I am personally indebted to him for the interest he kindled in me for the study of Indian coins. We were all drawn towards him for his amiable nature and devotion to the subjects he tought.

Dr. Benoychandra Sen used to teach us indigenous coins and the Aśokan and Gupta inscriptions. He was a serious teacher and would not spare any pains to make himself helpful to his students. I am indebted to him for his lectures on numismatics. He used to invite out-going students to tea at his residence and mixed with students like a friend on such occasions. The success of the parties was, of course, due more to the hospitality of Mrs. Sen.

Dr. Niharranjan Ray, the then Librarian of the University Central Library, taught us political history of Northern India, early phase. I still remember his first dramatic entry into our class. A handsome youngman, sparkling with enthusisam, intelligence and personal charm, he spoke to us in a friendly manner. He soon established himself as a good teacher by endeavouring to help the students in grasping the subject. But I remember him

better as the librarian than as a teacher. He created an ideal atmosphere in the Library, then situated at the top floor of the Asutosh Building. He saw to it that students got books within three to five minutes from submitting the requisition slips. Dr. Dineschandra Sircar, who for his thoroughness and academic attainments, earned the nickname 'Khude Raychaudhuri' (Little Raychaudhuri, meaning the then Carmichael Professor) used to teach us, besides palaeography, some Early Brāhmī epigraphs and certain early medieval inscriptions. He was then always in *dhoti* and white *panjabi*, and was simple and informal. From the very begininng, he was eager to see that we learnt things thoroughly. The day he first met us (which, according to my notes, was the 10th August, 1939) he wrote in my notebook the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet along with their Roman equivalents with diacritical marks and also all the Early Brāhmī letters. He was specially helpful to inquisitive and serious students. My copies of the texts and translations of the Brāhmī inscriptions, which I have preserved to this day, bear ample testimony to this fact. They are full of his notes and remarks, which he wrote in his own hand after scrutiny.

So far as the students were concerned, I was specially interested in those who took up Group I-A, and used regularly to visit their residences for discussions. T. Vimalananda, a Ceylonese student two years senior to me, was one of them. I used to go to his room in the Mahabodhi Society and make notes from his rich collection of text books. I still have with me the copy of Dr. Raychaudhuri's *Political History* (4th ed.) which I purchased from him at Rs. 5. I used also to go to the Cornwallis Street residence of Akhilbandhu Biswas (who ultimately stood first in Class I in 1940) who was then the most studious among my friends. I was attracted by his extensive studies. Jyotirmay Datta, a classmate of mine, was the third student with whom I spent much of my time. He was also very studious. Dilipkumar

Biswas was one year junior to me. I liked him for his scholarly manners and love for books.

A most regretable thing happened to me when I was a Fifth Year student. Even though I was one of the few students to be selected for training in archaeological excavations, I could not avail of that opportunity for some personal difficulties. Years later in 1957, I availed of another chance, and was able to excavate at Nagarjunikonda. But the availing of the first opportunity at the University stage would have possibly changed the course of my life.

The two most remarkable events of our time were the outbreak of the Second World War and the mysterious disappearance of Subhaschandra Bose. I vividly remember the day—evidently a Friday and the 1st September, 1939—when after our Museum classes I came out at about 3 P.M. on the Chowringhee Road and heard a hawker crying, "Yuddha ! Yuddha !" I purchased a one-pice telegram—probably the Bengali *Mātṛbhūmi*—which announced the attack of Poland by Hitler's army. But though highly agitated, I must confess, I then did not realise the true significance of a World War. It was only afterwards with all the blackouts, sirens, bafflewalls and air-raids that I realised how far-reaching, dreadful and shattering were the effects of a global war.

The outbreak of war was also responsible for great disappointments to three of our teachers. Even though we gave a ceremonial farewell to Professor Suhrawardy, Dr. Kalidas Nag and J. N. Banerjea, their passages had to be cancelled in order to avoid a risky voyage.

The news of the disappearance of Subhaschandra came to us as a great surprise when we were students of the Sixth Year. The details of his Yogic practices in a secluded room of the house where he was interned and his vanishing in the face of rigorous police vigilance caused a great stir amongst us. He was already a national hero because of his relentless struggle and personal sacrifices.

In conclusion, I would like to pay my respectful tribute to my teachers who infused in me a love for Indological studies, which gave me the strength to overcome all obstacles in the way of my becoming a university teacher.

A. N. Lahiri

SISIRKUMAR MITRA

(Born 1919)

REMINISCENCES

"They flash upon that inward eye....." (Wordsworth). My heart fills with a feeling of unbounded pleasure when my student days flash in my mind.

The period I had the good fortune to sit at the feet of my teachers was between the years 1939 and 1941. The Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture was then composed with a galaxy of illustrious savants whose contributions in the field of Indology continue to shine throughout the academic world. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, the Carmichael Professor, Dr. H. C. Ray of the *Dynastic History of Northern India* fame, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. C. Banerjee, Dr. J. N. Banerjea, Dr. B. C. Sen, Dr. N. R. Ray—are all names to conjure with. Dr. D. C. Sircar, our present Carmichael Professor, was then one of the young teachers in the Department, editing his famous *Select Inscriptions*.

To be frank, when I got the list of names of the teachers associated with the Department, a queer sense of diffidence covered my thought as to how I would be able to rise to the height of the learned lectures of these great scholars. But when one after another these masters met us in our classes, I found them so unassuming, so kind and affectionate and their discourses so illuminating and inspiring, that an altogether new image of them appeared before me. They were dedicated teachers with the sole end and aim of presenting historical materials in their correct perspective and also generating in their pupils a creative spirit, a spirit for the search of Truth. They cultivated an intimate relation with us, and it occurred

to me that these masters were imbued with the noble *Guru-śiṣya* tradition of ancient India, and they practically portrayed the idea contained in the Upaniṣad—*Oṁ saha nāv = avatu, saha nau bhunaktu, saha vīryaṁ karavāvahai, tejasvinām = avadhītam = astu* ("Let us strive together, let us enjoy the fruits of scholastic association together and let us grow from strengh to strength in the field of scholarship"). The sublime idea must have worked with them in coming so close to us and in cultivating an unanimity of mind, which continued ever afterwards guiding us in our progress and welfare. They were never rigid in their outlook. Like Lord Buddha, whose last words to his disciple Ānanda were *Dīpo bhava* ('Be a lamp unto thyself,' i.e. kindle your mind with knowledge so that you yourself may be in a position to discern what is right and what is wrong), these savants encouraged their pupils to strike new grounds by their own efforts. They reflected the thoughts of the sages of yore, who advised their disciples—*yāny = asmākaṁ sucaritāni tāni tvay = opāsyāni, no itarāṇi.*

I can substantiate the above remarks with illustrations that are treasured in my mind. It is not possible to put them all in black and white. Let me record here just a few of them.

Prof. Raychaudhuri used to teach us Purāṇic Geography as well as South Indian History, and his beaming face with eyes sparkling through thick glasses is still imprinted in my mind. To make up for the inadequacy of text books on the subjects taught by him, I used to take running notes of his lectures. He was not in the habit of dictating notes ; so once he summoned me to his chamber, at the northern end of the corridor on the second floor of the Asutosh Building, just in front of the lift. Anyone would have been afraid to face the Professor because of his measured dialogues and serious bearing, and I too approached him with much trepidation. But when he was going through my notes,

to my great relief I could notice a gentle smile appearing on his face. He spoke to me quite endearingly that hereafter he would correct my notes and fill up the lacunae. I have them still with me as invaluable reminiscences of an affectionate teacher.

Dr. P. C. Bagchi's lectures on Vedic and Epic ages, Dr. H. C. Ray's regional surveys of political cross currents in different centuries, J. N. Banerjea's descriptive expositions of geographical accounts of the Classical writers, Dr. Kalidas Nag's lucid style of analysing the principles enunciated in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*—are all still fresh in my memory.

Dr. Niharranjan Ray and Dr. D. C. Sircar have always been well known for their scholarship in Fine Arts and in Epigraphy respectively. But to us (students of Group II), both of them appeared in an altogether different garb, the former lectured on Cultural Anthropology and the latter on Physical. Still I remember with what assiduous care Dr. Sircar explained to us the physical traits and characteristics of different races of people and their commingling. Dr. Ray's classes, conducted more or less in a seminar form, were marked by discussions on cultural movements of the peoples inhabiting India from prehistoric times as well as their influences on the formation and development of India's culture-complex. It was Dr. Ray who encouraged us to actively participate in the discussions, for whatever they might be worth. It was due to his intimate approach that we would come out of our shells and try to move as toddlers. He felt greatly enthused when we would comment on or even challenge some of his own observations.

Dr. Sircar was then the youngest of our teachers. But I still thank myself that I could gain his affection at that stage, and for my grounding in the subject, I owe much to him. For day in and day out, he welcomed me to his residence, then at Hindusthan Park, to discuss and solve

my problems, and not only that, he used to go through all the lines of my essays on different topics.

Dr. H. C. Ray possessed a manly bearing and robust personality. Famous for his 'straight cuts', Dr. Ray was generally kept at a safe distance; but somehow a few stu 'ents including myself could peep through his outer shell and discover a noble heart full of affection for his pupils. He was chosen as the leader of our historical excursion to South India and Ceylon in September-October, 1940. It was a memorable tour extending over a month and full of thrilling experiences that demonstrated the character of Ray as an excellent teacher, a congenial companion and a fatherly guide. I do not know whether such an extensive tour with so much success has ever been repeated in our Department.

I would like also to make a brief reference to my mentor, Dr. B. C. Sen, who used to lecture on the History of Bengal. That was his own field, and he moved about with ease through the rise and fall of the dynasties pointing out the intricacies as well as niceties of expressions used in their documents. He almost carried his pupils with him, as he used to explain the movements and currents of history in his fine flowing language and none of us would like to miss a single of his classes. Similar lucidity and analytical exposition also marked his lectures on the *Manusmṛti*. But for all that we could not come very close to him, as he appeared to us as a man of rather introvert type, drawn within his own self. For the first time I discovered his natural self was after my M.A. Examination, when one fine morning with great hesitation I went to his residence, then at Dover Road. I could not imagine that I would be faced with a sort of *viva voce* test on the answers I had produced in my papers. It was on Social History. Dr. Sen received me with his usual smile and told me in a calm voice that, if I would satisfy him, I could be sure of high marks.

I collected courage enough and tried to hold a 'straight bat' for more than an hour. Dr. Sen no doubt kept his word, and his contribution to my obtaining the desired result was indeed considerable. Since then to date, I have been almost a son to the great scholar. He initiated me in the field of research and practically guided me at every step from the collection of data, their sorting and sifting, their analysis, as also their presentation with proper marshalling of arguments for and against. I cannot adequately express how much I owe to Dr. Sen.

I have so far tried to give glimpses of my teachers. But I feel I should also make a brief mention of my classmates. The first point that strikes me in contrast with the current condition is the low percentage of girl students in the Department. There were only three or four girl students in our class of 50, and they too, in keeping with the tradition of the time, maintained a sort of aloofness from their male classmates. The Students' Federation was quite an active organisation in our time ; but there was not much party politics amongst us. It was of course due to the prevailing political condition of the country, then under foreign rule. So our groupings were more or less on the academic and cultural plane. Amongst us, there was a very healthy fellow feeling. Though we were quite conscious of the competition, no narrowness prevented us from co-operating with one another in solving problems by mutual discussion and exchange of notes. Those of my classmates who were very close to me included Sukeshchandra Chandra (stood first in Class I and later became Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, but passed away quite untimely a few years ago), Bimalchandra Datta (a high official in the Survey of India, posted in Calcutta at present), Dr. Amarendranath Lahiri (now a Reader in our Department), Nalinikanta Ganguly (an officer under the Accountant General, West Bengal), and Devapriya Guha *alias* Mantu.

Amongst our seniors, I should mention Dr. S. R. Das (the present Head of the Department of Archaeology of our University), Nirmalkumar Sadhu (an advocate of Calcutta High Court) and Prithwisnath Mukhopadhyay (till recently an officer of the Calcutta Police). Dr. Pratapchandra Chunder and Dilipkumar Biswas were a year junior to us and we are friends still.

Before I conclude, I must mention that it is indeed a matter of genuine pleasure and gratification for me to be called upon to serve my *alma mater* and I deem it a very proud privilege to be associated with my Department for the last seven years as a part-time teacher. A curious sensation passes through my veins when I walk down the corridor or enter the class rooms where once I moved about as a student. Fully conscious of my own limitations, I know it will not be possible for me to rise to the height of the Masters described above. I only invoke their blessings so that I may be equal to the task and continue their tradition.

Sisirkumar Mitra

Section III

STUDENTS

KSHITISCHANDRA SARKAR

(Born about 1895)

Autobiographical Sketch and Reminiscences

My ancestral home was located in the Natore Sub-Division of the Rajshahi District (now in East Pakistan) in the old Varendrī-maṇḍala comprising principally the modern Districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Bogra, Malda (Gaur) and Pabna.

English education was started at Rajshahi town in the days of the East India Company. The Government Zilla School (the Collegiate School) was established in 1836. The Rajshahi College was establised chiefly with the munificence of the landlords in the District and became one of the premier education centres in Bengal next to the Presidency College in Calcutta in position and status. My grandfather Isanchandra made an endowment of Rs. 1200 in Government Papers to the College, in commemoration of his uncle Krishnachandra, for instituting a scholarship.

My father obtained the Bachelor's degree in Law and later also became a medical graduate, although he soon took up the profession of a Homœopath. At last, a spiritual urge called him away during the First World War (1914-19) and he became a Vaiṣṇava Sannyāsī initiated at Vṛndāban (U. P.) by Swāmī Santadās Bābājī Mahārāj (formerly Tarakishore Chaudhury of Calcutta High Court) of the Nimbārka Sect of Vaiṣṇavism, and was given the name Patitpāban Dās Bābājī. I am the only son of my parents and lost my mother too early. Thus I had to face the realities of life when I was a student.

After graduation from the St. Paul's C.M.S., Calcutta, in 1920, I got admission to the M.A. Course in AIHC (Group V—Anthropology and also to Law. Among the teachers, in the M.A. Class, Ramaprasad Chanda, the noted Antiquarian and Ethnologist, happened to know me from my days in the Rajshahi Collegiate School of which he was originally a teacher. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had the insight to select appropriate persons as teachers in the University, and Chanda had been taken in the new Department of Anthropology before he became Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. It was Chanda who advised me to take up the Anthropology Group (Group V) in AIHC. Among the other teachers of the Department, there were Drs. Abinaschandra Das (who taught the Ṛgvedic and Epic Culture), Hemchandra Raychaudhuri (teaching Political History of Ancient India) and Rameshchandra Majumdar who had been teaching us the Historical Geography of Ancient India (Paper IV) before he joined Dacca University as Professor of History.

Among the teachers in the Anthropology Department, Panchanan Mitra (closely connected with Raja Rajendralal Mitra) taught us Pre-History and Archaeology and Saratchandra Mitra took classes in Social Anthropology.

When we were studying for M.A., the Second All-India Oriental Conference was held in 1921-22 under the presidency of the great French savant Sylvain Lévi in the Darbhanga Building of Calcutta University. Akshaykumar Maitra of Rajshahi attended it as a representative of the Varendra Research Society (Rajshahi) and welcomed the President in the old Senate Hall.

In 1921, I noticed some aboriginal customs in Purulia, Ranchi and Rajshahi, and noted their resemblance with what is called 'Spanish Matador' prevalent in Spain. I read a paper on this subject before the Conference and

my teachers Panchanan Mitra and S. C. Mitra participated in the discussions on it. My article was published in the University's *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XV.

The Varendra Research Society was founded in 1910 by Kumar Saratkumar Ray of the Dighapatiya Raj family as the benefactor, the great historian and antiquarian Akshaykumar Maitra as the Director, and Ramaprasad Chanda, teacher in the Rajshahi Collegiate School, as the Founder-Secretary. The Society and its Museum gradually attracted the teachers of the Rajshahi College, viz., Srishchandra Sastri, Radhagovinda Basak, U. N. Ghoshal, Dineschandra Bhattacharya, Sivaprasad Bhattacharya and others. I became a member of the Society while I was yet a Post-Graduate student in 1921-22. I was encouraged to take part in the activities of the Society by Akshaykumar Maitra who was then in failing health and once told me, "I am now ebbing away; it is for you as young men to take up the task."

Between 1925 and 1930, I published six papers in the *Modern Review*. In 1936, I published a monograph entitled *Kurkihar, Gaya and Bodh-Gaya* in collaboration with Sarasikumar Saraswati with a foreword by Dr. Stella Kramrisch. Dr. Sten Konow of Oslo University and Sir Jadunath Sarkar praised it in their reviews.

In January, 1928, I visited many of the ancient temples in Tamil Nadu and then paid a visit to Ceylon to see the ruins of Anuradhapura, the Mihintale Hill, Kandy (to pay respect to the Tooth-relic of the Buddha in the 'Dalada Maligawa' shrine), Polonnaruva, Aluvihare and Sigiriya. I also visited the Colombo Museum. In the Mysore session of the All-India Oriental Conference, I sent a paper on the "Glimpses of the Influence of Ancient India in Ceylon" which was later published in the proceedings of the Conference.

Immediately before the creation of Pakistan, I was made the Hony. General Secretary of the Varendra Research

Society. In 1949, I arranged for the publication of the lecture delivered by Akshaykumar in 1927 in the Indian Museum on "The Ancient Monuments of Varendra" which I edited with a brief history of Varendra and Appendices long after the author's death in 1930. Next I arranged to publish, with an introduction, the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, the manuscript of which was lying with Dineschandra Bhattacharya since 1943. I also prepared a Descriptive Catalogue of the collection of the Society's Museum and it was sent to a press at Dacca. Unfortunately, the volume, though its printing was almost complete, is unlikely to see the light of the day.

About 1962-63, the Director of the Archaeological Survey of Pakistan wanted to remove the relics of the Varendra Research Society's Museum to the National Museum at Karachi. Fortunately, however, this could be avoided by making arrangements to attach it to the University of Rajshahi, of which I was then a part-time Lecturer in Law.

In the autumn of 1920, the Special Session of the Indian National Congress was held in Calcutta, the venue being the old Wellington Square (now Raja Subodh Mullick Square) under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai. This Special Session began the 'Non-Violent Non-Cooperation' Movement of the Gandhi era in Congress politics. I became a volunteer in the Special Session with some of the other boarders of the Hardinge Hostel. What I admired was the moral and ethical side of the movement and the revival of Swadeshi. Many people chiefly drawn from the middle classes became Congressmen. The students mostly used to put on Khadi as opposed to the present tendency to use trousers (drain pipe type) and bush coats. Among the inmates of the Hardinge Hostel, particular mention may be made of Phanibhushan Chakravarti who later on became the Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court and the Governor of West Bengal, and another who lived in our own ward is the present-

day politician Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal. I also attended the National Congress Sessions at Gauhati (1926) and Madras (1927).

As a member of the Bar, I was elected a Secretary of the District Bar Association, Rajshahi, successively for nearly a decade. As a City Father, I was made President of the Standing Committee of Education to help developing free Primary Education within the town of Rajshahi.

I served the Varendra Research Society till I had reluctantly to immigrate into India in January, 1964.

Kshitis Ch. Sarkar*

* [Sri Sarkar did not give us the date of his birth.—D.C.S.]

NIRADBANDHU SANYAL

(Born 1898)

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH AND REMINISCENCES

On the 18th day of August, 1898, I was born at Porjana, a tiny village in the Pabna District, now in East Pakistan. My father, Gopibandhu Sanyal, was a Lawyer in the District Judge's Court at Rajshahi. My mother, Mrinalini Devi, belonged to a very munificent Zamindar family of Porjana. In October, 1916, I was married to Sushamabala who came of a Zamindar family of Kalipur in the Mymensingh District, now in East Pakistan.

I was educated at the Rajshahi Collegiate School. In this connection I cannot but mention that all our school teachers were men of profound learning, and many of them could teach English, Mathematics, Bengali, and even Sanskrit equally well. Indeed, whatever studies we followed in after life had their deep foundation in what we had learnt at the secondary stage. I matriculated from the aforesaid school in 1917 and was placed in the First Division. For writing the best essay in English among the students of the Rajshahi District who took the Matriculation examination in the same year, I earned a scholarship from the Dighapatiya Raj tenable for a couple of years.

In the same year, I got myself admitted to the Rajshahi College in the I.A. course. In 1919, I passed the I.A. Examination in the First Division. I graduated in 1921, with Honours in History, and earned the second place in Class II.

When I was studying in the B.A. Class, I came in contact with scholars of the Varendra Research Society which had been founded at Rajshahi for stimulating antiquarian research by Kumar Saratkumar Ray of Dighapatiya, Akshaykumar Maitra and Ramaprasad Chanda. Others like

Dineschandra Bhattacharya, Radhagovinda Basak and Upendranath Ghoshal commenced their career of antiquarian research in this society The zeal of these scholars for research and their collection of antiquities (including manuscripts) from different villages of North Bengal for the Museum of the Society aroused in me a passion for antiquarian research. Accordingly, on graduation, I got myself admitted to the post-graduate course in AIHC (Archaeology Group) in Calcutta University in 1921. I generally studied in the University Library, the Imperial Library, and also in the libraries of the Indian Museum (Archaeological Section) and of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1923, I obtained the M.A. degree securing the second place in my Group in Class I and carrying the silver medal and prizes. In 1929, I obtained the Bachelor's degree in Law from Calcutta University.

In 1926, I was awarded a Post-Graduate Research Scholarship by the Government of Bengal for researches in the Ancient History of Bengal. In 1927 I succeeded Nanigopal Majumdar as Curator of the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, and remained in charge of it till I left East Pakistan in March, 1950. I tried my best to develop the Museum. My labours in this connection enabled me to add to the collection more than eight hundred pieces of sculpture and relics of other kinds, more than five hundred ancient coins, more than one thousand ancient manuscripts, and a similar number of printed books. The Museum attracted a number of great scholars, both Indian and Western.

Choosing the career of a Museum man, I received training in Archaeological Excavations at Paharpur and Mahasthan under the guidance of K. N. Dikshit, for three successive seasons (1927-28, 1928-29 and 1929-30). Besides this, I conducted Archaeological explorations in North Bengal in 1930, 1936, 1937 and 1944.

In 1938, an endowment was created for the upkeep of the Museum of the Varendra Research Society from grants recieved from the Basanta Kumar Memorial fund. The Museum was then renamed as the Varendra Research Museum, and its administration was taken over by a Committee of Management constituted under the Charitable Endowment Act. The Curator of the Museum was appointed Secretary to the Committee. I was also entrusted with the work of the Honorary Secretary of the Varendra Research Society. To this office I was annually elected from 1940 to 1946. On partition, a Museum Association was formed in Pakistan in 1950, and I was elected the representative of East Pakistan on the Council of Management of this Association.

But conditions compelled me to leave East Pakistan in March, 1950, leaving there behind all that I possessed including my valuable personal library of antiquarian books and also the manuscripts of my unpublished works. I came to Nabadwip in my old age to start a new life in West Bengal and took work as Honorary Professor of History in the Nabadwip Vidyasagar College in 1951. Two years later, I was placed there in charge of the Women's Section.

In July, 1957, I was appointed Principal of the Kalna College, and I held the post till superannuation in August, 1965. In 1961, the college was affiliated to the newly created Burdwan University. I have been examiner of both the Universities of Calcutta and Burdwan.

Now, living a life of retirement at Nabadwip, I keenly feel that the facility for the use of a suitable library has been denied to me to put my experience to good use by continuing my antiquarian research to which I dedicated my life even from my youthful days.

I have published a large number of papers in learned periodicals.

Niradbandhu Sanyal

TRIDIBNATH RAY

(Born 1899)

REMINISCENCES

My father, Nikhilnath Ray, was a historian and my maternal grandfather, Dr. Ramdas Sen was a renowned antiquarian ; so I had an inherent liking for the history of India, specially for its ancient phase, and, as such, I took up Ancient Indian History and Culture for my post-graduate studies in 1920.

The said subject was introduced as one to be taught in the M.A. classes of Calcutta University in 1918. The first examination was held in 1920. At that time, there were five Groups in this subject : (1) Archaeology, (2) Social History, (3) Religious History, (4) Astronomy and Mathematics, and (5) Anthropology. Nanigopal Majumdar, Hemchandra Ray and Prabodhchandra Bagchi were among the most brilliant scholars of the first batch. We belonged to the third batch. In our Group, i.e. in Archaeology, there were only five students at the beginning, viz. Benoychandra Sen, Tarapada Bhattacharya, Divakar Goswami, Ramniranjan Pattanayak and myself. Subsequently, Haripada Ray joined us ; but he discontinued after some time.

The first four Papers, common to all the Groups, were : 1st Paper—Vedic India ; 2nd and 3rd Papers—Political History of India from 600 B.C. to 1200 A.D., and 4th Paper—Historical Geography of India. Four other Papers of our Group were : 5th Paper—Inscription and Palaeography ; 6th Paper—Numismatics ; 7th Paper—Sculpture and Painting ; and 8th Paper—Architecture. Among the five students of our Group who appeared at the examination, four got First Class. Benoy, of course, stood first. Later he got his Doctorate from London and served Calcutta University for a very long time. Tarapada retired as

Head of the History Department of the Bihar National College, Patna. Lately, he also got his Doctorate from Calcutta University. He is still living at Patna. Divakar joined the educational service of the Assam Government and became the D.P.I. of that State.

I studied Law along with my M.A. Classes and got a First Class in the Final Examination. I joined the Calcutta High Court as a Vakil in 1924. In 1926, I joined the Narasingha Dutta College, Howrah, as Professor of History, but did not give up my legal practice. In 1931, I left that College and devoted myself exclusively to the legal profession. Subsequently, through the initiative of Kshitishchandra Chakravarty, Advocate, and myself, the Maharaja Manindrachandra College was started in 1941 with Dr. Panchanan Neogi as the first Principal. I gave up my legal practice in 1946 and from 1947 taught History in the said College. I served this institution for more than 24 years, and retired in May, 1965, as Head of the History Department. After my retirement from the College, I was appointed Member-Secretary of the State Language (Legislative) Commission of West Bengal in February 1966, and have been holding that post till to-day.

Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar was the Carmichael Professor. With his Marathi head-dress, he was a picturesque figure in the whole galaxy of teachers. He used to sit in a room in the south-western corner of the historic Senate House which unfortunately has been demolished – but which deserved to be preserved as a monument of the most brilliant period of renascent India. Bhandarkar attracted all earnest seekers of knowledge to his room. He never grudged to satisfy the inquisitiveness of the young scholars who flocked around him.

Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri looked quite young in appearance ; but even in those early years, none appeared to surpass him in scholarship and wisdom. He taught us the Second and Third Papers.

We had the good fortune to study under Dr. Rameshchandra Majumdar for a year only, as he went to Dacca after that. Even a dry subject like Ancient Indian Geography was made a fascinating study as a result of his illuminating lectures. He was one of the two most handsome persons amongst the teachers of the University. The other was Arun Sen, Bar-at-Law, whose lectures on Indian Art and Architecture were highly inspiring. Many of us imbibed a passionate love for Indian Art from him.

J. N. Banerjea evinced great interest in ancient and mediaeval iconography as also in numismatics. He made these subjects so very interesting to us that the impression created by him nearly half a century ago still abides in many of us.

H. C. Chakladar did not teach us the social life in ancient India, for the study of which he later acquired reputation; we learnt with him the grammar of the texts of Aśokan inscriptions and their significance.

The Gupta inscriptions were first taught by N. P. Chakravarty who left our University very soon. The unfinished Gupta records and other inscriptions were taught by Nanigopal Majumdar whose name afterwards became famous on account of his explorations of certain phases of the Indus Valley Civilisation. Among our other teachers was Dr. Abinaschandra Das who taught us Ṛgvedic India. Though he was loving and amiable in nature, we could not reconcile ourselves with his theory about the antiquity of the Vedas. Surendra Nath Majumdar Sastri took our classes of Ancient Indian Geography at the beginning; but he left us for Patna very soon.

Our classes were held in the Darbhanga Building and in the old Senate House as the Asutosh Building was not constructed at that time. Prof. Bhandarkar took his classes in his chamber. The Asutosh Museum was not in existence then. In our Sixth Year, almost every week,

there were practical classes for the Seventh and the Eighth Papers in the Indian Museum held by J.N. Banerjea or A. Sen.

At that time there were very few printed books on our subject and we had to collect notes from the source books from different libraries. When some of us purchased or collected a few valuable source books, we all availed of them. My room in the Hardinge Hostel was the meeting place where we exchanged our notes and copied them. We, i.e., all the students of our Group, tried to help each other and there was no jealousy among us.

In our time, there was not even a single lady student in the class. Now they form the preponderating majority in the class, which makes one believe that they alone would soon become the sole repository of Indian Cultural Heritage, male students being mostly diverted to science, technology and engineering.

Tridibnath Ray*

* [Tridibnath was born on the 25th August, 1899.—D.C.S.]

TARAPADA BHATTACHARYA

(Born 1900)

REMINISCENCES

It was really a matter of great pleasure to me when the Ancient Indian History and Culture Department requested me to write my reminiscences of the days when I was a student of that Department. In the old age, one has to ruminate the past memories and one of its most joyful part is to think of the college life, the old classmates and friends. It takes us back to the class rooms where we passed many happy and useful noons for two years. This reminds us also of the presiding deities of the classes, the teachers who were really so regarded by us in those days.

When I was first admitted in the AIHC Class (Archaeology Group) in 1920, it was but three years that the Course had been iustituted by that great man, Sir Asutosh. There were then very little future prospects for the students who passed the M. A. Examination in that subject. Of those who passed before us, perhaps N. G. Majumdar and H. C. Ray had been appointed as our teachers. All other teachers of ours were already worthy persons of renowned scholarship. The Charmichael chair was adorned by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. The other notable teachers were Dr. R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri, Surendranath Majumdar Sastri, Haranchandra Chakladar, Abinaschandra Das and Arun Sen (Bar-at-Law) among others. The youngest were J. N. Banerjea, H. C. Ray and N. G. Majumdar. In three classes, boys of all the Groups met together. I remember that Dr. R. C. Majumdar took the Ancient Indian Geography classes of both the 5th and 6th Years together. The voice of Dr. Majumdar when he recited the Vedic hymns to the Sacred Rivers still clings

to my ears. Unfortunately, he left us for Dacca University after a short time.

There was no Asutosh Building then. Most of our classes were held in a room by the western side of the First Floor of the Darbhanga Building and the Group papers were taught in the old Senate Hall. There several classes in different subjects sat simultaneously. It was a beautiful sight when students and teachers of various subjects sat in groups at a short distance from one another and a low hum arose in "the dim religious light" of the hall. So many learned scholars teaching their pupils at one place also presented a charming atmosphere. Some of our classes were taken by J. N. Banerjea in the Indian Museum's Coin Cabinet room and the galleries of images therein. I still remember how pleasant those classes were and how I for myself at least felt proud that I was studying the cold stone images and the soiled old coins which very few in those days regarded as matters of study.

Coming to our teachers, I still remember H. C. Raychudhuri who on the very first day of teaching us said that a research scholar should know how to disbelieve the evidences before accepting them as truths. His quotations from the old Sanskrit texts showing his wonderful memory, the modest advice of J. N. Banerjea, and the grave appearance of Prof. Bhandarkar still live in our memory. All of them have left this world.

We had to undergo great difficulty in studying our subjects on account of the dearth of text books. There was no text book on the political history of India or on the inscriptions. We had to study the standard books by Muir, Cunningham, Fergusson, Rapson and others, and the journals. The habit of students tearing off pages from journals also prevailed in our time, for which the University Library had stopped issuing the journals to us. We used to visit the Imperial (now National) Library then situated on

the Strand Road. But to compensate the want of text books, the lecture notes of our teachers were undoubtedly of great help. Some of those notes were later on published in book form and are now recognised as standard works. Among them I may mention H.C. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, J.N. Banerjea's *Development of Hindu Iconography* and Bhandarkar's *Aśoka*. Many of our teachers always helped us, if we went to their residence, by their advice, or by correcting essays written by us. They sometimes offered us palatable dishes to eat. The sweet relation that existed between us and our teachers was a great source of inspiration to us.

As to my classmates, they have mostly long been separated from one another ; some still are alive and some of them achieved success in life. Among them, Benoychandra Sen was for a long time a notable teacher in the AIHC Department of Calcutta University. Divakar Goswami came from Assam and, I am told, he became the DPI of Assam. Tridibnath Ray was a Lecturer in the Manindra-chandra College of Calcutta, and an Advocate, and is now the Secretary to the Commission for translating legal terms into Bengali. Of my other classmates, very few perhaps remained in the teaching line.

As students, we had to pass through several crises. Mahatma Gandhi started his Non-Cooperation Movement in 1921 and many of my classmates gave up their studies and joined the movement. I still remember the huge gathering and the excited scene in the Senate Hall when Sir Asutosh was speaking against the students' joining the movement and thereby destroying the 'National' University he had built up, and when C.R. Das was preaching for the movement in the streets near the university buildings. But I should note that the students then did not show any disrespect to the college authorities or Sir Asutosh or C.R. Das even if they disagreed with them. We could never

think of damaging the public or university properties even in those excited moments.

Let me now conclude with the expression of my sense of debt to my past teachers who have been the source of inspiration in my life and of great help in my career. May my classmates, who are now alive but are separated from us or have forgotten us, accept my hearty felicitations.

Tarapada Bhattacharya

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Born in April, 1900. Passed the Matriculation Examination in 1916 in the First Division from the Metropolitan Institution (Main), Calcutta. Passed I.A. from the Scottish Churches College, Calcutta, in 1918, in the First Division. Passed B.A. with Honours in History from the same College. Passed M.A. in AIHC (Group I) in 1922 standing second in the First Class. Worked as a Government Research Scholar in the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (North Bengal), from 1923 to 1926, working under Akshaykumar Maitreya. Worked as Lecturer and then as Professor of History in the B.N. College, Patna, from 1926 to 1960. Worked as a Part-time Lecturer in Ancient Indian History in Patna University in 1950-51. Received the degree of Doctor of Literature (D. Litt.) in AIHC from Calcutta University in 1949 on the thesis *Origin and Development of Vāstuvidyā* (*Canons of Indian Architecture*). Author of *A Study on Vāstuvidyā* (renamed *Canons of Indian Art*), *The Bodh Gayā Temple*, *The Cult of Brahmā* and several articles in learned periodicals.*

* [From details supplied by Dr. Bhattacharya.—D.C.S.]

BIMALKANTI MAJUMDAR

(Born 1903)

REMINISCENCES

I am happy to get an opportunity to write my reminiscences in the present volume brought out on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University,—undoubtedly the most wonderful creation of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee of hallowed memory.

To write reminiscences is always a pleasant task and I jot down here a few striking points about my post-graduate study in the University of Calcutta during the years 1925-27. I joined the Post-Graduate classes in AIHC in 1925 and took up Group II (Social and Constitutional History). Though the course was then barely eight years old, it kept on attracting more and more students. It had already on its staff a number of brilliant teachers whom I always remember with pride and respect. So far as I can recollect, the teaching arrangement in our days was as follows :—

Compulsory Papers :	Paper I—	Dr. A.C. Das and H.C. Chakladar
	Papers II-III—	Dr. H.C. Raychaudhuri and H.C. Ray
	Paper IV—	Dr. H.C. Raychaudhuri and Dr. P.C. Bagchi
Group Papers :	Paper V—	H.C. Chakladar
	Paper VI –	N.C. Banerjee
	Paper VII—	N.C. Banerjee, Dr. Kalidas Nag and Dr. N.N. Law
	Paper VIII—	H.C. Chakladar and T.C. Das

At that time, Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar was the Carmichael Professor. Not being a student of Epigraphy and Numismatics, I had not the opportunity of sitting at his feet and learn. Similar was the case with J. N. Banerjea, then a young Lecturer of great promise, who had no classes with us. It was after a pretty long time that I came into close contact with him when I was a Lecturer in the Asutosh College, Bhowanipore, and an Examiner of the Matriculation Examination, C. U. My association with him continued unbroken till his sad demise in May, 1966.

Our classes were usually held in the second floor of the Darbhanga Building and the Teachers' room was located in the groundfloor on the left side of the main staircase leading to the Darbhanga Hall which was also the University Library and Reading Room.

Of all the teachers of our Department, Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, who was in charge of Political History and Historical Geography, made the greatest impression on my mind. An unassuming type of man with modesty and intelligence beaming on his face, he used to enter the class just in time and delivered lectures for full sixty minutes with lucidity and inspiration all his own. He was a very conscientious and successful teacher and his scholarship was unquestioned.

Hemchandra Ray, who also used to teach Political History was then preparing for his doctoral thesis, the future *Dynastic History of Northern India*. Ray turned out to be a very good and popular teacher. Being the Superintendent of the Hardinge Hostel, he was readily accessible. He was very kind to me. On the eve of his departure for England in September, 1927, I saw him in his room in the Calcutta Hotel. He received me affectionately and after a long conversation came with me to the junction of the Mirzapur Street and College Street and waited on the footpath till I got into the bus. I met him last in 1961

when during his short stay in Calcutta he was invited to deliver a lecture on Indo-Ceylonese Relations organised by the History Society of Jadavpur University.

Another teacher whom I shall never forget was Narayanchandra Banerjee, the author of the *Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India.* A well-dressed and well-read man, he won the heart of all by his goodness and scholarship. He was over-worked. Besides Ancient Indian History papers, he had to teach Modern Europe, China-Japan, Sanskrit and Pali. This was probably the reason why we failed to get the best out of him in the class; but, outside the class, he was very helpful and sympathetic. I had close contact with him after I had left the University. He helped me in many ways for which I remain ever grateful.

I distinctly remember our teacher, Dr. Kalidas Nag. A handsome person with pleasing manners, he delivered lectures on Administrative History once or twice a week. He was a good speaker and had the ability to speak on various topics ranging from the Aryan problem, Indian art and culture, and Kauṭiliyan diplomacy to such subjecs as English Constitutional History and International Law.

In those days, text books especially on the Group papers were rare and we had to depend upon articles published in journals and our teachers' lecture notes. Dr. A. C. Das, e.g., used to dictate notes on selected topics from his own book, *The Ṛgvedic Culture*, and Hopkins' *The Great Epic of India.*

Chakladar's lectures on Papers I and V were interesting and valuable; but as he had a low voice, attendance in his class was not always full or satisfactory.

Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi on his return from abroad joined the Department sometime in 1926 when we were in the Sixth Year Class. He taught us Historical Geography from Chinese sources. A typical scholar, Dr. Bagchi

was a gentleman in the real sense of the term. In 1955, I had an occasion to write to him in a personal matter. He was then Vice-Chancellor of the Visva-Bharati. He did not fail to recognise me and to send a prompt reply. This shows his sense of duty and love for pupils.

In the last lap of our post-graduate studies, B. C. Sen joined the Department as Lecturer. His lectures were stimulating.

With the steady expansion of the Department in the course of half a century,—the increase of students and research scholars, the addition of experienced and reputed teachers to the staff,—the relation between the teacher and the taught and the academic atmosphere too, I hope, have been as cordial and congenial as in our days. Rightly does the poet say,

> 'Let knowledge grow from more to more,
> But more of reverence in us dwell,—
> That heart and mind according well,
> May make one music as before.'

B. K. Majumdar*

* [Dr. Majumdar was born on the 2nd November, 1903. He retired from the post of Lecturer in History, Jadavpur University, in 1968. —D.C.S.]

ATULKRISHNA SUR

(Born 1904)

REMINISCENCES

The Department of AIHC of Calcutta University was still in its swaddling-clothes when I joined it as a student in 1925. Academic snobbishness of the time paid very little obeisance to this subject and, in consequence, enrolment in this course was extremely poor. In the curricular hierarchy of the time, traditional subjects like English, Philosophy, General History and Economics had more honoured places, and hundreds of students avidly enrolled for these courses. As a matter of fact, AIHC was almost a forsaken subject and students had to be recruited for it by grant of stipends. There were only 8 or 9 students in my year—all males—and even this number did not endure until the final examination of the University. One reason why the subject was unpopular in those days was that an M.A. degree in AIHC had very little value in the practical world of earning one's bread and butter. For, in the 20s, an M.A. in AIHC was not appointed even as a teacher in any school or college. It was simply a spirit of dedicated love and affection for the ancient heritage of one's country, which induced some patriotic students to take it up.

The course of AIHC was the creation of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who wanted to make Calcutta University as eclectic and broad-based in the range of its curricular studies as possible. He introduced not merely the subject of AIHC, but also courses in Indian Vernaculars and exotic foreign languages such as Japanese, Tibetan and Chinese.

The subject of AIHC had six Groups. These Groups were Epigraphy and Numismatics (I-A), Fine Arts and Architecture (I-B), Social and Constitutional History (II),

Religious History (III), Astronomy and Mathematics (IV), and Anthropology (V). I took up the Anthropology Group.

The subject was still a tiny tot of six or seven when I joined it. But it was manned with some of the stalwart scholars of the time. At the head of the Department was Prof. Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, a distinguished Indologist particularly proficient in Epigraphy. He was previously in the Archaeological Survey of India, from where Sir Asutosh weaned him away to join the University as its Carmichael Professor. Other teachers whom Sir Asutosh had brought in to man this Department were Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, Haranchandra Chakladar, Dr. Abinaschandra Das, Hemchandra Ray, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Jitendranath Banerjea and Dr. Stella Kramrisch. Teachers of other Departments who taught us as well were Dr. Niranjanprasad Chakravarti, Dr. Benimadhab Barua, Narayan Chandra Banerjee, Dr. R. Kimura, Dr. Panchanan Mitra, Bijaychandra Majumdar, Dr. Birajasankar Guha and Professor L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer. Midway through my time with the course came another eminent teacher. He was Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi.

Apart from the five Group-subjects in which the students used to specialize, there were four Compulsory subjects. These were Vedic and Epic Culture, Political History and Ancient Indian Geography. For receiving instruction in Vedic and Epic India, we were placed under two teachers—Dr. Abinaschandra Das and Haranchandra Chakladar. They were scholarship in opposition. Dr. Abinaschandra Das had extended the amplitude of Vedic India by fixing the date of composition of the *Rgveda* in that period of geological time when the Homo Sapiens had not yet appeared on earth! As his students would aver, the man had genuine conviction about the date and no amount of rational argument or scientific truth would move him from his stand. Chakladar who as well taught the same

subject, had, on the other hand, a highly scientific and synthetic turn of mind. A master of many European languages, he used to embellish his lecture notes to students with ample citations from French, German and Italian Indological literature. His approach to the problem of Vedic India was highly rational. He analyzed the whole corpus of Vedic literature to show its chronological and linguistic stratification, and genuinely believed that Vedic culture might have its origin in Eastern India. As one was the opposite of the other and as Das was a simple-minded person, the students would often play pranks with him by inciting him against Chakladar. They would tell him that Chakladar had wronged him by telling the students in the class that Das's theory about the hoary antiquity of the Vedas was all bosh and nonsense. This would at once put the patriarchal gentleman to a rage and it was amusing for the students to find him gesticulating in all manners and giving expression to high emotion. On one occasion, he so much flew into a rage that the cord with which an amulet was tied in the upper part of his arm snapped and flew off to a remote corner of the class room.

The teaching of political history used to be shared by two scholars—Hemchandra Ray and Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri. Ray was an amiable gentleman who had the knack of inspiring his students and helping them with much useful guidance. He had already written a notable paper on "Why did not Alexander cross the Beas?", and after our time, he went to London to win a Ph.D. with his monumental *Dynastic History of Northern India*. Many years later I met him when he was Professor of Colombo University, Ceylon, and I found him as cheering and cordial as before. He was a bachelor. Dr. Raychaudhuri who taught us the other half of Political History wore (and perhaps justifiably) a scholar's face and mien—grave,

concentrated and composed. His scholarship went unchallenged and he was highly respected by his students. Many years later, I met him at his Mysore Road residence and found him as abounding in affection for his students as before. The same was also the case with Dr. Kalidas Nag—a born teacher whose eloquence was wonderfully blended with picturesque erudition dug up from French Indological literature. When, some 38 years later, I went to his Raja Basanta Roy Road residence to ask him to write a Foreword for my work, *History and Culture of Bengal*, I found him as affectionately inclined towards me as before and he at once agreed to honour me with the Foreword. Not only that. He recognized the merit of the work and said in the Foreword : "A masterly history of Bengal. I congratulate Mr. Sur on his signal success in completing a difficult task. It will give new food for thought and shed new light amidst the dark shades of Indian history." I must make a reference here to another teacher of ours—Dr. Stella Kramrisch whose lectures on Indian Art were extremely stimulating, abstract though they were sometimes because she used to speak in artistic syntax using a vocabulary of geometrical metaphors.

The students of AIHC of our time were at a great disadvantage as compared to the students af today. The subject had not accumulated as large a literature as now. Books were indeed few and far between. For instance, on Vedic India, we had Ragozin's work apart from that of Dr. Das. Vedic Index had just appeared and this was much helpful to us. On Epic India, we had already Hopkins' work, and on Buddhist India, Rhys Davids'. Keith's *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upaniṣads* appeared while we were students ; but copies had not yet arrived in India. So far as the *Cambridge History of India* is concerned, only one volume of it had appeared. In political history, apart from Smith's *Early History of*

India, we had the informative and scholarly work of Dr. Raychaudhuri. But this work was not as big as it is today. It was much smaller, about one-third of its present size. So far as South India was concerned, we had Dubreuil's *History of the Deccan*. Besides these, we had Pargiter's *Purāṇa-Text* and *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*.

But a student cannot specialize with a meagre fare of books like these. They must study more. So we had to go to the original sources and prepare our own notes therefrom. This was particularly the case with political history. We had to read the various Classical accounts as edited by McCrindle, the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, travel accounts of Fa-hien and Hiuen-tsang, Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacarita*, etc. So far as individual inscriptions of kings and others were concerned, we had to study them in the various journals where they were first edited and in this regard we had an excellent index in Kielhorn's List. For coins, we had several guide books like Allan's Gupta Catalogue. We generally used to utilize the Registrar's Library in the first floor of the Darbhanga Building. There was in those days another library too in the ground floor of the Asutosh Building (this Building in those days had only two floors—a ground floor and a first floor) and this was the Library of the Post Graduate Department. We could also utilize special libraries in the Fine Arts and Anthropology seminars.

The upshot of all this is that the students of those days had to do a great deal of original reading and thinking than the students of today. Indeed, this habit of tracking down things to their original sources and collecting data therefrom and sifting them and drawing inference therefrom infused in us a spirit of research. This training, which we imbibed during our study, sustained us greatly in later life. Thanks to this early training in AIHC, it helped me

in a precious way to conduct original researches in another field of study—Economics, in which, through the grace of God, I won name and fame in later time.

Two contemporary discoveries made considerable impact on our study of the subject. One was the discovery of the Culture of the Indus Valley which was still being dug up when we were students. The other was the publication of the text of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* by Shama Sastri. This latter was a politico-economical work which supplied considerable documentation to our study of the subject.

Apart from having instruction in the subject from the various teachers named above, I was fortunate enough to gain immensely from the lectures of some Indologists of international reputation, who at different times visited India during the 20s. Among them were Sten Know, Winternitz, Tucci and Sylvain Lévi.

On account of sudden illness, I could not sit for the M.A. Examination of 1927. I sat for it next year and stood first in the First Class in the Anthropology Group.

Immediately after passing the examination, I devoted myself to original research work in my subject. Even during my student days I used to be engaged by Prof. Bhandarkar for various kinds of research work. One work in which he kept me busy for months together was in connection with his List of North Indian Inscriptions. I was engaged to convert the dates as given in the inscriptions in regnal years or in years of an Indian era into corresponding dates of the Christian era. Another work in which he sought my earnest collaboration was that in connection with the writing of papers on the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas. Bhandarkar was a man of highly polemical turn of mind. But he would seldom himself enter into a controversy, and would encourage and induce his pupils to do the same for him. One such controversy into which I had to enter at his bidding was that on Aśvamedha—

to nail to the counter K. P. Jayaswal's theory that only paramount sovereigns could perform the sacrifice. It developed into a heated controversy in the pages of *Indian Culture* and, for this, while I lost the esteemed friendship of Jayaswal, I had, at the same time, to engage in a regrettable passage of arms with the present Carmichael Professor, Dr. D. C. Sircar. Anyway, those were the days of intellectual sportsmanship, and, as I could guess it later on when I met him at Bhandarkar's place, Dr. Sircar had not minded much for it.

It was in 1928 that, at the direction of Sir John Marshall, then Director-General of Archaeology in India, I took up an inquiry into the pre-Aryan elements in Indian culture on the basis of the diggings then being pursued in the Indus Valley. Sir John thought that a man suited for this inquiry must have not only training in Indian History and Culture, but must have also training in Anthropology. As I was the only student of Calcutta University who had training in both these subjects, I was naturally selected by Sir John for this work. But there were friends here in Calcutta, who desired that I must not be with the Archaeological Department, but with Calcutta University. Among them were Kashinath Narayan Dikshit, then Superintendent of Archaeology, Eastern Circle, and Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, Curator, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum. I presume that most probably Bhandarkar's influence was behind the wishes of these gentlemen, for my absence from Calcutta was not helpful to Bhandarkar. Anyway, Bhandarkar told me that Dr. Radhakrishnan (who was at that time President of the Post-Graduate Council) had asked me to see him. When I saw Dr. Radhakrishnan, he told me that I should conduct an inquiry into the pre-Aryan elements in Indian culture at Calcutta University as a Research Scholar. He directed me to see Syama-

prasad Mookerjee, and when I saw Mookerjee everything became pucca. So, as a stipendiary research scholar of the University of Calcutta, I remained with it until June 1931. A summary of the result of my inquiry on the subject was later on published serially in the *Calcutta Review* and the *Indian Historical Quarterly.*

I left the University in 1931 for various reasons; the least I say about them is better. Anyway, it meant a transformation of my life. I went into another field—into the field of financial journalism and economic research. Perhaps it was the will of God that I should have gone into this new field, for, in this, I had an abounding scope for making name, fame and money. In 1935, I wrote a tract entitled "What Price the Ottawa Agreement?" Gandhiji caused it to be translated into Hindi and Gujarati. It suceeded in overthrowing Imperial Preference for all time to come. Since 1936, I have remained Economic Adviser to the Calcutta Stock Exchage, one of the biggest stock exchanges of Asia. As a part-time teacher, I had, of course, come back to the University once again in 1954 when at the request of Dr. B. C. Roy and Prof. D. K. Sanyal, I had to join the faculty of Applied Economics of the Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management which at that time was an inititution under Calcutta University. I am still associated with the Institute. For some years, I was also a paper-setter and examiner of the University in Applied Economics.

But old love dies hard. Thanks to the passion for the ancient heritage of my country ingrained in me by my revered teachers, my love for the subject still remains aflame. To keep myself abreast of the time in my subject, I have continued to remain a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I am continuing my study of the subject even today. As late as 1962 I contributed a paper on "Sex and Marriage in the Mahābhātrata" to *Man in India.* In 1963, I also wrote my *History and Culture of Bengal.*

I wish the AIHC Department of the University a long life. I would wish that, if I die and am born again, I may join it once again. I owe my success in life to a spirit of pioneering, and this spirit I imbibed in the said Department some 40 years ago.

A. K. Sur

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Born on August 5, •1904. Educated at the Scottish Churches College and the P.-G. Department, Calcutta University. Obtained a First Class M.A. degree in AIHC (Anthropology Gr.) in 1928 standing First in order of merit. Research Scholar of Calcutta University in 1929-31. Economic Adviser, Calcutta Stock Exchange, since 1936. Had been for 23 years Financial Editor of the *Hindusthan Standard*. Member of the teaching faculty of Indian Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management since 1954. Fellow of the Royal Economic Society and of the Royal Statistical Society; and Member, Governing Body of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics. Obtained D. Sc. (Econ.) in 1963. Author of some works on History, Economics and Law including *History and Culture of Bengal* (1963) and *Prehistory and Beginnings of Civilization in Bengal* (1965).

BINAYAKNATH BANERJEE

(Born 1906)

REMINISCENCES

When I was invited to write my reminiscences, on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Deparment of Ancient Indian History and Culture, I felt suddenly reminded of the good old days when I was young and an enthusiast in historical studies.

In the year 1928, I obtained admission in the Fifth Year class in AIHC, Group II (Social and Constitutional History). Our classes used to be held in the second floor of the Darbhanga Building for the first few months. Thereafter, we found accommodation in two rooms in the second floor of the Asutosh Building. The curriculum of studies provided for an excellent intellectual discipline and ensured that a Master of Arts earned a reasonable acquaintance with the progress of scholarship then made. I do not know how far the curriculum has changed since then.

Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar was at that time the Carmichael Professor and also the ex-officio Head of the Department. He had a room for himself at the south-western corner of the now-demolished Senate House. On rare occasions when he cared to take our classes, we used to sit in the hall which later on accommodated the Asutosh Museum. The humble task of delivering elementary lectures on Aśokan epigraphy was possibly proving unattractive to him and he tried to avoid our classes as much as possible. To us, he was a blue-blooded aristocrat—in dress, demeanour and deportment. Immaculately dressed in European style, with a zari-border turban on his head, he used to move about with a detachment of his own. But he had a heart of gold, full of love for his students. Those who had the fortune of knowing him intimately would never forget him.

After I had passed my M.A. Examination, I approached him with the request to find out some remunerated position for me somewhere in India. He hesitated for a moment, and then wrote out half a dozen letters to different universities and educational organisations, highly recommending me for either a Lecturership or a Research Scholarship. After having obliged me in that fashion, he advised me, with the rare human insight that he possessed, to try my luck at the bar and not waste my energies in academic pursuits. I now realise that he knew me better than myself.

The most senior teacher of my time was Dr. Abinaschandra Das, a great Vedic scholar. His two books entitled *Ṛgvedic India* and *Ṛgvedic Culture* were prescribed amongst our text books. Written in chatty style, they were interesting reading. Many, however, doubted his conclusions, particularly his views on the age of the *Ṛgveda*. He was a beloved teacher, but a man of conservative social sympathies.

The other senior teacher in the Department was Haranchandra Chakladar, a lean man of great intellectual attainments. He was a prolific contributor to historical journals and was an Orientalist of some reputation. His lectures on the social history of ancient India were exceedingly attractive and nobody liked to miss his classes. He was a scholar of diverse interests. Apart from social history, he used to teach us ancient Indian geography and historical ethnology. His house at Srimohan Lane accommodated a useful private library. His enthusiasm in photography was very great. I remember to have once helped him in photographing relics from Orissa, from 8 O'clock in the morning until light faded in the evening.

Next in seniority was Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri who lectured on political history. His book on the political history of ancient India from Pariksit to the Gupta period made a name for him, The theme of the thesis was marked

by boldness and the rendering by cleverness. He was a scholar of great erudition, a grave man of serious disposition and a lover of exactitude in historical composition. Later on, he filled the post of Carmichael Professor of AIHC with well-deserved distinction.

Dr. Kalidas Nag was the most colourful teacher of our time. He obained his Doctorate from France and was closely associated with Rabindranath and the Visva-Bharati. He appeared to us to be the embodiment of cultured refinement. He had great reputation for scholarship, but one had to dig deep in order to taste it. We did not have him as a teacher for a long time. He left for abroad on some assignment, a few months after we had joined the post-graduate classes.

Narayanchandra Banerjee was a noted scholar in Kauṭilyan philosophy. He was our teacher of Constitutional History. I somehow have the impression that he was the most useful teacher for the examinees. He knew how to teach and how much to teach for the purpose of examination. His lectures had immense utility value.

Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi, Dr. Hemchandra Ray and Benoychandra Sen belonged to the younger generation of teachers, who were fast rising to fame and popularity. Ray and Sen taught us history of India after 600 A.D. They knew how to make dry bones live. H. C. Ray's lectures on the dynastic history of Northern India were really interesting. Benoychandra Sen made us read the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in its English translation when he delivered his lectures on the history of Kashmir.

I had not the fortune of reading under other teachers of the course, although I came in close contact of Jitendranath Banerjea. He once accompanied us in one of our educational tours. I always remember him as an elder brother, and a respected teacher. Later in my life, I came in contact with him in the Asiatic Society, when

he was its Honorary Secretary and I was the Honorary Treasurer.

Of my contemporaries, most drifted away to the bar, excepting Sarasikumar Saraswati who specialised in academic pursuits. I do not think he needs any introduction.

I desire to conclude my reminiscences with a request to the teachers and students of the department of AIHC. The researches so far carried on may be very valuable. I am no judge of that. But the country requires from the scholars of this Department something more. India is now trying to Indianise itself as much as possible, but does not know how to do it consistent with its modern requirements. The scholars of this Department can certainly help the country in this matter and prescribe ancient remedies for many of its modern maladies which have hitherto refused to respond to treatment. To that end, let the researches be directed.

Binayak Banerjee

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Born in 1906. Education—B.A. (Honours), 1928 ; M.A. (University Gold Medalist), 1930 ; LL. B., 1931. Advocate, 1933-1957. Lecturer, University College of Commerce, 1949-57. Senior Central Government Counsel, 1953-57. Judge, Calcutta High Court, 1957-68. Treasurer, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1958-59. Vice-President, Zoological Gardens, Calcutta, since 1964. President, National Tribunal and Central Government Industrial Tribunal, Calcutta, since 1968. Publication—*Natural Justice and Social Justice before the Supreme Court.* Address—5, Syamananda Road, Calcutta-25.

CHARUCHANDRA DAS GUPTA

(Born 1908)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Charuchandra Das Gupta was born on the 6th September, 1908, in the District of Dinajpur (now in East Pakistan), in a highly respectable Vaidya family. His father Hemchandra Das Gupta was a well-known geologist and a Professor of the Presidency College, Calcutta. Hemchandra's grandfather Ramlochan Das was a poet of the nineteenth century, who translated the *Brahmavaivarta* and *Kalki Purāṇas* in Bengali verse.

Charuchandra had his education in Calcutta. He studied first in the South Suburban School, Bhowanipore, then at the Presidency College, and lastly in the University of Calcutta. In the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, he studied at the feet of such giants as D.R. Bhandarkar, H.C. Raychaudhuri, Shahid Suhrawardy and others. Among his classmates at the Presidency College and Calcutta University, mention may be made of Gaurinath Sastri, Pratulchandra Gupta, Tarakchandra Sen and Dineschandra Sircar. He passed his M.A. Examination for the first time in 1931 in Group I-A (Epigraphy and Numismatics), and again in 1933 in Group I-B (Fine Arts) in which he stood first in the First Class and was awarded the University gold medal and prizes. Afterwards he was awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship.

The premature demise of his father brought Charuchandra face to face with reality. As the eldest son, he had to bear the burden of his family; but family troubles could not suppress his thirst for knowledge. In 1944, he was awarded the Ph.D. Degree by Calcutta University on his thesis entitled *Evolution of Indian Clay Sculpture* which had been examined by Ghulam Yazdani of Hyderabad and

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri of Madras University. The Ghosh Travelling Fellowship (1944-45) being awarded to him, Charuchandra proceeded to Cambridge for higher study and obtained the Ph.D. Degree of that University on his thesis entitled *The Development of Kharoṣṭhī Script* which earned the applause of his examiners.

Before joining the Sanskrit College in 1951, Charuchandra worked first as an Assistant Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India and then as a Lecturer in History in the Rangpur and Presidency Colleges respectively. In the Sanskrit College, he worked first as an Assistant Professor and then as Professor of Ancient Indian and World History. In 1959, he was transferred to the Darjeeling Government College as its Principal; but he became seriously ill in 1961 and, after a prolonged illness, breathed his last on the 23rd June, 1962. He was only 54 at that time.

Among his published books *The Development of Kharoṣṭhī Script* is his *magnum opus*. Every page of this work bears testimony to his great learning and industry. T. Burrow observes in its Foreword, "Any student wishing to acquaint himself with the Kharoṣṭhī script in order to read the various documents that have survived in it, will find all that he wants in this book, both in the detailed description furnished by the text, and also in the accompanying plates." His second well-known work, *Evolution of Indian Clay Sculpture*, has also been highly appreciated by Indologists. His third book entitled *Paharpur and its Monuments* is a work of popular interest. He also published a Bengali version of this book.

Besides these works, Charuchandra is the author of more than one hundred articles published in the various journals of India and Europe. He has written on different aspects of ancient Indian culture and civilisation. However, his articles on Indian Art are especially interesting as they mark him as an authority on the subject.

As a lover of art and literature, Charuchandra was intimately connected with the activities of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad. In Cambridge, he was a member of the Indian Majlish. He was also connected with some other cultural institutions of Calcutta.

Charuchandra was a man of simple habits. He was not only genuinely learned, but also had a keen sense of humour. To his colleagues, especially the junior ones, and to the students, he was a never-ending fount of inspiration. Universally liked and admired, Charuchandra's untimely death in 1962 shocked his friends, relatives and admirers. The world of historical scholarship became considerably poorer at his untimely end.*

* [Compiled by Dr. A. K. Chatterjee on the basis of a Bengali paper by Sureschandra Bhattacharya appearing in the *Sanskrit College Patrika*, 1963-64, pp. 13-19. Charuchandra presided over the Technical Sciences and Fine Arts Section at the Annamalainagar Session of the All-India Oriental Conference in December, 1955. See also above, p. 367.—D.C.S.]

ADRISCHANDRA BANERJI

(Born 1909)

REMINISCENCES

My two years in the AIHC classes have ultimately proved to be one of the greatest assets of my life. Just as a freshman, in 1925, in the Presidency College, I had turned a new leaf by entering into a world of good fellowship, an ever extending horizon of knowledge and the charms and pitfalls of extra-academic life, so here I turned again a new corner by learning from the giants of that generation—tolerance, methods of investigation, insight in human character and what to avoid and what to accept. S. P. Mookerjee and P. N. Banerjee taught me the philosophy of life which I have scrupulously followed and never regretted.

I got myself admitted in the M.A. class in AIHC, C.U., with great trepidations as my father wanted me to enter either Cambridge University, or the Benares Hindu University where he was then holding a Chair. Secondly, most of the teachers in Calcutta were engaged in controversy with my father. Thirdly, a distant nephew who had passed M.Sc. in the Third Class from Calcutta University had propagated in the family circle that, because he was the grandson of my father, he did not get his due. But, even at the age of twenty, I correctly measured the man, and never had to regret for my decision. Lastly, I feared of feeling lonely without the familiar faces and the ancient halls of my school (Hindu School which has unfortunately been demolished) and college. In the college, I had many of my schoolmates like P. B. Mukherjee, Niraj Dasgupta, Gaurinath Sastri and Robin Mitter, though at the University, there were only Charuchandra Das Gupta

and Laksmiprasad Banerjee. In the first unhappy days, little did I realise that these two years were to open the door of a greater life. The teachers and students of this class were to remain my most devoted admirers and supporters. My school friends have forgotten me; many of them I have not met during the last forty years.

During 1929-31, the University had a galaxy of teachers with international reputation. There were H. C. Raychaudhuri, H. C. Ray, A. C. Das, Stella Kramrisch, N. C. Banerjee, Kalidas Nag, J. N. Banerjea, P. C. Bagchi and H. C. Chakladar, headed by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. Our classes were held in the 2nd floor of the Darbhanga Building and the 2nd floor of the Asutosh Building. But the classes on Mauryan epigraphy, which were taken by Bhandarkar, were held in one of the robing rooms at the back of the old Senate Hall, where the Asutosh Museum was started later on.

It is there that I first met the scholarly son of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. D. R. Bhandarkar had a fund of anecdotes about Bühler, Kielhorn, Fleet, Bhagwanlal Indraji and A. T. M. Jackson and his classes were remarkable for a mixture of critical analysis as well as good companionship. The differences in age and knowledge were easily forgotten and we were always a happy family. In this respect he did not differ from my father whose students are still loyal to his memory. I am sure that, on all my fellow students including Dineschandra Sircar and Charuchandra Das Gupta, his influence has lasted throughout. More than that, Bhandarkar has left a tradition of scholarship, insight and literary standard, which has been maintained so far. In those days of worked up regionalism, it may sound crude that he found us lovable. Yet we sometimes disagreed with his views—specially Dines who was as outspoken then as he is to-day.

But more than the Head of the Department, it was

Dr. H.C. Raychaudhuri, who made me at home in my surroundings. By birth he belonged to the landed aristocracy, by nature he was very amiable and affectionate. His sympathetic advice was a source of great strength when I lost both my parents suddenly and found that I had inherited a debt of four and half lakhs. Śrīmatī Raychaudhuri's sympathy when I lost my two sons still brings tears to my eyes. Dr. Raychaudhuri was an exceptionally inspiring teacher, living the life of a true hermit of ancient days—with his books and students. He distinguished himself by his calm and dispassionate presentation of all the materials, and sound judgement. He gave me an advice which I still follow—never to assert dogmatically a theory on the basis of insufficient data, but qualify the statements with the word 'probably' or 'possibly'.—"Who knows that, like your father's Mohenjodaro, tomorrow something might not bring fresh data to revolutionise our ideas ?" He used to teach us political history of Northern India upto 500 A.D. I never had to consult any books after carefully taking down notes in his class.

Similar was the case with J.N. Banerjea who was a most unassuming man. My friendship with him lasted till his death. He never forgot his students. As late as 1965, when we last met on the occasion of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists at New Delhi, one day I suddenly found him before my Ramakrishnapur flat. His greetings were most touching : "We have not met for so many years, and I thought I should not leave Delhi without meeting you."

Dr. P.C. Bagchi, came from the Magura Sub-Division of Jessore which is now in Pakistan. Educated in Calcutta, and trained at the Sorbonne under the two great savants Sylvain Lévi and A. Foucher, he could talk and write fluently some European languages and also Chinese. His classes on Ancient Indian Geography were most enlightening,

demonstrating his learning, particularly the information about many unknown Chinese and Indian travellers missed by Chavannes. As a man, he was also most unassuming, generous and sympathetic. Any student was always welcome at his Ballygunge home. His departure from the University like that of Dr. H.C. Ray and his sudden death at Santinketan, heartbroken on account of the death of his only son, was another irrepairable loss to Indian scholarship.

Dr. H C. Ray, a native of Faridpur and son of a lawyer, came back, smelling of Barnett and Denison Ross—a typical example of the London School of Oriental Studies. He was a great liberal and a sound scholar. He bound his students in a bond of friendship I used to sit on Dr. Ray's bed in his flat near Vivekananda Spur and to take tea and refreshments.

Of my fellow students, first comes Charuchandra Das Gupta because I knew him from his childhood, since he was the elder son of a family friend, Prof. H.C. Das Gupta, the Geologist. Lakshmiprasad Banerjee stood first in the Fine Arts Group, but died six months afterwards. Dineschandra Sircar, the present Carmichael Professor, joined us from Faridpur. I first met him as a slender youngman, very grave and silent, sitting on the first bench in the class of Dr. Raychaudhuri or Dr. A.C. Das. Friendship grew with closer aquiantance, in course of the months. His brilliance was even then evident. Our friendship has lasted all these years. His regret is that, after editing a few epigraphs, I completely gave up epigraphy. Almost quarter of a century later, when we met at Patna, he mourned my straying away from the subject. He was then Government Epigraphist for India. He did not realise that great pressure of official work virtually turned me to a glorified clerk, signing the Contingent Vouchers, the Salary and Medical and Travell-

ing Allowance bills, Special Repairs and Annual Repairs Estimates, etc.

I consoled myself by contributing one chapter in each of the five District Gazetteers at the request of P.C. Ray Chaudhury, four of which have been published so far, and contributing a section to the *Advanced History of Bihar*, at the request A.S. Altekar. I conducted excavations at Rajgir and found there a large apsidal hall, and ruins of a large uncharted city immediately below the Banganga Pass.

In our leisure hours, myself, Charu and Dines often used to unburden our souls. Thus one day we went to the Library to read the Junagarh rock inscription of Rudradāman, but found that an unscrupulous student had torn out all the pages from the relevant volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*. Dines then told me that one should see that students get all the inscriptions in one volume. The pious wish materialised long afterwards in his *Select Inscriptions* accompanied by his *Indian Epigraphy*. Likewise, because there were few books on South Indian history, Dines also published his *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*.

Nowadays students break benches, damage fans and wreak their vengeance on the innocent glass panes, if the course is not completed and questions are set from the untaught part Brickbatting, cracker-bursting and bomb-throwing start in the College Street paralysing the life of a great city. It may interest the students of to-day to know that, during our time, the University made no arrangement for lectures on Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

After obtaining the M.A. degree, myself, Dines and Charu went to Prof. Bhandarkar at his 35 Ballygunge Circular Road residence, bequethed to the University by Sir T.N. Palit. At that time, Bhandarkar was engaged in compiling the concluding part of his List of North Indian Inscriptions, and we had our initiation in that work. I had to leave after dealing with the inscriptions of the Gaṅgas

of Kaliṅga, because of the award of the Government of Bengal Post-Graduate Research Scholarship in 1934 to work under Rai Bahadur K.N. Dikshit who was then Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum. My days passed between Prof. Bhandarkar in the morning and the Museum during the rest of the day. But when Dikshit left for Delhi and N.G. Majumdar, a pupil of Bhandarkar, took charge, I was forbidden to visit Bhandarkar's place. Thus ended my association with the Ancient Indian History and Culture Department.

Adris Banerji

Biographical Data

Born in Calcutta on the 28th August, 1909. Only son of R.D. Banerji and Kanchanmala Devi, the Bengali authoress. Educated at the Hindu School and Presidency College, Calcutta. B.A. with Honours in History, 1929. M.A. in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Group I-A, 1931. Government of Bengal Post-Graduate Research Scholar from 1934 to 1936. Custodian, Archaeological Museum and Monuments, Sarnath, in the Archaeological Survey of India, in 1939-47, and again in 1949-52; at the Archaeological Museum, Nalanda, 1947-49. Trained in Excavation at Ahichchhatra, 1940-41. Senior Guide Lecturer, National Museum, New Delhi, 1952-57. Lecturer at IAS Staff Training College, Metcalfe House Hutments, Delhi, in 1953-56. Organised Inter-Asian Exhibition in 1947 at New Delhi, and Educational Exhibition at Sarnath, 1952, Exhibition of Excavations at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, in 1952-56, and Exhibition of Rang Mahal Antiquities excavated by the Swedish Expedition, 1953. Assistant Superintendent (redesignated 'Deputy Superintending Archaeologist') of the Archaeological Survey, posted at Patna, 1957-60. Conducted excavations at Rajgir in

1957-59. Transferred to New Delhi as Officer-in-Charge, Central Antiquities Collection, Safdar Jung Tomb. Transferred to the Eastern Circle, Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta (1965-67). Delivered lectures to the students of the Diploma in Museology and the Art Teachers Training course, Asutosh Museum. Retired from the Archaeological Survey in August, 1967. Research Associate, American Academy of Benares, 1967-68.

Published works include the following—(1) *Guide to the Galleries of the National Museum, New Delhi* (Ancient and Mediev l Paintings); (2) **Origins of the Early Buddhist Church Art*, Calcutta, 1967; (3) *Temples of Tripura*, Varanasi, 1968, and a few other works still in the press. Also published a large number of papers in various learned periodicals.*

* [From the data supplied by Sri Banerji.—D.C.S.]

MOHANKUMAR MOOKERJEE

(Born 1914)

REMINISCENCES

When I was a student in the Department in 1935-37, there were only 12 students altogether. I was in the Fine Arts Group and only 4 students were in that Group. There were real fellowship and understanding between the students and the teachers. I had the honour and good fortune of coming in direct contact with Prof. D.R. Bandarkar, Dr. Hemchandra Ray, Prof. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Prof. Shahid Suhrawardy, Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Dr. Niharranjan Ray and others.

During my time, the Department organised a Club known as the International Relationship Club, of which I was the First Secretary and Treasurer. A large number of books were brought by Dr. Kalidas Nag from the Carnegie Endowment, which were kept in the custody of this Club. We used to organise meetings every three months to discuss the current topics. The Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee) and the Heads of the different Departments used to attend them. Students of the AIHC Department used to pay Rs. 12 as personal contribution, and we used to serve tea and snacks to our guests and fellow students.

I remember those days with a sense of great joy. The contact between the teachers and the students was sincere. In one of these meetings, we invited Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. H.C. Mukherjee and Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee to speak, and I still remember what a thrill we felt on that day. Usually I was asked by Dr. Nag to say a few words on these occasions. I remember with what a throbbing of heart and sweat on my brows I used to rise and speak.

But I admit that this was a very good training for me as I have now to face the audience and to stand the ordeal in my public life.

I may add that there was only one girl among the students of our Department at that time, and she used to command high esteem from all of us. The teachers were kind enough to invite students at their residence even for individual coaching without any remuneration. I for myself used to visit the residence of Prof. Suhrawardy and Prof. H.C. Raychaudhuri very often.

I hope that the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Department will be a grand success.

M. K. Mookerjee

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Mohankumar Mookerjee of Bakulia House, Kidderpore, Calcutta-23, is the eldest son of Rai Bahadur Benodegopal Mookerjee. Mohankumar was born on the 16th April, 1914, at Allahabad, at the residence of his maternal grandfather, Dr. Sureshchandra Banerjee, brother of Dr. Satishchandra Banerjee, an eminent Educationist and Lawyer of Allahabad. Mohankumar was educated at the Kidderpore Academy, Presidency College (Calcutta) and Post-Graduate Department of Calcutta University. He passed M.A. in 1937 in Ancient Indian History and Culture in the Fine Arts Group (I-B). He stood first in the Group and was selected as a Research Scholar by the University. He was encouraged by Sir Francis Younghusband to carry on research work in London University. But, at the call of his father, he joined his family firm, Messrs. Gungadhur Banerjee & Co., Private Ltd., at the age of 22.

It is a very old firm having been established in 1840 by the great-grandfather of Mohankumar. The history of the firm appeared in the *Encyclopaedia of India*, Part II, and it is mentioned in Kay's *History of the Sepoy War*. As Director-

in-Charge of this firm, Mohankumar has expanded its activities in many ways.

Mohankumar was appointed Sheriff of Calcutta in the year 1963-64. He is a Past President of the Bharat Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta. He is also Director of many other Companies including Bengal Waterproof Works (1940), Ltd., India Alkalies, Ltd., Basanti Cotton Mills, Ltd., Bharat Exports, Ltd., Durgapur Chemicals, Ltd., Britannia Engineering Co., Ltd., etc. He is connected with many Cultural, Commercial and Educational institutions. He was a Member of the Senate, Calcutta University. He is an Executive Member of the Bengal Tuberculosis Association, Rabindra Bharati, Light House for the Blind, The Refugee, etc. He is also a Member of the Indian Council of World Affairs, International Chamber of Commerce (Paris), Indian Standard Institution, Calcutta Productivity Council, Indian Red Cross Society, St. John's Ambulance, Calcutta Club, Mohan Bagan Club, etc. He is again a Member of the Purchase Advisory Council of the Government of India, of the International House, New Orleans, USA, and of the National Panel of Arbitrators of the American Arbitration Association. He is Vice-President of the English-Speaking Union and Indo-American Society. When the Civil Defence Organisation was formed, he was appointed its Divisional Warden.

Mohankumar attended the E. C. A. F. E. meeting at Kandy and Tokyo as a Representative of the International Chamber of Commerce. He also attended the meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce at Brussels in 1958. He travelled extensively in Europe, the Middle Eastern and Far Eastern Countries and USA.

During his student days, he used to write articles regularly. He is a Member of the Rotary Club of Calcutta and takes keen interest in the Rotary Movement and strictly follows the Rotary motto, "Service above Self". Mohan-

kumar is the Chairman of the T. B. Seal Sale Committee and Children's Clinic of the Bengal Tuberculosis Association.

Mohankumar hails from a respectable and aristocratic family of West Bengal. He is an Honorary Presidency Magistrate and Justice of the Peace. His father and grandfather (Rai Bahadur Okhilchandra Mookerjee) were also Honorary Presidency Magistrates.*

* [From particulars supplied by Sri Mookerjee.—D.C.S.]

SUSHILKUMAR BOSE

(Born 1915)

REMINISCENCES

It came to me as a pleasant surprise that the Department of AIHC is celebrating its Golden Jubilee. Half a century is perhaps not long enough to create a tradition, but sufficiently long to develop an outlook. As one among many who have benefited from this, it is a singularly appropriate occasion for reminiscing.

In my own case, it involves going back a bit—to the middle thirties. How I 'drifted into the Department is an integral part of the memory buffer. I have used the word "drifted" advisedly because my under-graduate discipline was Modern History with no thoughts of bringing myself under any other discipline for my post-graduate stint. To an impressionable youth with the right sensitivities, the under-graduate studies in French Revolution generated exacting faith. I clearly recall the hot and heavy debates with some one making the dramatic point, "In the French Revolution, nobody lost anything to which he had a rightful claim," with an equally dramatic and prompt rejoinder from another captious under-graduate, "Heads, Mister, Heads."

While this was so, the middle thirties were also the years of the Mohenjodaro civilization. Sir John Marshall's pioneering work had animated a whole group of scholars and students, and I suppose I came under its spell. One afternoon a classmate, now a distinguished member of the Indian Foreign Service, seeing me browsing through Marshall's *Mohenjo-daro* in the College Library, made a taunting remark, "Don't be a dead fossil; be modern." This, at first mentally unsettled me a little, until finally the conviction dawned: if I so despise my past, I must be a candidate for a more despicable future. So convinced, I

found myself in the Department of AIHC for my post-graduate studies.

As I recall, the Department did not have any fixed domicile in the University buildings. I think most of the lectures were held in a room on the second floor of the Asutosh Building facing the college square tank. The Carmichael Professor had his chair at the back of the old Senate Hall. Rather dim and musty, the room had the appropriate prehistoric atmosphere. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar was the occupant of this room.

Back in the Asutosh Building was housed most of the other teachers, and it is with nostalgia that I remember them. There was Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri whose prodigious memory made short work of his own marvellous text book. The legend was that he could recite from memory the hundred thousand *ślokas* of the *Mahābhārata*. He was a martinet and his presence petrified me. At one of his lectures, not having done my homework, I tried to bluff my way through by referring to certain epigraphical records. It did not work; he quietly but firmly pointed out the many inaccuracies in my statement. In documentary history of ancient India, there was none better. Getting First Class marks in his papers was a fair indication of thorough and painstaking homework. He was repelled by prolixity in answer papers. I believe he retired as the Carmichael Professor.

H. C. Ray was a Trojan in more sense than one. His massive work done at London University was just then published, and one could not help feeling that six hundred pages of Rajput chivalry had lent a touch of swashbuckling in the class room manners of this very fine teacher. He had great sympathy for the underdog in life. I think he went over to Colombo University as the Professor of History, and married quite late in life.

The most colourful personality was of course Dr. Stella

Kramrisch. This Viennese lady had a way about her. Fine Arts not being my subject, I had no personal acquaintance with Kramrisch. Her numerous laudators thought of her as the second Coomaraswamy; her detractors, mainly one who should remain nameless, used to say that her Sanskrit was weak. Through sheer curiosity, I once sneaked into her class; there were no more than half a dozen students. The way she held forth on a Konarak piece made me feel that Pygmalion's model had come to life.

Numismatics, which was one of my subjects, was the chore of Jitendranath Banerjea. He taught Religious History which, if I remember aright, had the largest number of students. The coin room of the Indian Museum was the venue of a weekly gathering and part of the thrill was a touch of Gupta gold coins. For me, excitement of numismatics was provided by Kharoṣṭhī legends. Looking back, I somehow feel the study of Kharoṣṭhī did not receive adequate attention. I believe Charuchandra Das Gupta, one of my contempories, did some work in Kharoṣṭhī at Cambridge.

One thinks of P. C. Bagchi as a gentleman. A disciple of Sylvain Lévi, he effused the Tibetan mystique. He examined one of my papers; but I cannot quite recall which one. Soft spoken and of a retreating nature, he was never seen without a Lucky Strike cigarette dangling from his lips. He later joined the Visva-Bharati at Santiniketan as Head of the Cheena Bhavan.

Archaeology (Gr. I-A) being my subject, I was more concerned with Bhandarkar. For some unknown reason, a young junior lecturer used to come into the class room and announce that Professor Bhandarkar would be in within a few minutes. This heraldic ritual seemed a trifle simulated, and I thought either the announcer was facetious or the Professor was addicted to pomp. I soon discovered that this was not so. The announcer was the amiable Niharranjan Ray, and the Carmichael Professor turned out to

be a benign earthy individual, complete with turban and false teeth, totally different from the image I had mentally built up of a dedicated pipe-puffing Don of forbidding somberness, imparting wisdom to intense students.

Among my contempories—give and take a few years—there were Kalyankumar Ganguly and Dineschandra Sircar, both now distinguished members of the AIHC staff. Striking on personal note, it is a matter of considerable pride that the latter is now the Carmichael Professor. Our area of interest was common—epigraphy, and both of us were closely associated with Bhandarkar when he undertook the revised edition of the third volume of the Corpus (Gupta Inscriptions). Dineschandra Sircar's mental agility was well matched by his physical vigour and I, always frail, was amazed at his sheer capacity for hard work.

I was working for my Ph. D. and I used to spend most of my daylight time with Bhandarkar at his residence. I think it was near the Ritchie Road where he had a very fine collection, and, if one got accepted, one had a wonderful opportunity. Bhandarkar was very kind to me and encouraged me in many ways. This included opportunities to edit inscriptions which had not been published before.

My first real break came when Bhandarkar asked me to edit a Vākāṭaka copper plate, of which he procured estampages from the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum. This was published in the *Epigraphia Indica.* Since Dineschandra Sircar was a frequent visitor to Bhandarkar's house, he at one stage got involved in this. The venerable Professor never secured a point without being harassed by the young scholar. In fact Dines was Bhandarkar's pet infirmity; the old man was perhaps a little envious of this enterprising epigraphist.

As a research student working under Bhandarkar, I experienced one deprivation. I associated the work of a tutor and supervisor with the Socratic method which draws the student into active participation in the learning process rather than make him a somewhat passive receiver of the tutor's own conclusions. This however was not my luck. It may well be that my own capabilities were not of the appropriate order and that is why I often failed in getting to know this mental process in solving a problem. One never "saw him working" as it were—one only knew the final product.

I recall one amusing episode. From the Museum, a terra-cotta bowl with an inscription in early Brāhmī found its way to Bhandarkar. This was followed by exchange of erudite correspondence between him, Sten Konow and Vogel. In the end, it was declared spurious. Another amusing story which Bhandarkar often related was the reason of his coming to Calcutta. His theory about the foreign origin of the Rajputs so infuriated some of the Indian Princes that a price was set on his head.

I also recall the beginning of the Asutosh Museum. In a small room at the back of the old Senate Hall sat D. P. Ghosh with a handful of stone sculptures. We thought he was kidding himself; but looking back one cannot but admire the abounding optimism of this quiet scholar which nourished, sustained and eventually gave shape and reality to what is now a fine example of a private museum.

A defector to commerce, I am estranged from the Academy. The parting has left me not without a trace of guilt, as would the casting off from one's beloved who was good and affectionate. She sends her messages to me still. There remains an emotional pull, some affection and also some remorse.

I hope the Department of AIHC will continue its good

work and that today's young alumni will reminisce when the Diamond Jubilee will be celebrated. It is unlikely I would be around ; but, if I am, I hope someone would invite me again for a nostalgic return.

S. K. Bose*

* [Sushilkumar was born on the 22nd December, 1915, and passed the M.A. Examination in AIHC, Group I-A, in 1936. He is now the General Manager of Messrs. Mahindra and Mahindra, Ltd., Calcutta. —D.C.S.]

JIBENDRAKUMAR GUHA

(Born 1916)

REMINISCENCES

When I joined the Department of AIHC (Group I-B) of Calcutta University as a Fifth Year student on Monday, July 13, 1936, I had a feeling that soon the vast storehouse of India's rich past would be unfolded to me, because at that time our Department was considered to be the best institution of this type in India.

Our General classes were held in a room in the Darbhanga Building. There were 16 students, and our Group classes were held in the North-East corner room on the 2nd floor of the Asutosh Building. On the first day, Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, the then Carmichael Professor, took our class on Political History and what a lecture it was! We were all simply charmed. He was a very learned man, and I still cherish his memory as the best teacher of Political History that I have met.

Dr. H. C. Ray also lectured on Political History. He used to take an interest in our health.

Dr. P. C. Bagchi, who taught us Vedic, Epic and Purāṇic culture, explained his subject lucidly and had charming manners. Years later when he was at the Visva-Bharati, I met him there one day, and he easily recognised me.

In my Group class (Group I-B), I was the only student.

At that time our practical classes were taken at the Indian Museum by J. N. Banerjea who later became the Carmichael Professor. He was also a great scholar and a person of simple habits. Dr. Kalidas Nag used to enthuse us in India's heritage vis-a-vis her relations with South-East Asian countries. He was a great admirer of Poet Tagore and used to tell me stories about the Poet and the Visva-Bharati in his off-period talks.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch used to teach us Fine Arts. She took great pains and created interest in the study of Indian Art. In March 1937, she led a party of 3 or 4 boys including myself to visit the Varendra Research Society's Museum at Rajshahi as well as the famous Stūpa at Paharpur, both of which are now in Pakistan.

Prof. Shahid Suhrawardy, the then Rani Bageshwari Professor of Indian Fine Arts, had a very spacious room in the North-Eastern corner (1st floor) of the old Senate House and used to take his classes there. I maintained a friendly relation with him till the last day of his life (3.3.1965). He told me to edit and print his unpublished articles which I am trying to do. I still remember his beaming face when he visited me at the M. A. Examination Hall (top floor, Darbhanga Building) on Monday, July 18, 1938, when we were doing our First Paper. Next day, he left for Europe and returned after our results had been out.

I remember the day when the Asutosh Museum, now a big institution, was first opened in the summer of 1937 in the western hall of the old Senate House. Sculptures were displayed in the narrow passage between the Senate Hall and the University Press which was later shifted to Hazra Road. I can still remember the smiling face of D. P. Ghosh when he took his chair on the first day as Curator of the Museum. Ghosh taught us Indian influences in South-East Asia especially in Java, Siam and Cambodia. He used to illustrate his points by drawing beautiful sketches in my note books all of which I have preserved till this day.

In conclusion, I can say that I am extremely happy and proud to be a student of the Department and to be taught by so many learned teachers all of whom took a special care of me and with them I have maintained a life-long relationship.

II

Nanigopal Majumdar secured admission for the M.A. class in Ancient Indian History and Culture (Calcutta University), along with the batch of students of the subject in 1918. He took up Group I—Archaeology as his special subject. It may be mentioned here that at that time Group I was not bifurcated, as it is now, into I-A—Archaeology (Epigraphy and Numismatics), and I-B—Archaeology (Fine Arts). The bifurcation was effected in 1923 in order to accommodate Dr. Stella Kramrisch who came to India in the troupe of Rabindranath Tagore and was appointed as a Lecturer in Fine Arts.

I was admitted to the 5th Year Class of the said Department in July, 1936, and took up Group I-B (Fine Arts). Jitendra Nath Banerjea took our practical classes in the galleries of the Indian Museum on Fridays. There one day Jitendranath introduced me to Nanigopal who was strolling in the Gandhāra Gallery. Our M.A. Examinations began on July 18, 1938, and terminated next week on July 26. The results were officially published in the Calcutta Gazette on Thursday, September 29, 1938. When the Puja holidays commenced after about a week, I went with my parents to Delhi. There one morning I was invited to breakfast with K. N. Dikshit, then Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, whose son Sadanand (Group I-A) was my classmate in the M.A. classes. On the appointed morning, I was taken to Dikshit's official residence at 3, Sonheri Bagh Road, New Delhi, at about 8 A.M. and was received by Sadanand. We approached the breakfast table at which I met Nanigopal who was sitting to my front with the senior Dikshit to my right and the junior on the left. After exchange of good wishes, Nanigopal informed me that he had come from Calcutta a few days back and was staying with his friend,

K.N. Dikshit. He was scheduled to leave for Sind the next evening. Each winter in those years he was carrying on archaeological explorations in the Mohenjodaro-Chanhudaro areas. He felt sure that he would be able to discover something substantial that winter. His face was full of expectations. There was much discussion on various aspects of Harappan archaeology that morning. The breakfast over, I took leave of K.N. Dikshit and came to the portico to return to the Delhi Hotel where we were staying. Nanigopal and Sadanand also came out with me. On reaching the outer gate, I turned back and Nanigopal waved his hand towards me.

I returned to Calcutta after a few days and almost immediately on my arrival here read that stunning news in the newspapers that a gang of dacoits had shot dead Nanigopal in his tent.

Thirty years have passed ; but even now whenever I read anything about Mohenjodaro, I vividly remember that pleasant morning and also Nanigopal waving his hand.

J. K. Guha

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Born on the 10th of August, 1916. Graduated from the Scottish Churches College, Calcutta. Passed the M.A. Examination of Calcutta University in AIHC (Group I-B—Fine Arts) in 1938 and was placed in the First Class and received University prizes. Appointed Khaira Research Scholar in Fine Arts on 1.12.1940 for three years and worked on "Indian Wall-Paintings and its Influence on Asiatic Wall-Paintings", under the guidance of Prof. Shahid Suhrawardy who was the Bageshwari Professor at that time. Major part of the thesis was published in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* in 1943-44. Joined the Department of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, at New Delhi, in 1944,

as Assistant Research Officer in the Research and Reference Division. Directed to work under Dr. T.G.P. Spear (formerly Head of the Department of History, Delhi University, and at present attached to the Selwyn College, Cambridge University) and undertook research work on India's Cultural Relations with South-East Asian Countries with special reference to Indo-Siamese Art and Archaeology.

On the abolition of the said Division after termination of the Second World War, returned to Calcutta and joined the Damodar Valley Corporation as Assistant Information Officer and, in 1953, joined the Publicity Department of the Government of West Bengal as Assistant Director and is still holding the post. Has written many articles on various aspects of Indian art, archaeology and aesthetics in different journals, such as the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, *Itihās*, etc.*

* [From details supplied by Sri Guha.—D.C.S.]

PRATAPCHANDRA CHUNDER

(Born C. 1921)

REMINSCENCES

My two years' term in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture was a bright spot in my student life. I obtained my B.A. degree with Honours in History and opted for AIHC with the hope of studying some sources in the original. My knowledge of Sanskrit upto the B.A. stage stood me in good stead. My choice was right.

We had a small class. Our Group (Gr. II) was smaller. We came in close personal contact with our teachers. And what a galaxy of teachers ! To name a few with deep respect—Prof. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, the then Head of the Department, Dr. Hemchandra Ray, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, J. N. Banerjea, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyay, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Dr. Benoychandra Sen (with whom I worked out my D. Phil. dissertation on the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*), Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, and, last but not the least, Dr. Niharranjan Ray. Dr. Ghoshal had taught us in our under-graduate classes also. Our teachers were some of the pioneers in the field of Indological studies. Their works were quoted in foreign books and journals. To be frank, this instilled a sense of selfrespect in us, if not some tinge of vanity. At least, here was a field where our teachers could not only hold their own, but show up even foreign savants !

The teaching method was definitely a departure from our under-graduate days. We were here often taught to think for ourselves, to be critical and not to take things for granted. The rudiments of research methods were no longer foreign to us. These opened up a new vista before me. The examinations no longer meant an out-pouring of crammed ideas, but critical self-expression.

The subjects taught were generally comprehensive. I

had Group II (Social and Constitutional History), and what a profit I derived from the study ! It gave me some insight into the evolution and make-up of an ancient society. History was no longer a dull list of dates and drab lives of princes. The peoples of the past stood out in vibrant clarity. One could feel how they lived and loved, worked and passed away. The Classics used to shine in a new light, our heritage with the glory of eternity.

My term in the Department gave me a new philosophy of life, broad and deep, liberal and full of vitality in spite of its hoary antiquity. Ancient Indian History, I learnt, was both old and modern, dead and living.

P. C. Chunder

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

A student of the Presidency College, Pratapchandra Chunder was enrolled in the AIHC Department in 1940. He had a good academic record. He stood second and fifth in order of merit at the Matriculation and I.A. Examinations respectively.

He secured the topmost position in B.A. Honours in History. He was first in Class I both in M.A. in AIHC in 1942 and in the LL.B. Examination in 1943. He won many University gold and silver medals and scholarships and prizes. During his student life, he was General Secretary of the Presidency College Union and, while in the AIHC Department, was elected as the first President of the University Students' Union. He was enrolled as a Solicitor in 1944. He joined the University College of Law as a Lecturer in 1946. This position he still holds in spite of his multifarious activities. He soon became prominent in the educational and cultural fields. He was in the governing bodies of the Vidyasagar College, University Law College, Metropolitan Institutions and other schools and institutions. He was a member of the Senate and the

Law Faculty of Calcutta University, and the Executive Council of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta), President of the Iran Society and Honorary Secretary of the Calcutta University Institute. He is a member of the Executive Council of the Rabindra Bharati University since its foundation.

He was elected to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly in 1962 and soon became prominent as a politician and parliamentarian. He was Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee of the Legislature for several years. He was re-elected as M.L.A. in 1967 and became the Finance and Judicial Minister in the Congress-P.D.F. Coalition Cabinet. Since 1967, he is the President of the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee. He is a member of the All-India Congress Committee.

He was awarded the D. Phil. degree in 1957 on his thesis on *Marriage and Morals in the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra.* He is a prominent Bengali litterateur and the author of several historical novels and dramas, one of which was filmed, another performed on the public stage and several broadcast by All-India Radio. Calcutta University awarded him the best play prize for 1965 on his work on 'Labedeff'. He edited various magazines. He is the President of the Writers' Guild.

On invitation, he visited Communist China in 1955, USA in 1958, USSR in 1959 and many other countries in Europe and Asia. He is an Honorary Citizen of New Orleans and Honorary Ambassador of Good Will of the Cherokee Indian Tribe. He was master of a Freemason's Lodge and a director of the Lions' Club of Calcutta.

In spite of his wide interests, he still retains his love for the study of History in general and Ancient Indian History and Culture in particular.*

* [From the details supplied by Dr. Chunder.—D.C.S.]

SACHINDRAKUMAR MAITY

(Born 1921)

REMINISCENCES

It is very pleasant to-day to recollect the sweet memories of our student days in the Department of AIHC which has completed half a century of its fruitful existence. I was a student of the department in 1947-49.

The year 1947 was memorable in the history of the Department since, for the first time, as many as sixty students took admission to the course. Haribishnu Sarkar, Debkumar Chakravarty, Arabinda Ghosh, Upendra Thakur, Sachindrakumar Maity, Arabinda Bhattacharya, Manabendranath Mitra, Ramdas Ghoshal and Ramanand Tewari took up Group I-A—Epigraphy and Numismatics. The subject was no doubt technical and difficult for the beginners. But we had the good fortune in receiving help and assistance from our learned teachers who were distinguished scholars in the different fields of Indological studies. Prof. H.C. Raychaudhuri, Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department, was not keeping quite well for sometime, though, in spite of his failing health, he used to take classes once a week. His pleasant voice, lucid expression and brilliant exposition used to attract even the most careless student in the class, and the topic of his discussion used to inspire one and all. On many occasions, we visited his residence at 6, Mysore Road, Calcutta-26, and came back with added interest for the subject.

Other teachers of the department were Drs. J.N. Banerjea, D.C. Sircar, B.C. Sen, N.R. Ray, S. Kramrisch, K.D. Nag, G.C. Raychaudhuri and S. Chattopadhyay, and also S. K. Saraswati, D. Mukherji and N. N. Das Gupta. Among them Drs. D.C. Sircar, B.C. Sen and J.N. Banerjea used to take most of our special papers. Dr. B.C. Sen

taught us the Maurya inscriptions and made them an enjoyable study. Dr. J.N. Banerjea's lectures on the Indo-Greeks and their coins were enjoyable to the advanced students. One of the most brilliant among our teachers was Dr. D.C. Sircar who taught several of our papers including palaeography and, under his valued guidance, we learnt different stages of the Brāhmī script and also the Proto-Bengali alphabet. We were always welcome at his residence at Manoharpukur Road (Calcutta-29) and had interesting talks and exchange of ideas on various subjects. Within a short time, we developed a personal relationship with him.

About the beginning of 1948, we established the Ancient Indian Historical Society. We also organised several meetings of the Society in which we read some papers. Papers read by Haribishnu Sarkar and Arabinda Bhattacharya were interesting and thought-provoking. Dr. N.R. Ray used to preside over the meetings of the Society and we appreciated his wonderful organising ability. He himself delivered lectures on early Indian foreign trade and trade routes. Dr. K.D. Nag also gave us an informative talk on India's cultural relations with her Asiatic neighbours. Arabinda Ghosh, at present Curator of the Indian Museum, was the Secretary of this Society. One of his duties was to submit reports on our meetings to Prof. H.C. Raychaudhuri. Prof. Louis Renou paid a visit to our Department and gave a talk on Ṛgvedic Culture, which was very interesting.

We received a small amount for visiting places of historical interest and planned to see Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarak. Dr. D.C. Sircar was good enough to accompany us. We stayed at the Dudhwala Dharamsala at Bhubaneswar and visited Udayagiri, Khandagiri, Sisupalgadh and Dhauli. For the first time, we saw the famous Hāthigumphā inscription of king Ḳhāravela, and Dr. Sircar read some of the

lines from the original inscription to us. Next we visited Puri where we took bath in the sea along with our teacher and also visited the famous Jagannātha temple. The sea beach really charmed us. Thereafter we started for Konarak in two bullock carts in an evening. On the way, we enjoyed flattened rice and molasses. Next morning at about eleven O'clock, we reached Konarak where we enjoyed Khichuri prepared at the local Inspection Bungalow. The Sun-temple was really beautiful, and we took several photographs of it. We had, thus, thoroughly enjoyed our trip in the famous land of temples. After returning to Calcutta, we had to prepare notes for our Society.

About the beginning of January, 1949, our beloved teacher, Dr. D.C. Sircar, prepared to leave the University and join the Epigraphical Branch of the Archaeological Survey, at Ootacamund (Tamil Nadu). It was a rude shock and a great loss to us. With a heavy heart we assembled at a farewell gathering in which, besides our teachers, Prof. Louis Renou, M. Journot, Binaykumar Sarkar, Dr. U.N. Ghoshal and others were present. On this occasion, we presented to Dr. Sircar a copper plaque representing the Buddha and Sujātā. I have still a copy of the Group Photograph taken on that occasion. After Dr. Sircar's departure we felt nervous ; but very often he wrote encouraging letters to us.

I hope that the Department will go on maintaining its glorious tradition.

S. K. Maity

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

B. A. of Calcutta University in 1947, Honours in History. M. A. in Ancient Indian History and Culture (C. U.) in 1940. M. A. in History (C. U.), 1952. Ph. D. of London University, April, 1956. Lecturer in the Department

of History, Jadavpur University (Calcutta) since 1956. Author of *The Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta Period* (cir. A.D. 300-500), Calcutta, 1957, and Joint-author of the *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions bearing on History and Civilization of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1967. Also author of a number of papers appearing in the learned periodicals.*

* [From the data supplied by Dr. Maity.—D.C.S.]

SUNILCHANDRA RAY

(Born 1924)

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Born in December, 1924. Educated at the Hooghly Collegiate (Government) School, Hooghly Mohsin (Government) College and Post-Graduate Department, University of Calcutta. Passed Matriculation in 1940, Intermediate Arts in 1942, B.A. (with Hons. in History) in 1944 and M.A. in Ancient Indian History and Culture (Group I-A) in 1946. Received the D.Phil. degree of the University of Calcutta in 1951 on a thesis entitled *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*. Recipient of the Griffith Prize of the University for the year 1959 for research work in the field of numismatics.

Had specialised training in Archaeology at Paris and Strassbourg in 1962-63. Conducted excavations and explorations at Asura sites in Bihar in 1964 and 1965. Worked as Lecturer in History, Bengal Education Department (1947), as James Prinsep Research Fellow in Epigraphy and Numismatics, Asiatic Society, Calcutta (1948-50), as Archaeological Scholar, Archaeological Survey of India (1950-52), as Curator, Museums Branch, Archaeological Survey of India (1952-57), as Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India (1957-63). Working as Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, since 1963. Author of *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, *Stratigraphic Evidence of Coins in Indian Excavations*, etc. Published works include research papers in various Journals, Gazetteers, etc.*

* [From the data supplied by Dr. Ray.—D.Ç.S.]

ARABINDA BHATTACHARYA

(Born 1927)

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Born in Comilla (now in East Pakistan), 1927. Education : Comilla Iswar Pathsala, Scottish Churches College, Calcutta, and the Post-Graduate Department, University of Calcutta. M. A. in 1949, with Group I-A, standing first in Class I. Ph.D., 1966, USA.

Lecturer, Barisha College (1950-52), Darjeeling Government College (1952-58), and National Defence Academy (1958-62). Principal, Raghunathpur College, Purulia, 1962-63 ; Principal, Behala College, Calcutta-60, since 1963, and simultaneously also of the Behala College of Commerce, Calcutta-60, since 1967.

Scholar-in-Residence, Faculty Seminar on Hinduism, College of Wooster, Ohio (USA), in Summer, 1966 ; Visiting Professor of History, Albion College, Albion, Michigan (USA), 1966-67, under the International Exchange Programme and with a Fulbright Grant ; Visiting Professor, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota (USA), 1967-68 ; Guest-Lecturer at Earlham College, Denision University, University of Minnesota, University of Michigan, etc., all in the USA.*

* [From the data supplied by Dr. Bhattacharya.—D.C.S.]

UPENDRA THAKUR

(Born 1929)

REMINISCENCES

I had the good fortune to have graduated from the University of Calcutta in 1947 with Honours in History. I was, however, in a fix at the time of seeking admission to the M. A. Class. I was selected for admission to both History and Ancient Indian History and Culture. Though my main interest was History, the great names of the teachers in the Department of AIHC in the University of Calcutta had a greater attraction for me. After due consideration, I decided to benefit from the vast scholarship of those giants who have left their indelible impress upon Indological studies through their valuable contributions. Where could I get an opportunity of learning Indian history from such erudite scholars as Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Dr. J. N. Banerjea, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Dr. B. C. Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Dr. N. R. Ray and others—all at the same place? I feel still proud and privileged to remember that I belonged to the last batch of students taught by the great Indologist, Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, who is now no more.

On the day I was admitted to the 5th Year Class, I was asked by the Assistant in charge of admission to see immediately Prof. Raychaudhuri who was sitting in his chamber. I was really thrilled at the prospect of meeting one of the greatest names in Indian studies, whose vast scholarship had inspired me since my college days. As I entered the room, I was gently greeted by a short-statured, grey-haired, saintly figure whose very look was enough to evoke respect and inspire confidence. First of all, he wanted

to know the place whence I came and, on my murmuring 'Mithila', he was at once all love and affection to me. He inquired from me about the birth-place of Vidyāpati, *Pañji-prabandha*, etc. After about one hour, I left his chamber; but the impression the great teacher left on me I shall lovingly treasure all through my life.

The next great teacher and scholar, who left us just before our final examination (1949), was Dr. D. C. Sircar (now Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department) who joined the Epigraphical Branch of the Department of Archaeology at Ootacamund and later became Government Epigraphist for India. Whatever little knowledge I have today of Indian Epigraphy, I got it from his teaching.

Another great saintly scholar whom I shall never forget was Dr. J. N. Banerjea who first of all initiated me into the technique of research when, as a Research Scholar, I worked for the D. Phil. degree under his kind supervision. But for him, it would not have been possible for me to complete my thesis within such a short time. All that I have today I owe to that great departed soul. He was noble and kind and every inch a traditional Indian *guru*.

Thus, in all, I spent about seven best years of my life in the University of Calcutta, my *alma mater*, of which I shall always remain proud.

The impression that our teachers have left upon the generations of their students is inspiring and abiding. Genuinely devoted to the goddess of learning, they were extremely simple and unassuming in habits and always ready to help their students in the acquirement of knowledge and their promotion in life.

I shall always remember with profound gratitude the pleasant, profitable and esteemed companionship of my celebrated teachers, the like of whom I shall never see

again. And I do not know how to express my deep feelings for my great *alma mater* for which I can only say—

Viśva-rūpe Viśālākṣi
vidyāṁ dehi namo-'stu te.

Upendra Thakur

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Dr. Upendra Thakur, M.A., D. Phil. (Calcutta), was born in the District of Darbhanga, Bihar, in January 1929. He graduated from the University of Calcutta in 1947 and took his M.A. and D. Phil. degrees from the same University in 1949 and 1954 respectively.

Dr. Thakur began his career as a College teacher in 1956 and has been working as Reader in Ancient Indian and Asian Studies in the Magadh University since 1964. He also served as Research Fellow in the Mithilā Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga, for two years, and as Assistant Professor and Lecturer in the Universities of Gorakhpur and Patna for more than seven years. He has published several books including *History of Mithilā, History of Suicide in India, Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithilā* and *The Hūṇas in India.* Many of his papers have appeared in the learned periodicals.

Dr. Thakur has been selected by the University Grants Commission, New Delhi, for an academic visit to Yugoslavia under the Indo-Yugoslav Cultural Exchange Programme and he intends to visit that country sometime in 1969.*

* [From details supplied by Dr. Thakur.—D.C.S.]

DEBKUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

(Born 1929)

REMINISCENCES

I was admitted to the 5th Year M.A. Class in AIHC (Calcutta University) in 1947. It was a privilege to sit under the feet of Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri who was holding the chair of the Carmichael Professor at that time.

I was a favourite student of Dr. J. N. Banerjea who was an outstanding Numismatist and created our interest in ancient Indian coins. Dr. Kalidas Nag and Prof. Niharranjan Ray were the other two stalwarts of our Department, who used to teach some of our General Papers. I considered it an opportunity to learn something about our ancient culture from these scholars who often acted as our 'Cultural Ambassadors' in the countries abroad. Dr. Benoychandra Sen kept us spell-bound by his lucid and learned exposition of Aśokan inscriptions. Dr. D. C. Sircar had been teaching us Śaka-Śātavāhana inscriptions before he left for Ootacamund. He was an endearing personality and often inspired us by his suggestions and scholarly advice. We came into much closer contact with him when he led us in a study tour of Orissa (Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarak). It was an interesting experience to stand before the Dhauli Rock Edicts and the Hāthigumphā inscription and learn their significance from the celebrated epigraphist. The soft-spoken versatile scholar S. K. Saraswati took our classes on Gupta coins. D. Mukherjee is remembered for his suave manner and also for the copious notes which he dictated to us while dealing with the Aryan problem. Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyay was another teacher who got ourselves aquainted with the eastern and western sea-boards

of ancient India. K. G. Goswami taught us Palaeography and also took some classes on the mediaeval inscriptions after Dr. Sircar had left for Ootacamund. As a field-archaeologist, Goswami inspired some of us to choose archaeology as our profession. Nalininath Das Gupta, who took our Tutorial classes, often rebuked us for not taking up our studies seriously and gave us valuable instructions about success in the examination. Dr. G. C. Raychaudhuri used to take our classes on Political History, a dry subject, in which we felt very much bored.

We also came in close contact with D.P. Ghosh and Dr. Kalyankumar Gangully when, on the occasion of the Buddhist Art Exhibition organised by the Asutosh Museum, we acted as Guide-Lecturers—a very inspiring experience to us.

About our classmates, I should say that ours was a well-knit group. There were two Arabindas—Bhattacharya and Ghosh. Bhattacharya by his intelligence and devotion to study secured the highest place in the M.A. Examination. Now he has obtained a Doctorate from the States and is the Principal of the Behala College, Calcutta. Arabinda Ghosh, now Curator (Archaeology), Indian Museum, Calcutta, was one of the best students amongst us. Haribishnu Sarkar, now Superintending Archæologist, Temple Survey Project (Southern Region), A.S.I., Madras, rose to this eminent position by his diligence. He was associated with the Nagarjunikonda excavations for some years. Dr. S.K. Maity, holder of a Doctorate degree from London University, is at present a Lecturer in Jadavpur University, and is best remembered for his good nature and helpful attitude. Dr. Upendra Thakur who is holding the post of Reader in the Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies, Magadh University, Gaya, has published several works. Manabendranath Mitra and Ramdas Ghoshal were two of

our dearest classmates. Ramanand Tiwari from Balia, U.P., is now Headmaster in a Calcutta School. Among our lady classmates, Dr. Amita Ray is a Lecturer in the Department of Archaeology, C.U. We had a glimpse of her charming personality when we worked together as Guide-Lecturers in the Buddhist Art Exhibition held in 1948.

D. K. Chakravarty

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Born in October, 1929, in Calcutta. Graduated from the Scottish Churches College, Calcutta (1947). Obtained M.A. degree in 1949 in AIHC (Group I-A—Epigraphy and Numismatics) and stood first in Class II.

Appointed Exploration Assistant in the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, on 1.4.57. Conducted explorations in Orissa in the Balasore and Mayurbhanj Districts (1957-60); discovered prehistoric sites and collected antiquities now preserved in the Eastern Circle, A.S.I. Attended the excavations at Jaugaḍa, Orissa (1957).

Joined the newly created Directorate of Archæology, West Bengal, in May, 1960, as Superintendent of Archæology. Associated with some outstanding archæological discoveries made by the Directorate. Assisted in the excavations at Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi (1962-65). Took part in the exploration of various sites.

Selected by the State Government to participate in the 5th Museums Camp on "Education and Presentation" held in Calcutta in November, 1967, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, Government of India.

Member of the Indian History Congress and the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. Read some articles at the History Congress, which have been published in its Proceedings. Also published some articles elsewhere. Published a number of articles dealing with problems of the art and archæology of West Bengal in Bengali journals *

* [Compiled from the data supplied by Sri Chakravarty.—D.C.S.]

Appendix I

STUDENTS OF ALLIED DEPARTMENTS

CHARANDAS CHATTERJEE

Reminiscences

(Born 1897)

My humble self was a student of the Post-Graduate Department of Calcutta University during the Sessions 1919-20 and 1920-21. My subject was Pali, Group C (Classical Language combined with History and Archaeology). The subject was selected for me by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in consultation with MM. Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhushan and Dr. B. M. Barua taking into consideration my previous records. This clearly shows the amount of interest which Sir Asutosh used to take in each individual student. Out of my eight papers in Pali, Group C, four were common with Ancient Indian History and Culture. This gave me the opportunity of coming into contact with the teachers of the Department of Pali as well as with most of those in the Ancient Indian History and Culture course. Thus, my Fourth Paper in Pali was the same as the Seventh and Eighth Papers of Group III of Ancient Indian History and Culture (Buddhism and Jainism). The subjects were taught in my time by Dr. B. M. Barua, Nalinaksha Dutt and Dr. J. Masuda. A portion of this paper (Mahāyāna Buddhism) was also taught by Ryukan Kimura, a well-known Japanese scholar who used to teach this subject for a long time in Calcutta University. My Fifth and Sixth Papers (Pali, Group C) were the same as the Fifth Paper of Group I of Ancient Indian History and Culture (Epigraphy and Palaeography). My teachers for these papers were Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar, R. G. Basak, N. P. Chakravarti, Ramaprasad

Chanda and Surendranath Majumdar Sastri. Since Chanda was then the Superintendent of the Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, and also the Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, he used to take his classes in the Indian Museum. Sastri was undoubtedly an erudite scholar in Ancient Indian Palaeography and succeeded in creating our interest in that abstruse subject. The syllabus of Ancient Indian Palaeography made by him, in my opinion, may even be followed by the present day students with much advantage. Chakravarti used to teach us the inscriptions of the Guptas, while Prof. Bhandarkar and Basak, the inscriptions of Aśoka. Chanda taught us the post-Aśokan epigraphs. Political History of Ancient India connected with the inscriptions was taught by H. C. Raychaudhuri. The Eighth Paper of Pali, Group C, was then equivalent to Paper Four (compulsory) of Ancient Indian History and Culture. It related to Ancient Indian Geography, and Travels and Reports on Archaeological Excavations. S. N. Majumdar Sastri used to deal with the geographical information supplied by the Sanskrit texts and I still vividly remember the amount of trouble that we had to undergo in taking down voluminous notes in his classes. The geographical accounts available from the Greek and Roman sources used to be taught by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, while the eminent Japanese scholar, Dr. J. Masuda, taught us the same as preserved in the Chinese works. There was no class for teaching Reports on Archaeological Excavations, which we had to read ourselves in the library. Occasionally, however, we had to consult both Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and Ramaprasad Chanda on certain problems and questions. Both these eminent archaeologists were no doubt successful in creating in our mind special interest for Archaeology. I still remember two of my classmates who also took keen interest in Archaeology. They are Anubhuti Bhattacharya (Sanskrit, Group I) and Karttikchandra Mukhopadhyay (Ancient Indian

History and Culture, Group I), both of whom stood First in their respective subjects.

When I look back, I feel that the happiest portion of my life were those two years, when I was a student of the Post-Graduate classes of Calcutta University studying under the expert guidance and supervision of the galaxy of scholars, hitherto unparalleled.

II

A List of the Teachers of Ancient Indian History and Culture (Calcutta University) during the Sessions 1919-20 and 1920-21.

A

* D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Professor (Epigraphy).
* R. G. Basak (Epigraphy).
* Ramaprasad Chanda (Epigraphy).
* N. P. Chakravarti (Epigraphy).
* Surendranath Majumdar Sastri (Palaeography).

B

* R. C. Majumdar (Ancient Indian Geography—Accounts of the Classical Writers).
* S. N. Majumdar Sastri (Ancient Indian Geography—Indian Sources).
* J. Masuda (Ancient Indian Geography—Chinese Sources).
* J. N. Banerjea (Numismatics and Iconography).

C

* R. C. Majumdar (Political History).
* H. C. Raychaudhuri (Political History).
* N. G. Majumdar (Political History).
* L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer (Anthropology).
T. C. Das (Anthropology).

* Asterisk means a teacher of 'Joint Classes' for the students of Ancient Indian History and Culture (Group I), Pali (Group C) and Sanskrit (Group I).

D

B. M. Barua (Buddhism and Jainism—AIHC, Gr. III, Papers VII and VIII).

Nalinaksha Dutt (Buddhism).

Ryukan Kimura (Mahāyāna Buddhism).

P. C. Bagchi (Epic and Pauranic Religion, AIHC, Gr. III, Paper VI).

H. C. Chakladar (Social History—AIHC, Gr. II).

III

Names of students who stood first in Class I in the year 1921 in the subjects mentioned below :—

(1) Ancient Indian History and Culture, Group I (Archaeology)—Karttik Chandra Mukhopadhyay.

(2) Pali, Group C (Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy with Ancient History of Ceylon and Burma)—Charandas Chattopadhyay.

(3) Sanskrit, Group I (Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy)—Anubhuti Bhattacharya.

C. D. Chatterjee*

* *Biographical Data*—Born in Calcutta on the 15th of August, 1897. Passed the B.A. Examination, with Honours in Pali, in 1919, and stood first in Class I; awarded the Jubilee Post-Graduate Scholarship and Vidyasagar Prize. Passed the M.A. Examination in 1921, in Pali, Group C (Pali with History and Epigraphy), and stood first in the First Class; awarded Gold Medal and University Prize. Joined the Lucknow University in 1922 as Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy and retired in 1958 as Professor of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology; associated in teaching work, for over twenty years, with Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, founder of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology in Lucknow University, of which he was the first Professor and Head. Joined the Gorakhpur University as Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient History, Archaeology and Culture in 1962 and retired in 1964. Editor of the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Lucknow, since 1953. Published many papers and monographs on History, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Sanskrit and Pali Literature, Buddhist Philosophy, and Comparative Philology.

PREMDHAR CHAUDHURY

(Born c. 1908)

REMINISCENCES

I am happy to write my reminiscences about my student days in Calcutta University. The attempt has revived the memory of events nearly four decades old.

I was in the said University from 1929 to 1932 studying M.A. and Law. My subject was Sanskrit (Group I) which necessitated special study of Epigraphy and Early Indian History. This afforded me an opportunity to come in close contact with Dines who was a student of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Group I-A.

The students of Ancient Indian History and Culture (Group I-A), Pali (Group C) and Sanskrit (Group I) used to meet together to listen to the lectures of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar who taught us Aśokan inscriptions. Dr. B. M. Barua also taught our Group the same subject. He was short in stature ; but his scholarship, specially in Pali literature, bestowed on him a towering personality. He was very fond of tea and cigarettes and a 'cup that cheers' was always ready on his table from the time he entered the lecture room.

Bhandarkar was tall and slim with an air of commanding personality. His wide scholarship endeared him to one and all. He always wove out a way to make his class lively with discussions by setting up his students to indulge in arguments on knotty points of interpretation. He had the rare quality to substitute argument for abuse and persuasion for force. Lending his lecture room the semblance of a 'moot court' in a Law Class, he delighted in playing the role of a judge. I had, on occasions, the fine opportunity to face Dines in wordy duels ; we were,

so to say, the friendliest foes in Bhandarkar's class and, if I remember aright, we always parted with shake of hands.

Unfortunately, the rest of my classmates have faded from my poor memory. Dines is in my mind, because we have often met, after our University days, on many occasions relative to the sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference and the Indian History Congress. I had also the privilege of editing a few inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica* jointly with Dines, currently Dr. D.C. Sircar, Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. I am proud of him and guess, so also are our other classmates.

P.D. Chaudhury*

* [Chaudhury recently retired as Director of the State Museum, Gauhati.—D.C.S.]

Appendix II

ADDITION TO SECTION I

BIJAYCHANDRA MAZUMDAR

(1861-1942)

Biographical Sketch

Bijaychandra Mazumdar was born in 1861 at Khālkulā (Bāndhulī Khālkulā) near Ārkāndi on the Chandana river under the Baliakandi Police Station in the Faridpur District, now in East Pakistan. One of his great contemporaries, Mahāmahapādhyāy Satischandra Vidyabhushan was also born in the same village. Bijaychandra's real family-name was Maitra and the original home of this Vārendra Brāhmaṇa family was Kusumbī (originally in the Rajshahi and now in the Bogra District). Bijaychandra's great-great-grandfather, Ramkanta Mazumdar, acquired enormous property in the Faridpur District as an officer of the Maharaja of Natore and settled at Khālkulā.

Bijaychandra was a Brahmo. He obtained the B.A. and B.L. (LL.B.) degrees of the University of Calcutta and worked for some years as the Legal Adviser of the former Sonepur State (Orissa). For sometime he lived at Sambalpur in Orissa. He went to Europe for the treatment of his eye-trouble.

Bijaychandra was a versatile author. He was a famous Bengali poet and essayist and, at the same time, wrote books on aboriginal tribes, Bengalī language, early Orissan history, Oriya literature and Orissan inscriptions. He was a classmate and friend of Poet D.L. Roy. He continued his work with great zeal even when he completely lost his eyesight in September, 1914, after suffering from eye-trouble for many years.

Bijaychandra practised as an Advocate of the Calcutta High Court and served as a Lecturer in Anthropology, Comparative Philology and Indian Vernaculars in the University of Calcutta. He took a few classes with the students of AIHC, Group V (Anthropology). Bijaychandra knew many languages including Oriya, Tamil and Telugu. Among his published works, mention may be made of—(1) *Orissa in the Making* (1925); (2) *The History of Bengali Language* (1920 and 1927); (3) *The Aborigines of the Highland of Central India* (1927); and (4) *Typical Selections from Oriya Literature*, Vols. I-III (1921, 1923 and 1925). Among his Bengali works, we may mention—(1) *Yajña O Tapasyār Phal*, (2) *Gītagovinda* and (3) *Therīgāthā*.

An obituary appearing in the *Modern Review*, February, 1943, p.89, says, "Bijaychandra Mazumdar, the celebrated linguist, litterateur, jurist, anthropologist and historian,... lost his sight nearly thirty years ago; but his physical disability could not deter him from pursuing his study and research...He had a very sharp memory. Such a combination of memory and intellect can rarely be seen."*

* [For a few lines about Bijaychandra, our attention was drawn to A. T. Dev's *Nūtan Vāṅgālā Abhidhān*, 2nd ed., 1961 B.S., p. 1224, by Sri Biswanath Sinha, Librarian, Nadia District Library, Ghurni, Krishnagar.—D.C.S.]

PRABODHCHANDRA SEN GUPTA

(1876-1962)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Prabodhchandra Sen Gupta, the younger son of Ramchandra Sen Gupta, was born in a village near Tangail in the Mymensingh District (now in Pakistan), on the 21st June, 1876. He was educated at Santosh Jahnavi H.E. School and passed the Entrance Examination obtaining a scholarship. Subsequently he studied in Calcutta, passing the F.A. Examination from the Presidency College, B.A. with First Class Honours in Mathematics from the General Assembly's Institution, and M.A. in Mathematics from the Presidency College (1901).

He entered the educational service of the Government of Bengal in 1902 (16.7.1902) working as a teacher in various government schools in East and North Bengal till 1914. During his tenure as a teacher at the Dacca Collegiate School, he had as his students M.N. Saha, R.C. Majumdar, Someschandra Bose and a few other illustrious sons of Bengal. He was appointed a Lecturer in Mathematics in the Chittagong College, in 1914, after he had passed the B.T. Examination. He joined the Bethune College, Calcutta, in 1916 and retired from the Bengal Subordinate Educational Service in January, 1934, after working at the Bethune College for about 18 years.

His work on Hindu mathematics and astronomy, particularly his book entitled *Papers on Hindu Mathematics and Astronomy*, drew the attention of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the father of post-graduate teaching at Calcutta University. Asutosh appointed Sen Gupta as a Part-time Lecturer in Indian Mathematics and Astronomy when the teaching of this subject was included in the M.A. course in AIHC (Group IV).

His contributions to Ancient Hindu Mathematics and Astronomy commenced in 1916 and cotinued till 1956. During this period of 40 years, he contributed many research papers and translated and edited the major works of the great Indian astronomers Āryabhaṭa and Brahmagupta with introduction. He also wrote an introduction to the *Sūryasiddhānta* and exhibited ingenuity in determining the dates of events occurring in the remote past. He presided over the Technical Sciences Section of the Twelfth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference.

Sen Gupta's work involved profound knowledge of mathematics and astronomy as well as of Sanskrit. More than half of his contributions to the subject were made during the years following his retirement in 1934, and the last paper published was in 1956 when he was eighty years of age.

Sen Gupta died in Calcutta on the 6th August, 1962, leaving his widow, five sons and three daughters and many grandchildren.

Among Prabodhchandra's published works mention may be made of the following—(1) *Papers on Hindu Mathematics and Astronomy*, Part I, Calcutta, 1916 ; (2) *Khaṇḍakhādyaka—an Astronomical Treatise of Brahmagupta*, translated into English with Introduction, Notes, Illustrations and Appendix, University of Calcutta, 1934 ; (3) *Introduction to Burgess' Translation of the Sūryasiddhānta, a Text-book of Hindu Astronomy*, University of Calcutta, 1935 ; (4) *Khaṇḍakhādyaka—an Astronomical Treatise by Brahmagupta*, with the commentary of Caturveda Pṛthūdakasvāmin, Calcutta University, 1941 ; and (5) *Ancient Indian Chronology*, University of Calcutta, 1947.

Besides the above, he published a number of papers in such reputed journals as the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta University), *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (Calcutta),

Indian Culture, Science and Culture and *Jahresbericht d. Math.-Vereinigung.* His paper on 'Hindu Astronomy' appreared in the *Cultural Heritage of India,* Vol. III, published by the Ramakrishna Mission.*

* [Based on a note received from Dr. Pratapchandra Sen Gupta of 101-A, Jodhpur Park, Calcutta-31, who is a son of Prabodhchandra. —D.C.S.]

SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR

(1888 to c. 1930)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Surendranath Majumdar belonged to a respectable Vaidya family of Jessore (now in East Pakistan). He was born on the 16th June, 1888. He obtained his M.A. degree (Calcutta University) in Sanskrit and was later awarded the Premchand Roychand Scholarship. He received the title 'Sastri' because he had been a student of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. He was a permanent Lecturer of the Post-Graduate Department, with the designation 'Assistant Professor of Indian History', almost since its inception.

As a teacher of the AIHC course, he noticed the difficulty experienced by the students for the want of text books and published the following works for their benefit – (1) *The Inscriptions of Aśoka* (edited jointly with Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar), Calcutta University, 1920; (2) *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India* (edited with notes), Calcutta, 1924; and (3) *McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (edited with notes), Calcutta, 1927. Besides these, he published a number of interesting papers in learned periodicals like the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*

Majumdar Sastri left the University of Calcutta and joined the Department of Sanskrit, Patna College (under the newly started Patna University), in the Bihar and Orissa Educational Service on the 26th August, 1920. He was transferred to the G.B.B. College, Muzaffarpur, and joined that institution on the 17th July, 1924. About the close of the same year, he was Reader of Patna University.

Majumdar Sastri was a very sound scholar. Probably he died of Cholera at Patna during the rainy season of 1930 when he was only about 42 years of age.*

* [For a few details, we are indebted to Dr. K. K. Datta, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, and to Dr. B. B. Mazumdar of Patna. —D.C.S.]

GAURANGANATH BANERJEE

(1890-1930)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Dr. Gauranganath Banerjee (Bandyopādhyāy), Secretary, Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, Calcutta University, died with his wife and only son, in the most tragic circumstances, by drowning in the Brahmaputra while he was on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Umānanda Bhairava on an island in the river near Gauhati in Assam.

Gauranganath was born at his maternal grandfather's house at Bhowanipore, Calcutta, in the year 1890. He was a student of the Hindu School and of the Presidency College whence he took his M. A. degree with a First Class in History in 1912. He got his B. L. (LL. B.) degree in 1914 and, the same year, he was awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship for his researches in Ancient Indian History. Appointed Lecturer in History in the Post-Graduate Department of the University in 1916, he continued his researches and was admitted to the Ph. D. degree of the University in 1919. His thesis entitled *Hellenism in Ancient India* has been praised by historians. His career was marked by industry, steadiness and perseverance—characteristics which were evident even in his early boyhood. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who had a happy knack of choosing the right man for the right place, discerned in young Gauranganath qualities which led him to select him for the Secretaryship of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts when the post was vacated by Dr. H. C. Mookerji in 1920. Gauranganath soon justified his selection and became popular with both the students and the teachers. He continued

diligently to cultivate his studies and many and varied were his contributions to the journals of the various learned societies of which he was a member.*

* [From an Obituary Note appearing in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXVII, November-December, 1930, pp. 378-79. As a student in 1929-31, we came into contact with Gauranganath (who was then Secretary of the P.-G. Council—Arts) and was charmed by his amiability. It was a great shock to us to read the news of his tragic end in the newspapers when we were enjoying the Puja holidays at our village home in 1930.—D.C.S.]

BABUA MISHRA

(C. 1890 to c. 1957)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Pandit Babua Mishra, Jyotiṣācārya, was born in a Śāṇḍilya-gotra family of the Sodarpuriye-Kaṭukā *mūlagrāma*. It was a family of celebrated students of astrology and astronomy, pertaining to the village of Koilakh near Madhubani in the Darbhanga District of North Bihar. He was the son of Pandit Lala Mishra, Jyotiṣācārya. Both father and son had their education at Varanasi.

Babuaji was appointed a Lecturer in the Post-Graduate Department of Calcutta University for taking classes in AIHC, Group IV (Astronomy and Mathematics), shortly after he had completed his studies. He was also teaching Maithilī and Hindī. He continued as a Lecturer in the Department of Modern Indian Languages for many years after the discontinuation of teaching in AIHC, Group IV, owing to dearth of students interested in the subject in question, in the 20s of the century, and retired about 1950. He had six sons and four daughters. Two of his sons are Pandit Harinath Mishra, M.A. (Calcutta), Congress leader and Minister of the Bihar Government for a number of years, and Dr. Bhawanath Mishra, Professor and Head of the Department of Medicine, Darbhanga Medical College.

Pandit Mishra edited Jyotirīśvara's *Varṇaratnākara* jointly with Prof. Sunitikumar Chatterjee. The work was publsihed in the Bibliotheca Indica Series by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in 1940. He also contributed some articles in Maithilī journals. His edition of Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādyakakaraṇa*, with the *Vāsanābhāṣya* of Āmarāja, was published by Calcutta University in 1925.*

* [For a few details, we are indebted to Sri P. N. Sinha of the Hindi Department, Calcutta University.—D.C.S.]

NARAYANCHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAY

(1891-1943)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Dr. Narayanchandra Bandyopadhyay (Banerjee), my teacher of Modern European History in the M.A. History classes (1925-27), was much admired and respected by some of us at least, for his rich personality and character, partly cultivated, but mostly inherited.

Born in an orthodox Brāhmaṇa family of Bengal on December 2, 1891, Narayanchandra was the third son of the late Rai Rajendrachandra Sastri Bahadur, a renowned Sanskrit scholar in his days, who stood first in the First Class in Sanskrit in the M. A. Examination, bagged the P. R. S. and Mouat medal in 1885, and subsequently became Bengali Translator to the Government of Bengal. Narayanchandra's mother Nalini Devi was the eldest daughter of Sir Pratulchandra Chatterjee, Kt., C.I.E., Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court. Narayanchandra had thus a distinguished ancestry. His family migrated to Calcutta from Śikhirā, a village in the Hooghly District, some time in the middle of the seventeenth century and settled near Sova (Sobha) Bazar. He lived in the joint family house (30, Tarak Chatterji Lane) up to 1938 and then removed to the new house that he built in South Calcutta near the Tollygunge Railway Bridge. Except for a brief spell in 1940 when he came back to the old house, Narayanchandra lived in his own residence till his untimely death on May 21, 1943. For the last three years of his life, he suffered from acute nervous tension and consequent rise of blood pressure brought on mostly by hard work, worries and premonitions about his nearing end.

Astrology was his *forte* and his ruin, for firmly believing in its infallibility as a science, he frequently consulted noted

astrologers. Ultimately, he relied on his own reading and calculations. Almost a year ahead he predicted the date and time of his death which came out amazingly true. It was his conviction and fear that Mars in crossing over to the next house on May 21 would finish him. I was with him upto ten O'clock in the morning. When I took leave, he asked me to come again and see him in the afternoon. Then he stood up, gave me a hard long look and said in a somewhat sad shaking voice, ".....that is, if I survive." I could only protest, "But, Sir, ...it's an obsession—this transit of Mangala....." He did not reply or look back as he went out of the room. That was my last sight of him. At about twelve noon, he had his usual mid-day meal. At 12.30, he began to feel uneasy while the stroke came on and it was all over in fifteen minutes.

Two persons, no longer living, knew well how correct some of his forecasts turned out to be : Surendranath Sen and Indubhushan Banerjee, historians both of them, and his appreciative colleagues.

Narayanchandra had a distinguished academic record and a number of scholarly publications to his credit. I have a notion that his recognition came rather late and that too not ungrudgingly. He was quite conscious of it and finally grew somewhat cynical about men and morals in general and scholarly pretensions in particular. His friends and colleagues at the University liked and enjoyed his company for his interesting and witty talks ; but some of them must have felt quite uncomfortable at his seemingly innocent queries posed with a dead pan face. Even his humorous anecdotes, of which he had a rich stock, were liberally interspersed with caustic comments.

Narayanchandra had his early education in the Ahiritola Banga Vidyalay. From there, he was put into the Hindu School, then under the renowned Headmaster, Rai Rasamay Mitra Bahadur. Having passed the Entrance Examination

in 1908, he was admitted to the Presidency College whence he passed his I.Sc. Examination in 1910 and took up Honours in Physics. He appeared in the B.Sc. Examination in 1912 ; but severe indisposition prevented him from taking all the practical tests. All this was upsetting, and he thought he was not meant for science. History had once been his favourite subject, and he changed over to the Arts course and got himself admitted into the Third Year B.A. Class with Honours in History. For this he had to sit for an examination in two Arts subjects as then required by the University regulations. As a student of History, he impressed his teachers by his wide range of reading and keen grasp of detail. In the B.A. Honours Examination in 1914, he easily came out first in the First Class with four others in the list including Indubhushan Banerjee, later Asutosh Professor of Medieval and Modern Indian History. In the M.A. Examination of 1916, the position was exactly reversed, Indubhushan topping the list and Narayanchandra securing the fifth place in the First Class.

Narayanchandra was one of those young scholars recruited by Sir Asutosh to teach in the newly started Post-Graduate Department with emphasis on research. Asutosh was a contemporary and friend of Narayanchandra's father though, being of the orthodox school, the latter did not approve of the re-marriage of Asutosh's widowed daughter. Since his appointment as a Post-Graduate Lecturer in 1917, Narayanchandra concentrated on researches in Ancient Indian History. His published works include (1) *Maurya-Yuger Bhāratīya Samāj* (Bengali), (2) *Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India*, (3) *Kauṭilya* (Part I—or The Hindu Art of Government), (4) *Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories* (in two parts) which won him his Doctorate, (5) English translation of the *Cāṇakyasūtras* and (6) *Kātyāyana-matasaṁgraha* (or the Hindu Law according to Kātyāyana). Narayanchandra had the advantage of a thorough knowledge

of Sanskrit, which gave him easy access to the original sources, and a wide reading of modern history. He served to the last both the Departments of History and Ancient Indian History and Culture. In our time, he used to teach Economic and Administrative History as well as Anthropology in the of Ancient Indian History and Culture course. This was enough to keep any teacher more than occupied. But over and above this load, Narayanchandra also taught some Special Groups in the Department of Modern History—China and Japan, Rajput History and also Maratha History for some time. When we joined the Fifth Year class, some of us decid d to go in for Nationalism and Democracy in Modern Europe, a new elective Group introduced for the first time. There was a dearth of teachers. Dr. Kalidas Nag taught us for a few months and, when he left, nobody was willing to oblige us. Ultimately, Narayanchandra came to our rescue and not only taught us well, but covered the entire course of study most efficiently.

Others more competent than myself may speak of his scholarship or assess his contributions to research. I can only refer to my personal experience and impression of the man and the teacher as I knew him. He was one of the ablest teachers of his time, a whole-hogger for work and the harvest-worked teacher at the University, but never losing the warmth and geniality, the sympathy and imagination which form the entire basis of any teacher-student relationship. I cherish his memory in loyalty and affection as he gave us his best and I am sure my old classmate, Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, now Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, shares my feeling.

Narayanchandra passed away when he was only fiftytwo. Some of his plans never materialised. For instance, he could not complete the second part of his *Kautilya* or bring out a companion volume to his *Economic Life and Progress*. In the closing years, he was feeling frustrated and impatient as if

the time was up. As it is, he left his work unfinished. He was working on the subject of Hindu-Muslim Rapprochement in Medieval India which, if completed and published, would have been a most timely contribution. His choice of the thesis, perhaps, is the best answer to the criticism that he was very much a pro-Hindu reactionary. He had his roots, of course, in Hindu tradition and culture. But on many occasions and in personal talks I have heard him to deplore the alienation of the Muslim community by our lack of understanding.

Bimalaprasad Mukherji

BIRAJASANKAR GUHA

(C. 1892 to 1961)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Dr. B.S. Guha was born at Shillong (Assam), but was educated at the City College and Presidency College, Calcutta. He obtained his B.A. degree with Honours in Philosophy from Calcutta University in 1912 and the M.A. degree in Mental and Moral Philosophy from the same University in 1915. In the year 1917, he was appointed Lecturer in the Bangabasi College, Calcutta. In 1917 20, Birajasankar enjoyed a research scholarship granted by the Government of Bengal for carrying on research work in Anthropology. In 1920, he secured a Fellowship of Harvard University for studying Anthropology in that institution from 1920 to 1924.

Birajasankar's training in America was fairly extensive both in the field as well as in the laboratory. After securing the Ph.D. degree in 1924, he returned to Calcutta and was for some years on the staff of the Anthropology Department of the University of Calcutta. At that time, he took a few classes of AIHC, Group V (Anthropology). In 1927, he joined the Zoological Survey of India as Anthropologist. The Survey was entrusted shortly afterwards with the study of the prehistoric skeletal remains from Mohenjodaro and Harappa and the burden of the work fell upon Dr. Guha. During this period, Dr. Guha also conducted field investigations, sometimes alone and sometimes in company with European workers like Prof. Morgenstierne, in both North and South India. In 1930-33, Dr. Guha was entrusted with the anthropometric survey of India under the Census Commissioner.

The Anthropological Survey of India was created in 1946 and was placed under Dr. Guha who succeeded in

building up the Survey to its present stature even though he began from a scratch. After his retirement in 1954, Dr. Guha was employed as the Director of S.E.O.T.C. at Ranchi under the Government of India, and later on became the Director of the Bihar Tribal Research Institute at the same place, from which post he finally retired in 1959.

Dr. Guha's connection with scientific institutions was intimate and fruitful. In 1926 and again in 1938, he was elected President of the Anthropology Section of the Indian Science Congress. He was a member of the Council of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in 1930, and was the Society's Anthropological Secretary in 1931-34 and its Honorary General Secretary in 1939-42. He was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1939. He was a Foundation Fellow of the National Institute of Sciences in India.

Dr. Guha was a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland and a Member of the International Congress of Anthropologists. He was often invited by scientific bodies in Europe for help in the standardization of anthropological methods, etc. He had similar connections also with the Universities of Calcutta, Delhi and Utkal.

Dr. Guha's orginal contributions are many and they relate to anthropometry, reconstruction of prehistoric skulls, etc.*

* [Adapted from Sri N. K. Bose's Obituary Note appearing in the Asiatic Society's *Year-Book* for 1961, pp. 149-50. Dr. Guha died under tragic circumstances in a train accident near Ghatsila (Singbhum District) while he was travelling by the Howrah-Ranchi Express on the 19th October, 1961. His published works include *An Outline of the Racial Ethnology of India*, Calcutta, 1937, and *Racial Elements in the Population* (Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs, No. 22), Bombay, 1944. Cf. also 'Racial Affinities of the Peoples of India' in *The Census of India* (1931), Vol. I, Part III, 1935.—D.C.S.]

Appendix III

*A.—M.A.s in AIHC**

1919–68

1919

Ghatak, Jyotishchandra (NC)

1920

Bagchi, Prabodhchandra
Bandyopadhyay, Kalidas
Bandyopadhyay, Satyaprasanna
Chakrabarti, Jatindranath
Das, Tarakchandra
Datta, Bidhubhushan (NC)
Kuluvi, Kalipada
Majumdar, Nanigopal
Ray, Hemchandra
Sarkar, Asutosh

1921

Basu, Abaninath
Bandyopadhyay, Harimohan
Bandyopadhyay, Prabhamay (NC)
Chakrabarti, Bhupendrachandra
Chakrabarti, Bhupendranath
Chakrabarti, Kshirodmohan
Datta, Nagendrachandra
Datta, Rameschandra
Ghosh, Amulyacharan (NC)
Ghosh, Chittaranjan
Majumdar, Paresprasad
Mitra, Pulinkrishna
Mukhopadhyay, Bhupalchandra
Mukhopadhyay, Karttikchandra
Ray, Sachchindananda
Sarkar, Girindramohan
Sengupta, Kshitiskamal (NC)
Sinha, Gangananda

1922

Bagchi, Sachindranath (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Harihar
Bhattacharyya, Tarapada
Chakrabarti, Nareschandra
Chaudhuri, Nareschandra
Debsarkar, Sudhirkumar
Goswami, Binodlal
Goswami, Dibakar
Maitra, Brajendramohan
Mukhopadhyay, Paramesprasanna
Pathak, Lokendranath
Ray, Jyotirmay
Ray, Tridibnath
Sanyal, Rajanimohan
Sarkar, Kshitischandra
Sen, Binaychandra

1923

Basu, Sasankasekhar
Bhattacharyya, Amiyanath
Bhattacharyya, Bijaykumar
Chakrabarti, Pratulchandra

* [In the compilation of the list, some help has been received by Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay from Sm. Kalyani Bajpeyi and Sm. Sumita Chatterjee. NC=Non-Collegiate.—D.C.S.]

Chattopadhyay, Rakhahari
Das, Sanatkumar
Datta, Jaminimohan
Maitra, Dharanimohan
Mitra, Karttikchandra
Palit, Gobindaprasad
Pattanayak, Ramaniranjan (NC)
Raghavendra Rao, V. (NC)
Ray, Pramodgopal
Sanyal, Niradbandhu

1924

Bandyopadhyay, Amarendranath
Bandyopadhyay, Ambujnath (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Sailendranath
Bandyopadhyay, Sudhansukumar
Basak, Ahindrakumar
Bhattacharyya, Satyendranath
Dasgupta, Bhupendranath
Guptabaksi, Subodhchandra
Prasad, Bhubaneswar (NC)
Ray, Manoranjan (NC)
Ray, Pramathanath (NC)
Sarkar, Satindralal (NC)
Taraphdar, Nagendrakisor

1925

Acharyya, Jogendranath
Acharyyachaudhuri, Bhupendrakisor
Bandyopadhyay, Kalicharan
Chakrabarti, Sisirkumar
Ghosh, Debaprasad
Ghosh, Haricharan
Mukhopadhyay, Debaprasanna
Mukhopadhyay, Umaprasad
Ray, Bipraprasad
Sen, Amulyachandra (NC)
Sinha, Sibchandra

1926

Bagchi, Jitendranath
Bandyopadhyay, Bibhutibhusan
Bandyopadhyay, Jaydeb
Bandyopadhyay, Narendrakumar
Bandyopadhyay, Panchugopal
Basu, Sailendranath
Bhattacharyya, Upendrachandra
Chakrabarti, Indubhushan
Chattopadhyay, Jyotsnanath (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Satischandra
Ray, Niharranjan
Raychaudhuri, Binayendranath (NC)
Sen, Nripendrachandra

1927

Bhattacharyya, Syamacharan
Bhattacharyya, Ramanchandra
Chattopadhyay, Nagendranath
Chaudhuri, Sibaniprasad (NC)
Das, Nilratan
Datta, Bibhutibhushan
Debnath, Surendrachandra
Lahiri, Girijaprasanna (NC)
Majumdar, Bimalkanti
Ray, Sarojendranath (NC)
Sanyal, Rabindranath (NC)
Sarkar, Amritalal (NC)
Sen, Prabodhchandra

1928

Bandyopadhyay, Asaninath
Bandyopadhyay, Sibdas
Basu, Khagendranath (NC)
Basu, Sailendranath
Bhattacharyya, Debendranath
Chakrabarti, Haranchandra
Chattopadhyay, Gurudas
Das, Tinkari
Ghatak, Satyaranjan
Ghosh, Asutosh
Goswami, Saradindubikash
Lahiri, Phanindramohan
Mukhopadhyay, Bimalaprasad (NC)
Raychaudhuri, Phatikchandra
Sur, Atulkrishna

1929

Bagchi, Manindranath
Bandyopadhyay, Kalikinkar
Bandyopadhyay, Nirmalchandra (NC)
Basu, Sudhirkumar
Chakrabarti, Birendrachandra (NC)
Chakrabarti, Gurugobinda
Chattopadhyay, Jitendranath
Gangopadhyay, Radharaman (NC)
Ghosh, Janakinath
Mukhopadhyay, Durgadas
Saraswati, Sarasikumar
Sengupta, Birendrakumar (NC)

1930

Bandyopadhyay, Binayaknath
Chaudhuri, Surendrabijay
Ghosh, Hemantakumar
Sanyal, Dinabandhu
Saraswati, Sarasikumar (NC)

1931

Bagchi, Sarojendraprasad
Bandyopadhyay, Adrischandra
Bandyopadhyay, Lakshmiprasad
Bhattacharyya, Brindabanchandra
Chaudhuri, Phanindranath (NC)
Das, Tarapada (NC)
Dasgupta, Charuchandra
De, Harendrachandra (NC)
Ghosh, Sachindrakumar
Mukhopadhyay, Sudhirmohan (NC)
Mitra, Aseshbandhu
Saha, Saratchandra (NC)
Sarkar Dineschandra
Sen, Nirmalchandra
Sen, Santoshkumar

1932

Bandyopadhyay, Sasankasekhar
Chakrabarti, Taponath
Das, Sambidananda
Datta, Kalikaprasad
Hudson, Miss Belle
Mukhopadhyay, Manmathanath
Mukhopadhyay, Sasankasekhar
Mukhopadhyay, Satyaniranjan
Mukhopadhyay, Sibapada
Ray, Amitabha
Sen, Matindramohan
Sinha, Kalipada (NC)

1933

Chakrabarti, Bholanath
Chakrabarti, Bijaykumar
Chattopadhyay, Binaybhushan
Chattopadhyay, Mrityunjay
Chattopadhyay, Ramendranath
Das, Lakshmiswar
Das, Satugopal
Dasgupta, Charuchandra (NC)
Deb, Surendrachandra
Ghosh, Sm. Bhramar
Mukhopadhyay, Subodhkumar
Raychaudhuri, Binaykrishna
Sen, Nisikanta

1934

Basu, Sudhirchandra
Bhattacharyya, Anadibhushan
Chattopadhyay, Kumudranjan (NC)
Datta, Asoknath
Gangopadhyay, Nanigopal
Gupta, Prabhatchandra (NC)
Jha, Srinandan
Mukhopadhyay, Bijayes (NC)
Ray, Kalisankar
Sanyal, Birendramohan
Sinharay, Subhendu

1935

Bandyopadhyay, Rameschandra
Bandyopadhyay, Satyendranath
Chattopadhyay, Kuladananda
De, Sachindrakumar (NC)
Gangopadhyay, Binaybhushan
Gangopadhyay, Kalyankumar
Ghosh, Sm. Jyotsna
Mukhopadhyay, Nirmalkumar
Parackal, O. Matthai (NC)
Saha, Dwijendranath

1936

Bandyopadhyay, Nalinprakas (NC)
Basu, Susilkumar
Bhattacharyya, Satyasundar
Chaudhuri, Basantakumar (NC)
Gupta, Prabodhchandra NC)
Mitra, Sibsankar (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Madhusudan
Sarkar, Rabindranath

1937

Bhawalkar, Sm. Vanamala (NC)
Chakrabarti, Saileswar (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Debkumar
Chattopadhyay, Krishnabihari (NC)
Chaudhuri, Amulyabhushan
Datta, Dhirendrakumar (NC)
Ghosh, Samarendranath
Ghosh, Umapada (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Mohankumar
Mukhopadhyay, Tarinisankar
Panigrahi Krishnachandra
Sanyal, Bishnupada (NC)
Sengupta, Gangadhar

1938

Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Aloka
Bandyopadhyay, Amarnath
Basu, Sm. Jyotirmayi
Bhattacharyya, Sudhabrata
Chakrabarti, Sibnarayan
Chaudhuri, Jnaneschandra
Datta, Gaurisankar
Dikshit, Sadanad Kashinath
Guha, Jibendrakumar
Mitra, Ramaprasad
Mukhopadhyay, Santigopal
Sen, Subodhchandra
Sengupta, Bishnudas

1939

Barman, Chandicharan
Basuray, Sm. Binapani (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Sachindranath
Chakrabarti, Sukumar (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Kshetrasadhan
Datta, Rasamay
Ghoshal, Rameskumar
Gop, Raicharan
Gupta, Sukhamay (NC)
Kar, Rabischandra
Mitra, Aryyakumar
Ray, Bhabeschandra
Sarkar, Sailendranath (NC)
Sen, Prodyotkumar
Vimalananda, Teunakoon

1940

Bandyopadhyay, Narayanchandra
Bhattacharyya, Rabindranath
Biswas, Akhilbandhu
Chakrabarti, Sudhirkumar
Das, Sudhirranjan
Dasgupta, Sm. Amiya
Debi (Mrs. Sen), Sm. Jyotsna (NC)
Ghoshal, Basantakumar
Ghoshal, Tulsicharan
Gupta, Sm. Bani
Mitra, Prabhatkumar
Mukhopadhyay, Asoknath (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Narendranath

Mukhopadhayay, Prithwisnath
Mukhopadhyay, Santoshkumar
Sadhu, Nirmalkumar
Sen, Daibakilal
Sur, Subodhkumar

1941

Bag, Jaladhar
Bandyopadhyay, Dilipkumar
Bandyopadhyay, Sibadas
Basu (Mrs. Datta), Sm. Amala (NC)
Basu, Balaichand
Basu, Sm. Purnima
Bhattacharyya, Indranath
Bhattacharyya, Jnanendrachandra
Bhattacharyya, Kanailal
Bhattacharyya, Sanjaykumar
Chakrabarti, Lakshminarayan
Chakrabarti, Sukumar (NC)
Chandra, Sukeschandra
Changkakati, Birendranath
Chaudhuri, Sm. Jogamaya
Das, Surendranath (NC)
Dassarma, Indubhushan
Datta, Jyotirmay
Gangopadhyay, Nalinikanta
Ghosh, Ramkinkar
Guha, Debapriya
Guharay, Sm. Sadhana
Mitra, Arunendranath
Mitra, Nirmalkumar
Mitra, Sisirkumar
Sengupta, Arabinda

1942

Bandyopadhyay, Satyacharan
Biswas, Dilipkumar
Chandra, Pratapchandra
Datta, Trailokynath
Hajra, Ganganarayan
Joshi, Sm. Soma (NC)
Misra, Bachaspati
Mitra, Asokkumar
Mukhopadhyay, Sunil (NC)
Sarma, Amiyakumar

1943

Basu, Ajitkumar
Bhattacharyya, Chandrasekhar
Bhattacharyya, Manmatharanjan
Ghosh, Sachibhushan
Lahiri, Amarendranath
Mukhopadhyay, Syamananda
Naskar, Purnendusekhar
Niyogi, Asutosh (NC)
Niyogi, Sm. Rama
Pal, Balaichandra
Ray, Kshirmohan
Ray, Sailendranath (NC)
Ray, Taraknath
Sanyal, Bimalendu (NC)
Sarkar, Krishnadas (NC)
Sengupta, Amarendranath (NC)

1944

Bandyopadhyay, Arun (NC)
Barman, Debajyoti (NC)
Basu, Bimalkrishna (NC)
Basu, Sm. Renuka
Bhattacharyya, Jagannath (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Panchananda (NC)
Chakrabarti, Brajatosh
Chakrabarti, Syamaprasad
Chattopadhyay, Sm. Rama
Das, Bimalendubhushan
Das, Sudhansukanti
Dasgupta, Sm. Namita (NC)
Datta, Bimalkumar (NC)
Gangopadhyay, Jatindranath (NC)
Guhaniyogi, Sm. Renu
Gupta, Sm. Kalyani
Maitra, Ambikacharan (NC)
Majumdar, Sunilchandra
Mitra, Ajitkumar (NC)

Ray, Sunilkumar
Ray, Syamlal (NC)
Ray, Upendramohan
Saha, Swarnakarttik
Sarkar, Ratanlal
Sen, Premballabh
Sengupta, Dwjendralal (NC)

1945

Bandyopadhyay, Aswinikumar
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Latika
Bera, Amarendrakumar
Chakrabarti, Rabindranath
Chattopadhyay, Gobindachandra
Chattopadhyay, Paritoshchandra
Chattopadhyay, Rabindranath
Gayen, Tapitranjan
Ghatak, Brajanath
Kundu, Nilkrishna
Lahiri, Sm. Latika
Mitra, Bimalchandra (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Haripada
Mukhopadhyay, Pradyumna-kumud
Pal, Balaichandra (NC)
Ray, Nitaidas (NC)
Ray, Sachchidananda
Raychaudhuri, Sm. Mira
Sengupta, Indubhushan (NC)
Sinha, Satyabrata (NC)
Sur, Prsantakumar

1946

Bandyopadhyay, Purushottam
Basu, Swadeshchandra
Bhattacharyya, Baidyanath
Bhattacharyya. Satyanarayan (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Asaram
Chattopadhyay, Binaykumar
Das, Sm. Bisweswari
Das, Jadunath
Dasgupta, Pareschandra
Datta, Sm. Manisha
Datta, Tejendralal
Gangopadhyay, Ajitkumar
Gupta, Rabindranath
Maitra, Binaykrishna
Majumdar, Sm. Anjali (NC)
Majumdar, Bimalkanti
Mitra, Sm. Debala
Mukhopadhyay, Manotosh
Naskar, Nabendusekhar (NC)
Ray, Atalendu
Ray, Sunilchandra
Sarkar, Kanchanlal
Sarkar, Nirendranath
Sengupta, Sm. Lilabati
Sengupta, Salilkumar
Sengupta, Sm. Sudhamayi

1947

Alam, Mohammad Khorshed
Bandyopadhyay, Chandankumar
Barma, Kshitischandra
Basu, Niharendrakumar
Basu, Sm. Sudha (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Sunilkrishna
Biswas, Bireswar
Biswas, Saurindra
Chandra, Amulyaratan
Dam, Harinarayan
Das, Nabakisor
Dasgupta, Manasmohan
De, Praphullaranjan
Dhar, Khagendralal (NC)
Lal, Sailendrabihari (NC)
Majumdar, Kamalapada
Majumdar, Sudhindrachandra
Mandal, Mrinalkanti
Mitra, Sunilkumar
Pain, Surendranath (NC)
Saha, Chintaharan
Sarbadhikari, Biswaranjan
Sen, Santibrata

1948

Basu, Niharendrakumar
Basu, Ramlal

Biswas, Bijankanti (NC)
Chakrabarti, Amarprasad (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Madanmohan
Chaudhuri, Sudhirranjan
Das, Dhirendrakumar
Datta, Ajitkumar
Datta, Hiranmay
Debi, Sm. Narayani
Ghosh, Jagadindrakumar
Ghosh, Pranabkumar
Ghosh, Satyendraprasad
Maharatna, Jaykrishna
Mukhopadhyay, Debaprasad (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Kisorprasad
Mukhopadhyay, Satyendranath
Mustaphi, Himansusekhar
Mustaphi, Prabirchandra
Naskar, Amalendusekhar
Niyogi, Pushpa
Sana, Basudeb (NC)
Sarkar, Charumihir
Sarma, Krishnakumar
Sengupta, Sm. Nilakshi
Sinha, Biswanath
Sinha, Manabendra

1949

Adhikari, Bibhutibhushan
Bandyopadhyay, Anilkumar
Bandyopadhyay, Binaybhushan (NC)
Basu, Sm. Ilarani (NC)
Basu, Sm. Mira
Basu, Prabhatkumar
Bhattacharyya, Arabinda
Chakrabarti, Bireswar
Chakrabarti, Debkumar
Chakrabarti, Sm. Gita
Chakrabarti, Santoshkumar
Chakrabarti, Satyendranath
Dakua, Mahendranath
Das, Ramapati
Dasgupta, Chittaranjan
Datta, Syamal
Dattamajumdar (Mrs. Ghosh), Sm. Bina (NC)
Deb, Dhireschandra
Gangopadhyay, Sm. Anjali
Gangopadhyay, Sm. Binita (NC)
Gangopadhyay, Rabindranath
Ghatak, Niranjan
Ghosh, Amaleschandra
Ghosh, Arabinda
Ghosh, Binaykumar (NC)
Ghosh, Surendrakumar
Ghoshal, Ramdas
Jha, Hitnarayan
Kumar, Anantaprasanna
Maiti, Sachindrakumar
Mitra, Arunkumar (NC)
Mitra, Manabendranarayan
Mukhopadhyay, Satyapada
Mukhopadhyay, Subrata
Ray, Ajaykumar
Ray, Sm. Amita
Ray, Nalinikanta
Ray, Sailendranath
Sarkar, Haribishnu
Sil, Dwipendrakumar
Talukdar, Prankrishna
Thakur, Upendra
Tiwari, Ramanand

1950

Aditya, Sm. Anima
Bhattacharyya, Nirmalendu
Biswas, Sm. Anjali
Chaudhuri (Mrs. Lahiri), Sm. Bela (NC)
De, Harendrachandra (NC)
De, Mukundachandra (NC)
Ghosh, Balaikumar (NC)
Jha, Chandrasekhar (NC)
Mahanti, Karttikkumar
Maiti, Subodhchandra
Mukhopadhyay, Sambhuprasad (NC)

Pandit (Mrs. Chakrabarti), Sm. Hena
Pradhan, Sudhansusekhar
Ray, Nirmalendu
Ray, Praphullakumar (NC)
Sarkar, Chittranjan
Sensarma, Manoranjan (NC)
Tripathi, Lalitkes (NC)

1951

Bandyopadhyay, Prabhat (NC)
Basu, Kalidas (NC)
Bera, Nalinikanta (NC)
Biswas, Aswinikumar (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Asitkumar
Chattopadhyay, Rabindranath
Chaudhuri, Hirendranarayan
Dasmahapatra, Debendranath
Datta, Debabrata (NC)
Datta, Manoranjan
Datta, Sm. Pratima (NC)
Datta, Phanindrachandra
Ghoshdastidar, Sm. Induprabha (NC)
Goshray, Narendralal (NC)
Guha, Sm. Renuka (NC)
Gupta, Manindrakumar (NC)
Mallik, Brajeswar
Mandal, Sudhirchandra
Mitra, Kanailal (NC)
Pandey, Mithilasaran
Sanyal, Ajitkumar
Sen, Sm. Kamala (NC)
Sen, Sm. Nibedita
Sen, Sm. Nila (NC)
Sengupta, Sm. Kamala (NC)
Simon, Miss Alexy

1952

Aich, Sm. Rama
Barua, Jatindranath
Barua, Subhutiranjan (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Kalyani
Bhattacharya, Kamaleswar
Biswas (Mrs. Ray), Sm. Bithika
Biswas, Debabrata
Chakrabarti, Sm. Bela (NC)
Chakrabarti, Bhairabnath
Chakrabarti, Haridas (NC)
Chakrabarti, Sachindranath
Desarkar, Sm. Anima (NC)
Gangopadhyay, Nareschandra (NC)
Ghosh, Jitendrakumar (NC)
Ghosh, Sm. Reba (NC)
Jha, Chandrasekhar (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Biswadeb
Mukhopadhyay, Durgamohan (NC)
Nag, Harold Satishchandra
Pal, Anathbandhu (NC)
Patra, Bhutnath (NC)
Saha, Brajendralal
Saha, Sudhirkumar
Sarkar, Kalyankumar
Sen, Nirendranath

1953

Adhya, Gobindalal (NC)
Chaudhuri, Sm. Gopahemangi
Dasgupta, Sm. Phulrani (NC)
Deb, Kshitischandra (NC)
Debi, Sm. Manorama (NC)
Deray, Sm. Pratibha
Gangopadhyay, Anilbaran (NC)
Mahato, Parbaticharan
Majumdar, Jyotishchandra (NC)
Mallik, Pramodkumar (NC)
Mitra, Prabirlal
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Santi (NC)
Mustaphi, Sm. Chhabi (NC)
Ray, Sm. Amita
Ray, Sm. Jayanti
Raychaudhuri, Sm. Kamala
Saha, Sudhirkumar
Sikdar, Jogendrachandra

1954

Basu, Sm. Gita
Bhattacharyya, Sunitbhushan (NC)
Das, Nishikanta
Ghosh, Debaprasad (NC)
Ghosh, Sm. Mandira
Mitra, Jagannath (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Minu
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Sandhya
Mukhopadhyay, Syamchand
Nayak, Asutosh
Pakrasi, Sm. Abha
Sarkar, Jayantakumar (NC)
Singh, Awadheshnarain (NC)

1955

Bandyopadhyay, Jagannath (NC)
Basu, Sm. Gita
Basu, Sm. Sabita (NC)
Bhaduri, Sm. Sunanda
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Gauri
Bhattacharyya, Sanatkumar
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Tripti
Chakrabarti, Adhirkumar
Chaudhuri, Rathindramohan
Das, Jadupati
De, Sm. Mira
Ghosh, Sm. Namita (NC)
Guha, Aswinikumar (NC)
Guha, Sm. Manika
Gupta, Debidas (NC)
Haldar, Sm. Renuka
Kapur, Sudarsan
Mallikchaudhuri, Nirmalkanti (NC)
Manna, Bhabanisankar
Mitra, Sm. Gargi
Mukhopadhyay, Anathnath
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Aparna (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Paritosh (NC)
Nag, Sm. Triptikana
Pal, Mrinalkanti
Pal, Mullukchandra (NC)
Pramanik, Sarojranjan
Ray, Sm. Arati
Ray, Sm. Basanti
Raychaudhuri, Sm. Pratima
Rudra, Sm. Rama (NC)
Sanyal, Swadhinkumar
Sanyal, Taraknath
Satpati, Raghunath (NC)
Sengupta, Sm. Amita
Sengupta, Lakshmanchandra (NC)
Sinha, Satyacharan (NC)

1956

Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Amiya
Bandyopadhyay, Biswanath
Basak, Jagatbandhu (NC)
Basu, Pranabkumar
Chakrabarti, Sm. Manika (NC)
Chakrabarti, Sm. Padmini
Chakrabartibiswas, Rakhalchandra (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Bhaskar
Chattopadhyay, Kamalkumar (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Sm. Sunanda
Chattopadhyay, Sm. Mukti
Dasgupta, Kalyankumar
Datta, Sm. Manjula (NC)
De, Sm. Amita
Datta, Kamalakanta (NC)
Deb, Rabindranath
Gargari, Sm. Gauri (NC)
Gangopadhyay, Kalidas
Ghosh, Mrinmay (NC)
Gupta, Sm. Aruna (NC)
Hempala, Abeysuriya Ratnayake
Jana, Parameswar
Majumdar, Sm. Manjula
Mukhopadhyay, Sibendrakrishna
Nayak, Sitakanta
Pawuludevage Leelananda Prematilleke

Ray, Sm. Karuna
Ray, Sm. Rini
Saha, Sm. Kshanika
Sarkar, Sibsankar
Sen, Dipakmohan
Sengupta, Pramathanath
Sinha, Sm. Mira
Sinha, Sm. Rita (NC)
Sinhamahapatra, Sasankasekhar (NC)
Srimani, Prangopal

1957

Adhya, Gorachand (NC)
Aich, Sm. Renuka
Bandoypadhyay, Sm. Bela
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Lekha
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Namita
Basu, Sm. Bandana (NC)
Basu, Gatikrishna (NC)
Basu, Sm. Indira
Bhattacharyya, Pranabkumar
Bhattacharyya, Satyaranjan
Bhattacharyya, Somnath
Bhattacharyya, Sudhendukisor
Bhuiyan, Asokkumar
Chakrabarti, Swadeskumar
Chattopadhyay, Sm. Mira
Chattopadhyay, Sm. Rama
Chaudhuri Sm. Kanika
Das, Sm. Baniprabha (NC)
Das, Dilipkumar
Das, Subhendubikash (NC)
Dasgupta, Sm. Manjusri (NC)
Dasgupta, Tapanasish
Gangopadhyay, Sm. Alorani
Ghosh, Samirkumar (NC)
Ghoshal, Tarunendra (NC)
Jas, Birendranath (NC)
Lahiri, Kedareswar (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Bratindranath
Mukhopadhyay, Sadananda (NC)
Nandi, Sm. Sipra
Nath, Sureschandra (NC)
Ray, Amritalal (NC)
Ray, Sm. Subhra
Raychaudhuri, Chittaranjan (NC)
Raychaudhuri, Saurendrakumar
Sarkar, Amalendu (NC)
Sarkar, Sibsankar (NC)
Sau, Panchanan (NC)
Sen, Amalendubikas (NC)
Sen, Dipak
Sen, Sm. Manjulika (NC)
Sengupta, Sm. Rekha
Taraphdar, Sukumar

1958

Acharyya, Arupkumar (NC)
Acharyya, Sm. Utpala
Barman, Sm. Mayadevi
Basu, Sm. Nirupama
Basu, Subhashchandra
Basu, Sm. Subhra
Bhattacharyya, Kaliprasad (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Manjusri (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Narendranath (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Satyaranjan (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Sunandamohan
Bhaumik, Sm. Gita
Bhaumik, Nirmalchandra (NC)
Brahma, Ajendranath
Chakrabarti, Sm. Gita
Chakrabarti, Jyotishchandra
Chattopadhyay, Sarojkumar (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Sunandamohan
Chattopadhyay, Tarakeswar
Chaudhuri, Dilipkumar (NC)
Das, Asokkumar
Das, Sm. Binapani
Das, Dharmanarayan (NC)
Das, Jagadischandra
Dasgupta, Sm. Anjali (NC)
Dasgupta, Sm. Kalyani
Dasgupta, Sm. Manika

Datta, Ajitkumar (NC)
Datta, Sm. Ila (NC)
Datta, Sm. Maya
Datta, Sm. Renu
Ghosh, Sm. Gita
Ghosh, Sm. Gita
Ghosh, Sm. Nila (NC)
Ghosh, Gorachand (NC)
Goswami, Narayanprasad
Guha, Sm. Gitika
Guin, Rabindranath (NC)
Haldar, Pramodbhushan (NC)
Jana, Sm. Manimala
Lala, Sm. Renuka
Majumdar, Subhendu (NC)
Mitra, Sm. Dolly
Mukhopadhyay, Abhayapada (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Chandidas
Mukhopadhyay, Jugalkisor (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Lakshmi
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Manika
Nandi, Rasbihari
Niyogi, Sm. Dipali
Ojha, Kshudiram
Pal, Pratapaditya
Pradhan, Sm. Bimalpratibha (NC)
Pramanik, Manoranjan (NC)
Rakshit, Pradyotkumar (NC)
Ray, Durgadas
Ray, Santoshkumar
Ray, Tapaskumar (NC)
Raychaudhuri, Nirmalchandra (NC)
Raychaudhuri, Prabhatkumar
Samanta, Balaram (NC)
Samanta, Sailendranath
Sana, Birendrajitkumar
Sarkar, Amalendu (NC)
Sarkar, Harendranath (NC)
Sarkar, Sm. Ketaki
Sarkar, Manoranjan
Sarkar, Sm. Tapati
Sashi, Sm. Prabha
Sengupta, Sm. Anjali
Sengupta, Sm. Gita (NC)
Sengupta, Sm. Nandita
Stocking, Miss Estelle (NC)
Talapatra, Harikinkar

1959

Aich, Sm. Renuka (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Asokkumar
Bhattacharyya, Dhirajmohan
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Gayatri
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Minati
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Rama (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Ramdulal (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Saradindu
Bhattacharyya, Sureschandra
Bandyopadhyay, Amiyakumar
Bandyopadhyay, Santoshkumar
Basu, Sm. Amita
Basu, Sm. Bani
Basu (Mrs. De), Sm. Bani (NC)
Basu, Sm. Lina (NC)
Basu, Sm. Manjari
Bera, Pareschandra (NC)
Chakrabarti, Sm. Papri (NC)
Chakrabarti, Sm. Rekha (NC)
Chakrabarti, Sm. Sakti
Chattopadhyay, Ekkari (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Asimkumar
Chattopadhyay, Brajadulal
Chattopadhyay, Jagannath (NC)
Chaubey, Kapildeo (NC)
Chaudhuri, Sm. Mamata
Chaudhuri, Sm. Namita
Das, Pijushkanti
Das Sm. Pushpita
Dasgupta, Lakshminath (NC)
Dasgupta, Narendranath (NC)
Dasgupta, Sm. Sipra
Datta, Basudeb
De, Kamalchandra
De, Sachindranath (NC)
De, Umeschandra (NC)
Debi, Sm. Madhuri (NC)
Gangopadhyay, Sm. Manjula

Ghosh, Sm. Archana
Ghoshdastidar, Sm. Rama
Guha, Sm. Aparna (NC)
Guha, Sm. Gitika (NC)
Majumdar, Subhrendranath
Mandal, Dhanapati (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Ajaykumar
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Arati
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Bhabani
Mukhopadhyay, Khagendranath (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Manjusri (NC)
Nag, Sm. Hena
Nandi, Sm. Gita
Nandi, Santoshkumar (NC)
Pal, Binaykrishna (NC)
Pal, Chittaranjan (NC)
Pal, Sm. Pratima (NC)
Rai, Sm. Padmakumari
Rana, Subalchandra
Ray, Pinakiranjan
Ray, Prasantakumar
Ray, Sasankasekhar
Raychaudhuri, Sm. Manika
Samanta, Rabindranath
Sarkar, Amalendu (NC)
Sarkar, Sm. Chhabi
Sen, Sunilkumar
Sen, Sm. Smriti (NC)
Som, Sm. Jaya

1960

Adhvaryu, Ramkrishna (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Taraknath (NC)
Banik, Sadhucharan
Barmanray, Sm. Abharani
Basu, Sm. Aparajita
Basu, Sm. Sona
Basu, Sm. Uma
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Basanti
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Minati
Bhattacharyya, Nilmani (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Pankaj
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Pranati
Biswas, Manindranath (NC)
Biswas, Mrigankashekhar (NC)
Chakrabarti, Asimkumar
Chakrabarti, Sm. Nandita
Chakrabarti, Niranjan (NC)
Chanda, Bimalendunarayan
Chattopadhyay, Sm. Gauri
Chattopadhyay, Kalidas (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Sm. Manjula
Chaudhuri, Kasinath
Chrestien, Arnold Rabindra (NC)
Chopra, Sm. Rajeshprabha
Das, Sm. Anima
Das, Dipakranjan
Das, Sm. Mukulbala
Das, Nirmalkumar (NC)
Das, Prahladchandra
Das, Sm. Sabita
Das, Sm. Sarojini (NC)
Dasgupta, Kalyankumar
Datta, Madangopal
Datta, Ranendranath
Deb, Rabindranath (NC)
Debbarman, Phanindrabhushan
Gangopadhyay, Sm. Bijita (NC)
Ghosh, Sm. Subhra
Ghoshal, Sm. Kalyani
Gupta, Sm. Anita (NC)
Hajra, Nabaghanasyam (NC)
Mahapatra, Sasankasekhar
Maiti, Amarendranath (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Adityanath
Mukhopadhyay, Sm, Dipti
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Manjulika (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Pratima
Nandi, Brajagopal
Narain, Sm. Usha
Niyogi, Haranchandra
Pal, Atulchandra
Palchaudhuri, Sm. Manju
Panda, Kalipada (NC)
Pandey, Narendranath
Patra, Abaniranjan (NC)

Pradhan, Harinarayan
Ray, Gobindalal (NC)
Ray, Sm. Karabi (NC)
Ray, Sm. Maya
Ray, Sm. Swarnalata (NC)
Raychaudhuri, Sm. Purnima
Saha, Panchanan (NC)
Sangama, Milton S.
Sanyal, Bhupendranath (NC)
Sanyal, Nirajkumar (NC)
Sarkar, Sm. Dyuti
Sen, Sm. Mira (NC)
Sen, Pasupatinath
Sen, Sm. Ratna
Sengupta, Dilipkumar (NC)
Sengupta, Santiranjan (NC)
Sengupta, Sarojranjan (NC)
Sengupta, Sm. Sutapa
Sikdar, Sm. Archana
Som, Sachindrakrishna (NC)

1951

Bandyopadhyay, Bimalendu
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Binapani (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Brajadulal
Bandyopadhyay, Satyanarayan
Bhadra, Subhashkumar
Bhattacharyya, Amitabha
Bhattacharyya, Asokkumar
Bhattacharyya, Dipakchandra
Bhattacharyya, Kalidas (NC)
Bhaumik, Susilchandra (NC)
Biswas, Asokkumar (NC)
Biswas, Sachindrasekhar
Biswas, Sailcskumar (NC)
Biswas, Tarankumar
Chakrabarti Arunkumar
Chakrabarti, Sm. Baby
Chakrabarti, Sm. Mira (NC)
Chakrabarti, Sm. Sabita
Chakrabarti Sm. Sudha
Chattopadhyay, Sm. Maya
Chaudhuri, Sm. Dipika
Chaudhuri, Manaskumar
Chaudhuri, Sm. Minakshi
Chaudhuri, Narayanchandra
Chaudhuri, Tinkari
Das, Jagadischandra (NC)
Dasgupta, Sm. Chandana
Dasgupta, Sm. Gita
Datta, Sm. Manjusri
Datta, Sm. Sibani
Debnath, Harinarayan (NC)
Dhar, Ajitkumar
Gangopadhyay, Dilipkumar
Ghatak, Tusharkanti (NC)
Ghosh, Apareschandra
Ghosh, Binaykumar (NC)
Ghosh, Sm. Sati
Gupta, Sm. Gita
Gupta, Sm. Krishna
Jalan, Sm. Kusum
Jana, Susantasekhar (NC)
Kar, Sm. Chitra
Konar, Subalchandra
Kundu, Sm. Mamata
Maitra, Jyotiswar (NC)
Maiti, Praphullakumar (NC)
Maiti, Sanatkumar
Maiti, Vivekananda (NC)
Malakar, Kalipada (NC)
Mandal Manindranath
Mitra, Sm. Kamala
Mitra, Rathindranath
Mitra, Sukumar
Mukhopadhyay, Ajitkumar (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Bimala
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Gita
Mukhopadhyay, Harikumar (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Mihirmohan
Mukhopadhyay, Sambhunath
Nag, Dilipkumar
Naskar, Satyendranath (NC)
Pani, Bimalkumar (NC)
Pattanayak, Saurendranath
Pradhan, Bansidhar
Ray, Manoranjan (NC)
Ray, Sm. Sudeb

Raychaudhuri, Sm. Amala
Ruj, Balaichandra
Sanyal, Hitesranjan
Sarkar, Asitkumar
Sarkar, Durgacharan
Sarkar, Mohanlal
Sarkar, Prabhatkumar (NC)
Sarkar, Sm. Pratibha (NC)
Sarkar, Suprakas
Sharma, Ganesh Prasad

1962

Bag, Subhashchandra (NC)
Baisya, Nilendukumar
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Jayanti
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Mridula
Bandyopadhyay, Sunilbaran (NC)
Basu, Anilkumar (NC)
Basu, Santosh (NC)
Bhadra, Sankarchandra
Bhakta, Bhaktibhushan (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Kamalakanta (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Manoranjan (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Syamalendu
Bhaumik, Amulyaratan (NC)
Biswas, Dhananjay
Biswas, Jyotiprakash
Biswas, Radharaman
Biswas, Satyendraprasad (NC)
Chakrabarti, Biswanath (NC)
Chakrabarti, Biswanath (NC)
Chakrabarti, Biswaranjan (NC)
Chakrabarti, Biswaranjan (NC)
Chakrabarti, Jyantakumar (NC)
Chaudhuri, Asishkumar (NC)
Chaudhuri, Sm. Krishna
Chaudhuri, Prabirkumar (NC)
Das, Amitabha (NC)
Das, Bamdeb (NC)
Das, Sm. Nilima
Datta, Namitkumar
Dattamajumdar, Manabendra (NC)
De, Guruprasad (NC)
Gangopadhyay, Sm. Reba
George, P. V.
Gharai, Mukundalal (NC)
Ghosh, Biswanath (NC)
Ghosh, Sm. Bithika
Ghosh, Paresnath (NC)
Ghosh, Rajenkumar (NC)
Ghoshhajra, Purnachandra
Goswami, Niranjan
Guha, Bisweswar (NC)
Gupta, Sm. Debjani
Gupta, Kalipada (NC)
Gupta, Sm. Pratima (NC)
Gupta, Rabindranath (NC)
Gupta, Sanjaykumar
Hajra, Prabhakar
Kar, Makhanlal (NC)
Kumar, Bimalendu (NC)
Mahato, Gaurchandra (NC)
Maiti, Bishnupada
Majumdar, Sm. Santasri
Mandal, Kanailal
Mandal, Mohanbansi (NC)
Mandal, Ramapati (NC)
Mandal, Subhashchandra
Mukhopadhyay, Adyanath (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Barin (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Biswanath (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Kisorimohan (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Namita
Mukhopadhyay, Rabilochan (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Sudhansusekhar
Munsi, Sm. Jharna (NC)
Nandi, Sm. Sulekha
Pradhan, Albert John (NC)
Purkayastha, Rabindralal (NC)
Ray, Guruprasad (NC)
Ray, Sm, Mina
Ray, Paresnath
Sanyal, Samirkumar

Sardar, Amalkrishna (NC)
Sarkar, Ajaykumar (NC)
Sarkar, Bimalkrishna
Sarkar, Jaydebkumar (NC)
Sarkar, Nagendranath
Sen, Debaprasad
Sengupta, Debabrata (NC)
Sengupta, Mrinalkanti
Sensarma, Bijaykumar
Singh, Denis Aita (NC)
Sinha, Sm. Pratima (NC)
Sinha, Smarajitkumar (NC)
Sinhababu, Naliniranjan (NC)
Sinharay, Achintyakumar (NC)

1963

Adhikari, Kshirodranjan (NC)
Baisya, Anantakumar (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Baladeb (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Dilipkumar
Bandyopadhyay, Jnanendralal
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Krishna
Bandyopadhyay, Samares
Barman, Sm. Kalyani
Basu, Bikaskumar (NC)
Basu, Debkumar (NC)
Basu, Sm. Kanika
Basu, Sm. Ratna
Basu, Samirkumar (NC)
Basu, Surathkumar (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Arati (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Archana (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Bimalendu (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Hansanarayan (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Jayati
Bhattacharyya, Kanailal (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Prasaddas (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Santoskumar
Bhaumik, Rajendrakumar (NC)
Bhaumik, Sudhirranjan (NC)
Biswas, Balahari (NC)
Biswas, Sm. Harimadhuri (NC)
Biswas, Sm. Sabita
Chakrabarti, Dilipkumar (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Sm. Annapurna (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Ramkrishna (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Santiranjan (NC)
Chaudhuri, Sm. Amiyabishnu
Chaudhuri, Sm. Arati
Chaudhuri, Biswanath (NC)
Dangeich, Satyanarayan (NC)
Das, Sm. Binata
Das, Parbatikumar (NC)
Das, Sm. Swastika (NC)
Dasgupta, Narendranath (NC)
Dasmahapatra, Mrigankamauli
Debhaumik, Sm. Ratna
Datta, Sarojit
Datta, Utpal (NC)
Gangopadhyay, Sm. Aparajita (NC)
Ghosh, Ajitkumar (NC)
Ghosh, Anilkumar (NC)
Ghosh, Sm. Hasirasi (NC)
Ghosh, Patitpaban (NC)
Goswami, Amares (NC)
Gupta, Sm. Jayanti
Gupta, Sm. Manjari
Hor, Kamalkanti (NC)
Huda, Shamsul (NC)
Kundu, Susantakumar
Maiti, Badalchandra (NC)
Majumdar, Asokkumar (NC)
Majumdar, Pankajkumar
Majumdar, Sukamal
Mandal Gopendranath (NC)
Mandal, Sadananda (NC)
Manna, Srinibaschandra
Mitra, Abanikumar (NC)
Mitra, Jitendranath (NC)
Mitra, Sm. Krishna
Mitra, Sm. Namita
Mitra, Tarunkumar (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Amalchandra
Mukhopadhyay, Apurbakumar (NC)

Mukhopadhyay, Himansu (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Mira
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Nupur (NC)
Nandi, Gaurpada (NC)
Pal, Krishnadas (NC)
Pandu, Niradbaran (NC)
Pathak, Sm. Malina
Poddar, Satyendranath (NC)
Ray, Sm. Bharati
Ray, Bhudharchandra (NC)
Ray, Manoranjan (NC)
Ray, Sm. Nandini
Ray, Sujanananda (NC)
Ray, Sunilkumar (NC)
Saha, Amiyakumar (NC)
Saha, Sm. Lina
Saha, Pasupati (NC)
Samanta, Sankarprasad (NC)
Sannigrahi, Mahadeb (NC)
Saraswati, Bandana
Saunda, Gopalprasad
Sarkar, Kalinath (NC)
Sarkar, Sailendranath (NC)
Singh, Norbert Urbanus (NC)
Sinha, Sm. Namita
Som, Nirmalya
Talwar, Sm. Pramila

1964

Bandyopadhyay, Bansidhari (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Basudeb (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Bharati
Bandyopadhyay, Haradhan
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Kamala (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Kumkum (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Purnachandra (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Purnima (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Samirkumar
Bandyopadhyay, Sarojkumar (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Sibani
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Sipra
Bardhan, Gopalchandra (NC)
Basu, Sm. Chandana
Basu, Sm. Manika (NC)
Basu, Mrinalkanti
Basu, Sm. Nandita
Basu, Ramkrishna
Basu, Sm. Runu
Basu, Sanatkumar (NC)
Basu, Sm. Sipra
Basu, Sm. Snigdha
Basumallik, Mathurmohan
Bhaduri, Sm. Kamala (NC)
Bharati, Tarakdeb
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Anima (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Bilwanath
Bhattacharyya, Jagannath (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Lakshmankumar (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Nandita
Bhawal, Nityananda (NC)
Biswas, Amulyakumar
Biswas, Arunkumar
Biswas, Barindrakumar (NC)
Chakrabarti, Sm. Anjali
Chakrabarti, Bhubaneswar (NC)
Chakrabarti, Biswaranjan (NC)
Chakrabarti, Nirmalkumar (NC)
Chakrabarti, Rabindranath
Chakrabarti, Sachipati (NC)
Chakrabarti, Sanjiban
Chattopadhyay, Sm. Anjali
Chattopadhyay, Sm. Bharati
Chattopadhyay, Susilkumar (NC)
Chaudhuri, Haranath (NC)
Chaudhuri, Kasinath (NC)
Chaudhuri, Sm. Nandini (NC)
Das, Asishkumar
Das, Biswanath
Das, Sm. Maya (NC)
Das, Sm. Pratima (NC)
Das, Satyajit (NC)
Dasgupta, Sm. Manjusri (NC)
Dasgupta, Subratakumar

Datta, Madhusudan (NC)
De, Amarendranath (NC)
De, Gorachand
De, Sm Mrinalini
De, Sm. Suchitra (NC)
Debi, Sm. Sabita (NC)
Dhar, Sm. Rama (NC)
Gangopadhyay, Sm. Sulata
Ghosh, Bhupatibhusan
Ghosh, Bibhashendranath (NC)
Ghosh, Kisor
Ghosh, Sm. Krishna
Ghosh, Niranjan
Ghosh, Sm. Sandhyarani
Ghosh, Tarasankar
Ghoshal, Sm. Atreyi
Ghoshchaudhuri, Sanjibkumar (NC)
Guha, Sm. Dipti
Gupta, Sm. Gita (NC)
Gurung, Philip Phukuna (NC)
Hosain, Sk Mozammel (NC)
Kar Jogeschandra
Kar, Sm. Sonali
Kar, Sm. Usharani (NC)
Kundu, Sm. Hasi
Maitra, Sumitkumar (NC)
Majumdar, Sm. Alakananda
Majumdar, Bijan
Majumdar, Sudhamay (NC)
Mandal, Durgapada
Mandal, Govindaprasad
Mandal, Sm. Kalyani
Mitra, Sm. Anima
Mitra, Nandadulal (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Dwijendrakumar (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Sm. Mita
Mukhopadhyay, Paritosh (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Suhaschandra
Naskar, Hridayranjan (NC)
Pal, Sm. Sandhya
Pal, Srirupkumar
Palit, Binaybhushan (NC)
Pan, Mohinimohan (NC)
Pathak, Sm. Kanika
Pattanayak, Satischandra (NC)
Pradhan, Janendranath (NC)
Rai, Akhilesh Narain (NC)
Rangaswami, Sm. Vijaya (NC)
Rauth, Charuchandra (NC)
Ray, Amarendranath (NC)
Ray, Sm Dipali
Ray, Kantibhushan (NC)
Ray, Sm. Krishna
Ray, Lakshmikanta (NC)
Ray, Pritimadhab (NC)
Ray, Sm. Smriti (NC)
Saha, Sm Bharati
Saha, Sm. Mayarani
Sahu, Anilkumar (NC)
Sarkar, Sm. Ila
Sarkar, Priyendumadhab (NC)
Sau, Bhadreswar (NC)
Sen, Sm. Jharna (NC)
Sen, Kanailal (NC)
Sen, Ramprasad (NC)
Sen, Sm. Ratna (NC)
Sengupta, Asishkumar (NC)
Sengupta, Nikhilranjan (NC)
Sengupta, Prasantakumar
Sengupta, Sadhanchandra (NC)
Singh Rai, Benjamin Randip (NC)
Sinha, Anilkumar (NC)
Sinha, Mrityunjay (NC)
Sinha, Sm. Simanti
Sinharay, Baidyanath
Talukdar, Sm. Tanusri
Thakuri, Tek Bahadur (NC)

1965

Adhikari, Nareschandra (NC)
Allay, Premkumar
Bandyopadhyay, Haripada (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Manidipa
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Sima
Bardhan, Sm. Swapna
Basnayake, Henry Tissera
Basu, Dipakkumar

Basu, Gopalchandra
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Dipali
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Sipra
Bhattacharyya, Sitikantha (NC)
Bhaumik, Kanailal (NC)
Bhaumik, Manotoshchandra (NC)
Biswas, Sm. Rubi
Biswas, Subhrendu (NC)
Chakrabarti, Sm. Arati
Chakrabarti, Sm. Gita
Chakrabarti, Kanchankumar (NC)
Chakrabarti, Sudhirkumar (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Bhupendranath (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Sm. Sumita
Chattopadhyay, Pijushkanti (NC)
Chaudhuri, Rajatchandra (NC)
Das, Asitkumar
Das, Bamapada
Das, Ramchandra
Das, Santiranjan (NC)
Das, Sujitkumar
Datta, Sm. Anima
Datta, Sm. Asa (NC)
Datta, Bijaykumar (NC)
Datta, Sm. Bithika
Datta, Parimalkrishna
De, Sm. Chhaya
De, Dwijen (NC)
De, Sm. Krishna
De, Madhusudan (NC)
De, Sitansukumar (NC)
Ghosh, Arunkumar (NC)
Ghosh, Bibhutibhushan (NC)
Ghosh, Sm. Raka
Ghoshal, Sm. Nilima
Goswami, Sm. Chhaya (NC)
Goswami, Sibaranjan (NC)
Guha, Asokkumar
Guha, Sm. Panchali
Hajra, Asokananda
Kanrar, Hrishikes
Kole, Madanmohan (NC)
Laha, Satyacharan (NC)
Lahiri, Niranjankrishna
Mahata, Bibhutibhushan (NC)
Maiti, Tarapada(NC)
Maitra, Sm. Jayanti
Mallik, Pradipkumar
Mandal, Jadupati (NC)
Mandal, Nirmalendu (NC)
Mitra, Sm. Arati (NC)
Mitra, Krishnasakha (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Baidyanath-prasad (NC)
Mukhopadhyay, Jibanhari (NC)
Nandi, Ajaykumar (NC)
Nandi, Amalkumar
Nayak, Umakanta
Pore, Paresnath (NC)
Purkait, Chandrasekhar
Ray, Lalima (NC)
Ray, Sm. Namita
Raychaudhuri, Sm. Uma
Saha, Phanibhushan (NC)
Samanta, Madanmohan (NC)
Sardar, Birendranath
Sarkar, Sm. Kalidasi
Sarkar, Rajatkumar (NC)
Sarkar, Sm. Sandhya
Sau, Chittaranjan (NC)
Sen, Dwijen (NC)
Sen, Sm. Nilima
Sengupta, Sm. Bandana (NC)
Sinha, Sm. Archana (NC)
Sur, Sm. Pritirani (NC)
Talukdar, Sm. Anima
Ukil, Sm. Ketaki

1966

Acharyya, Sm. Swapna
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Karabi (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Sm. Mira
Bandyopadhyay, Mohanlal (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Narayan-chandra (NC)
Bandyopadhyay, Nisikanta (NC)

Bandyopadhyay, Prasantakumar (NC)
Barman, Sm Bithika (NC)
Basu, Sm. Sakti (NC)
Bera, Amulyaratan (NC)
Bhadra, Ajitkumar (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Anima
Bhattacharyya, Bijanbihari (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Dipti (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Karunes (NC)
Bhattacharyya, Sm. Sumita
Bhaumik, Janakimohan
Bhaumik, Kenaram (NC)
Bhaumik, Sm. Manju
Biswas, Sm. Renuka (NC)
Biswas, Subhashchandra (NC)
Chakrabarti, Sm. Madhuri
Chakrabarti, Sm. Pranati
Chakrabarti, Prithwischandra (NC)
Chakrabarti, Rabindranath (NC)
Chandra, Sm. Swapna
Chattopadhyay, Anjankumar
Chattopadhyay, Debendranath (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Dilipkumar (NC)
Chattopadhyay, Tapas
Chattopadhyay, Sm. Uma
Chaudhuri, Sm. Maya (NC)
Das, Arunsankar (NC)
Das, Sm. Bharati
Das, Gunadhar (NC)
Das, Sm. Kamala
Das, Narendranath (NC)
Das, Sm. Rama (NC)
Das, Sm. Sakuntala
Das, Samirkumar
Das, Santoshkumar (NC)
Das, Sm. Sipra (NC)
Das, Subalchandra
Das, Tulasicharan (NC)
Dasgupta, Sm. Pratibha
Datta, Amulyachandra (NC)
Datta, Sm. Sumita
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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 13, line 6. — *Read* — who is
„ „ line 8. — *Read* — now General Manager
„ 27, line 7. — *Read* — XII-XXI
„ 28, line 3. — *Read* — Mr. D. J. McCutchion
„ 29, line 15. — *Read* — accommodation
„ 31, line 34. — Read — *Śakuntalā*
„ 57, line 19. — *Read* — speciņus
„ 69, foot-note 2. — *Add* — See p. 370. A copy of the transcript was received by me through Sri Sen.
„ 72, line 18. — *Read* — Srong-btsan-sgam-po's raids
„ 80, line 5. — *Read* — Koṇārak
„ 106, foot-note 5. — *Omit the foot-note.*
„ 132, line 30. — *Read* — Gopa Krishna
„ 146, foot-note 8, line 3. — *Read* — near Jajpur
„ 154, line 3. — *Read* — marketing
„ 154, foot-note 4. — *Add* — According to the *Shi-ki*, "In the west, they (the Yue-chi) defeated the Ta-hia and made them subject to themselves. Thereafter they lived to the north of the Oxus river and established their headquarters there" (Konow, *op. cit.*, p. liii). According to the *Ts'ien Han-shu*, the five principalities of Ta-hia, each under a *hi-hou*, "all depended on the Ta Yue-chi" (*ibid.*, p. lvi). The *T'ang-shu* mentions a locality called Kuei-shuang-ni-kia in K'ang, midway between Samarkand and Bokhara (*loc. cit.*). The Kuei-shuang principality in Bactria may have been founded by the Yue-chi group hailing from that locality.
„ 163, line 8. — *Read* — chieftain
„ „ foot-note 35, line 1. — Read — *Soviet Union*
„ 167, line 13. — *Read* — Śaka
„ 171, line 6. — *Read* — Utara
„ „ foot-note 35, line 1, — Read — *ASI-AR*
„ 172, foot-note 41, line 5. — Read — *History of Orissa*
„ 190, line 13. — *Read* — Karṇāṭa

Page 192, line 24. — *Read* — Ptolemy
„ 202, line 5. — Omit — *soma*
„ 204, line 29, — *Read* — Gaṇeśa
„ 211, line 2. — *Read* — Pushkar-Ajmer
„ 236, foot-note, line 1. — *Read* — grateful. *Add to the foot-note* — Thibaut was the Registrar of Calcutta University from 1907.
„ 243, foot-note — *Add* — We have just received from Dr. A. N. Daw, Controller of Examinations, Calcutta University, a copy of the Abinaschandra Memorial issue of the *Gandhavaṇik* (Phālgun, 1374 B.S.) which contains some articles on the life of Abinaschandra.
„ 267, foot-note. — *Add* — Kimura's *Historical Study of the Terms 'Mahāyāna' and 'Hīnayāna' and Origin of Mahāyāna,* published by Calcutta University, is still a text-book for AIHC, Group III.
„ 272, line 10 — Read — *North-East India.*
„ 275, foot-note. — *Add* — Dr. Ghoshal was attached to the History Department of the Presidency College, Calcutta, in 1909-14 and 1919-41 and of the Rajshahi Government College in 1914-19. It is a matter of great regret to us that he passed away on the 15th July, 1969, when these pages were going through the press.
„ 289, line 10. — *Read* — Universities
„ 293, line 1. — *Read* — Prabodhchandra
„ 304, foot-note 2. — *Add* — D.C.S.
„ 347, foot-note, line 8. — *Read* — 1968
„ 347, foot-note, line 12. — *Read* — he published
„ 349, line 26. — *Read* — available
„ 355, line 18. — *Read* — Zurich
„ 362, foot-note, line 8. — *Read* — Prof.
„ 365, line 31. — *Read* — from North Calcutta to Bhandarkar's residence in South Calcutta
„ 368, line 6 — *Read* — Martin Burn *for*—L.I.C.I.
„ 414, line 15. — *Read* — Sten Konow
„ 416, line 35. — *Read* — Mahābhārata
„ 450, lines 12-13, *Read* — Manabendranarayan ... Tiwari
„ 460, line 35. — *Read* — Manabendranarayan

Page 469, foot-note. — *Add* — Dr. B. P. Mazumdar of Patna draws our attention to the *Pravarttak* which published Bijaychandra's obituary with his photograph in its issue of Phālgun, 1349 B. S., pp. 247-48. His father was Harachandra Mazumdar and he studied at Jhenidah and at Krishnagar where he became a friend of D. L. Roy. As a student in Calcutta, he came into contact with Iswarchandra Vidyasagar and Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and became a Brahmo under Kesabchandra Sen's influence After graduation, he became Private Tutor to the Princes of the Bamra State (Orissa) and later of those of the Sonepur State. On becoming a Bachelor of Law (1895), he became Legal Advisor to those States and began practice at Sambalpur. Before this, he served as a teacher in the Government Schools at Cuttack and Puri and also as Headmaster of the Sambalpur Government School. He married Basanti Devi, the eldest daughter of the celebrated Oriya poet Madhusudan Rao of Cuttack. His Bengali works include *Henyāli*, *Rucirā*, *Jīvanvāpī*, *Chinṭe-phoṇṭā*, etc. He was the editor of the monthly *Vaṅgavāṇī*.

Page 291, foot-note, line 4 —*Read*—May 3, 1969

„ 347, foot-note, line 12.—*Read*—K. K. Das Gupta and

„ 365, line 31.—*Read*—from North Calcutta to Bhandarkar's residence in South Calcutta

„ 369, line 29.—*Read*—was born

„ 376.—*Add*—His published literary works in Bengali include *Mīlalekha* and *Ādiśar Chāyā*

„ 422, line 2.—*Read*—(1908-62)

„ 490, 1. col., line 30.—*Read*—Prasantakumar

„ 514, r. col., line 38.—*Read*—Bongard-Levin







Ramaprasad Chanda (p 249)



Haranchandra Chakladar (p. 255)



Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar (p. 258)





Ryukan Kimura (p 266)



Radhagovinda Basak (p 268)



Upendranath Ghoshal (p 274)



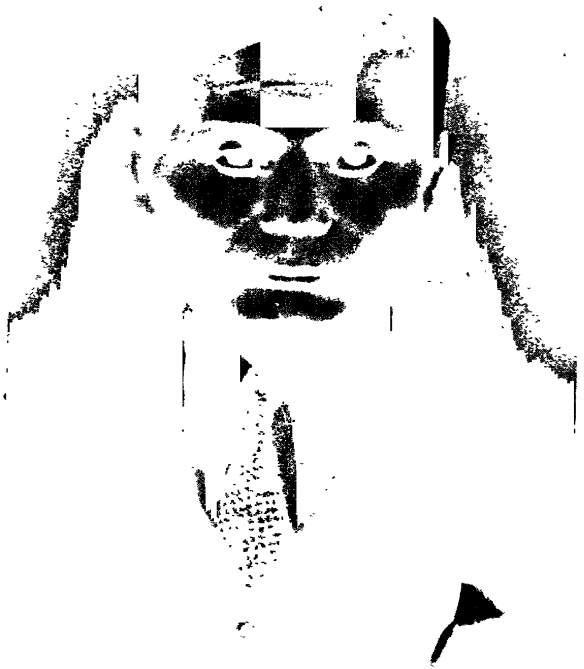
Jiro Masuda (p 276)



Arun Sen (p 277)

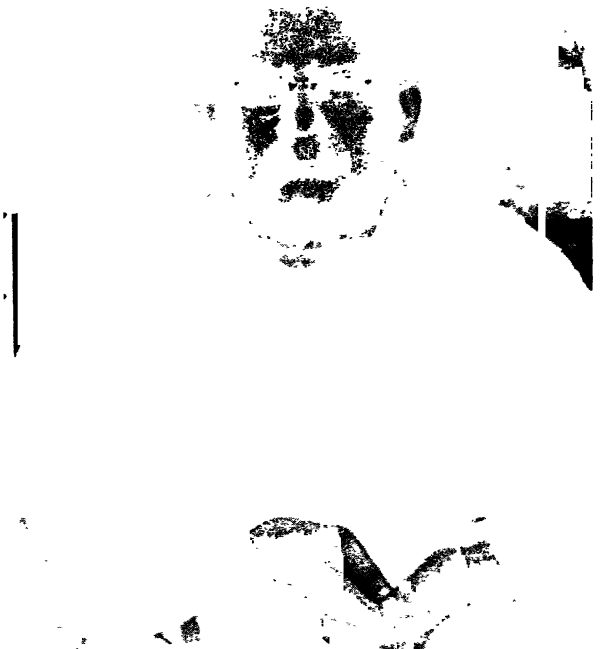


Rameshchandra Majumdar (p 281)



Benimadhab Barua (p. 290)





Hemchandra Raychaudhuri (p. 301)



Panchanan Mitra (p. 305)



Jitendranath Banerjea (p 313)



Nalinnath Dasgupta (p 323)



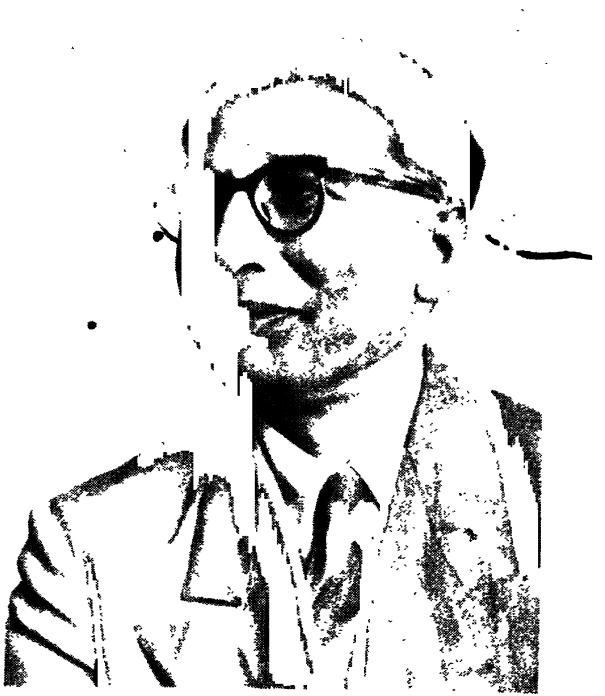
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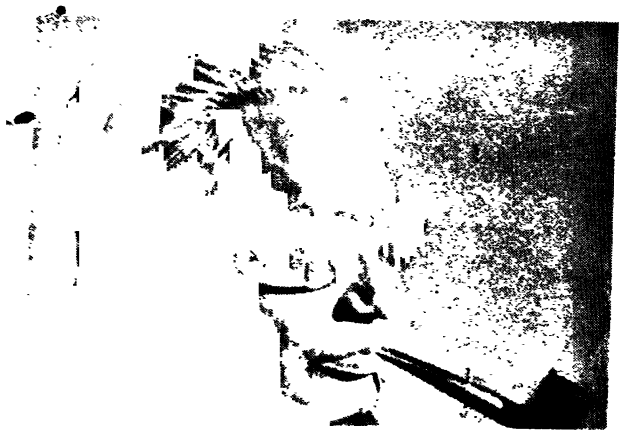
Nanigopal Majumdar (p 331)



Debaprasad Ghosh (p 348)



Niharranjan Ray (p 353)



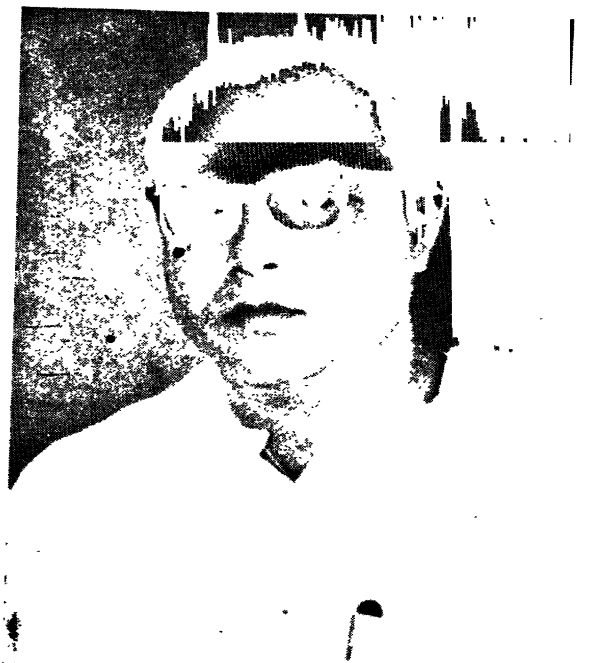
Sarasikumar Saraswati (p 360)



Dineschandra Sircar (p 363)



Amarendranath Lahiri (p 377)



Sisirkumar Mitra (p 383)



Kshitischandra Sarkar (p 389)



Niradbandhu Sanyal (p 394)



Tridibnath Ray (p 397)



Tarapada Bhattacharya (p. 401)



Bimalkanti Majumdar (p. 405)



Atulkrishna Sur (p. 409)



Charuchandra Dasgupta (p. 422)



Mohankumar Mookerjee (p. 432)



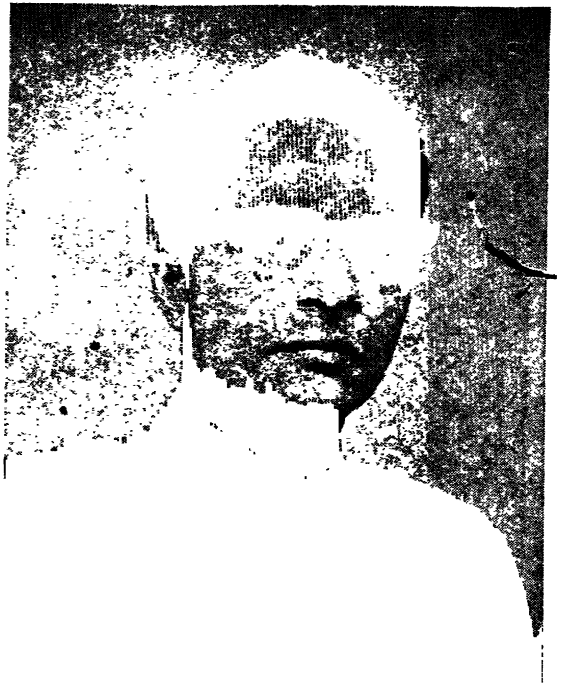
Sushilkumar Bose (p. 436)



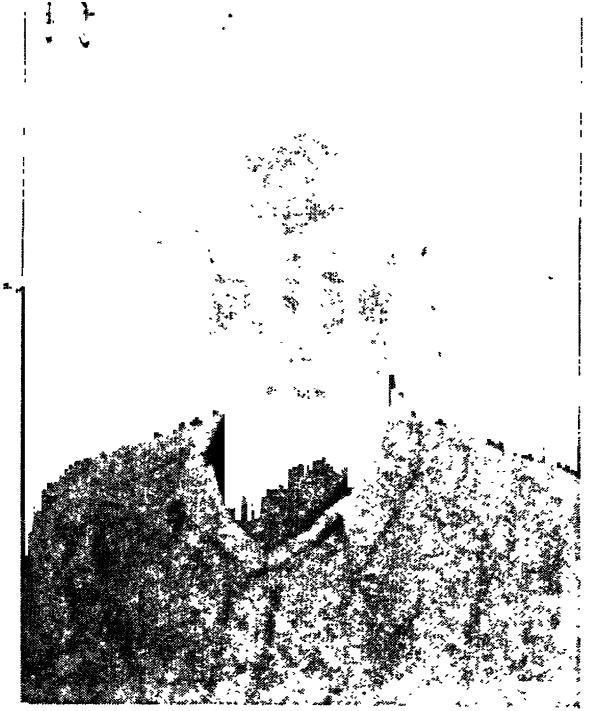
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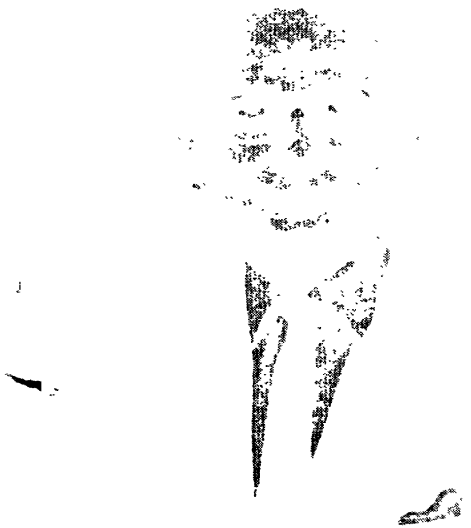
Upendra Thakur (p. 456)



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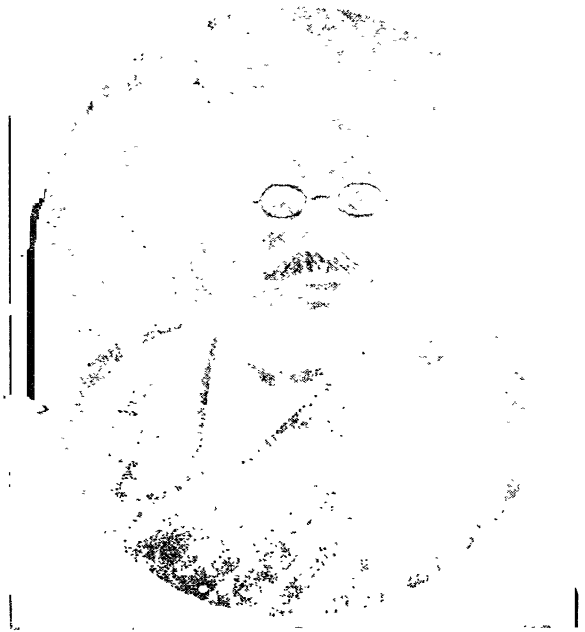
Premdhar Chaudhury (p. 466)



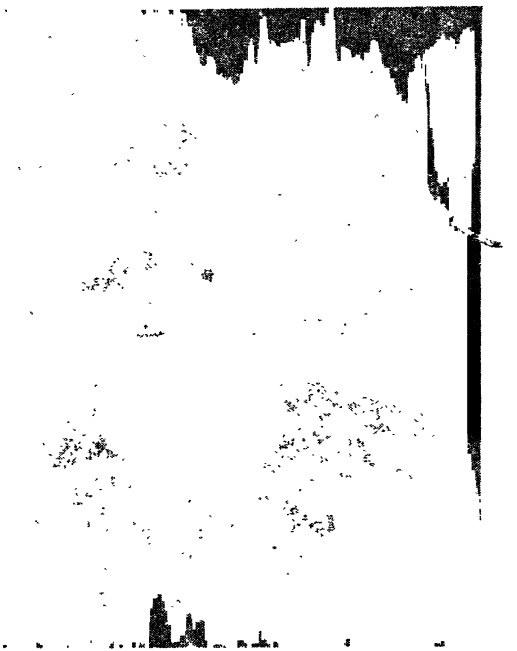
Prabodhchandra Sengupta (p. 470)



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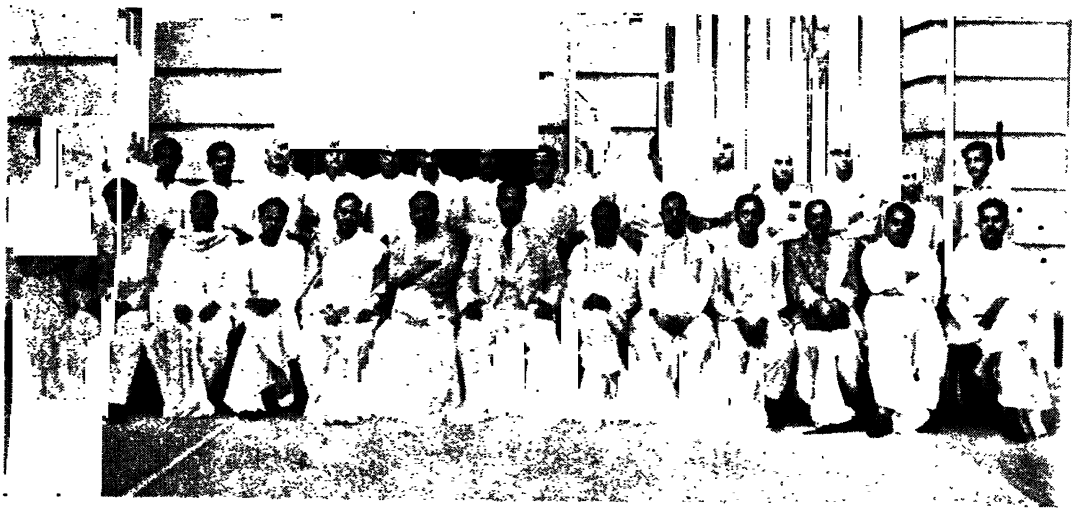


Abinaschandra Das (p. 241)



Jibendrakumar Guha (p. 442)

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On Chairs (*L to R*) :—Dr. H. C. Ray, Mrs. J Basu, Miss J Devi, A Banerjee, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Prof. S. Suhrawardy, Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, M. M. Vidhusekhar Sastri, Dr F. W. Thomas, S. P. Mukherjee (Vice-Chancellor), Prof. H. C. Raychoudhuri, D P. Ghosh, Dr. D C. Sarkar, Dr B C. Sen, K. K. Ganguly, J. N. Banerjea, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr N. Dutt, S. N Mitra (Secretary, P G Arts)

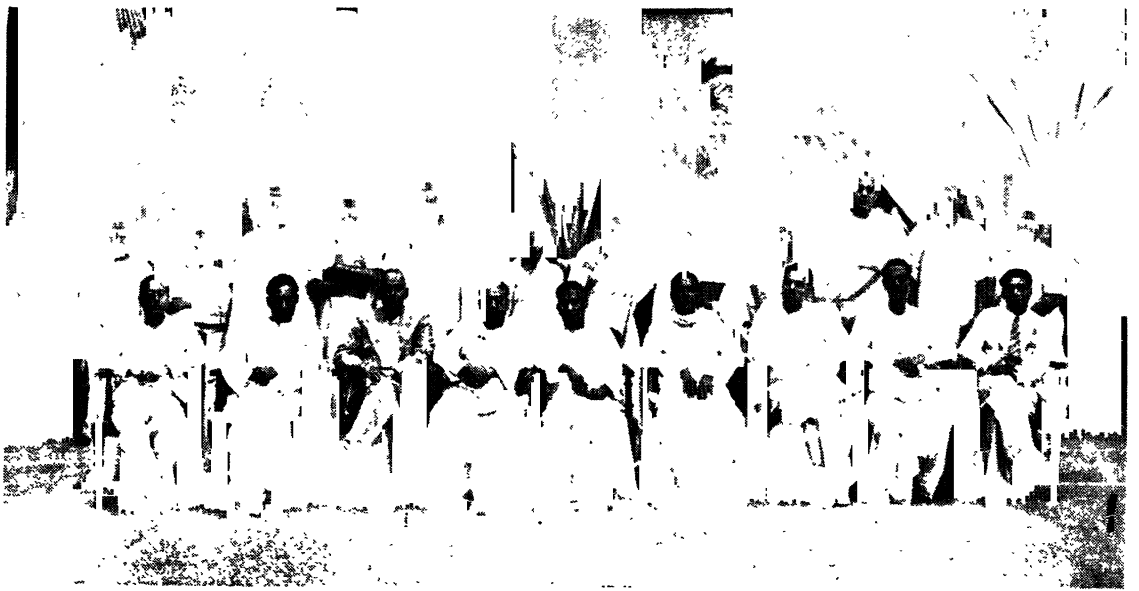
On the ground (*L to R*) :—G. S. Dutt, T. Vimalananda, A. K. Mitra, B. Sen Gupta.

AIHC, 1941



Left to right—
Seated—Dr D. C Sarkar, Dr H. C Ray, S K. Saraswati, D P. Ghosh, J N Banerjea, Dr. N C Banerjee, Prof H C. Raychaudhuri, Miss S. Guha Ray, Mrs A. Dutta, Miss. P. Bose, Mrs. Y. Chaudhury, Dr. N. R. Ray
Standing—1st Row— *, S. Das, P. Chandra, L. K Chakrabarty, T Datta, I Das Sarma, V Misra, A N. Lahiri, J. Bag, S. C. Chandra, A. Sengupta, D. Banerjee, R. Ghosh, S Banerjee, G Hajra, N Bhuiya, *
2nd Row—M. Sen, I. Bhattacharya, J Bhattacharya, A Mitra, N Mitra, K. Bhattacharya, A. Sarma, B Changkakati, D. Guha, A. Barua, D. K. Biswas, S Ray, S Mandal, S Mitra, N Ganguly, S Ray,

A I H C (Fine Arts Group), 1948



Left to right—
Sitting— *, S. K. Saraswati, Dr. K. D. Nag, S. N. Mitra (Secretary, P. G. Arts), Prof. H. C Raychaudhuri, J. N. Banerjea, D P. Ghosh, K. K. Ganguli, Dr. N R. Ray

A I H C (First Reunion of Old and New Students), 1958



Seated on chairs (left to right)—B K Chatterjee (Howrah Girls' College), Dr K K. Ganguly, Dr S R Das, T. N Chakrabarti, D. K Biswas, D. Mukherjee, Dr. S K Mitra, S. Mookerjee (University Library), Dr. C. C Das Gupta (Sanskrit College, Calcutta), N. N Das Gupta, Prof J. N. Banerjea and D. P. Ghosh.

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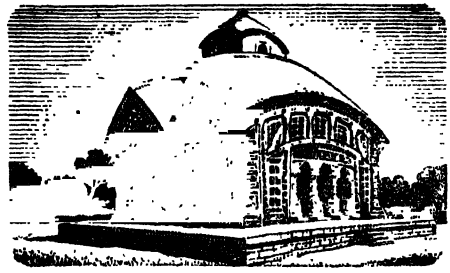
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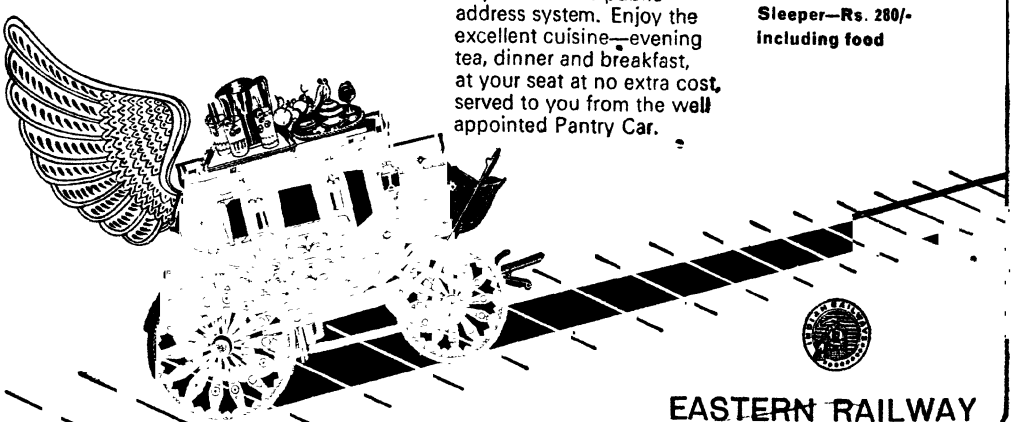
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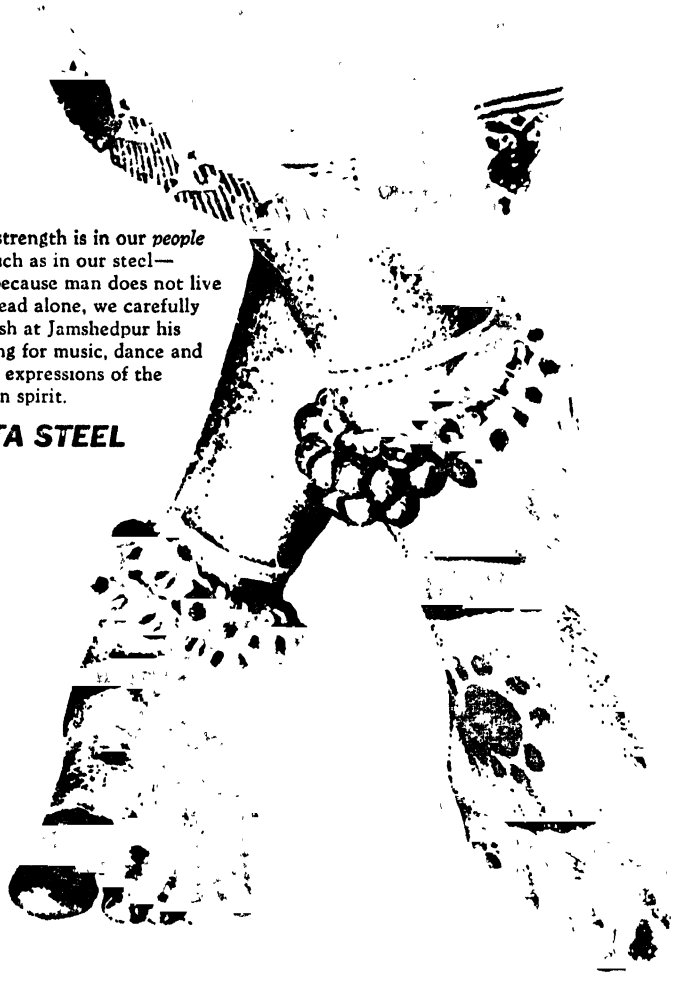
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