INDIAN CULTURE

Vol. XIV, No. 4 (April—June 1948)

EDITED BY

DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B. (Hony.).

BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.A.S. (Hony.), F.R.A.S.B., F.Bom.R.A.S.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH, D.Phil., D.Lit.

Published by

SATI CHANDRA SEAL, M.A., B.L.,

HONY. GENERAL SECRETARY, THE INDIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE,

170 MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD STREET, CALCUTTA (INDIA)

AN CULTURE'

on the continued publication

y admirable undertaking, em- colleagues and fellow students. this new publication.

s the high standard which is the richness of its contents.

natter and forebodes a bright

d your collaborators on the ain full of interesting matter

s many good things. I am Winternitz on the Śramaṇa-Literature. It is the most interesting and useful journal for philosophy and history.

Dr. A. B. Keith.—It is a most interesting number and if the standard of achievement is maintained you will have secured a very valuable addition to the number of scholarly periodicals issued in India.

Dr. F. W. Thomas, *C.I.E.*—May I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of your *Indian Culture* and my congratulations upon the completion of a whole volume, with Index and Table of Contents—a very important appendage? The volume contains a large number of articles of a scholarly and serious character and *is a credit to India*. Many of the authors of the articles are old friends of mine, and I would gladly plunge into the fray again, if I could only get free from my present entanglement in Central Asian studies. You have an army of capable contributors.

Dr. L. D. Barnett.—The *Indian Culture*, I am glad to see, still maintains the same high level of scholarly excellence.

Dr. J. Przyluski.— . . . Fine Journal . . . . .

Dr. Th. Stcherbatsky.—A splendid issue.

Mr. Charles E. A. W. Oldham.—May I take this opportunity of congratulating you on the standard being maintained by the *Indian Culture* and the success you have achieved with this Journal.

It is gratifying to notice how Indian Culture maintains its high level of scholarship and appears with such comparative regularity in the face of present-day difficulties.

Sir C. W. Gurner, *I.C.S.*— . . . a publication of a very high standard.

Director, Archaeological Department, Hyderabad-Deccan.—I congratulate you heartily on the excellence of the articles published in the first number and I hope the standard will be maintained under your able management.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (Vol. IX, Part I, July, 1934).—This very admirable periodical will be welcomed all over the c[illegible] by all those who are devoted to the promotion of research into the ancient [illegible]ure. The excellent character of this new Journal [illegible] published in it, and the enterprise and devotion [illegible]olars seem to make *Indian Culture* rightly and [illegible]reated by the unfortunate discontinuance of the [illegible]e *Indian Antiquary*. This new Journal, three [illegible] shows itself to be first class scientific periodical [illegible] Like the *Indian Antiquary*, it is hoped that this [illegible] forum to all devoted and inspiring workers under [illegible]distinguished and vetera[illegible]savant Dr. Devadatta [illegible]s assisted by willing [illegible]brilliant scholars like [illegible]n Law. We heartily congratulate the management [illegible]ndard of excellence that is attained and hope that [illegible]n it will be maintained. There is no doubt that [illegible]ition to the number of scholarly journals published [illegible] success.

B. C. Law Volume, Pts. I & II

(Price Rs.30 & Rs.20)

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (July-October, 1947).—The volume consists of articles from more than 100 distinguished research scholars and writers among the friends and admirers of Dr. B. C. Law. The two parts contain nearly 1,200 pages and 119 articles covering every branch of indology and Indian activity and all periods from the Indus civilization from the 3rd millennium B.C. up to date. The contributors are world wide. No less than 24 out of the 119 articles relate to Buddhism and allied topics, 21 to literary research topics, 17 to Indian history, and 13 to modern topics. Dr. Keith's article is fully documented and is a comprehensive review. Dr. Bata Krishna Ghosh's article is a scholarly contribution based on the study of the Vedic hymns, Brāhmanas, etc. Dr. S. M. Katre has laid philologists under a deep debt of gratitude. Dr. Barua's contribution on *Indus script and the Tantric Code* is the most notable. Dr. Barua's *Pratītyasamutpāda* is the most important article. A very suggestive article is contributed by Prof. N. K. Bhagwat condemning the charge of *Bhūnahu* brought against the Buddha by the paribrājaka Māgandiya. Dr. B. C. Law's popularity has attracted seven moslem Indologists. There is not an activity or Journal connected with Indology of the last three decades in which he has not actively interested himself. His principal interest was in Buddhistic studies and by his monumental works on ancient Buddhist tribal history and geography, he has carved a niche for himself in the gallery of distinguished Indologists.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Pts. 3 and 4 of 1946).—These two handsome volumes of articles have been contributed by many friends and admirers to a man of letters with more than 40 works on Indian subjects to his credit. They contain authoritative articles dealing with the archaeology, art, education, history, literature, law, and religion of India. Their scope is so wide that the volumes have needed the services of five Indian scholars as editors. The variety of the contents makes it impossible to deal with them in a single review. Dr. Law's name is already engraved on the tablets of history for his many charities and this volume will assure him of a literary immortality.

Sir John Marshall.—A very fine and very valuable work of which I am sure you must be proud. I am only too sorry that my long illness prevented me from offering you my own tribute to the great services you have rendered to Indic studies and to the encouragement you have always been so ready to give to the other workers in the same field. At fifty-five you are still relatively a young man and it must be a great satisfaction to you to feel that you have accomplished so much. I pray that you may have many years ahead of you in which to continue your useful labours. I myself have devoted a long life to archaeological research but I confess that I am amazed when I read the stupendous record of your own achievements. It is hard to believe that one brain can acquire and give out so much.

Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Vol. III, Pt. I.—The volume consists of articles on Indology by eminent scholars both of the country and abroad. Every article speaks of the deep scholarship of the author and it is easily one of the best commemoration volumes presented in recent years.

Tribes in Ancient India

(Bhandarkar Oriental Series No. 4)

Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati (Vol. V, No. I).—The book under review is an important contribution to the knowledge of ancient Indian tribes by one of the most distinguished living historians who has already laid the historical world under a deep debt of obligation. The ancient racial and regnal tribes along with the less known but no less important democratic groups are listed and copious notes under each section are supplied to denote the sources for the statements made. The south Indian, Dravidian and Assamese tribes are also listed. The Bibliography and the full Index are extensive and useful. The publication maintains the high standard of the other works issued by the author and is bound to be helpful to future research. Dr. Law has used extensively the Pali and Prakrit sources for the work and has shown the existence of many tribes during the Buddhist period.

The Magadhas in Ancient India

(Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Series Vol. XXIV)

Price 7s. 6d.

Indo-Iranica, July 1946.—Dr. Law's monograph gives an exhaustive and critical treatment of both the political and cultural history of Magadha . . . The work has justly won the distinction of being issued by the R.A.S. of Great Britain and Ireland as one of the Society's monographs.

BUDDHAGHOSA

(Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Monograph No. 1)

Price Rs.6

E. J. Thomas.—This work although it has been preceded by the life of Buddhaghosa by the same author may be looked upon as a new and thorough-going exposition of the subject. The bibliography shows how during the last 20 years our sources of knowledge have increased and in this respect Dr. Law's own achievements are prominent. The whole book is an imitation and an aid to further study. The last three chapters deal with Buddhaghosa's works, his textual and doctrinal exposition and his philosohpy. They are the most original part of the book and also the most significant, for the most fundamental questions of Buddhist philosophy are there discussed, that is to say, Buddhism in the latest and most developed form which it assumed as against the independent development of Mahayana. We have two chapters on his predecessors and successors. These are extremely interesting and full of penetrating points of view and enlightening suggestions. The whole is full of great literary perspicacity and much light is thrown on the question of the other authors of commentaries

and on such problems as the different recensions of the Jataka and possible relations with Mahayana and the orthodox Hindu philosophies. As is often the case when a scholar's fame becomes widespread, many legends have clustered round his name and there is much to disentangle. Hence two biographical chapters have been necessary, in one of which his life and legends have been given and in other his personal history which means a sorting out of the purely legendary part and a critical attempt to read the solid biographical matters. One of the results of a work like this which analyses and classifies traditions is that it raises still further questions. The whole investigation is thus advanced and the fact that new questions are raised is a mark of the progress made.

Concepts of Buddhism

(Monograph of the Kern Institute, Holland)

Price 5s. 6d.

The precision and exactness of its statements and the aptness of the citations, says Dr. F. W. Thomas, render it eminently suitable for forming and conveying to students a correct idea of the main features of Buddhist doctrine. Lord Zetland's excellent foreword does not say too much in praise of Dr. Law's work.

D. R. Bhandarkar Volume

Edited by Dr. B. C. Law

Price Rs.10

Asoka and his Inscriptions, Pts. I & II

By Dr. B. M. Barua

Price Rs.15

INDIAN CULTURE

Vol. XIV APRIL—JUNE, 1948 No. 4

CONTENTS

CHANDRAGUPTA'S ABDICATION

By B. Ch. Chhabra, *Ootacamund*

Recent researches have greatly advanced our knowledge of the early history of India. Still there are points on which the doctors differ. The one discussed here concerns the Gupta monarch Chandragupta I. Opinion is divided as to whether he abdicated the throne in favour of one of his sons, namely Samudragupta, or whether he simply selected this latter as *yuvarāja*. The divergent views have been epitomized in one of the latest publications, to wit *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*,[1] a joint production of Doctors R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar. On page xi of their Editorial Preface in the beginning of this work, we are told: 'Nor did complete agreement become possible with reference to the views expressed about the abdication of Chandragupta I.'

The rival theories are based on verse 4 of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, the text of which is read by Dr. J. F. Fleet as follows[2]:—

(Ā)ryyo h = īty = upaguhya bhāva-piśunair = utkarṇṇitai
romabhiḥ
sabhyesh = ūchchhvasiteshu tulyakulaja-mlān-ānan-odvīkshi(ta)ḥ ।
sn(e)ha-vyāḷulitena bāshpa-gurunā tattv-ekshiṇā chakshushā
yaḥ pitr = ābhihito ni(r)īksh(y)a nikhi(lāṁ pāhy = eva)
m = (u)rv(v)īm = iti ॥

Before proceeding further, I should like to say a word about the reading itself. The portions given within the round brackets are either obscure on the original or have altogether disappeared. The text as restored by Fleet has, however, been accepted as correct and has formed the basis of all subsequent discussions. It may appear presumptuous on my part to suggest any emendation, so late in the day, in the universally adopted reading. However, *vivakshitaṁ hy = anuktam anutāpaṁ janayati*, as Kālidāsa has said, I venture to submit to the interested scholars the following observations for what they are worth.

It may, on a closer examination, be found that the opening expression in the given text, viz., *āryo hi+iti*, is not perfectly good Sanskrit. It is not quite idiomatic. Fleet has rendered it by 'exclaiming "Verily (*he is*) worthy,".'[3] We can understand his

[1] Being Vol. VI of *A New History of the Indian People*, published for the Bhāratīya Itihāsa Parishad by Motilal Banarsi Dass, Lahore, 1946. The present is the only volume so far published of the twenty volumes to be issued under the scheme.

[2] His *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 6.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

reasons. The verb *asti*, 'is', may be supplied, following the maxim *asti-bhavatyor = adhyāhāro bhavati*; and a *saḥ* (or *ayam*), 'he', may be taken as understood. In other words, the exclamation *āryo hi* is to be regarded as an abbreviated form of *ayam āryo hi+asti* (or *ayaṁ hi+āryo = 'sti*). Be that as it may, it does not square with other considerations. If the indeclinable *hi* has to be taken as indicative of the reason behind the resultant action, as it has evidently been taken in the present instance, then a son's merely being *ārya* does not constitute a sufficient reason for his father's being moved to tears and embracing him (the son), as we find Chandragupta I described in the verse. Besides, such an exclamation would be tantamount to saying that the other sons of the speaker were *anārya*. It was perhaps to obviate this that Dr. G. Bühler, accepting Fleet's reading, rendered the expression somewhat more freely by 'Here is a noble man!'[1] Moreover, in order that this utterance of the father be consistent with his second utterance, found at the tail-end of the verse, it ought to have been in the Second Person, and not in the Third Person as it has been construed both by Fleet and by Bühler. Feeling this, some scholars have actually taken it that way. To them perhaps it meant going only one step further. They interpret it by 'Thou art worthy'.[2] Not that they suspect the reading itself to be *āryyo = 's = īti*; for, the third syllable distinctly and definitely reads *hī* and not *sī*. Only, they think that, with reference to the context, *āryyo h = īti* amounts to 'Thou art worthy!' But, doing so is perhaps taking too much liberty with the text. The very fact that it is sought to be explained variously is an indication that all is not well with the reading *āryyo h = īti*.

Now, all this mental reasoning led me to making a fresh attempt at the decipherment. The process has been long and vexatious, but the result ludicrously simple, if I may say so. I am glad to be able to announce that eventually I succeeded in capturing what I consider to be the correct reading. It is *ehy = eh = īti*. The words *āryyo hi* being non-existent, the foregoing debate becomes at once irrelevant. No longer is there any inconsistency or trespassing on the idiom.

It must, however, be explained as to how I arrived at this new reading and why I consider it to be correct. The first letter, it may be seen, has entirely disappeared with the peeling off of the stone at that part, so that its restoration is a matter of conjecture, dependent on what we can make out of the rest. The next is a ligature of which only some traces, especially of the lower part, have survived, so that here again we are left to guessing. The way in

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLII, 1913, p. 176. Mr. Vincent A. Smith has adopted Bühler's rendering, in his *Early History of India* (cf. its 4th edition, p. 297, n. 1).

[2] Cf. *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 137.

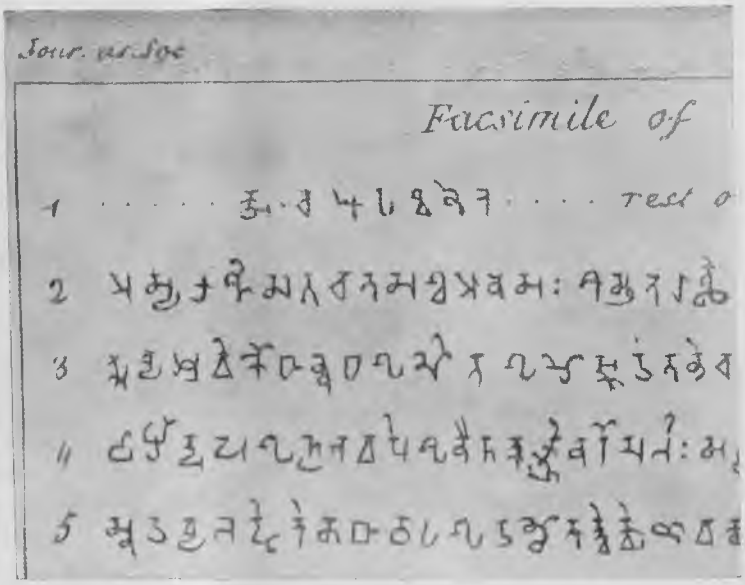

FIG. 1.

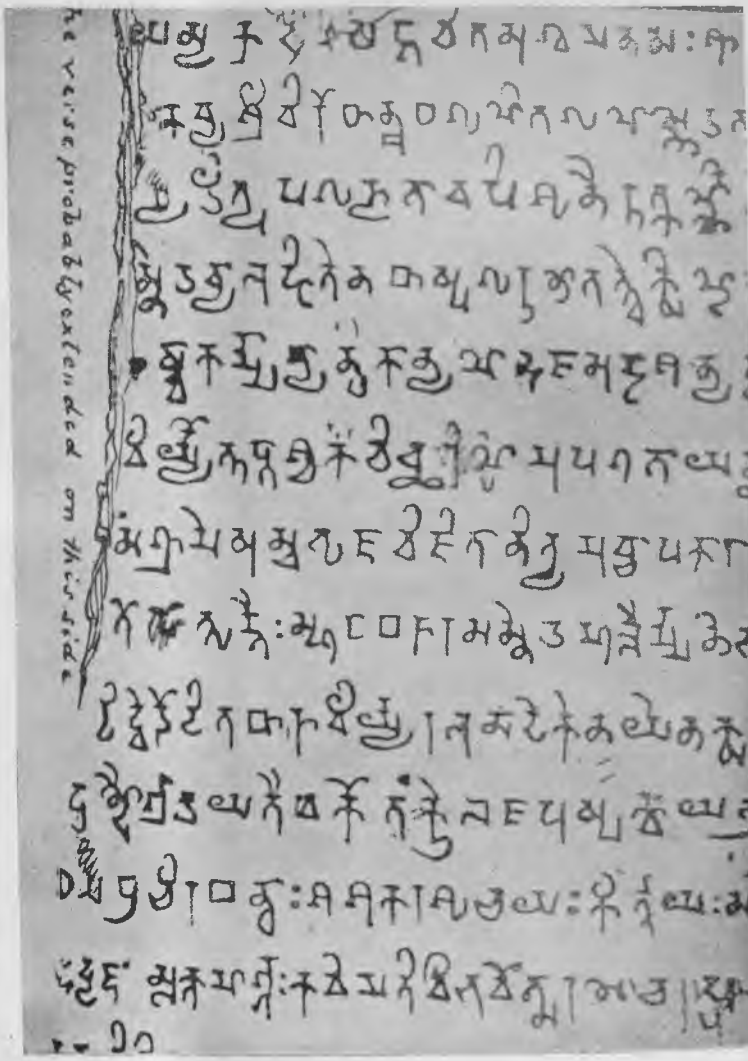

FIG. 2.

which Fleet has transcribed this part, however, shows that he had no doubt the reading of this second syllable, which he reads *ryyo*. It is true that, from the traces left, a subscript *y* is clearly visible, but as for the rest, the traces are too faint. Now, were this letter really *ryyo*, it should have resembled *ryyo* of the *vīryyo* in the beginning of line 10 or *ryya* of the *vīryya* in line 13. On comparison, it may be found that the traces left of the ligature under consideration do not suggest the requisite resemblance. The lower *y* is no doubt clear, but the letter to which it is appended can be anything but *y*. With Fleet's facsimile as our guide, we can thus proceed no further. But he has, on the very first page of his essay on this Allahabad inscription, informed us that two lithographs of it have also previously been published in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, one in its Volume III (1834) and the other in its Volume VI (1837). Since these publications are not easily accessible, and since the lithographs published there are of great assistance to us for determining the disputed reading, I reproduce here the relevant portion from each of the two lithographs. Let us first examine the earlier piece. Our ligature is found in the beginning of the line marked as 4 there. The copyist may have failed to trace the sign very accurately, but he has given sufficient indication as to how the half-damaged symbol appeared to him. On the top of the subscript *y*, he clearly saw a downward hook opening to the right, the whole appearing somewhat like  . The same sign occurs in the later lithograph, too, where the upper part is shown a bit shaded. Whatever the value of the sign, it at least eliminates the possibility of the superscript letter being a *y*, which forms the basis of Fleet's reading of the ligature as *ryyo*. On the other hand, its comparison with *hya* of *upaguhya*, the very next word after what has been read as *(Ā)ryyo h = ītty =* in the same line, will show that the superscript in the disputed symbol is *h*. The rest, of course, is left to imagination. Referring back to Fleet's facsimile, we notice some very faint traces left on the top, which justify, so to say, Fleet's reading a medial *o* in the syllable. This would supply the missing part of the vertical stroke of the superscript *h* and a slanting or curved stroke attached to it on the left, indicating a medial *e*. We may thus restore the symbol something like  and arrive at *hye*. Reading this with what follows, we have *hyehītyupaguhya* or — *hi ehi iti upaguhya*. This sounded familiar, and filling up the blank seemed easy. I jumped, as they say, to the conclusion that the reading certainly is *ehi ehi iti*, etc.

I need hardly add anything in defence of this reading. It fits in so well with the scene depicted and the sentiments expressed

in the verse. As remarked above, the phrase has a familiar ring about it. In literature it is often found used in like situations. In Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, for instance, when Lakshmaṇa is brought back to life by the physician Suṣheṇa, the latter is praised vociferously and Rāma's joy knows no bounds. In that state, he addresses his younger brother tenderly and embraces him heartily. The actual words are:

Sādhu sādhv = iti suprītāḥ Suṣheṇaṁ pratyapūjayan ।
ehy = eh = ity = abravīd Rāmo Lakshmaṇaṁ para-vīra-hā ॥
Sasvaje sneha-gāḍhaṁ cha bāshpa-paryākul-ekshaṇaḥ ।
abravīch = cha parishvajya Saumitriṁ Rāghavas = tadā ॥

(Madras Law Journal Press edition, *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, CII, 38-39).

In Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya* (Act V), when the young Āyush is brought from Chyavana's hermitage and introduced to his father Purūravas, the latter, with sentiments of parental love welling up in him, addresses the child: *ehy = ehi vatsa*. The father then clasps the son in his embrace. A similar scene is met with in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*. Chandrāpīḍa, with his companion, Vaiśampāyana, returns home, after finishing his studies at the *vidyāmandira*. What a thrill of joy his sight excites in his father Tārāpīḍa is vividly described in Bāṇa's melodious prose:

chalita-chūḍāmaṇi-śirasā kṛita-praṇāmam
ehy = eh = ity = abhidadhāno dūrād eva prasārita-
bhuja-yugalaḥ śayana-talād īshad uchchhvasita-
mūrtir ānanda-jala-pūryamāṇa-lochanaḥ
samudgata-pulakatayā . . . . . tam pitā
vinay-āvanatam ālilinga.[1]

Chandrāpīḍa's companion is received with the same affection, as the description continues:

anantaraṁ . . . . rājnā suta-nirviśesham
upagūḍho Vaiśampāyano nyashīdat.[2]

I have taken the liberty of citing these passages at some length, because of the striking similarities of expressions they exhibit. Of

---

[1] Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, Nirnaya-Sāgara Press, 7th ed., p. 180. This passage was kindly brought to my notice by Mr. G. S. Ramanathan after the meeting, held on the 25th March, 1948, of the Epigraphical Association, Ootacamund, where I first announced the emended reading, *ehy = eh = iti*, in Samudragupta's inscription.

[2] *Ibid*. On p. 404, we have again *ehy = eh = ity = āhūya pitrā gāḍham upagūḍhaḥ*, Tārāpīḍa embracing Chandrāpīḍa, when the latter returned from his *digvijaya*. On p. 374, we have *ehy = eh = ity = uktvā . . . . . tam ālilinga*, Chandrāpīḍa welcoming Keyūraka. When Kādambarī welcomes Mahāśvetā, she is also described as *ehy = eh = ity = abhidhāya* on p. 388.

particular interest to us is the use of the word *uchchhvasita* in this context. It evidently means much more than merely 'heaving a sigh of relief' or the like. We shall presently have occasion to refer to the description of a court scene similar to the one found in our inscription. There the father's announcement is followed by an uprorious applause and a jubilation among those present. Possibly, something approaching that is meant also by *sabhyesh = ūchchhvasiteshu* of our verse.

Now, before reverting to the main theme of our discussion, we may clear another little problem. This relates to the second utterance of Chandragupta I. Fleet has restored it as:

nikhi(lāṁ pāhy = eva)m = (u)rv(v)īm = iti.

Here, the reading of the words *nikhilāṁ* and *urvvīm = iti* is warranted by the surviving traces on the original. As for *pāhy = evam*, it is purely conjectural. Fleet is obviously right in supplying the imperative *pāhi*. But his *evam* has no special significance. The word no doubt ended in *m*, but it need not be *evam*. Fleet's restoration sets the metre aright, but does not justify the insertion of *evam*, unless it be treated as an expletive, a mere stuffing, which would ill assort with the verse that ranks as 'one of the best productions'.[1] The doubtfulness of the rôle of *evam* here stands demonstrated by Fleet's own rendering. He reads *evam* and translates it as if it were *eva*,—'of a surety'.[2]

What is required by the context is, I think, a simple *tvam*. Thus *nikhilām pāhi tvam = urvvīm = iti*!. It is true that when we say *pāhi*, *tvam* is usually understood. But its express mention, it may be conceded, lays stress on it. And that is what is required in the present instance, where the subject on hand is the selection of one from among several sons. Thus 'Protect *thou* the whole earth!', with stress on 'thou', suits the context admirably well.[3]

---

[1] Bühler, *l.c.*

[2] Fleet, *l.c.*, p. 12. Bühler, not questioning Fleet's reading, introduces the words 'then this' in his free rendering, as equivalent to *evam*. Others have dropped 'then' and retained 'this'. Cf. *The Vākaṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 137. It may be observed that *imām* or *etām*, 'this', would not suit the metre.

[3] Speaking of emendations, I may as well draw attention to two expressions in v. 8 of the inscription, though they have no direct bearing on the point at issue. First, the opening words are read as *Dharmma-prāchīra-bandhaḥ*, ending in *aḥ* (short *a*), while it clearly reads—*bandhāḥ* (long *ā*). The sign is particularly clear on one of the two lithographs of which portions have been reproduced here. The expression is thus an adjective, like the other two (*-śaśi-kara-śuchayaḥ* and *sa-pratānāḥ*), qualifying *kīrttayaḥ*. Secondly, the sense requires that we should read, or correct the text into, *guṇa iti* where *gunamati-* has been read in the fourth quarter of the verse. It would thus read:

ko nu syād = yo = sya na syād = guṇa iti vidushāṁ dhyāna-pātram ya ekaḥ.

With these modifications, we may, for ready reference, translate the verse as follows:—

> 'With hair erect, indicating affection, when father embraced him, saying: "Come, come!", those present in the court felt exhilarated, while the rival claimants looked at him with sullen faces. Then, his eyes laden with tears and sparkling with emotion, father cast a piercing glance at him and thus spake to him: "Protect thou the whole earth!"

'Father' stands for Chandragupta I and the person spoken to is his son Samudragupta.

The graphic picture, presented here within the compass of one single stanza, is marvellous indeed. 'There is not a word,' to quote Bühler,[1] 'which is unnecessary; and one believes as if he sees the scene with his own eyes'.

It may be argued that the real cause of the gladdening of the audience as of the despondency of the collaterals was the final pronouncement by Chandragupta I, and not merely his showing affection to Samudragupta; why is then the order reversed in the descriptive stanza? This argument only helps us picture to ourselves the situation. The royal court is in full session. The main item on the agenda is the selection of the heir to the throne, to be announced by the Emperor himself. The princes, who are the candidates, so to say, are also present among the audience. The preliminaries over, the Emperor singles out Samudragupta as his choice, addressing him with the words *ehy = ehi* and embracing him in the presence of one and all. That is a signal for the audience who burst out in acclamation. The choice has become so obvious. They need not wait for the formal pronouncement to be uttered, which is then uttered amid cheers, so to say.[2]

The scene is strongly reminiscent of Rāma's *yauvarājyābhisheka* as described by Vālmīki in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *ādikavi's* elaborate description of the event covers about five chapters. The essential points thereof have all come out in the miniature which Harishena, the court poet of Samudragupta, has painted for us. The parallelism is confined mainly to the court scene, but there are other points in Rāma's episode that help us in understanding Samudragupta's case. Each, of course, has its own peculiarities that are well known. To mention the analogous points, in both the cases, the nomination

---

[1] Bühler, *l.c.* It should be remembered that the original is in German. All quotations ascribed to him in this article are in reality from Prof. V. S. Ghate's English translation of Dr. Bühler's German essay which was originally published sometime in 1889-90.

[2] In Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's imagination the scene was laid at the death-bed of Chandragupta I. His view has been rightly discredited by Prof. Jagan Nath Agrawala. Cf. *F. W. Thomas Presentation Volume*, p. 117.

of an heir has been made an occasion for a grand ceremony, where the heir elect is subjected to a public display of parental love, in order to win popular support in his favour, which is readily and cheerfully given. In order fully to appreciate the correspondence and other helpful features, let us briefly review the narrative found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The opening chapters of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* contain this:

'Bharata is away from Ayodhyā. He, along with Śatrughna, is enjoying his stay in his maternal grandfather's house in Kekaya. In the meantime, Daśaratha, attracted by Rāma's excellences, confers with his ministers and decides to install him as *yuvarāja* (*yauvarājyam amanyata*, I, 42). He convenes an assembly to which are invited leading citizens and prominent personalities from all over the kingdom as also chieftains of the surrounding countries (I, 46). The king of Kekaya is conspicuous by his absence, and so is the king of Mithilā (they are not invited, I, 48, and we know the reason why). Among those present are naturally many learned Brāhmaṇas (II, 19), and Daśaratha's own family priests, Vasishṭha and Vāmadeva, as also his own ministers (III, 3 and 25). Daśaratha addresses the gathering, delivers a piece of oration, and winds up with the proposal to the effect that he will make Rāma his heir (*yauvarājye niyoktāsmi*, II, 12). He invites the opinion of the royalty and the gentry present there. Daśaratha's announcement is received with a thundering ovation (*snigdho = 'nunādī saṃjajñe tatra harsha-samīritaḥ | jan-aughodghushṭa-sannādo medinīṁ kampayann = iva*, II, 18). Those from the audience whose opinion counts confer among themselves, consider the king's proposal and unanimously support it. Daśaratha is not satisfied with their approval so readily given. He puts cross questions to them, whereupon they enlarge upon Rāma's qualities of head and heart and convince Daśaratha that Rāma is the fittest to rule the earth. In fact, they add, the whole population has been longing and praying to see Rāma installed as *yuvarāja* (*paśyāmo yauvarājyastham tava rājottam = ātmajam*, II, 54). Thus assured, Daśaratha asks his priests immediately to make necessary arrangements (*yauvarajyāya Rāmasya sarvam ev = opakalpyatām*, III, 4). This again is hailed with loud cheers (*jana-ghosho mahān abhūt*, III, 5). At this stage Rāma is sent for. He comes, and as he bows to his father, the latter draws him to himself and embraces him in the presence of the whole assemblage (*gṛihy = āñjalau samākṛishya sasvaje priyam ātmajam*, III, 34). Rāma is then given an honoured seat and told by his father to accept the heirship won by his virtues and backed by the popular will (*tasmāt tvaṁ pushy-yogena yauvarājyam avāpnuhi*, III, 41).

> The assembly is dispersed, and there is a great rejoicing in the city. Rāma has gone to his palace, but is again called by his father, this time in private. He is told that the installation ceremony is to come off the very next day, that it should be gone through as quickly as possible to preclude any mishap, and all the rest of it.'

There you are! The comparison is as clear as the contrast is sharp. The embracing scene and the show of public enthusiasm are common features, but their order is different in the two cases, and that for very good reasons. In one assembly, the candidates witness the entire proceedings, while in the other only the chosen one is called in at an opportune moment.

The obvious merits of Vālmīki's detailed picture are naturally absent from Harisheṇa's presentation which, as a miniature, is admittedly a triumph of concision. We must not forget that their subject-matters are different. The narrators and the events narrated are far removed from each other in point of time. Yet, the circumstantial similarity between the two makes it possible for us to imagine some of the details that are missing or obscure in the miniature. It is patent that the kind of assemblies described is a political necessity with a view to preserving the integrity of an empire. When a ruling monarch has several sons from different wives,[1] and when he apprehends that the succession will be disputed either in his own lifetime or later on, he must see that his successor is duly nominated and his position made secure. The best way to keep the contestants out of the harm's way is to rouse public opinion in favour of the chosen heir, to get him recognized as such by the world at large. That will serve as a deterrent on any existing or would-be rival claimant. For this purpose it is desirable that the assembly convened be attended by as many as possible and the various groups and parties, both inside the kingdom and outside it, that have a say or interest in the matter, should be roped in. And we have seen that Daśaratha took care that it was so done. Viewed in this light, we may not be far wrong in presuming that Chandragupta I did the same thing. Thus, when Harisheṇa says *sabhyesh = ūchchhvasiteshu*, he perhaps refers to an assemblage of heterogeneous elements and not merely to the 'courtiers' of Chandragupta I. As for the expression *uchchhvasita*, we have already hinted at the possibility of its being taken, in the given context, in the sense of 'gladdened' or the like. Kālidāsa has shown a special predilection for this word. He uses it both as a noun and as an adjective.[2] Comparing his

---

[1] That Chandragupta I had more wives than one is indicated by *tulya-kalya-ja* of the inscription.

[2] Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 68; VIII, 3, 55; X, 73; *Vikramorvaśīya*, IV, before verse 8; *Kumārasambhava*, VII, 4; *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, III, before verse 2.

usages of it, we find that in most cases it denotes 'pleasantly agitated'. Whether the joyous excitement on the part of the audience of Chandragupta I was accompanied with shrieks of delight, as was definitely the case with that of Daśaratha, cannot be asserted, though something of that sort would fit in well with the picture imagined by us.

Come we now to the abdication question. Was it abdication what Daśaratha did (or at least intended to do, because his intention was eventually frustrated) or was it something else? Well, it was abdication. It sounds paradoxical, no doubt. For, all along we have been talking of *yauvarājyābhisheka* in connection with Rāma. There was no mention of his *rājyābhisheka*. Even his father's utterance is *yauvarājyam avāpnuhi*. All this apparently means that Vālmīki's description refers simply to the selection of Rāma as heir-apparent. But nay; what was intended was the immediate transfer of power; and that virtually is abdication. This is expressed in so many words in those very chapters from which we have drawn a summary. The aged king Daśaratha, contemplating Rāma's heirship, says to himself: 'I like that Rāma becomes king in my lifetime, but how should it happen?' (*prītir = eshā katham Rāmo rājā syān = mayi jīvati*, I, 36). The learned Brāhmaṇas and the prominent citizens, while giving their approval of Daśaratha's proposal, say to him:

aneka-varsha-sāhasro vṛiddhas = tvam = asi pārthiva ।
sa Rāmaṁ yuvarājānam abhishiñchasva pārthivam ॥ (II, 21),
ichchhāmo hi mahābāhuṁ Raghuvīraṁ mahābalam ।
gajena mahatā yāntaṁ Rāmam chhatr-āvṛit-ānanam ॥ (II, 32).

Even the common folk, talking in the streets of Ayodhyā after the announcement in the assembly, are found commenting:

aho mahātmā rāj = āyam Ikshvāku-kula-nandanaḥ ।
jñātvā yo vṛiddham ātmānam Rāmaṁ rajye = 'bhishekshyati ॥
(VI, 21).

Besides, the large scale on which the preparations are being made, including decoration and illumination of the whole city, as also the nature of the paraphernalia that are being collected in connection with the installation ceremony, such as an elephant, a chariot, a standard, a white parasol and one hundred gold pitchers, leave no doubt that the ceremony that is to take place on the day following the assembly is going to be an investiture ceremony where Rāma will be invested with full regal powers.

The case of Samudragupta appears to be analogous. The scene of Chandragupta I's court, as depicted by Harishena, is no less impressive. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, while summing up the conflicting theories, rightly observes that 'the emotion of the king,

so vividly described, suits more with his abdication and final leave-taking than merely a formal announcement of his successor.'[1] Surely, there is no point in arranging such an imposing function as Chandragupta I evidently did if the matter was to rest with the announcement alone. The fact that he went all out to hug his chosen favourite, a grown-up son, in the presence of a huge gathering indicates that he was, like Daśaratha, faring in the evening of his life at the time; for, that sort of public show of unrestricted paternal affection indeed becomes more a venerable grand old person than a middle-aged man however highly placed he be in society. His *tattv-ekshin chakshush* is another pointer to his being far-advanced in years. We may thus imagine him saying to his audience, like *Daśaratha :*

jīrṇasy = āsya śarīrasya viśrāntim abhirochaye (II, 8).

In view of all this, we cannot assign any other meaning to his utterance, addressed to his son Samudragupta: *nikhilām pāhi tvam ūrvvīm iti*, than what the words literally mean. In other words, he thereby 'voluntarily relinquished control of the state affairs'[2] and invited his son Samudragupta to take charge of them, which act amounts to abdication. There is no doubt a difference between an abdication and an abdication. One is renouncing the crown of one's own sweet will, while the other is passing it on to a successor under compulsion. One may be for reasons of old age or the like, while the other may be by some default. In the present instance, it is obviously an abdication of the former type. That this accords well with the ancient traditions of our country is illustrated by the *Rāmāyaṇa* and, later on, by the classical works like those of *Kālidāsa*.[3]

---

[1] *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 137.
[2] Cf. Prof. Jagan Natha Agrawala, *l.c.*
[3] *Ibid.*

JAINA CANONICAL SŪTRAS (IX)

By B. C. Law

Nandī Sūya

The *Nandī Sūtra* and the *Anuyogadvāra* are occasionally counted among the *Prakīrṇakas*, but they really stand as two companion texts forming a group by themselves. The first *sūtra*, as its title implies, contains an 'auspicious introduction' to the study of the Śvetāmbara canonical texts, and as such its main bearing is on the Jain method of education. Like the *Anuyogadvāra* it is compiled partly in prose and partly in verse. One of the first forty-seven verses contains an eulogy of the *tīrthaṅkara*, two that of *Mahāvīra*, fourteen that of the Jain *Saṅgha*, two introduce the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras*, two mention the eleven *gaṇadharas* or leading disciples of Mahāvīra, one extols the order of Mahāvīra and eleven supply us with a succession of 27 Jain teachers from Sudharman to Dūṣyagaṇi, the teacher of Devavācaka who is identified with Devarddhigaṇi under whose guidance the final redaction of the Śvetāmbara *āgama* was made in the Council of Valabhi. If Devavācakagaṇi, who is regarded as the author of the *Nandī Sūtra*, be the same person as Devarddhigaṇi, the work cannot be dated earlier than the sixth century A.D.

The succession of twenty-seven teachers traced from Sudharman the *gaṇadhara* who survived the Master is by itself an evidence to prove the lateness of the date of compilation of the *Nandī Sūtra*. Apart from giving the main themes of the different canonical texts, the *Nandī Sūtra* resembles the *Anuyogadvāra* in mentioning such secular Indian literature as represented by the two Sanskrit epics, and such treatises as the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, the *Kāmasūtra* of Ghoṭakamukha, the *Vaiśeṣika system* of philosophy, the doctrine of Buddha, the *Sāṁkhya system* of Kapila, the *Lokāyata doctrine*, the *Yoga system* of Patañjali, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the works on mathematics and dramaturgy, grammar, and poetics, besides the four Vedas and their later appendices, the Aṅgas and Upāṅgas. Malayagiri wrote a commentary on the *Nandī Sūtra* which is helpful in understanding the meaning of the text.

The distinctive contribution made in the *sūtra* to the exposition of Jainism as a system of thought consists, however, in the various classifications of knowledge (*ṇāṇam*). In outlining its thesis on knowledge it takes up for consideration the five kinds of knowledge recognized in the earlier texts of the Jain *āgama*. These are enumerated as *ābhinibodhika*, *śruta*, *avadhi*, *manahparyāya* and *kevala*.

The first of them is the knowledge directed to the perception of the objects as they stand over against us. This knowledge is of two kinds, namely, direct (*paccakkham*) and indirect (*parokkham*). The direct knowledge is also of two kinds, namely, that which is accessible to sense perception (*indiyapaccakkham*), and that which is not accessible to sense perception (*no-indiyapaccakkham*). The knowledge which is accessible to sense perception is of five kinds, namely, that which is accessible to the sense of hearing, to that of sight, to that of smell, to that of taste, and to that of touch. The knowledge which is not accessible to sense perception is of three kinds, namely, that which is accessible to *avadhi* knowledge, that to *manahparyāya* and that to *kevalañāṇa*. The knowledge which is accessible to *avadhiñāṇa* is of two kinds, namely, that which leads to future states of existence (*bhavapaccaiyam*) and that which leads to the destruction and cessation of the cause and process of rebirth (*khāovasamiyam*). By the word *bhava* is meant in Jainism the three states of existence, namely, those of infernal beings, those of human beings, and those of celestial beings. The knowledge which brings about the states of existence is of two kinds: that which brings about the state of gods and that which brings about the state of infernal beings. The knowledge which brings about the destruction and cessation of the cause and process of rebirth is of two kinds: that which brings about the destruction and cessation of the cause of rebirth in the state of human beings, and that which brings about the destruction and cessation of the cause of rebirth as animals endowed with five senses. Here destruction means the destruction of the after-effects of the *karmas* darkening *avadhi* knowledge, which have arisen. Cessation means the stoppage of such *karmas* as have not yet arisen; when such *karmas* are either destroyed, if they have arisen, or are stopped if they have not arisen, the *avadhi* knowledge arises, the *avadhi* knowledge of persons endowed with special qualities or that of one who has renounced the world. As defined in the *Anuyogadvāra* the *ābhinibodhika* knowledge is one which is directed to the objects (*atthābhimuho*) and determined (*niyao*). It is perceptual in its character in so far as the objects are known through the sense-perception. It is indirect when the objects are perceived without the aid of the five organs of sense. Immediacy is its distinctive characteristic. The *ābhinibodhika* knowledge may be a knowledge dependent on the scripture (*suyanissiyam*) or independent of the scripture (*asuyanissiyam*). These are really two kinds of *matiñāṇa*, the first of which arises immediately from the scripture irrespective of any scholastic interpretation of it, and the second arises independently of the scripture and is conducive to the destruction and cessation of the cause of rebirth. The indirect *ābhinibodhika* knowledge is also accessible to *avadhiñāṇa manahparyāya* and *kevalañāṇa*.

The *śruta-ñāṇa* is also a kind of *ābhinibodhika* knowledge which is indirect. It is a knowledge which is based upon study and derived from literature. There may be literature and literature, scripture and scripture. To the Jainas the scriptures other than the Jaina are false scriptures. So far as Jainism is concerned the *śruta* knowledge is either one embodied in the *aṅgas* or that embodied in the works other than the *aṅgas*. The works other than the *aṅgas* are all auxiliaries to the *aṅgas*.

The *Ohi* or *avadhiñāṇa* is a knowledge which is limited by the objects to which it is directed. It operates on the whole in connection with substance (*davva*), place (*khetta*), time (*kāla*), and states of existence (*bhava*). It implies the internal perception of the objects from different angles, each implying a particular *modus operandi*.

The *manahparyāya ñāṇa* is the same term as Pali *cetopariyāya ñāṇaṃ* and both the terms suggest the knowledge of what is passing in the mind of others. So both really imply the idea of thought-reading. Our *sūtra* discusses some important points in this connection. It opines that this kind of knowledge arises in human and not in superhuman beings, in the wise ascetics, and not in the stupid human beings, who are subject to rebirth.

The *kevalañāṇa* is perfect knowledge. It is of two kinds, namely, *bhavastha* and *siddha*, meaning the knowledge which is within the reach of those, who are still in a certain human state of existence and the knowledge which is within the reach of perfect ones. The word *bhavastha* means an individual, who is in a certain state of existence in which he is liable to the effects of *karma*. Here the individual must be taken to be human being because *kevalañāṇa* is not within the reach of beings in other states of existence. *Kevalañāṇa* is a knowledge which arises without the aid of the senses, etc. It is pure and stainless in the sense that it is not covered, tarnished, confounded or confused by any cause or factor. *Bhavasthas* are the persons who are in different stages of spiritual progress. Their position appears to be similar to that of the Buddhist *ariyapuggalas* occupying seven spiritual ranks below that of an *arhat* or elect. *Caramasamayasiddha* is evidently the same word as the Pali *Caramabhavika*. The *siddhas* are all *arhats*. The perfect knowledge in the case of the *siddhas* is broadly distinguished as immediate (*anantara*) or gradual (*parampara*). From the classification of *kevalañāṇa* it appears that the Jains and the Buddhists alike kept before them a distinction between *tīrthakaras* or *sayambuddhasiddhas* on the one hand, and *pratyekabuddhas* and *buddhabodhitas* or *śrāvakabuddhas* on the other. Through *kevalañāṇa* Jainism aimed at the attainment of a kind of unaided knowledge by which omniscience could be gained. Whether this knowledge is arrived at through any discursive process of thought or intuitional is still a problem to be solved. But from its description it appears that whether its

mode is intuitional or not, it is so much articulated that it can operate unaided, unobstructed, and unlimited.

Āvassaya Sūya

The *Āvassaya* (*Āvaśyaka*) *sutta* consists of six sections (*adhyāyas*) corresponding to the six *āvassayas* or the six essential daily duties of a Jaina for the purification of one's own self. The six *āvassayas* are known as *sāmaiya* or *sāmāyika* (way to balance of mind), *cauvīsatthava* or *caturvimsatistava* (eulogy or glorification of the 24 *Tīrthaṅkaras*), *vandanaya* or *vaṃdana* (veneration of the teacher), *padikkamana* or *pratikramaṇa* (confession and expiation), *kāussagga* or *kāyotsarga* (penance through certain postures of the body or asceticism) and *paccakkhāna* or *pratyākhāna* (abstinence from food or avoidance of sensual pleasures). This *sutta* (*sūtra*) is the second *mūlasūtra* which has come down only in conjunction with the *nijjutti*.[1] Haribhadra Sūri wrote a commentary on this work. There is also a commentary on it by Jinabhadra.[2] Leumann has published the first three *suttas* in Roman characters with their German translation in *Übersicht uber die Āvaśyaka-Literatur*. Some hold that Āvassaya is a composition of *Śrutasthavira*. The authorship of this *sūtra* is either attributed to Indrabhūti or a Śrutasthavira. Some are of opinion that it was composed by Indrabhūti on the very day he composed *Dādasāṅgī*. It contains many interesting narratives. As its title implies the sūtra is very useful from the standpoint of Jain religion. It is counted among the *mūlasūtras* probably for the reason that it contains the lectures or dissertations on the six essential duties of a pious Jain (*mūlaguṇā*). The definition of the five kinds of knowledge is just incidental to its main themes. The first of them is called *sāmāyikaṃ* which is derived from *sama* (*samabhāva*) meaning balance or from *samyaktva* meaning rightness of direction. The *sāmāyika* carries with it the conception of *dvāra* or door, mode, method, means, or way. It is regarded as a means of gaining knowledge, faith and right conduct, all comprehended by the term *sama*. A *sama* or a man having the balance of mind is one who being free from passion and hatred looks upon all beings like himself and the term *sāmāyika* implies the Jain prescribed method of attaining to such a condition of the self. It implies on the one hand the abandonment of the blamable actions and on the other the cultivation of blameless actions. The *sāmāyika* vow means the maintenance of a balanced state of mind (*madhyasthabhāva*) with regard to all blamable actions and passion and hatred. The Jain texts prescribe rules to be observed by the laity in taking

[1] *Śrī Āvaśyaka Sūtra*, part I, *with Niryukti* by Bhadrabāhu Svāmin, Bombay, 1928, *Āgamodaya Samiti*.

[2] Bühler, *Leben des Hemachandra*, pp. 74ff.

and fulfilling the *sāmāyika* vow. The *sikkhā* or practice (*abhyāsaḥ*) is of two kinds, namely, *āsevanā* (cultivation) and *grahaṇa* (grasping through study). The study of the subject of *sāmāyika* has four doors: (1) a door which is like one to a city enclosed by a wall to which public has no access (*akritadvāraṃ*), (2) the second is a difficult one due to the rush of men, elephants, and horses (*kritayikadvāraṃ*), (3) four main doors (*caturmūladvāraṃ*), (4) special door which is easy of ingress and egress. The *sāmāyika* vow as a preliminary to the Jain religious practices primarily means *virati* or abstinence.

The second essential duty is the eulogy of the 24 *Tīrthaṅkaras* and the third is the veneration of the leading disciples of Mahāvīra. The importance of these two to a Jain is too apparent to need any comment.

The fourth theme is *pratikramaṇa* which means the prescribed mode of confession and expiation. The word *pratikramaṇa* implies the idea of gradual steps in walking out of the clutches of impurity and proceeding towards purity. The *pratikramaṇa* mode is concerned in point of time with the past. So it is said, 'I step out of the past, I practise self-restraint with regard to the present, I practise abstinence with regard to the future' (*'atītaṃ paḍikkamāmi, paḍuppannaṃ saṃvaremi, aṇāgayam paccakkhāmi'*). Thus the expiation of past misdeeds is possible by the door or means of self-represent (*nindādvāreṇa*). The checking of the present misdeeds is possible by the door or means of self-restraint (*saṃvaradvāreṇa*) and the prevention of future misdeeds is possible by the door or means of abstinence (*pratyākhyānadvāreṇa*). He who steps out of the clutches of impure and sinful deeds is a person who adheres to right views, and the practice of meditation is the accredited way of egress. *Pratikramaṇa* is distinguished into two kinds in respect of substance, place, time, and state of existence. According to another classification it is of five kinds, namely, stepping out of the door to sin (*āsavadārapaḍikkamaṇa*), stepping out of rashness (*micchāttapaḍikkamaṇa*), stepping out of four contaminations (*kasāyapaḍikkamaṇa*), stepping out of improper thoughts, words, and actions (*yogapaḍikkamaṇa*) and stepping out of the states of existence (*bhāvapaḍikkamaṇa*). According to the third classification *pratikramaṇa* is of six kinds, namely, stepping out of the sins committed in respect of attending to calls of nature, couching, removing mucus of the nose, rashness in respect of expanding and contracting the limbs.

The word *pratyākhyāna* is defined as an instruction in favour of giving up or abandoning what is a hindrance to spiritual progress. Like *pratikramaṇa* the *pratyākhyāna* mode implies the idea of a gradual process of renunciation. The purpose of the *pratikramaṇa* mode is to step out of the effect of past misdeeds while that of *pratyākhyāna* mode is to put a stop to the possibility of committing

sins. So its concern is with the future in point of time. It means to regulate human conduct so that the person under training can abstain from committing sins and can proceed towards the attainment of *mokṣa* (emancipation). The fulfilment of the five major vows along with the minor vows, the practice of purity in respect of food, the fulfilment of the vow of restricting one's movement to a limited area, etc., all come within the scope of *pratyākhyāna* mode. The *pratyākhyāna* mode is to be practised in three ways, namely, by thoughts, words and deeds.

The sixth theme is *kāyotsarga* which is an ascetic mode of atoning for the excess in sinful indulgences (*aticāra*). It implies the idea of particular bodily postures to be adopted in keeping oneself unmoved on a suitable spot. It is a Jaina mode of the *jhāna* (*dhyāna*) practice. He who practises this mode is required to keep his mind, body and speech under perfect restraint. His mind is to be kept intent on the particular object of meditation. If the *pratikramaṇa* mode is concerned with the past and the *pratyākhyāna* with the future, the *kāyotsarga* mode may be taken to be concerned with the present. Jainism lays stress on the practice of self-mortification as a means of checking one's passion as well as of inducing mental concentration. From *sāmāyika* to *kāyotsarga* all the six modes are meant to be carefully studied and methodically practised with a view to clearing the path of progress of the aspirant towards the attainment of emancipation. Our *sūtra* has cited some interesting and instructive stories by way of illustrating these six modes.

ĀNANDAVARDHANA'S TREATMENT OF ALAṄKĀRA IN RELATION TO DHVANI

By K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

The doctrine of *Alaṅkāras* had come to exercise such a hold on the poets and critics of the period that Ānandavardhana could not dismiss it with some casual remarks. He devotes much space for a full consideration of the doctrine in all its bearings. He endeavours to prove that the provinces of *Alaṅkāra* and *Dhvani* are distinct and tries to indicate precisely their mutual relationship in poetry. And by pointing out the limitations of the *Alaṅkāras*, he shows how several specimens of good poetry will be left out of account unless the theory of *Dhvani* is accepted; and how such an acceptance would make the notion of *Alaṅkāras* also more precise and meaningful.

At the outset Ānandavardhana anticipates the objections that might be levelled against the new theory from the adherents of the *Alaṅkāra*-school and states them as follows:—'It is no doubt true that all the *Alaṅkāras* do not contain suggestion. But in *Alaṅkāras* such as *Samāsokti* (Condensed Metaphor), *Ākṣepa* (Paralepsis), *Anukta-Nimitta-Viśeṣokti* (a type of Metonymy), *Paryāyokta* (Periphrasis), *Apahnuti* (Poetic Denial), *Dīpaka* (Condensed Sentence), *Saṅkara* (Mixed Figure), etc., the element of suggestion is unmistakable and what you call *Dhvani* may conveniently be brought under these figures.'[1]

The reply of Ānandavardhana is that though in the said *alaṅkāras*, the element of suggestion is present, it is not exclusively important as in *Dhvani*, where the primary words and meanings subordinate themselves to the suggested sense. In the *alaṅkāras*, on the contrary, the suggested sense itself becomes subordinate to the primary sense, and this point is illustrated by Ānandavardhana with the aid of numerous examples. One of them may be cited here[2]:—

उपोढरागेण विलोलतारकं तथा गृहीतं ग्रथिना निशामुखम् ।
यथा समस्तं तिमिरांशुकं तया पुरोऽपि रागादरुणितं न लक्षितम् ॥

---

[1] ननु यत्र प्रतीयमानार्थस्य वैशद्येनाप्रतीतिः स नाम मा भूद्गुणेर्विषयः । यत्र तु प्रतीतिरस्ति, यथा—समासोक्त्याक्षेपानुक्तनिमित्तविशेषोक्तिपर्यायोक्तापह्नुतिदीपकसङ्कराल्लङ्कारादौ, तत्र ध्वनेरन्तर्भावो भविष्यतीत्यादि निराकर्तुमभिहितम्.... । अङ्गप्राधान्ये हि ध्वनिः । न चैतत्समासोक्त्यादिष्वस्ति । —Dhv., p. 108. [Dhv. is the abbreviation used for *Dhvanyāloka*; page references are to the Kashi Sanskrit Series (No. 135) edition.]

[2] Dhv., p. 109.

['The twilight (the heroine's face) with twinkling stars (shining pupils) was illumined (was kissed) by the moon (the hero,) glowing red (overcome by emotion) so suddenly (with such love) that the entire mass of darkness (black garment) disappearing in the east (slipping even in front) due to illumination (love) was not at all noticed.']

This is an instance of *Samāsokti*. The subject under description is moon-rise and the primary meaning is given in the translation. But at the same time the words are deliberately used to convey a suggested sense also as indicated in brackets. The primary sense relates to the disappearance of darkness at the advent of the moon suddenly on the eastern horizon. But the suggested sense refers to the dalliance of two lovers. The verse owes its beauty to the primary sense with its accompanying suggestion, not to the suggested sense exclusively. It is therefore not *Dhvani*, but only *Gunībhūta-vyaṅgya*.

The relative position of *Dhvani* and *Alaṅkāras* may therefore be summed up as follows:—compositions, where the suggested sense is unimportant in so far as it merely follows the expressed one, are to be regarded as clear instances of *Arthālaṅkāras* such as *Samāsokti*. A piece of literature will not be considered *Dhvani* simply because there is some suggestion involved in it, nor when the suggested sense is subordinate to the expressed. The most important condition of *Dhvani* is that it should be felt as supremely important, outshining the other meanings. In a good instance of *Dhvani*, every other element such as sound and sense will be directed towards this end of contributing to the superior excellence of suggestion. The relation of *Dhvani* to *Alaṅkāras*, Guṇas, etc., is the same as that of the *Aṅgin* (Body) towards its various *Aṅgas* or limbs. The individual limbs and the body are always distinct and not identical.[1]

Similarly, a distinction is to be drawn between the *Rasavad-alaṅkāra* of the ancient writers and *Rasa-dhvani*. *Rasa-dhvani* is instanced in poems where all the other elements of poetic excellence (such as *alaṅkāras* and *Guṇas*) serve only one purpose of evoking the *Rasas*.[2] But as against this if the *Rasas* are given a secondary

---

[1] व्यङ्ग्यस्य यत्राप्राधान्यं वाच्यमात्रानुयायिनः ।
समासोक्त्यादयस्तत्र वाच्यालङ्कृतयः स्फुटाः ॥
व्यङ्ग्यस्य प्रतिभात्रे वाच्यार्थानुगमेऽपि वा ।
न ध्वनियत्र वा तस्य प्राधान्यं न प्रतीयते ॥
तत्परावेव शब्दार्थौ यत्र व्यङ्ग्यं प्रतिस्थितौ ।
ध्वनेः स एव विषयो मन्तव्यः सङ्करोज्झितः ॥ —Dhv., pp. 130-1.

[2] वाच्यवाचकचारुत्वहेतूनां विविधात्मनाम् ।
रसादितात्पर्यवति यत्र स ध्वनेर्विषयो मतः ॥ —Dhv., II. 4.

position by being made subordinate to the expressed meaning, we have *Rasavad-alaṅkāra*.[1] From this point of view, even the *Alaṅkāra* called *Preyas* by some writers[2] will be found to merit the title of *Rasavad-alaṅkāra*. For, the main significance of *Preyas* consists in *Cāṭu* or sweet and pleasing flattery to convey which the *Rasas* assume the subordinate rôle of ancillaries (*Aṅgas*).[3]

Thus in the new scheme of *Rasavad-alaṅkāra* that is proposed here, two varieties can be distinguished, viz., pure (*Śuddha*) and Mixed (*Saṅkīrṇa*).[4] The first is illustrated in the verse given below:—

किं हास्येन न मे प्रयास्यसि पुनः प्राप्तश्चिरादर्शनं
केयं निष्करुणा प्रवासरुचिता केनासि दूरीकृतः।
स्वप्नान्तेष्विति ते वदन् प्रियतमव्यासक्तकण्ठग्रहो
बुद्ध्वा रोदिति रिक्तबाहुवलयस्तारं रिपुस्त्रीजनः॥

['Enough of jest; you can't leave me again.
Oh! how long you made me watch and wait;
Heartless indeed of you to be so fond of being away;
May I know the cause for this our separation so long?'
—So speak the wives of your enemy in dreams
clasping fast the neck of their husbands;
But, alas, only to awake and lament loud
To find empty the circle of their extended arms.]

The stanza is intended to be in praise of a king of extraordinary valour. So *cāṭu* or sweet flattery is the main subject matter. And there is also the sentiment of *Karuṇa* in the poet's vivid description of the pathetic lot to which the widows of the enemy have been reduced. It is obvious that the *Karuṇa-rasa* delineated here is not meant to be important in itself, but meant as secondary, only in so far as it redounds to the heroism of the King. Since *Karuṇarasa* is delineated here exclusively without an admixture of any other *Rasa*, we might say that *śuddha-rasa* is an *alaṅkāra* of this stanza.

The *Saṅkīrṇa* (Mixed) variety of *Rasa-alaṅkāra* is instanced in the following[5]:—

छिन्नो हस्तावलग्नः प्रसभमभिहतोऽप्याददानोऽंशुकान्तं
गृह्णन् केशेष्वपास्तस्मरणनिपतितो नेक्षितः सम्भ्रमेण।
आलिङ्क्योऽवधूतस्त्रिपुरयुवतिभिः साश्रुनेत्रोत्पलाभिः
कामीवार्द्रापराधः स दहतु दुरितं शाम्भवो वः शरारिः॥

---

[1] प्रधानेऽन्यत्र वाक्यार्थे यत्राङ्गं तु रसादयः।
काव्ये तस्मिन्नलङ्कारो रसादिरिति मे मतिः॥ —Dhv. II, 5.

[2] Bhāmaha, for instance.

[3] तद्यथा चाटुषु प्रेयोऽलङ्कारस्य वाक्यार्थत्वेऽपि रसादयोऽङ्गभूता एव। —Dhv., pp. 191–3.

[4] Dhv., p. 193.

[5] Dhv., p. 195.

['Let the fire of Śiva's shaft burn down our sins; a shaft which conducted itself just in the manner of a lover who has given offence to his lady love; though shaken off, by the Tripura-maidens shedding tears, it would cling fast to their hands; though forcibly pushed out, it would hold on to the ends of their skirts; though violently thrust aside by clutching the hair, it would fall at their feet unnoticed in their agitation.']

To sing the great glory of Śiva who triumphed over the *Tripuras* is the main object of the stanza. The state of women in love excited by jealousy is also vividly brought out by means of *śleṣa* or *double entendre*. But it is only to substantiate the idea of praise which forms the main subject of description. The *Karuṇa-rasa* is also portrayed in the picture of the women shedding copious tears. In the circumstances, it would have to be regarded a flaw on the part of the poet to describe contradictory sentiments such as Love and Pathos simultaneously. But since both of them here are only secondary to the primary subject of praise of Śiva and not of principal interest, the flaw is avoided. Whenever *Rasa* happens to be the chief content of a poem, it can never be an *alaṅkāra*. For, *alaṅkāra* means a 'beautifier'. And how can *Rasa* become a 'beautifier' and of itself? It can be called an *alaṅkāra* only when it serves as a beautifier of something else as in the above example. When *Rasa* itself happens to be predominant, it is *Dhvani-kāvya* and the other figures of speech like *upamā* will serve to beautify it.* If the above considerations are borne in mind the distinct spheres of *Dhvani*, *alaṅkāras* like *Upamā* and *Rasavad-alaṅkāra* will be clearly detected.[1] But if it is said that all passages describing emotional behaviour in man come under *Rasavad-alaṅkāra*, the other figures like *upamā* will be left either with no scope at all or with very little scope. Because, even in a treatment of insensible objects, the conduct of sensible beings is inextricably involved in some way or another; even while a description of a sensible behaviour is present, one will have to deny its right to be considered as *Rasavad-alaṅkāra* in case the insensible objects happen to be the main subjects of description. And by doing so we will be branding as *Nīrasa* (devoid of *Rasa*) a vast bulk of literature in spite of its profusion in Rasa.[2] The following instances from Kālidāsa will make the point clear:—

---

* यत्र हि रसस्य वाक्यार्थीभावस्तत्र कथमलङ्कारत्वम्? अलङ्कारो हि चारुत्वहेतुः प्रसिद्धः, न तस्यात्मैवात्मनश्चारुत्वहेतुः।....तस्माद्यत्र रसादयो वाक्यार्थीभूताः स सर्वः न रसादेरलङ्कारस्य विषयः, स ध्वनेः प्रभेदः, तस्योपमादयोऽलङ्काराः। —Dhv., pp. 197-8.

[1] एवं ध्वनेरुपमादीनां रसवदलङ्कारस्य च विभक्तविषयता भवति। —Dhv., p. 198.

[2] यदि तु चेतनानां वाक्यार्थीभावो रसाद्यलङ्कारस्य विषय इत्युच्यते तर्ह्युपमादीनां प्रविरलविषयता निर्विषयता वाभिहिता स्यात्। यस्मादचेतनवस्तुवृत्ते वाक्यार्थीभूते पुनश्चेतन-वस्तुवृत्तान्तयोजनया यथा-

तरङ्गभ्रूभङ्गा क्षुभितविहगश्रेणिरशना
विकर्षन्ती फेनं वसनमिव संरम्भशिथिलम् ।
यथाविद्धं याति स्खलितमभिसन्धाय बहुशो
नदीरूपेणेयं ध्रुवमसहना सा परिणता ॥ [1]

['Frowning with its waves as with brows, girdled with the line of fluttering birds, and throwing off its foam as a garment loosened in anger, and hurrying in devious ways with a repeatedly stumbling step, surely, here is my jealous beloved, changed into the form of the stream.'] [2]

तन्वी मेघजलार्द्रपल्लवतया धौताधरेवाश्रुभिः
शून्येवाभरणैः स्वकालविरहादिश्रान्तपुष्पोद्गमा ।
चिन्तामौनमिवाश्रिता मधुकृतां शब्दैर्विना लक्ष्यते
षण्डी मामवधूय पादपतितं जातानुतापेव सा ॥ [3]

['There standest thou, creeper,
All slender, thy poor sad leaves are moist with rain,
Thou silent, with no voice of honey-bees
Upon thy drooping boughs; as from thy lord
The season separated, leaving off
Thy habit of bloom. Why, I might think I saw
My passionate darling sitting penitent
With tear-stained face and body unadorned
Thinking in silence how she spurned my love.'] [4]

In these instances though the subjects of description happen to be insensible objects, the attribution of sentient behaviour to them is obvious. But we would be forced to deny the right of such instances to be regarded as meriting the descriptions of *Rasavad-alaṅkāra*. Besides, whenever there is a description of emotional behaviour in men, we would be constrained to consider it as *Rasavad-alaṅkāra*. Under these circumstances there is almost no scope or hardly any scope left to the application of all the other figures of speech such as the simile. For, every object in this world, even an insensible one ultimately comes to be looked upon as an associate of *Rasa* at least in the capacity of a *Vibhāva* or exciting circumstance. The view-point of the critic is thus unsound and hence the

---

कथञ्चिद्विवक्षितव्यम् । अथ सत्यामपि तस्यां यत्राचेतनानां वाक्यार्थीभावो नासौ रसवदलङ्कारस्य विषय इत्युच्यते, तन्मतेन काव्यप्रबन्धस्य रसनिधानभूतस्य नीरसत्वमभिहितं स्यात् । —Dhv., p. 200.

[1] *Vikramorvaśīyam.*
[2] Translation—E. B. Cowell's.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Translation—Sri Aurobindo's.

new scheme of *Rasavad-alaṅkāra* deserves to be accepted unhesitatingly.[1]

We saw above the intrinsic nature of *Rasa* in relation to poetry and how this fact necessitates a revision of our conception of *Rasavad-alaṅkāra*. Nor is this all. Our ideas about the nature of all figures of speech will have to be changed and recast. As *Rasa* happens to be the soul of *Dhvani Kāvya*, the use of *alaṅkāras* will be justified only in so far as the latter assist in the communication of *Rasa*. The end of poetry is communication of *Rasa* and *alaṅkāra* also serves as one of the means towards achieving that end. It follows that if in a poem the *alaṅkāras* attract attention for their own sake, have nothing to do with *Rasa*, we may at best admire the extraordinary effort and skill of the poet but not the poem in itself. When the figures of speech divert the attention of the reader from the essential enjoyment of *Rasa* in poetry, they will be far from fulfilling their function. As a matter of fact, such a *tour de force* will have to be looked upon as a veritable flaw in compositions.[2] If on the other hand, the figures appear naturally and effortlessly in harmony with the *Rasa* to be communicated, they will justify their title of being *alaṅkāras* or ornaments.[3] Thus understood, the difference between the status of *Alaṅkāra* in *Citra-kāvya* and in *Dhvanikāvya* will stand out clear.

In this connection, some might raise the objection that, though in the case of verbal figures such as *yamaka* (*rhiming* repetition) the poet's special effort towards their achievement is quite patent and with regard to figures of sense, it is not so patent, the fact remains that the poet should pay special attention in devising them (*Arthālaṅkāras*) also. They are thus on a par and any attempt to classify some of them hindering *Rasa* and others as helping *Rasa* is, to say the least, unwarranted.[4]

The Criticism is not valid because, when we take the process of poetic creation into consideration, we find a legion of these *arthālaṅkāras* swarming at the poet's choice in his inspired moments, when his whole mind is lost in the rapture of *Rasa*. In the composition itself they may look as though they are the products of great effort on the poet's part but none the less they occur spontaneously at the time of poetic creation. Bāṇa's description of the

---

[1] यस्माद्वाक्यैवाभावचेतनवस्तुदृष्टान्तो यत्र चेतनवस्तुदृष्टान्तयोजना नाक्यन्ततो विभावत्वेन। तस्मादङ्गत्वेन च रसादीनामलङ्कारता। यः पुनरङ्गी रसो....स ध्वनेरात्मेति। —Dhv., pp. 203-4.

[2] ध्वन्यात्मभूते पृक्तारे यमकादिनिबन्धनम्।
शक्तावपि प्रमादित्वं विप्रलम्भे विशेषतः॥ —Dhv. II, 15.

[3] रसाक्षिप्ततया यस्य बन्धः शक्यक्रियो भवेत्।
अपृथग्यत्ननिर्वर्त्यः सोऽलङ्कारो ध्वनौ मतः॥ —Dhv. II, 16.

[4] यमके च प्रबन्धेन बुद्धिपूर्वकं क्रियमाणे नियमेनैव यत्नान्तरपरिग्रह आपतति शब्दविशेषान्वेषणरूपः। अलङ्कारान्तरेष्वपि तत्तुल्यमिति चेत्—नैवम्। —Dhv., pp. 221-2.

sight of Kādambarī by the hero,[1] and Pravarasena's[2] portrayal of Sītā's anxiety at the sight of the severed head of Māyārāma, may be cited as instances in support of our remark. There is nothing unnatural either in this state of affairs. *Rasas* are best kindled only by way of striking expressions and what are the figures of speech except ornaments to expression? Expressions become striking because of the *alaṅkāras* or ornaments. Hence there is nothing surprising in the fact that *alaṅkāras* become intrinsic factors in throwing *Rasas* into bold relief. But such a *tour de force* as *Yamaka* will be entirely extrinsic. Wherever they are met with, there can be no doubt that they are being primarily aimed at by the poet and even if there be some shade of *Rasa* in such instances, it would be secondary and not primary. In instances of *Rasābhāsa* (misplaced *Rasa*), however, *Yamakas* also may be used. But in *Rasa-dhvani*, they can never find a place.[3]

Even amidst *Rasas*, *Śṛṅgāra* or Love is most important and in poetry attempting to portray *Śṛṅgāra*, the *alaṅkāras* should be employed, with great discrimination and judgment.[4] They should always be ancillary to *Rasa*, helping the readers to enjoy the *Rasa* in full. They should never occupy the foremost place themselves. According to the context they should be employed and the skill of the poet is evidenced even in his rejection of the figures sometimes in lieu of *Rasa*. Ordinarily, they should not be pressed too far and if sometimes they are pressed, they should serve only as promoters of *Rasa*.[5] The following examples will make the point clear:—

(1) चलापाङ्गां दृष्टिं स्पृशसि बकुशो वेपथुमतीं
रहस्याख्यायीव स्वनसि मृदु कर्णान्तिकचरः।
करौ व्याधुन्वत्याः पिबसि रतिसर्वस्वमधरं
वयं तत्त्वान्वेषान्मधुकर कृतास्त्वं खलु कृती॥[6]

---

[1] Cf. *Kādambarī*, of Bāna.

[2] Pravarasena, author of the Prakrit poem '*Setubandha*'.

[3] युक्तं चैतत्, यतो रसा वाच्यविशेषैरेवाक्षिप्त्याः। तत्प्रतिपादकैश्च शब्दैस्तत्प्रकाशिनो वाच्यविशेषा एव रूपकादयोऽलङ्काराः। तस्मान्न तेषां बहिरङ्गत्वम् रसाभिव्यक्तौ। यत्तु रसवत्सु कानिचिद्यमकादीनि दृश्यन्ते, तत्र रसादीनामङ्गता। यमकादीनां लक्षितैव। रसाभासे चाङ्गत्वमप्यविरुद्धम्। चक्षितया तु व्यङ्ग्ये रसे नाङ्गत्वं पृथक्प्रयत्ननिर्वर्त्यत्वाद्यमकादेः। —Dhv., p. 222.

[4] ध्वन्यात्मभूते ग्रथिते प्रकारे समीक्ष्य विनिवेशितः।
रूपकादिरलङ्कारवर्ग एति यथार्थताम्॥ —Dhv. II, 17.

[5] विवक्षा तत्परत्वेन नाङ्गित्वेन कदाचन।
काले च ग्रहणत्यागौ नातिनिर्वहणैषिता॥
निर्व्यूढावपि चाङ्गत्वे यत्नेन प्रत्यवेक्षणम्।
रूपकादिरलङ्कारवर्गस्याङ्गत्वसाधनम्॥ —Dhv. II, 18-9.

[6] *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala.*

['Her moving-corner'd eye,
Trembling as in pain, thou touchest oft and oft;
Like secret whisperer,
Tenderly thou hummest, flitting by her ear;
She waving both her hands,
Thou dost drink her lip, be-all of pleasure soft;
We, searching for the truth,
Are undone, O drone! thou, yea, art lucky here!']

The realistic description of the bee's behaviour [1] in the above verse (or in other words the *Bhramarasvabhāvokti*) is in keeping with the sentiment.

(2) उद्दामोत्कलिकां विपाण्डुरमुखं प्रारब्धजृम्भां क्षणा-
दायासं श्वसनोद्गमैरविरलैरातन्वतीमात्मनः।
अद्योद्यानलतामिमां समदनां नारीमिवान्यां ध्रुवं
पश्यन् कोपविपाटलद्युति मुखं देव्याः करिष्याम्यहम् ॥ [2]

['Today I shall certainly make the Queen's face purple with anger gazing upon this garden-creeper, as upon another woman in love, that in a moment has displayed a profusion of buds (a powerful longing), has a pale complexion, has its buds opening up (has commenced to yawn), and has been manifesting the disturbance (anguish) felt by it (her) by the ceaseless puffs of wind (by means of the constant heavings of sighs).'][3]

In this instance the *double entendre* (*śleṣa*) is explained more clearly by means of the simile (*upamā*)-*nārīmivānyām*.

(3) रक्तत्वं नवपल्लवैरधिगतं म्लानिश्चिरः प्रियाया गुणै-
स्त्वामायान्ति शिलीमुखाः स्मरधनुर्मुक्तास्तथा मामपि।
कान्तापादतलाहतिस्तव मुदे तद्वन्ममाप्यावयोः
सर्वं तुल्यमशोक केवलमहं धात्रा सशोकः कृतः ॥ [4]

The *double entendre* in this verse is given up towards the last line in favour of *Vyatireka* or contrast, and as such helps in revealing the *Rasa* better.

(4) कोपात्कोमललोलबाहुलतिकापाशेन बद्धा दृढं
नीत्वा वासनिकेतनं दयितया सायं सखीनां पुरः।
भूयो नैवमिति स्खलत्कलगिरा संसूच्य दुश्चेष्टितं
धन्यो धन्यत एव निन्हुतिपरः प्रेयान्मुदा हसन् ॥ [5]

---

[1] Translation—Roby Datta's.
[2] *Ratnāvalī*.
[3] Translation—M. R. Kale's.
[4] Dhv., p. 227.
[5] *Amaruśataka*, 9.

The Metaphor (*Rūpaka*) of imprisoning the husband in this verse is not pressed further into every detail in view of the *Rasa* to be delineated.

(5) श्यामास्वङ्गं चकितहरिणीप्रेक्षणे दृष्टिपातं
गच्छच्छायां शशिनि शिखिनां बर्हभारेषु केशान् ।
उत्पश्यामि प्रतनुषु नदीवीचिषु भ्रूविलासान्
हन्तैकस्मिन् क्वचिदपि न ते भीरु सादृश्यमस्ति ॥[1]

['In the *Pryaṅgu* do I trace thy limbs,
In eyes of startled antelope thy glance;
The moon recalls thy radiant countenance,
The peacocks' tails thy shining tresses;
While tiny ripples in the streamlets view
To imitate the archings of thy brows,
Yet alas, O jealous one, in none of these
Is there the whole likeness of thee!']²

Though the figure *utpreksā* (poetic fancy) is worked out in great detail, it subordinates itself to the *Rasa* as expressed in the last line.

Unless the above considerations are kept in mind, the poet cannot achieve his object of communicating *Rasa*. By disregarding these he lands himself in patent flaws. Such flaws are sometimes found to taint even the works of master poets. But we have refrained from illustrating the flaws lest it should reflect upon our own taste.[3]

The next point which deserves our consideration is the nature of *Alaṅkāra-dhvani*. But before taking it up, the scope of the figure *śleṣa* and its distinctness from one of the varieties of *Dhvani* (viz., *Śabda-śaktimūla-anuraṇana-rūpa*) might be indicated in passing since there is likelihood of confusing the one with the other.

In the figure *śleṣa* two ideas are simultaneously communicated by virtue of the equivocal words used; and both the ideas will be equally plausible since there is nothing to decide in favour of the one or the other, e.g., '*Sarvadomādhavaḥ pāyāt* may mean—(1) May Śiva, the husband of Pārvatī, protect us always or (2) May Mādhava protect us who is a granter of all the desires. But in the variety of *dhvani*, mentioned above, a new figure of speech is suggested besides a second idea on the basis of the equivocal words. It is this feature (the suggestion of a new figure of speech) which marks it off from *Śleṣa*.[4]

---

[1] *Meghadūta*, II. [2] Translation—Rooke's.

[3] Cf. तत्तु सूक्ष्मिसङ्खद्योतितात्मनां महात्मनां दोषोद्घोषणमात्मन एव दूषणं भवतीति न विभक्ता दर्शितम् । —Dhv., p. 233.

[4] यस्मादलङ्कारो न वस्तुमात्रं यस्मिन् काव्ये शब्दशक्त्या प्रकाशते स शब्दशक्त्युद्भवो ध्वनिः,....वस्तुदये च शब्दशक्त्या प्रकाश्यमाने श्लेषः । —Dhv., p. 235.

Udbhaṭa's opinion is that *Śleṣa* embraces all instances where other figures are understood through its medium.[1] Even according to his view the other figures are expressed by the words used in the poem, not suggested. But in *Śabda-śakti-mūla-dhvani*, the other *alaṅkāras* are not expressed by the words used but only suggested.[2] For instance, in the following verse—

तस्या विनापि हारेण निसर्गादेव हारिणौ ।
जनयामासतुः कस्य विस्मयं न पयोधरौ ॥

one of the *Vyabhicāri-bhāvas* of *Śṛṅgāra*, viz., *Vismaya* and the figure of speech, viz., *Virodha* are both expressed besides *Śleṣa*. Such instances do not come under *Śabda-śaktimūla-dhvani*. The latter is instanced when the *alaṅkāra* is suggested and not expressed as in the above verse. As an example, the following sentence from *Bāṇa* may be taken:—

अत्रान्तरे कुसुमसमययुगमुपसंहरन्नुज्जृम्भत ग्रीष्माभिधानः कुन्दमल्लिकाधवलाट्टहासो महाकालः ।[3]

There are first of all two different ideas expressed in the sentence. The one is a description of summer and the other a description of *Kāla-Rudra*. Both are based on the equivocal nature of the words used. Since the context is decisive in favour of the former sense alone, the latter would become *asaṁbaddhārtha* or incoherent. To avoid this difficulty, to make the other idea also coherent in the context, we understand that the two ideas are related as *upamāna* and *upameya*. That is to say, we take the other idea as a simile. The simile is only suggested and not at all explicitly expressed. It is suggested by virtue of the words used. Hence it is significantly called *Śabda-śakti-mūla-dhvani*.[4]

Whatever the suggested idea in a poem, if it is rendered explicit too by some of the expressions used, it at once ceases to be *Dhvani* and must be regarded only as an *alaṅkāra*.[5]

---

[1] नन्वलङ्कारान्तरप्रतिभायामपि श्लेषव्यपदेशो भवतीति दर्शितं भट्टोद्भटेन । —Dhv., p. 236.
Vide also, Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra-saṅgraha*, IV 11.

[2] यत्र तु शब्दशक्त्या सामर्थ्याक्षिप्तं वाच्यव्यतिरिक्तं व्यङ्ग्यमेवालङ्कारान्तरं प्रकाशते स ध्वनेर्विषयः ।
—Dhv., p. 236.

[3] *Kādambarī*.

[4] (अत्र) शब्दशक्त्या प्रकाशमाने सत्यप्राकरणिकेऽर्थान्तरे वाक्यस्यासम्बद्धार्थाभिधायित्वं मा प्रसाङ्क्षीदित्य-प्राकरणिकप्राकरणिकार्थयोरुपमानोपमेयभावः कल्पयितव्यः सामर्थ्यादित्यर्थाक्षिप्तोऽयं श्लेषः न शब्दोपात्तः ।
—Dhv., p. 224.

[5] शब्दार्थशक्त्याक्षिप्तोऽपि व्यङ्ग्योऽर्थः कविना पुनः ।
यत्राविष्क्रियते स्वोक्त्या सान्यैवाङ्गतिर्ध्वनेः ॥ —Dhv. II, 23.

We shall now pass on to *Alaṅkāra-dhvani*. The concept of *Alaṅkāra-dhvani* is nothing very new. Even ancient writers on poetics like Udbhaṭa have clearly pointed out how one *Alaṅkāra* may suggest another *alaṅkāra*.[1] For instance, *Upamā*, *Rūpaka* and *Atiśayokti* have been shown to lie at the root of many *alaṅkāras* such as *sasandeha*. *Alaṅkāra-dhvani* is thus a recognized fact and there is no need of discussing it in great detail. But one point needs emphasis. It is that all instances, where some *alaṅkāra* is suggested by some other *alaṅkāra*, do not merit the designation of *Alaṅkāra-dhvani*. Only such instances as owe all their beauty exclusively to the suggested *alaṅkāra*, and not to the expressed, deserve to be considered as *Alaṅkāra-dhvani*. It follows that *alaṅkāras* like *Dīpaka* wherein *upamā* is invariably suggested, do not come to be classed as *Dhvani*, since their charm lies in the expressed figure and not in the suggested.[2] But in instances as—

लावण्यकान्तिपरिपूरितदिङ्मुखेऽस्मिन्क्षीरेऽधुना तव मुखे तरलायताक्षि ।
क्षोभं यदेति न मनागपि तेन मन्ये सुव्यक्तमेव जलराशिरयं पयोधिः ॥[3]

the whole charm of the verse is ascribable to the suggested figure alone and hence they are called *Alaṅkāra-dhvani*. Ānandavardhana illustrates this in detail drawing instances from a number of *Alaṅkāras* which look charming by reason of their being suggested.[4]

So long as the *alaṅkāras* remain beautifiers of expressed sense alone, they will be nothing more than external embellishments added on to the body of poetry.[5] They cannot even be considered as part and parcel of the body of poetry. But the moment they partake in the element of suggestion, they shed their extrinsic nature and become intrinsic. They assume the position of not only the body, but the soul of poetry.[6] As seen above, they can enter into relation with suggestion in two ways: either in the rôle of suggestors or in the rôle of being objects of suggestion. In the latter capacity they will be either *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* or *Dhvani*. We have *dhvani* when

---

[1] अन्यत्र वाच्यत्वेन प्रसिद्धो यो रूपकादिरलङ्कारः सोऽन्यत्र प्रतीयमानतया वाक्यस्थेन प्रदर्शितस्वभावद्भिर्भट्टोद्भटादिभिः । तथा च ससन्देहादिरूपमारूपकातिशयोक्तीनां प्रकाश्यमानत्वं प्रदर्शितमिति अलङ्कारान्तरस्यालङ्कारान्तरे व्यङ्ग्यत्वं न यत्नप्रतिपाद्यम् । —*Vṛtti* on Dhv. II, 26, p. 258.

[2] (दीपकादिषु) उपमागर्भत्वेऽपि सति वाच्यालङ्कारसुखेनैव चारुत्वं व्यवतिष्ठते न व्यङ्ग्यालङ्कारतान्यर्येण । —Dhv., p. 260.

[3] For a fuller account of *Alaṅkāra-dhvani*, *vide* my article 'Ānandavardhana's Theory of Dhvani, *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Oriental Research Institute*, 1947-8.

[4] See Dhv., pp. 262ff.

[5] Cf. Dhv., p. 204.

[6] शरीरीकरणं येषां वाच्यत्वे न व्यवस्थितम् ।
तेऽलङ्काराः परां छायां यान्ति ध्वन्यङ्गतां गताः ॥ —Dhv., II, 28.

they are suggested and the suggestion is exclusively important.[1] This *Alaṅkāra-dhvani* also may arise in two ways. The *alaṅkāras* may be suggested either by an expressed idea or by another *alaṅkāra*. When they are suggested by an idea, they will certainly deserve to be regarded as *Dhvani-kāvya*, since the very process of poetry is grounded on this feature.[2] Otherwise, if the idea did not suggest any striking *alaṅkāra*, it would be nothing more than a commonplace utterance far from rising to the rank of poetry. Even in the other alternative, when *alaṅkāras* are suggested by some other *alaṅkāra*, they will be raised to the status of *dhvani* provided they are exclusively important and charming, as already pointed out.[3]

No doubt writers on poetics have given a one-sided emphasis in their consideration of *alaṅkāras* by emphasizing exclusively the beauty of the expressed figures; still it should be noted that all the *alaṅkāras* play a part in suggestion either of an idea or another *alaṅkāra*.[4] Just as every *Dīpaka* suggests an *upamā* and every *samāsokti* a new idea, in the same way, all the *alaṅkāras* suggest either new ideas or new figures. For instance we have *Atiśayokti* playing a part in all figures of speech. It is through *Atiśayokti* (Hyperbole) that great poets achieve beauty in their poems. Within the bounds of propriety whenever *Atiśayokti* is employed, it cannot fail to contribute to the beauty of a piece.[5] Even Bhāmaha has noted this feature in his definition of the figure.[6] Striking imaginative description is the true index of a poet's genius and like an undercurrent it runs through all the various figures he may employ. It is the presence of this touch of *atiśayokti* which promotes beauty in every figure; in its absence the figures would be like so many dead weights without any beauty. Since it is the sole factor guaranteeing beauty in all figures of speech, *Atiśayokti* has been so highly spoken of by Bhāmaha. And *Atiśayokti* can influence the other *alaṅkāras* in a two-fold manner. It may be directly expressed

---

[1] ध्वन्यङ्गता चोभाभ्यां प्रकाराभ्यां व्यङ्गकत्वेन वाच्यत्वेन च। व्यङ्ग्यत्वेऽप्यलङ्काराणां प्राधान्यविवक्षायामेव सत्यां ध्वनावन्तःपातः। इतरथा तु गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यत्वम्। —Dhv., p. 278.

[2] अलङ्काराणां द्वयी गतिः—कदाचिदङ्गभावेन व्यज्यन्ते, कदाचिदलङ्कारेण। तत्र—

व्यज्यन्ते वस्तुमात्रेण यदालङ्कृतयस्तदा।
ध्रुवं ध्वन्यङ्गता तासां काव्यद्वित्स्तदाश्रया॥ —Dhv., II, 29.

[3] Cf. अलङ्कारान्तरव्यङ्ग्यभावे ध्वन्यङ्गता भवेत्।
चारुत्वोत्कर्षतो व्यङ्ग्यप्राधान्यं यदि लक्ष्यते॥ —Dhv., II, 30.

Also, उक्तं ह्येतत्—'चारुत्वोत्कर्षनिबन्धना वाच्यव्यङ्ग्ययोः प्राधान्यविवक्षा।' इति। —Dhv., p. 280.

[4] वाच्यालङ्कारवर्गोऽयं व्यङ्ग्यांशानुगमे सति।
प्रायेणैव परां छायां बिभ्रत्त्वं निरीक्ष्यते॥ —Dhv., III, 36.

[5] Dhv., pp. 464-5. [6] *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, II, 85; Dhv., p. 464.

in addition to some other figure in a given instance; or it may be suggestively understood by the help of the expressed figures. When it is suggestively understood it may be either exclusively important or only secondary. Accordingly we have *Atiśayokti* in every instance of *alaṅkāra* in one of these three forms:—(1) Direct *Atiśayokti*, (2) *Atiśayokti-dhvani*, and (3) *Guṇībhūta-Vyaṅgya-atiśayokti*.[1]

This characteristic of influencing other *alaṅkāras* is not peculiar to *Atiśayokti* alone. Several figures of speech share this feature in common with *Atiśayokti*.[2] But while *atiśayokti* has a rôle in respect of every *alaṅkāra*, the other figures of speech are not so universally applicable. Their scope is restricted to particular figures. Thus for instance, in figures like *Rūpaka*, *Upamā*, *Tulyayogitā*, and *Nidarśanā* which are all based on similarity, the beauty is generally due to the suggested idea of similarity as influencing the direct meaning. Hence they must all be regarded as instances of *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*. Figures like *Samāsokti*, *Ākṣepa*, and *Paryāyokta* are invariably related to a suggested idea and there cannot be any difference of opinion about their being considered as *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*. But with regard to some figures it will be observed that their scope of *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* is restricted to single figures. *Vyājastuti*, for instance, involves only the *alaṅkāra—preyas*. In other figures the scope is limited to suggestion of an *alaṅkāra* only as against *Vastu*. For instance in *Sandeha* and such other figures, only *Upamā* (and figures based on *Upamā*) can be suggested. Some other figures are found to be mutually involved in the capacity of *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*, *Dīpaka* and *Upamā* for example. It is well known that *Dīpaka* involves *Upamā*. *Upamā* also sometimes, as in *Mālopamā*, involves a shade of *Dīpaka*. In this way all the figures of speech are found to involve an element of subordinate suggestion. It is only this feature which is commonly shared by all the *alaṅkāras*; and it is only on account of this feature that *alaṅkāras* become beautiful. Take away from the *alaṅkāras* this element of *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*, and they will at once lose all their poetic charm though all their other characteristics are present. For instance, we may cite a sentence like *yathā gauḥ tathā gavayaḥ*. It is far from being poetic in spite of its containing the characteristics of *Upamā*. The reason is to be sought in the total absence of suggestion.[3]

It follows from the above that a general definition of *alaṅkāra* must be based on the principle of *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*. And such a

---

[1] Dhv., pp. 468–70.

[2] अयं च प्रकारोऽन्येषामप्यलङ्काराणामस्ति, तेषां तु न सर्वविषयः। अतिशयोक्तेस्तु सर्वालङ्कारविषयोऽपि सम्भवतीत्ययं विशेषः। —Dhv., p. 470.

[3] तदेवं व्यङ्ग्यांशसंस्पर्शे सति चारुत्वातिशययोगिनो रूपकादयोऽलङ्काराः सर्व एव गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यस्य मार्गः। गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यत्वं च तेषां तथाज्ञानीयानां सर्वेषामेवोक्तानुक्तानां सामान्यम्। —Dhv., p. 472.

definition only can be free from the fallacy of too narrow (*Avyāpti*). The procedure of the rhetoricians who refrain from attempting a general definition of *alaṅkāra* and treat only of the individual figures is open to several drawbacks. In the first place it is never possible to appreciate the definitions of particular figures in the absence of a general notion of *alaṅkāras*. Secondly, it is not at all possible to exhaust all the individual figures in any scheme of rhetoric, since they are innumerable. Just as the modes of human speech are infinite, the figures of speech in poetry too are infinite,[1] based as they are on human speech. On the other hand, when we define all the *alaṅkāras* as *Gunībhūta-vyaṅgya*, there is no room left for any fallacy. In the first place, the definition will have universal application to all the *alaṅkāras*, whether recorded or not in manuals of rhetoric. Secondly, it will leave no *alaṅkāra* out of consideration since *Gunībhūta-vyaṅgya* is very wide, being three-fold in nature (*Vastu*, *Rasa* and *Alaṅkara*) and all the *alaṅkāras* come under it one way or the other. Thus a clear grasp of the concept of *alaṅkāras* implies an acceptance of the doctrine of *dhvani*.[2]

Further, an acceptance of the principle of *Gunībhūta-vyaṅgya* will assist one in deciding the precise figure in a given instance. It is found that in the absence of such acceptance, doubts will crop up even in regard to well-known figures.[3] The following stanza, for instance, has been regarded by some as an example of *Vyāja-stuti*:—

लावण्यद्रविणाव्ययो न गणितः क्लेशो महान् स्वीकृतः
स्वच्छन्दस्य सुखं जनस्य वसतश्चिन्तानलो दीपितः।
एषापि स्वयमेव तुल्यरमणाभावादराकौ हता
कोऽर्थश्चेतसि वेधसा विनिहितस्तन्व्यास्तनुं तन्वता॥[4]

['Indeed it passes our understanding
What the Creator could have had in his mind
To lavish all his materials of beauty
And subject himself to the greatest distress
In creating this lady, who causes at once
Fevers of longing in the innocent men
That were happy and free only a moment before;
And the lady herself being far from happy
In the absence of a lover befitting her.']

---

[1] एकैकस्य स्वरूपविशेषकथनेन तु सामान्यलक्षणरहितेन प्रतिपादपाठेनैव ग्रन्था न अवगन्ते तत्त्वतो निर्ज्ञातुम्, आनन्त्यात्। अनन्ता हि वाचिकाल्पास्त्यूकारा एव चालङ्काराः। —Dhv., pp. 473-4.

[2] गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यस्य च प्रकारान्तरेणापि व्यङ्ग्यार्थानुगमलक्षणेन विषयत्वमस्त्येव। तदयं ध्वनिनिष्यन्दरूपो द्वितीयोऽपि महाकविविषयोऽतिरमणीयो लक्षणीयः सहृदयैः। —Dhv., pp. 474-5.

[3] वाच्यव्यङ्ग्ययोः प्राधान्याप्राधान्यविवेके परः प्रयत्नो विधातव्यः, येन ध्वनिगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्ययोरलङ्काराणां चासङ्कीर्णो विषयः सुज्ञातो भवति। अन्यथा तु प्रसिद्धालङ्कारविषय एव व्यामोहः प्रवर्तते। Dhv., p. 486.

[4] Dhv., p. 487.

If we consider it as a *Vyājastuti*, it will imply that this is a veiled praise of the woman by a person in love with her. But a lover cannot be normally expected to make such a remark as 'In the absence of a lover befitting her', for he would consider at least himself as deserving her love. We cannot go to the other extreme and say that the verse records the impressions of an ascetic who has abandoned the passions and who tries to moralize in this way, for an ascetic will not bother about such questions. Unfortunately, the source of this quotation is unknown. Otherwise, we could perhaps have decided the true meaning of the verse easily in the light of its context. Under these circumstances it is desirable to regard it as an instance of *Aprastutaprasaṁsā* rather than that of *Vyājastuti*. By considering it as an instance of *Aprastutaprasaṁsā*, we shall be doing full justice to the suggested (and subordinate) idea that this is a poetic outburst of a person who rates himself very highly, who is proud of his own uncommon virtues and endowments, who excites his less fortunate brethren into jealousy and who cannot find a single man that can appreciate his true worth. The distress of such a man is suggestively portrayed here and the tradition that the verse is Dharmakīrti's gets added support from such an interpretation.[1] It is indeed very likely that Dharmakīrti wrote this verse, especially in view of the fact that he has written other verses in the same strain.[2]

Such then is the practical use to which the concept of *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* can be put in cases of doubt.

---

[1] Cf. Dhv., p. 489.

[2] Cf. अनध्यवसितावगाहनमनल्पधीशक्तिना-
प्यदृष्टपरमार्थसत्त्वमधिकाभियोगैरपि ।
मतं मम जगत्यलब्धसदृशप्रतियाचकं
प्रयास्यति पयोनिधेः पय इव स्वदेहे जराम् ॥

KULINISM IN BENGAL

By S. C. Chakravartty

There is a saying that half-truth is more dangerous than untruth, for the simple reason that half-truth being partly true and partly untrue, it is difficult to separate the one from the other part. This maxim is well illustrated in the system of Kulinism prevalent in Bengal. This system bred an exaggerated idea of dignity among Kulin Brahmins and took deep root in Hindu society as a result of a sinister propaganda through a class of people known as *ghaṭaks* amply bribed for the purpose. Non-kulin Brahmins were anxious to have matrimonial relationship with the Kulins. All Kulin males were in the marriage market and both Kulins and non-Kulins used to vie with one another to secure one wife with offers of cash and property as dowries. It actually so happened that many Brahmin girls remained maidens throughout for want of a Kulin bridegroom, who, therefore, indulged merrily in having a hundred wives or more, the arrangement usually being that the wives and children would be maintained by the father or brother. Permanent maidenhood of a girl then used to reflect discredit on her father and brother, who would, with a view to remove same, marry her to a decrepit or maimed and even a dying Kulin. Polygamous Kulins used to keep a register of their wives and periodically visited them on proper fees being tendered similar to a stud-fee of the present-day. Various accounts of these incidents are mentioned in Vidyāsāgara's '*Bahuvivāha*', Ramnarain's drama '*Kulin-Kulasarvasva*' and Sarat Chatterji's '*Bāmuṇer meye*', etc. It is worthy of note that in no other parts of India has this sort of Kulinism ever prevailed.

However fantastic it may appear, we cannot deny its existence in Bengal. When this custom came into vogue and what transitions it passed through in different periods, a full and regular account thereof can only be obtained from *Kulaśāstras*, alleged to be written by certain *Kulācāryas* who gradually took to the profession of match-makers in society for remuneration and were popularly known as *ghaṭaks*. Originally, however, they acted under a commission of the then king very much like the English heralds, who in the reigns of Tudor monarchs visited country-sides for recording genealogies for fees. Their writings had been in manuscripts until they were printed during the English rule. The Late Nagendra Nath Vasu *Prācyavidyāmahārṇava* made an attempt to reconstruct a history of Bengal out of those *Kulaśāstras* but with little success. Modern historians have dealt with the said *Kulaśāstras* exhaustively in the light of epigraphy.

R. C. Majumdar has given a list *inter alia* of fourteen *Kulaśāstras*. Of them, according to him, *Mahāvaṃśāvalī* or *Miśragrantha* by Dhruvānanda Miśra (a *Kulācārya*) was the oldest, and probably written in the 15th century; Nulo Panchanan's *Goṣṭhi-Kathā* and Vācaspati's *Kulārāma* were written in 16th or 17th century. Genuine manuscripts of these works are rare. Banerjee and Majumdar seem to hold identical views on the matter. It is a matter of common knowledge that many spurious *Kulaśāstras* were manufactured and sold at an inordinate price to many educated and half educated men, who entertained great vanity about high Kulin lineage.

The persons and facts referred to in such texts should be examined on the basis of the modern researches. King Ādisura had been in these books, stated to be the pioneer in establishing in Bengal the true Brahmin Aryans, well versed in the *Vedas*. With great discrepancies as regards the period of his reign and advent of those Brahmins, Ādisura was described therein as emperor of five Gauḍas which are as follows: (1) *Kānyakubja*, (2) *Gauḍa* or Bengal (3) *Mithilā* (North Bihar), (4) *Utkala* (Orissa), and (5) One on the bank of river Sarasvatī. *Rārhiya Kula Mañjarī* assigned the date of his reign to 732 A.D. and those Brahmins known as keepers of sacred fire were brought to Bengal in 746 A.D. *Varendra Kula-Pañjikā* and Vācaspati Miśra fixed the advent of those Brahmins at 732 A.D. while others put the dates at 1032 and 1077 A.D. respectively. Therefore according to one set of *Kulaśāstra* writers Ādisura flourished in the second quarter of the 8th century and according to another in the second or third quarter of the 11th century.

According to Banerjee and Majumdar, Gopāla I of the Pāla dynasty ruled during *c.* 790–95 and *c.* 750–770 in Bengal. Just before that, i.e., in the commencement of the 8th century, the political conditions of Gauḍa, Magadha, and Vaṅga were narrated by Banerjee.[1] The people of Gauḍa, says Banerjee, were reduced to desperate straits from the repeated foreign raids. Besides, after the death of Jīvita Gupta II belonging to Imperial Guptas of Magadha, probably no other king could lay a solid foundation of his rule in Gauḍa, Magadha or Vaṅga and petty landholders kept themselves busy in internecine warfares. As a result, in the middle of the 8th century complete anarchy ran riot in Eastern India. The citizens with a view to get rid of anarchy elected Gopāla I as their king. The existence of Ādisura cannot be denied. The Kulācāryas composed their books relying on the tradition that the advent of Brahmins took place in Bengal during the reign of a king named Ādisura.

---

[1] *History of Bengal* (3rd ed.), Vol. I, p. 153.

After the Imperial Guptas, Harṣavardhana, a patron of Buddhism, flourished but died leaving Bengal in an anarchical state. Taking advantage of this situation, an adventurer Gopāla of Bauddha-Tantric-faith seized the political power and his descendants wielded same for over four hundred years in Gauḍa, Vaṅga and Magadha widely known as the illustrious Pāla dynasty. It was not unlikely that there might be want of Brahmins well versed in Veda and Vedic sacrifices. During the rule of the Imperial Guptas, many Brahmins with Vedic knowledge were brought and they were there even before. But sometime before or after the Imperial Guptas, there had been little or no prevalence of Vedic sacrifices or performances of such nature and if any king or noble desired to have them, a Brahmin would have to be imported from the north or central India for the purpose.

In history neither the genealogy of the Sura dynasty has as yet been traced out except two or three names without any connection whatever between them nor the particulars of Kulinism embodied. The description given in the *Kulatatvārṇava* is followed; the author whereof Sarvānanda Miśra has been alleged to be a son of Dhruvānanda Miśra who was appointed *Kulācārya* in succession to the great Devivara in 1485 A.D. The said Dhruvānanda is known to be the author of *Mahāvaṃśa* or *Miśragrantha*, whereas, *Kulatatvārṇava* mentions that his father had written a commentary as *Melakārikā*. The subject matter of both the works as it appears from the names, must be the same. Some facts stated in the *Kulatatvārṇava* correspond to the findings of the latest history. This book has been compiled by the author from various *Kulagranthas* following a historical sequence (vide ślokas 3 and 4). The materials illustrating the system of Kulinism have been taken from it and also such other relevant facts as may shed light on Bengal's history.

According to it, after the demise of Ādisura his son was driven out from Gauḍa by Dharmapāla, the king of Magadha. Majumdar's genuine doubt about Gopāla's election as king of Bengal, which on being proved a myth leads us to the conclusion that Dharmapāla was the real king of Gauḍa, Vaṅga, Aṅga and Magadha. If so, it might be likely that he had acquired his first footing in Magadha and then Gauḍa. The Khalimpur copper plate clearly shows that it was engraved after he (Dharmapāla) had established his position as victorious conqueror in Northern India and in the same plate his genealogy and father's (Gopala's) election as king of Gauḍa-Magadha by the citizens were mentioned. It might not be beyond the bounds of possibility that such facts were manufactured and engraved as advised by the Brahmin ministers to give out an air of respectability with a view to win him a rank of a Kṣatriya monarch in the assembly of North Indian princes. It is a well-known fact

that all victorious adventurers of foreign extraction became absorbed in Hindu society and passed off as Kṣatriyas. It is also a fact that modern historians know nothing about Gopāla except through Dharmapāla, and his son Devapāla, and Lama Taranath's *History of Buddhism*, which at least concerning this fact was entirely based on partly hearsay and partly imagination to extol the merits of a co-religionist as the founder of a royal dynasty. So, in view of the political condition prevailing in Gauḍa-Magadha and paucity of historical materials regarding Gopāla, any reasonable historical hypothesis cannot be rejected outright as mere speculation. There are various other facts and circumstances about this historical problem, which awaits solution and as such, further discussion appears unnecessary.

Ādisura's son took refuge in Rāḍha which must evidently have been under his sway and died there as its reigning king. His son, Kshitisura assigned fifty-six villages to fifty-six sons of all those Brahmins having five gotras, viz., *Vatsya, Savarṇa, Bhāradvāja, Śāṇḍilya* and *Kāśyapa*, who had been brought there by his father from Gauḍa when driven out. Still now, they use the names of these fifty-six villages as their surnames and as descendants of Kānya-Kubja-Brahmins. It may be noted that those surnames are even found in use among *saptasatis*, who were known as local Brahmins and considered as degraded having no knowledge of Vedas. This shows, even on the testimony of *Kulaśāstras*, that there had been an admixture between the inhabitants and immigrants. After the death of Kshitisura and his descendants Mahīsura and Prithwīsura, one Dharāsura, son of the last named king, called a conference of the descendants of the said fifty-six village-owners, who were divided by him into two groups. This division was made among them after knowing their capabilities in Vedic performances and knowledge. Nothing was, however, mentioned as to the superiority of division and no restriction was imposed as regards intermarriage among them. The *Kulatatvārṇava* simply states that the last king Somasura died childless and Ballālasena became king in his place.

All the *Kulaśāstras* are unanimous that Ballālasena introduced first the system of Kulinism in Bengal. His father Vijayasena defeating evidently Madanapāla of Pala dynasty occupied Rāḍha, Vaṅga and Dakṣiṇa Varendra. Some of the *Kulaśāstras* referred to him as *Vaidya* and some as a descendant of Ādisura's daughter's son. In the light of a copper plate of Vijayasena, he was the son of Vilāsa Devī, a princess of Śura dynasty, but the name of his maternal grandfather has not yet been discovered. As regards his caste and the period of his reign, there are many conflicting views. D. R. Bhandarkar calls them Brahma-Kṣatriyas meaning thereby that they were Brahmins by caste but due to the pursuit of military

profession by giving up Brahmin's duties, came gradually to be known as Kṣatriyas. They were likely to have originally served in the Pala army which consisted of various peoples of India. According to Banerjee, Ballāla became king on the eve of 12th century and died in 1118 or 1119, but Majumdar fixes his coronation at 1158 and death at 1169 A.D. Banerjee doubts whether Kulinism was created by Ballālasena.

A *Kulina* shall marry a daughter of a *Kulina* of another gotra but may marry a *Śrotriya's* daughter provided in no case he can give a daughter in marriage to a *Śrotriya*. The *Śrotriyas* were again subdivided into two sections: one was called *Śuddha* having more qualifications than defects, and the other having more defects than qualifications known as *Kasta*, whose daughters are never eligible for marriage to a *Kulin*. Out of 56 village owners 34 were not agreeable to submit to the classification made by Ballāla on the ground that he had no authority under the prevalent law and custom to do so and as such he classified them as *Śrotriyas*. In śloka No. 199 of *Kulatatvārnava* it is specified that above 22 village owners were made *Kulinas* and copper plates issued to that effect but no such plates have yet been discovered. After some time Ballāla convened a third assembly of 22 immigrants only and of them 8 were made *Mukhya* (superior) and 14 *Gauna* (Inferior). The names of those 8, are: *Banda, Mukhati, Ganguli, Kanjilal, Kundalal, Patitunda, Ghosal* and *Chatta*. Again, he is said to have made further subdivisions among them and written a *Kulaśāstra* recording same which, except two of his alleged works, viz., *Adbhuta* and *Dānasāgara*, has not yet been discovered. Ballāla died leaving Lakṣmaṇasena as heir to his throne, who again subdivided the *Kulinas* into four divisions and raised several Brāhmaṇas of different status as made by Ballāla to the same status twice by a process known as *Samīkaraṇa* (making the status of different grades equal or levelling). After Lakṣmaṇa's death, his son Keśavasena was installed as king in his place, but compelled, being defeated by Muslims, to leave Gauḍa.

These are historical problems awaiting solution, viz., whether Lakṣmaṇa was himself turned out by Muslims from Nadia and the same was his capital. Banerjee says that the Muslim invasion of Gauḍa did not take place in his life-time but during the reign of which of his sons has not yet been settled, and there is no proof that Nadia had ever been the capital of Sena dynasty. According to some, the exact date of Nadia raid cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. General consensus of opinion is shortly before or after 1200 A.D. Shaik Shuvodaya and Tibetan chronicle fix the date as 1202 A.D. Lakṣmaṇa, according to Banerjee, became king of Gauḍa in 1119 A.D., and after reigning for about thirty

years he died before 1170 A.D. The *Kulaśāstra* writers do not help us much in this matter.

After Keśava's discomfiture, the Brahmins could not stay in Gauḍa; just at the time, appeared king Danuja Mādhava (Śloka 350). The *Kulatatvārṇava* does not give any detail from whom he took Gauḍa. He has been identified by Majumdar as Daśarathadeva of Deva family known as king of Gauḍa with full titles of Pāla kings. He is said to have conquered Vikramapura from Sena dynasty. According to the *Tatvārṇava* he made levelling (*Samīkaraṇa*) four times in consultation with the deposed Keśava and Kulina Eruh Miśra, who was appointed the first *Kulācārya* or *Ghaṭaka* of Rāḍha. Twenty-four Brāhmaṇas were made *Kulins*. Danuja Mādhava departed from this world in 1289 A.D. after strengthening the system of Kulinism to some extent.

The Muslim power prevailed for about a century till the time of Kaṃsanārāyaṇa. The Muslims oppressed the Brahmins so ruthlessly that the latter with a view to organize unified resistance against the former, did away with Kulinism as also the impediment to intermarriage existing among the Varendra, Rāḍha and Saptasati Brahmins. Thus united, the *Tatvārṇava* says, Brahmins had ably withstood the Muslim-menace against their religion and caste. Kaṃsanārāyaṇa was also described as Raja Ganesh by some historians. Dattakhāsa convened a conference of Brahmins. He found that there had been admixture between the local and immigrant Brahmins, the gotras so far being increased from five to eight (ślokas 385-96). It was reported to him that during the Muslim rule for a century before Kaṃsa, i.e., from the time of Nawab Nasiruddin to Samsuddin II, *c.* 1282–1409 A.D., *Kulācāryas*, appointed evidently by different groups according to their influence with the ruling power, were arbitrarily deciding the personnel of Kulinism without considering the nine-fold qualifications which had been prescribed as standard before. One Īśāna, a descendant of Dāśarathi of village Kantadia, opposed such procedure and requested Dattakhās to reorganize Kulinism on the principle followed by Ballāla. This proposal not having the consent of majority he invested eight Brahmins only with Kulinism. The Brahmins of twenty-two villages numbering forty left at first the Royal assembly, then Rāḍha and resided in the middle country between Rāḍha and Odra (Orissa) and hence they were known as the middle class. But in the *Mahāvaṃśāvalī* of Dhruvānanda Miśra there is no mention of the names of eight persons so raised to the status of a Kulin by Dattakhās, who at that time (1403 A.D.) with the consent of Brahmins appointed Śovakar a descendant of Puti as *Kulācārya* or *Ghaṭaka*. Dattakhās took an important part in reorganizing Kulinism and maintained the prestige of Brahmins during his lifetime. After the death of Kaṃsanārāyaṇa, his son Yadu, ascended

the throne and soon assumed the name of Jelal-Uddin embracing Islam. From Ahmed Shah (1431–77 A.D.) up to the reign of Barbeck Shah, the Muslims oppressed the Hindus generally and Brahmins specially in many ways, which entailed their loss of caste, religion and nationality as also Vedas, Smritis and Kulagranthas, though their predecessors had been prudent enough to follow a conciliatory policy with the Hindus.

In 1478, Yusuf Shah became the Nawab of Gauda. He is said to have given Brahmins royal support and complete immunity from maltreatment and also appointed one Devivara Bandya as *Kulācārya*, who went to Kāmarūpa for divine favour from its presiding deity Kāmākshyā Devī to enlighten him with a special knowledge about Kulinism. He then proceeded with a fresh classification of Kulinas and reorganization of this institution on a novel method known as '*Melabandhana*'. 'Mela' means 'grouping', and 'bandhana' means 'binding together'. So '*Melabandhana*' is the binding together of various groups. These groups have been enumerated according to the prominent defects among them, which generally related to interdining and sexual connection with the Muslims wilfully or otherwise. It is noteworthy that these groups were formed on the ground of one of the defects quite contrary to the principle alleged to be followed by Ballāla. Devivara enjoined various rules of intermarriage among these groups and on breach thereof such person was to be degraded to the group in which he married. Various divisions and subdivisions grew up and the accounts thereof were usually kept by *Kulācāryas* or *Ghaṭakas*. After the death of Devivara on or about 1485, Dhruvānanda Miśra was appointed *Kulācārya*.

The system of Kulinism, if it is not entirely dead, is certainly in moribund condition and whatever remnants yet visible are really found in Devivara's Kulinism, which is clearly based on his unreasonable, unscientific and arbitrary decision, evidently at the dictation of the then ruling power and its satellites. To find out the truth or otherwise of this view, we should survey the social and religious structure of Bengal prevailing at different stages during the time Kulinism was alleged to be evolving.

In the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries A.D., many Brahmins of *Bhāradvāja*, *Kāṇva*, *Bhārgava*, *Kāśyapa*, *Vatsya* and *Kauṇḍinya* gotras, following Rik, Yaju and Sāma Vedas, were residing in Bengal and performing Vedic rites. Brahmins used to come to Bengal from central and other parts of India. This practice clearly began in the 5th century and increased with the royal patronage up to the 12th century.

The Imperial Guptas were well known for reviving Brahmanism and its literature. They had also respect for Buddhism having regard to the fact that the great University of Nālandā owed its

existence and partial maintenance to their munificence. After their dismemberment different rulers adhering to different sects ruled different parts of Bengal for some time. Ultimately suzerain power went to Harṣavardhana, who died in *c.* 647 as a Buddhist. So Buddhists were not in any event deprived of the royal patronage. After him there was anarchy and clear hint of Tibetan invasion and their consequent influence specially in the whole of Bengal, which culminated in installing Gopāla I, as king of Magadha. The Buddhistic religion, it is obvious, was prevalent, if not dominant, even before the Pālas came in. Between the 8th century and 12th century, during the reign of the Pālas in Bengal, Buddhism received an impetus, however, in other mystic forms well known as *Vajrayāna* and *Tantrayāna*. The *Yogācāra* system had its founder in Maitreyanātha in *c.* 200 A.D., whose successors were subsequently known as *Siddhācāryas*. Their rise took place in Bengal between 10th and 12th centuries A.D. Some of the *Siddhācāryas*, who were in Vikramasilā University, composed spiritual poems in primary Bengali generally described as *Caryāpadas* under the headings of *Vajrayāna*, *Sahajayāna* and *Kālacakrayāna*. Mantra, Mudrā and Maṇḍala as depicted in *Vajrayāna* were transformed as Prajñā and Śaktivāda, which prescribed performance of mystic rites as *Yogas* in secret. A neo-śaktism called Kaula also evolved, which is said to have originated from Minanātha and its doctrines were discovered from Nepal. The sacred lore of Kaula is Kulāgama or Kulaśāstra and the followers thereof received the epithet of Kaula, Kulaputra or Kulina. The Kaula or Yoginikula as founded by Minanātha traces its source at Kāmarūpa (Assam). There were followers of Kaula, who did not give up Varṇāśrama. There were then other classes such as Nāthapanthis, Avadhūtas, Sahajiyās, etc., who as true followers of Buddhistic mysticism gave up Varṇāśrama.

Following the Kṣatriya custom Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty appointed an able non-Bengali Brahmin of Śāṇḍilya clan as his chief minister named Gargadeva Miśra. He and his successors made frequent grants of lands for the worship of Brahmanical gods and goddesses in the same way as they did for their own religion.

Pāla sovereignty had gradually declined due to internal decay, and taking advantage thereof Vijayasena of Rāḍha defeated the last king Madanapāla and occupied the throne of Gauḍa possibly in 1095 A.D. Vijaya was an ardent admirer of Brahmanism and with all the influence of a conqueror he must have encouraged Brahmanism and the Vedic rites.

An influential section of the people, viz., *Suvarṇavaṇiks*, used to control trade and commerce, who were perhaps Buddhists or at least with Buddhistic leanings like the Pālas. A large number of Kulinas or Kaula Brāhmaṇas were spiritual dictators of the Pāla dynasty.

After the death of Vijayasena rebellion and disruption began under the leadership of Ballāla. According to Ānanda Bhaṭṭa's *Ballāla-carita* the social position of the Kaivartas was restored and Ballāla was degraded in society to the level of an untouchable. To ostracise Ballāla was a difficult task, which could not be done certainly without the help of Kulinas and they were won over by Ballāla. It appears that Ballāla in his anxiety to save his kingdom cultivated friendly relationship with the Kulinas. His son Lakṣmaṇa adopted Vaiṣṇavism. He had a galaxy of poets around him. With his death came the Muslims under Baktiyar to conquer Bengal. A large number of Bengalis being thereby allied with the foreign rulers, put Bengal's social and economic machinary of life completely out of gear for more than a century. The flowers of Bengal militia, viz., *Hāḍi*, *Bāgdhi*, *Doma* and *Caṇḍāla* during Pala regime, were forcibly disarmed and compelled to be peaceful cultivators and craftsmen, occupying a servile status in society after revoking martial pursuits and this must have been begun by the Sena kings and completed by the foreign conquerors as a measure of safeguarding their domination.

Between the early 13th and nearly the end of the 14th centuries, practically whole of the areas included in modern Bengal came under Muslim control. So during this period it can hardly be possible for Kulinism to maintain its existence. The Muslims were mostly fighting men and hardly few among them could well manage a civil administration. So they had to invite Bengalis for the civil posts, as military used to be manned entirely by the Muslims.

The Senas associated themselves with the Muslim rulers socially and officially without offending their religious ideals or manner of living in any way. They practically laid the foundation of the present zemindari system, being employed as persons in charges of different areas in Bengal for collection of taxes, rents and revenues from farmers and ryots. Not a single *Kulagrantha* was extant at the time of Devivara and for the simple reason that the *Kulagranthas* were neither conceived nor composed before the 15th century A.D. It may be presumed that they began to make their appearance from time to time during Muslim rule for the purpose of placating and enlisting support of their Bengali satellites in the interest of their stability in the state.

Kulinism has, in effect, created castes within castes or in other words attempted to create mutually exclusive classes, not only among Brahmins but permeated in every section of other castes also, its baneful principle. Every caste high or low has two or three subsections. Every trade-guild or profession has hardened into castes, having different subsections thereunder according to their location. The castes have grown in Bengal in such a huge proportion as in different varieties. After the Muslim conquest, the Kulins

began to assume the names of the 56 villages as their surnames implying thereby that they were descendants of the Brahmin immigrants from Kanauj, who got, according to *Kulaśāstras*, those villages as gifts from the reigning king. Very few of such villages have yet been traced and as such most of them are likely to be imaginary.

This subject demands a careful research, which is likely to unfold the social history of Bengal and how the same was influenced by the political exigencies of the time. The Brahmins had been the leaders of men throughout in religious and social matters despite the Muslim rulers, who had to constantly cultivate friendly relationship with them in carrying on successful administration. Whatever customs were found current among them, they were followed by all castes and communities. It is likely that the first batch of non-Brahmin followers was made *Kulinas*. Instead of social censure they became by virtue of the magic of Kulinism recipients of garland and sandal paste on their foreheads in all social assemblies. In the Theravāda Buddhist texts we often meet with *Seṭṭhis* (bankers) and *Kulaputtas*. Further researches may help us in finding out some connection of these *Seṭṭhis* and *Kulaputtas* with the Kulinas.

MEWĀR BEFORE THE RISE OF THE GUHILAS

By G. C. Raychaudhuri

For the earliest phase of the history of any territory in northern India—barring some prehistoric sites in the Indus Valley—we have to depend almost entirely on literary evidence. Unfortunately it is difficult to date some of the most important works of this literature even approximately. All that is possible to do is to attempt a chronological arrangement on the basis of geographical data, evolution of ideas and institutions in respect of religious, social, political and economic life, and references in some of the works to a body of literature which they find already in existence. From these considerations scholars have come to the conclusion that the earliest literary stratum is formed by the hymns of the Rig Vedic collection and the strata coming next in point of time are represented by (*a*) the later Vedic Texts, (*b*) the Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist Sūtras and the early epic whose geographical horizon is in the main still limited to the territory between the Himālayas and the Godāvarī,[1] and (*c*) the later epic, the metrical legal codes and the Paurāṇic traditions which show acquaintance with countries lying to the south of the Godāvarī and also lands beyond the seas and mountains like Yavadvīpa (Java) Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) and China.[2]

While a stratification of the literature useful for our purpose is comparatively easy, it is more difficult to assign to each stratum a definite date in our chronological scheme. We can only say that the Vedic canon in its essentials is already complete by the time of the Buddha and Pāṇini (possibly not later than the fifth century B.C.)[3]; that literature of the second stratum is in some respects coeval with the rise of Magadha, of the Buddhist reformation and the beginnings of contact with the Yavanas (Greeks).[4] To the third stratum can hardly be assigned a date before more intimate contact was established with the Yavanas and Pahlavas (Parthians) in the west, and the countries of eastern and south-eastern Asia.[5] For the sake of convenience we shall call the period represented by

---

[1] *E.H.D.*, p. 11 (reference to Kaliṅga), Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 30 (Colony on the upper Godāvari).

[2] *Rām.*, Kish., XL, 30; XLI, 9, 12, 14–20, etc.; XLIII, 12; Manu, X, 44; Mārkaṇḍeya, LVII, 39, 45.

[3] Cf. Pāṇini, IV, 3, 105; *E.H.V.S.*, p. 26; Winternitz, *Hist. of Sans. Lt.*, p. 27.

[4] *Rām.*, Adi., XIII, 26; *Mbh.*, Sabhā., XIX, 10-11; Hopkins, *Great Epic*, pp. 391, 393; Pāṇini, IV, 1, 49; *E.H.V.S.*, p. 28; Gautama Saṁhita, IV; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, II, 149.

[5] Cf. foot-note 2.

the Ṛik hymns and the later Vedic Texts as the Vedic Age and the period indicated by the later literary strata as the early post-Vedic Age.

Literature of the Vedic period does not contain any clear reference to the territory of Mewār. We may therefore hold that it was outside the pale of Aryandom. Some light is thrown upon the country and its people by several texts of the early post-Vedic Age. We have already seen that according to the Bodhāyana Dharma-Sūtra the Pāriyātra region, which included a part of Mewār, lay on the border of the land of the pure Aryans and that of the mixed races (saṅkīrṇa yonayaḥ).[1] Some idea of the ethnic affinity of the original inhabitants of the area may perhaps be derived from epic traditions. The Mahābhārata, for instance, refers to the Nishādas as roaming in the wilds of the Pāriyātra.[2] There is reason to believe that a section of this ancient tribe is in all probability represented by the Bhīls who constitute the largest element of the population of Mewār.[3] The Commentator Mahīdhara apparently thought the two folks as identical.[4] In the Padma Purāṇa their origin is traced to a common ancestor.[5] There is a close resemblance in their features, habits and location. In the Vishṇu Purāṇa the Nishādas are described as 'of the complexion of a charred stake, with flattened feature and dwarfish stature'. We learn from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa that they were 'black like crows, very low statured, short armed, having high cheek bones, low-topped nose, red eyes and copper-coloured hair'.[6] The modern Bhīls have retained many of these characteristics. They are 'small, dark, broad-nosed, and ugly, but well built and active'.[7] The Nishādas took delight in hunting. The Bhīls also show much proficiency in archery and are given to killing animals. It has been already pointed out that the Mahābhārata connects the Nishādas with the Pāriyātra region. The same locality is now one of the great centres of the Bhīl population.[8]

---

[1] 'Prāgadarśanāt pratyak Kālakavanād dakshinena Himavantam Udak Pāriyātram (I, i, 25); *S.I.A.*, 129*n*.

[2] Cf. Śānti., CXXXV.

Nishādyāṁ Kshatriyājjātaḥ Kshatradharmānupālakaḥ
Kāyavyo nāma Naishādirddasyutvāt siddhimāptavān /3/
Aranye sāyaṁ pūrvāhne mṛgayūthaprakopitā
Vidhijño mṛgajātīnāṁ *Naishādānāñcha* Kovidaḥ /4/
Sarvakāla pradeśajñaḥ *Pāriyātracharaḥ* sadā /5/

[3] *Census of India* (1931), XXVII (Rājputāna), p. 129; I.G.(R.), 179.

[4] *A.I.T.*, p. 61.

[5] Nishādāścha Kirātāścha Bhillā-Nāhalakāstathā
Bhramarāścha Pulindāścha Ye chānye mlechchhajātayaḥ
—Padma, II, 28, 45.

[6] Vishṇu., I, 13, 34. Bhāgavata, IV, 14, 44. Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 5.

[7] I.G.(R.), p. 87; Chanda, *ibid.*, p. 6.

[8] I.G.(R.), p. 86.

Another ancient tribe which lived within the borders of Mewār was probably the Meda, from whom the territory takes its current name. In a passage of the Mahābhārata reference is made to several outcaste tribes, namely, the Kshudras, the Vaidehakas and the Andhras, etc. The commentator Nīlakaṇṭha seems to equate the Kshudras with the Medas.[1] The first undoubted mention of the latter people is found in the tenth chapter of the Manu Saṁhitā which deals with mixed castes. The particular passage, when read with commentaries, suggests that the Medas were born of Vaidehaka father and Nishāda mother.[2] This perhaps indicates a close association between the Medas and the Nishādas. The Aṅgiras Saṁhitā and the Vyāsa Saṁhitā group the former with peoples like the Bhīls and the Kirātas and several other folks in the lower rung of the Indian society.[3] The Medas dwelt outside villages and lived by hunting.[4] They are possibly represented in modern times by the Mers.

Along with the Nishādas and the Medas we have perhaps to mention another people, namely, the Nāgas, whose presence in Mewār, in the opinion of some scholars, is suggested by such place name as Nāgahrada (Nāgda). Mewār tradition avers that the city was built by the Guhila prince Nāga. Neṇsi tells us that it derives its appellation from the fact that the famous king Parikshit performed here the snake sacrifice.[5] The modern critic fails to find sober history in such tales. But it may be reminiscent of an actual connection of the Nāga people with western Mewār. It is, however, possible that the expression 'Nāga' refers to the water-spirits who give their names to so many springs and fountains in Kāsmīr.[6]

There are indications already in the epic of the growth of more civilized communities within the State by the side of the hunting tribes mentioned above. We learn from the Mahābhārata that Nakula, the fourth Pāṇḍava prince, conquered the inhabitants of Madhyamikā. We have no details in the book itself which may enable us to find out the tribal affinity of this people. They are distinguished from a number of other folks amongst whom the Śivis are included.

---

[1] *Mbh.*, Anu., XLVIII, 25:
Kshudro Vaidehakād-Andhro vahirgrāmapratiśrayaḥ.
Nishādyā Vaidehakāt Kshudro, *Medah* Andhraścha āranyapaśuhiṁsakau
Kārāvarākhyaścharmakāraścheti trayo bhavantītyarthaḥ (Nīlakaṇṭha).

[2] Kārāvaro Nishādat tu charmakāraḥ prasūyate
Vaidehakād Andhra = *Medau* Vahirgrāma pratiśrayau (X, 36).

[3] Aṅgiras, I, 3; Vyāsa, I, 10–12.

[4] Manu, X, 48.

[5] *Hist. Rāj.*, I, 402; Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, II, 1164; Nensi, *Khyāta*, p. 14.

[6] *J.A.S.B.* (Extra No.), p. 32.

tān-Daśārnān-sa-jitvā-ca-pratasthe-Pāṇḍunandanaḥ
Śivīṁs-Trigartān-Ambaṣṭhān-Mālavān-pañca-Karpaṭān
tathā-madhyamakeyāṁśca-Vāṭadhānān-dvijānatha
punaśca-parivṛtyātha-Puṣkarāraṇya-vāsinaḥ
(*Mbh.*, Sabhā., XXXII, 7-8).

Numismatic evidence, however, points to a close connection between Madhyamikā and the Śivis, and there can be no doubt that by the second century B.C. the period to which the coins in question are assigned—if not from a still earlier age—the Śivis are found in occupation of Madhyamikā.

The Mahābhārata again associates a king called Śrutāyudha, who fought in the battle of Kurukshetra, with the river Parnāśā.[1] We do not know where he ruled. As part of the stream flows through Mewār the possibility of the location of the territory of Śrutāyudha within the boundary of that kingdom cannot be entirely excluded.

Proof of the antiquity of Mewār is furnished not only by literary references to which attention has been invited above but also by archaeological research.

Numerous punch-marked silver coins have been discovered at Nāgari a few miles north of Chitor in eastern Mewār. Allan brings to notice the fact that similar coins are found widely distributed over 'the most important and thickly populated parts of ancient India'. He adduces reasons for assigning them to the Mauryan epoch.[2] If his views are accepted then the inference becomes legitimate that eastern Mewār, if not the entire State, was included within the limits of the great Mauryan Empire. This conclusion does not seem to be implausible when we remember that Aśokan edicts have been found in Bairāt, and a Maurya prince ruled in Ujjayinī. The position of eastern Mewār is midway between these two places. Maurya rule in the Kotah State (to the east of Mewār) can be traced as late as the eighth century A.D.[3] Some scholars believe that the name Maurya survives in that of the traditional Moris, with whom a ruler of Mewār is supposed to have come into contact in historic times.[4] Local traditions associate Samprati, grandson of Aśoka, with the Kumbhalmer and the Jahāzpur regions. According to Tod temple erected to Mahāvīra by that prince still existed in his days.[5]

---

[1] Droṇa., XC, '44.
Varunasyātmajo vīraḥ satu rājā Śrutāyudhaḥ
Parnāśā jananī yasya sītatoyā mahānadī.

[2] *C.A.I.*, pp. lv–lviii, lxxi.

[3] Cf. Kanaswa Inscription of Sivagana, which refers to his friend king Dhavala of the Maurya family—(*I.A.*, XIX, p. 57ff.).

[4] Tod, I, 265*n*; *Raj. Gaz.* (Mewār) by Erskine, p. 14; *Hist. Rāj.*, I, 412f.

[5] I.G.(R.), 139; *E.H.I.*, 202*n*.

After the disruption of the Maurya Empire Madhyamikā in eastern Mewār seems to have become the capital of a *janapada* of the Śivis. Reference has already been made to their coins with the inscriptions 'Majhamikāya-Śibijanapadasa' which have been found at Chitor and Nāgari and have been assigned by scholars to the second century B.C.[1] In the same century Madhyamikā had to stand a siege by the Yavanas or Greeks as we learn from the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali.[2] It is not clear if this event happened during the period of Śivi rule or before the advent of that tribe.

It is well known that a people called Śiva finds mention in the Ṛgveda, and the Siboi figure among Alexander's opponents in the Punjab in the latter half of the fourth century B.C. The pressure of Greek inroads may have displaced the Siboi or the Śivis of the Punjab as they did the Malloi or the Mālavas, who are found in eastern Rājputānā and countries lying further to the south in the second century B.C. and in subsequent ages.[3] Tarn believes that it was the Greeks themselves who transplanted the Śivis from the Punjab to Rājputāna. He attributes the deed to Apollodotus.[4] The analogy of events in the last decade of the twelfth century A.D., however, suggests that it was not with the assistance of foreign rulers but by the pressure exerted by their inroads that the Śivis and the Mālavas had to seek refuge in Rājputānā as certain Rājput clans of the eastern Punjab and the Gangetic Doab retired to Ranthambhor and Bithu in the days of the Ghurid conquerors and their successors.

Regarding the results of the Greek attack on Madhyamikā we know little. If the Mālavikāgnimitraṃ is to be believed they suffered a defeat at the hands of the prince Vasumitra, grandson of Pushyamitra and son of Agnimitra, who held court at Vidiśā in eastern Mālwā.[5] The evidence of Strabo suggests that for a time they held the entire seaboard of western India down to Surāshṭra or Kāthiawār.[6] Coins bearing the names of Apollodotus and Menander were current in the bazars of Barygaza (Broach) at the mouth of the Narmadā as late as the time of the Periplus (first century A.D.).[7] Several coins of these two Greek kings have also

---

[1] *C.A.I.*, cxxiv f.

[2] Arunad Yavano Madhyamikām (Sūtra III. 2. 111). Goldstucker, *Pāṇini*, pp. 176, 177*n*; *I.A.*, 1872, 300.

[3] Smith, *Catalogue of Coins*, 161ff., 170.

[4] Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 151, 170: 'The only explanation of a settlement of Śibi at Madhyamikā as early as the middle of the second century B.C. must have been that it was made by Apollodotus.'

[5] *P.H.A.I.*, 309, 316.

[6] Strabo (Hamilton & Falconer), II, 253-54; *P.H.A.I.*, 317; Tarn, *G.B.I.*, 147.

[7] Periplus (Schoff), 41f.; *G.B.I.*, 149.

been found in the Mewār territory.[1] Their presence may be accounted for by the advance of Greek forces to Madhyamikā. It may also be due in part to commercial intercourse. Eventually Greek ascendency seems to have been destroyed partly by the uprising of the indigenous powers of western India and partly by fresh hordes of invaders who came from central Asia.

We do not know when the Greek military occupation or political ascendency in parts of Rājputānā and adjoining regions came to an end. Several fragments of inscriptions connected with Hāthibaḍā at Nāgari and Ghasuṇḍī in Mewār have brought to light the fact that sometime in the second or first century B.C. the Madhyamikā region was included within the dominion of a king called Sarvatāta.[2] He belonged to the Gajāyana family, and was the son of a lady of the Parāśara gotra. He is further styled a performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice which in this epoch possibly points to a sovereign status. The king was a devotee of Vāsudeva and Saṁkarṣaṇa. Suggestions have been offered identifying him with a Kāṇva prince but no convincing evidence is forthcoming in favour of this theory.[3]

For the seven centuries that follow our information is very meagre. We learn from the inscription of Ushavadāta that his father-in-law, the western Satrap Nahapāna (usually assigned to the first quarter of second century A.D.) held sway over an extensive territory which stretched from the Pushkara in the north to the Marāṭhā country in the south.[4] Ushavadāta led an expedition against the Malayas (Mālavas) who at this time probably occupied a part of the Jaipur territory which was almost contiguous to Mewār.[5] Hence it is not unlikely that this State was included within the dominion of the great Satrap. We do not know whether the house of Chastana had anything to do with the land. Rudradāman (130–150 A.D.) claims to have extended his control over Maru and the Nishādas,[6] but the exact location of the latter in this period is not certain.

The Kadamba prince Mayuraśarman who may be assigned to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. claims to have defeated

---

[1] I.G.(R), 13; *Hist. Rāj.*, I, 327.

[2] (Kāritoyaṁ rājñā Bhāgava) tena Gājāyanena Parāśariputrena Sa-
(rvatātena Aśvamedha yā) jinā bhagava(d) bhyāṁ Saṁkarshana-Vāsudevā-
bhyāṁ
(anihatābhyāṁ sarveśvara) bhyāṁ pūjāśila-prākāro Nārāyana-vāṭikā.
Text restored by Dr. Bhandarkar (*E.I.*, XXII, 204).

[3] *E.I.*, XXII, 205.

[4] *E.I.*, VIII, 78; Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, pp. lvii, cx-cxi.

[5] Smith, *Catalogue of Coins*, 161ff.

[6] *E.I.*, VII, 41, 44; Rapson, *Coins*, lx.

the Pāriyātrikas.[1] But it is impossible to say whether these may refer to the inhabitants of the Mewār.

As has been already noted above some scholars are inclined to believe that a part of Mewār passed under the rule of Nāga princes who loomed large in the history of India before the rise of the imperial Guptas and the city of Nāgahrada (Nāgdā), it is assumed, derives its name from this ruling tribe. We learn from the Kumbhalgarh Praśasti that Takshaka the king of the serpents, built the city of Nāganagara.[2] This too may point to a similar conclusion. But the derivation of the name Nāgahrada may also be connected with the water spirits known as Nāga.

The historic Nāgas of Central India and the Doāb were brought under subjugation by the imperial Guptas, who extended their power to the Chambal, Mālwā and Gujarāt, but we have no direct evidence to show that Mewār enjoyed the blessings of the peaceful rule of those emperors. The references in the Allahabad Praśasti to the submission of tribes like the Mālavas and the Ābhiras who lived close to the valley of the Banās on the south and the west make it possible that Mewār too was brought under the Gupta sphere of influence. Gold coins of the Guptas have been found within the territory.[3] This, of course, does not prove the rule of the power that issued them, but taken along with the references to the surrounding peoples like the Ābhiras, Ārjunāyanas, Mālavas, etc. may point to political or economic connection with the Gupta empire.

Somadeva, a contemporary of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa III, tells us that the Hūṇas penetrated into the interior of India as far as Chitrakūṭa.[4] This place may refer to the sacred spot of that name near Allahabad. But the possibility of its identification with Chitor is not entirely excluded.

An inscription, dated *c.* 491 A.D. which has been discovered two miles from Chotī Sādri, indicates that towards the close of the fifth century A.D. south-eastern Mewār was ruled by a prince named Yaśagupta of the Gaura Kshatriya family.[5] It records the following genealogy: Dhānyasoma, his son Rājyavardhana, his son Rāshṭra, and his son Yaśogupta, who was very charitable and performed sacrifices. The Gaura Maharājā constructed a temple for the spiritual welfare of his parents.

The Mandāsor inscription of the time of Yaśodharman who ruled in 532-33 A.D. informs us that Abhayadatta was the Rājasthānīya of the province bounded by the Vindhyas, the Pāriyātra and the Sindhu.[6] It has been suggested that Sindhu may stand for

---

[1] *Arch. Sur. of Mysore* (for 1929), 50.
[2] *E.I.*, XXIV, 318.
[3] *Rāj. Hist.*, I, 327.
[4] *P.H.A.I.* (4), 533.
[5] *A.R.R.M.*, 1929-30, p. 2.
[6] *C.I.I.*, III, 154.

the ocean or the river of the same name in Central India.[1] If the last interpretation is accepted then it seems that the whole of south-eastern Rājputānā extending from the Arāvallis to the Kālisindhu came within the territorial jurisdiction of the aforesaid ruler. In any case Mewār seems to have formed part of the dominion over which Yaśodharman claims to have held sway. His court poet credits him with the conquest of the whole territory between the Himālayas and the Mahendra (Eastern Ghāts) and from the western ocean to the Brahmaputra.[2]

Towards the close of the sixth century A.D. Prabhākara-vardhana of Thāneśwar is said to have waged war on the Gurjaras, the Lāṭas and the Mālavas.[3] If the Gurjaras of this passage refer to the Ku-che-lo of Hiuen Tsang[4] located in western Rājputānā and if the Mālavas were situated in Mālwā, armies marching from Thāneśwar may have overrun the territory of Mewār. It is interesting to note that a king of Mewār in the seventh century A.D. whose date falls within the regnal period of Prabhākara's son Harsha, bore the name Śīlāditya—an appellation that was assumed by the great emperor.[5] But as the name Śīlā(ditya) occurs also in the genealogical lists of the Guhilas, the Śīlāditya of the Samoli inscription of Mewār is taken to have been a local Guhila prince. Whether the family at this time had any political or cultural connection with Śīlāditya of Thāneśwar cannot be determined. With the Guhila Śīlāditya, however, we enter upon a new epoch.

(According to the author of the Chāchnāma, Maharat, brother of Rai-Sahasi of Sind, was the king of Chitor in the early part of the seventh century A.D.[6] But the book is so full of legendary materials that it is difficult in the absence of external corroboration to accept its statement as authentic.)

---

[1] *P.H.A.I.*, 535*n*.
[2] *C.I.I.*, III, 146-47.
[3] Harshacharita (Parab's edition), 120.
[4] Watters' translation, pp. 249, 341.
[5] Cf. Sāmolī Inscription (*E.I.*, 97ff.).
[6] Mirza Kalichbeg's translation, p. 21.


MAP OF
RĀJPUTĀNĀ
AJMER
JAIPUR
MERWARA
Badnor
Asind.
Khāri R
Mānsi R
Hurra
SHAHPURA
Jahajpur
BUNDI
Deogarh
Delwar
Mandal
Banera
Bagor
Meja
Kothāri R
Kachrola
Bhilwara.
Amet
Chandrabhaga R
Sardargarh
Pur.
Kumalgarh
Saharan.
Banas R
Rasmi
Parsoli
Mandalgarh
Bifolia
Kelwara
Kankroli
Berach R
JODHPUR
Sacra
Nathdwara.
Kotharia
Kapasan
Chitrakūta
CHITOR
Bhainsror
KOTAH
Khamnor
Delwara
(Nāgahrada)
Chitor
Gogunda
Nagda
EKringji
Girdha
SIROHI
Bedla
Aghata
Udaipur
Bhindar
Jawad
GWALIOR
INDORE
Kanor
Rampura
Chhoti-Sadri
Nimach
Kurabar
Gomati
Bari-Sadri
Sabarmati R
Dhebar L.
Bansi
Jakam R
Kotra
Salumbar
Magra
Rakabdev
Kherwara
Sukri R
PRATAPGARH
UDAIPUR
DUNGARPUR
Mahi R
BANSWARA
VAGADA

BUDDHISM

By B. C. Law

There is no consensus of opinion as yet as to the precise connotation of the term Buddhism, whether it means a mere religion, or a mere philosophy, or a mere ethical idealism or a mere form of mysticism. The saner view of the thing leads us to think that religion, mysticism, philosophy, psychology, ethics, language, literature, art, architecture, and the like are but its different aspects, and that in these respects the position of Buddhism is similar to that of Vedānta, Jainism, and other earlier Indian systems of *Dharma*. But whatever it is there is no denying the fact that it is the result of a distinct and vigorous movement of thought and self-culture with its dynamic of conduct and reforming zeal, which was started in Northern India by a princely ascetic known as Siddhārtha. Its historical beginning is traceable from the Buddhahood attained by that gifted man. The Buddhahood itself is regarded as the supreme status of a *yogin*, thinker and teacher, to which he became entitled by virtue of enlightenment as to the nature of the truth and the way of emancipation. This mental awakening and profound vision dawned on human consciousness as the ripest and richest fruit of an earnest quest after the truth and the way. The strength of the movement lay in the deepest personal conviction gained through direct experience and internal perception.

This new movement was started in the second half of the sixth century B.C., and it was coincident with three other upheavals of human thought, one represe :he first Greek philosopher, Thales of Miletos, the second, by Zoroaster of Media, and the third, by Confucius of China. In India it arose when the country was seething with speculative ferment in the midst of diverse conflicts of thoughts and ideas. Pali literature alone preserves for us the names of not less than forty bands or bodies of wandering ascetics and mendicants, broadly distinguished as Brāhmaṇas (Greek Brachmanes) and Śramaṇas (Greek Sarmanes), some upholding the existing social order and system of training based on the idea of four castes and four stages of effort and others repudiating the same. There were in far off places the hermitages built in sombre and delightful woodlands where the sages and seers were leading the life of silent contemplatives, keeping ablaze the sacrificial fire and training up their resident pupils. The monarchies became the strongholds of secular Brahmanism and there were founded on royal endowments a few residential Vedic colleges, while the householder Brahmans

as a class retained a stronghold over the masses as royal chaplains and popular priests or as teachers of secular sciences and arts.

Four great monarchies of Magadha, Kosala, Vatsa, and Avantī existed then in Northern India, surrounded by several oligarchical republics, while the Indo-Aryan society was composed of the four main social grades with some untouchables outside the pale.

It was in such a social, political and religious environment that Buddhism appeared as a religious fraternity of the recluses, both men and women, and a Kṣatriya school of thought under the lead of a master endowed with stupendous human personality. Because the leader himself happened to be a great scion of the Śākya ruling clan of Kapilavastu at the foot of the Himalayas, the wayfarers forming the brotherhood under his guidance came to be known as Śākyaputriya recluses, or simply as Śākyas.

Buddhism was propounded by its founder as a progressive step from the philosophy of the Upaniṣads and a progressive way of life avoiding the extremes in all respects. It was launched forth as a mission for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, and for the welfare and advantage of all men. The democratization of the Aryan faith led to the relinquishment of 'the close fist of the teacher'. The new religion began to follow an open door policy, inviting all to come and see. The people of India were exhorted not to accept anything as reasonable and good on any other authority than their own experience and reason. An ethical idealism led the way pushing into the background the 'amoralism' of the earlier doctrines, and it was broadbased on a psychological foundation. The painful conditions of existence and common human sufferings were taken for granted and faced as facts. The path of deliverance suggested led men to examine the mechanism of their own mind. The cause was more internal than external. The progressive path laid down for the guidance of life is known as the Noble Eight-fold Path. A doctrine of causation or dependent origination was taught to guide rational human thought. A doctrine of *karma* was promulgated to teach men that every action has its corresponding reaction.

In the religion preached by the Buddha much emphasis was laid on self-exertion, self-control, and self-sacrifice. The method followed was excellent. A large number of followers gathered round him and his teachings produced the desired effect. Buddha in his first discourse addressed to five ascetics laid stress on suffering, origin of suffering, cessation of suffering, and the path leading to the destruction of suffering. Suffering is a painful feeling which arises from getting what one does not desire to get and not getting what one desires to get. There is suffering in repeated births. Suffering is continuous whose essence is affliction, there is the cause of suffering whose essence is origination, there is the destruction of

suffering whose essence is escape, and there is the path to tranquillity whose essence is rescuing. The origin of suffering lies in desire which is potent for rebirth accompanied by lust and self-indulgence seeking satisfaction now here and now there. The destruction of suffering consists in utter fading away of desire. Cessation is that state of the self in which consciousness transcends the sphere of senses and their objects. The path leading to the destruction of suffering is the Noble Eight-fold Path which consists in right view, right resolve, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. The formulation of the Four Truths proceeded on the basis of the doctrine of Dependent Origination accounting for the origin and cessation of the entire mass of ill.

The nucleus of the *Sangha* was formed after the conversion of the first five disciples. This was followed by the conversion of Yasa, the banker's son, and his fifty-four comrades. No formality was yet needed to be gone through. The Buddha addressed his first sixty disciples thus: 'Come ye! the Law is well expounded, lead the holy life to make an end of all pain.' The attainment of saintship and salvation as implied by the term *arahatta* was not at all a remote ideal; it was attained and attainable here and now where human nature was mature for the reception of the truth and the acceptance of the norm. He charged them with these inspiring words: 'Freed am I, O mendicants, from all nooses, whether divine or human, and you too are thus freed. Go ye forth and wander about for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the advantage, good and happiness of gods and men. Go not two by the same road. Address, O mendicants, the doctrine which is beneficial in the beginning, beneficial in the end, pregnant with meaning, well-worded, complete in form, and reveals the pure life of holiness.' Thus the Enlightened One and his first disciples started the work of preaching the message.

The Buddha's first visit to Kapilavastu was a notable event as it was followed by the conversion of all of the Sakyans to the new faith and the ordination of Siddhārtha's son Rāhula and half-brother Nanda as well as of many gifted Śākya youths.

It was all the more important for the reason that the Śākya ladies headed by Siddhārtha's aunt, step and foster-mother, Mahāpajāpati Gotamī and including his wife Yasodharā left the city in a body in right earnest and travelled on foot as far as Vaiśālī to seek admission into the *Sangha*. Ānanda pleaded their cause and the Master granted the prayer. His reluctance caused by fear lest the duration of the Good Faith be shortened, if women were admitted into it, was not without its effect.

The admission of women into the Śākya Order was no novelty in the history of the religions of ancient India, inasmuch as women

had gained admission into the various earlier and contemporary religious Orders of the Hermits, the Wanderers, the Ājīvikas and the Jains.

The dedication of the Venuvana (Bamboo grove) to the Master and his followers by king Bimbisāra led to the foundation of the first Buddhist Vihāra in India which was followed in quick succession and in other parts of the Buddhist Midland as well by numerous other *vihāras* or *ārāmas* that served as permanent places of retreat, fixed abodes or monasteries for the brothers and sisters and the probationers under them. The ruling princes and the rich bankers vied with one another in erecting and endowing them.

There was yet no shrine attached to those *vihāras* to serve as a *sanctum sanctorum* or fixed place of worship. The lay worshippers who were in the rôle of devotees needed a shrine for the purpose of worship of a tangible substitute in the absence of the Master. The first shrine suggested was a Bo-tree grown from the graft or seed or sapling from the Bo-tree under which the Master attained to Buddhahood. This was followed by other objects used by the Master and by the *stūpas* or relic-shrines, and afterwards, by images. Thus the temples came into existence, and Buddhism became thoroughly Hinduized.

The number of followers and lay worshippers was on the increase year after year, during the forty-five years of the Master's ministration and preaching career. The new centres of activity grew up in the countries around Magadha. The movement remained confined yet to the Buddhist Midland. Many new *vihāras* were erected and dedicated. The rules and formalities increased. And yet nothing was enacted or promulgated in advance. As occasions demanded, the rules were either suggested by him or by others, but before they were enforced they needed his formal approval. Thus behind them all was his personal authority; he was the source of the Law and the person to set the seal of approval.

One distinctive feature of the organization was that it was designed to be an autonomous body guided by the principles and ideals. Thus he did relinquish the right of nominating a successor.

The total number of persons representing the male wayfarers in the Buddha's lifetime is not known. The number of bhikkhus present at a conference shortly after the Buddha's demise is given as 700,000, which, however exaggerated, cannot be regarded as the total number of bhikkhus of the time. A Buddhist canonical text speaks of 18,000 bhikkhuṇīs headed by Yasodharā, 10,000 headed by Yasovatī, 18,000 headed by Yasavatī, and 84,000 belonging to Brahmin families.

The conference held before the Second Buddhist Council was attended by 90,000 monks. In Aśoka's time 60,000 orthodox monks resided in the Asokārāma at Pāṭaliputra. The congregation

held at Pāṭaliputra during the reign of Aśoka consisted of 80 crores bhikkhus, one hundred thousand of whom were Arahants (elect) and 90 hundred thousand nuns. We may leave out of account the overwhelming number of new converts made by the Buddhist missionaries sent to different places in India.

Aśoka fully realized the true spirit of rationality and human greatness and he found it clearly set forth in the teachings of the Buddha. His dedication to a humanized culture was an indirect service to Buddhism. He made arrangements in his kingdom to provide medicines for the bhikkhus. He sent missionaries to the various countries for the propagation of Buddhism, e.g., Majjhantika to Kāśmīra and Gandhāra, Mahādeva to Mahimsakamaṇḍala, Rakkhita to Vanavāsī, Yonakadhammarakkhita to Mahārattha, Mahārakkhita to Yonakaloka, Majjhima to Himavantapadesa, Soṇa and Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmi and Mahinda, Ittiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla to Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon).

The Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka was a devout Buddhist. During his reign the Fourth Buddhist Council was held under his patronage. He was converted to Buddhism by his preceptor, Aśvaghoṣa. During the time of the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, Brahmanism became powerful. In the Gupta period Buddhism was on the decline as the Gupta monarchs were the supporters of Brahmanism. Harṣavardhana, king of Kanauj, was also a supporter of Buddhism. He forcibly secured from Kashmir the tooth relic of the Buddha which he enshrined in a monastery built by him to the west of Kanauj. The famous seat of learning during his time was Nālandā and Harṣa's gift to this University was a *vihāra*. During his reign the great Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited India. In the early part of the 8th century A.D. Gopāla, the king of Bengal, was a pious Buddhist and founded a great monastery at Odantapur (Bihar-sarif). Under the patronage of the next king Dharmapāla, Nālandā acquired a new vigour as a Buddhist seat of learning. He was the founder of the famous University of Vikramaśila in south Bihar. Devapāla, the most powerful of the Pāla kings, was jealous in the cause of Buddhism. The great monastery at Nālandā was restored after it was burnt down. Buddhism although declining in India flourished in the Pāla dominions. The monasteries of Magadha were then crowded with thousands of resident pupils. Several Buddhist *mahāvihāras* were founded in Bengal notably those at Somapura (Pāhāḍapur), Vajrayoginī (Vikramapur), Mahāsthān (Bogra) and Samataṭa (Tipperah).

Buddhism as an organized religion in Bihar declined during the Sena kings.

Aśoka was the pioneer of the great movement of Buddhist expansion outside India. The work begun by him was kept on by a continuous band of missionaries, members of royal family, nobles,

traders, adventurers and colonists. According to Al-Bēruni, Khurasan, Persia, Iraq, Mosul and the country up to the frontiers of Syria were Buddhistic. Buddhism also spread in Afghanistan. Its traces are also found at Hadda, 5 miles south of Jalalabad in the valley of Kāpiśa. It also found its place in Central Asia roughly covering the region popularly known as the Chinese Turkestan. The earliest introduction of Buddhism is said to have taken place in Kashgarh in about the 2nd century A.D. In Yarkand and Khotan there were followers of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. Between Kashgarh and Turfan lay the town of Kucha which was the home of Kumārajīva. It became a centre of Mahayanism. The most important Buddhist settlement in Central Asia was Turfan. Extensive literary and archaeological remains have been discovered here. Buddhism in Khotan lived side by side with Zoroastrianism. China was known to the early Buddhists as Cīnaraṭṭha. The Indo-Scythians probably played the most important part towards the propagation of Buddhism in China. After the Indo-Scythians came the Parthians who continued the work of their predecessors. After them the mission of spread of Buddhism passed on to the Sogdians. Numerous traces of Sogdian translations of Buddhist texts have been discovered in Central Asia. Kucha took a leading part in the interpretation of Indian Buddhism to the Chinese. Khotan also played an important part in the diffusion of Buddhism into China. Tibet did not come into prominence in the history of Buddhism till the middle of the 7th century A.D. After the disintegration of Buddhism in India following the Muslim conquest of Bengal and Bihar, Indian Buddhist monks and scholars fled to Tibet and Nepal. With the accession of Kublai Khan to power in the 13th century A.D. Buddhism got a fillip in different parts of Asia.

Funan or ancient Cambodia played its part in the work of transmission of Buddhism to China. Chapmā was not destined to play the same important part. In the 7th century A.D. Java and Sumatra were centres of Buddhist learning and activity. Buddhism was introduced into China as early as the 1st century B.C. It was through China that Buddhism spread in Korea. Japan received the doctrine of the Buddha from China through Korea in about the middle of the 6th century A.D. All Japanese sects of importance are Mahayanists. Hīnayāna is represented only by the Kusha, Jo-jitsu and Risshu. Ceylon along with Burma and Siam is a centre of Theravāda Buddhism. The reputation of the *Saṅgha* in Ceylon became so established that towards the middle of the 15th century the reigning king of the country sought the help of the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon for the restoration of the *Sāsana*. Tradition ascribes the introduction of Buddhism into Burma to Aśoka. The *Sīhala-Saṃgha* gradually established itself in Lower Burma. In the 11th century A.D. many Buddhist monuments and monastic

establishments came to be erected and embellished with Buddhist sculptures and paintings. The earliest trace of Buddhism in Indo-China is indicated in a Sanskrit inscription palaeographically datable in the 2nd or 3rd century of the Christian era. In the second quarter of the 9th century a Buddhist of Pāṇḍurāṅga, Samanta by name, dedicated the monasteries and temples to the Jina and Śiva. The growing importance of Buddhism is affirmed by the foundation of the great monastery of Lokeśvara, a pious work of king Indravarman II. A number of clay medallions bearing images of the Buddha and Lokeśvara were picked up in the caves of northern Annam. The ruins of Champā have yielded a large number of bronze and stone statues of Buddha, Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā. In the south of Funan the Malaya Peninsula was essentially a Buddhist country. The trace of Buddhism in Java is available in the account of Fa-Hien. Towards the middle of the 8th century Java, specially central and western Java, passed from the hands of the Śaiva rulers into the control of a Mahayanist dynasty from Sumatra. The Sailendras were fervent Buddhists professing the Mahāyāna faith. The magnificent monument of Barabudor in central Java was the work of the Sailendras. All varieties of Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna, Bodhisattvas, Ādi Buddhas, Dhyānī Buddhas, etc., follow the eastern school of Indian art. The adoption of Hindu gods in Buddhist pantheon may be found. The later phases of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India are also met with in eastern Java. Buddhism could not make much headway in Bali. Buddhism prominently figures today as one of the four world religions, each retaining its dominant hold over certain peoples and regions. It is said that the mighty river of Buddhism flowed out of India in different channels, north, south, east and west, across the seas, across the deserts and through the mountain valleys, to irrigate and fertilize other soils creating everywhere a glorious history for itself. In its numerical strength it either excels all other religions of the world or is excelled by no other religion than Christianity. Hinduism with its main hold on India proper stands third, while Islam with its main hold on the Middle East stands fourth. Buddhism continues to be the living faith of the Sinhalese people of Ceylon and of all the prominent Mongolian peoples who inhabit Eastern Asia from Tibet to Japan and from Mongolia to Siam. Since the foundation of certain Buddhist societies in Europe and U.S.A., a few persons among the Westerners are passing as Buddhists. The popularity of Buddhism as a religion in the West is due partly to the theosophical movement initiated by Madame Blavatsky and Col. Olcot. But the estimation of Buddhism, its ethics, psychology, philosophy, art and architecture, greatly rest on the brilliant work done in the West by the explorers, archaeologists and oriental scholars. It is the ethical aspect of Buddhism that made its first

great appeal to the people of the West to whom it came rather as a surprise that five centuries before the rise of Christianity there could be a religion propounded in the Gangetic Valley of Northern India, which, in its ethical principles and spirit of love and compassion, was not only equal but in some respects superior to their faith. The strong psychological foundation of Buddhism has in recent years added much to its prestige. The contribution of Buddhism to the development of the religions, art and architecture of Asia has evoked genuine admiration. Buddhism has provided each and every Buddhist country with a religious monument serving as its artistic landmark. It has helped forward the development of various national scripts, languages and literatures. Rationality, tolerance, moral purity and fortitude, friendliness and humanism are some of the distinctive features of the religion of Śākyamuni. Even as a form of mysticism its appeal is no way less than that of other religions.

So far as India is concerned, it is a lost ground to Buddhism. It lingers as the ancestral faith of some people who live in Assam, Chittagong, East Bengal, Darjeeling, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and Simla and in the areas along lower spurs of the eastern Himalayas. They appear as descendants of the Shans (Thais) of Upper Burma, the Arakanese, the Tibeto-Burmans, and the Tibetans. The Baruas of Chittagong alone are the people who adhere to Hindu customs and usages and who are racially allied to the Baruas of Assam.

The case of Buddhism is still much prejudiced. It is regarded by the general populace as an alien faith like Christianity. It is judged as a notable form of atheism and materialism. The Hindus count the Buddha as one of the ten Incarnations of Visnu and ironically extol him as a disparager of the Vedas and Vedic sacrifices, involving the slaughter of animals and as a seducer of the demons. Even in serious books on theology and philosophy we find that life, according to Buddhism, ends with death. The orthodox Brahmin view of Buddhism is entirely based upon Mādhavācārya's catalogue of Indian philosophies. Among the Buddhists themselves, the form of Buddhism which is now current is hardly distinguishable from the general form of Hinduism. It has degenerated into ritualism, idolatry, and superficiality. There are the signs of re-awakening that are greatly due to the religious missions from Arakan and Ceylon. The Bengal Buddhist Association, the Mahabodhi Society of India, and the Buddha Society of Bombay are some of the modern Buddhist organizations that are actively bringing about a regeneration of the faith. But Buddhism is becoming very popular through the efforts of the modern archaeologists, epigraphists and scholars. The world is now in a far better position to understand and appreciate the real position of Buddhism and its original contributions to Indian thought and Indian humanity. We now realize that 'Buddhism

and Vedānta are the two main currents of Indian thought', or that 'the half of Indian thought is Buddhism, which is rational, critical, creative, directive and progressive.' We can clearly see that its general mission, like that of Christianity, was to fulfil the Law and not to destroy it. It took a hold against the caste-system and showed moral courage in driving superstition out of man's mind. It supplied an idealistic theory of art in the place of the earlier imitation or mechanical theory, and thereby served to make Indian and Asiatic art truly creative. It developed a rational theory of sensation, perception, and knowledge. The credit of founding the Mediaeval school of Indian Logic and developing epistemology as a distinct branch of Indian philosophy is due to the Buddhists. Buddhist thinkers contributed most to the development of Indian dialectics. The Brahmanists accepted many of the progressive thoughts and ideas of Buddhism with or without acknowledgment, although, in point of fact, they went on in their own old ways as regards their social policy, art of polity and mode of thinking. In other words, the mere incorporation of the progressive trends of thought in their books did not come to mean absorption especially when those ideas were neither given effect to nor acted upon in life. The strong or weak point of Buddhism is that it did not introduce or impose any new social code. Its mission was mainly educational or cultural. It is well contended that 'hopeless internal decay' does not account for the dwindling of its influence with the masses of India. Buddhism lost its foothold with the fall of the Mahāvihāras, many of which rose into the eminence of residential universities that were the main centres of cultural activity.

MISCELLANEA

SIDDHAYĀTRĀ

It might look like raking up a question on which apparently the last word has already been uttered, and that by so eminent an authority as Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri of the University of Madras.[1] There is, however, some literary evidence bearing upon the question, which, so far as I know, has not yet been taken into account and which, when examined, may not quite uphold the view so ably advocated by Prof. Sastri. The primary object in writing this note is to draw attention to the fresh data, in the light of which the question may be reconsidered.

Let us first briefly survey the ground covered so as to have a clear idea of the point at issue. M. Huber rendered the term *siddhayātrā* (literally 'a successful journey or voyage'), occurring in a Sanskrit inscription of the early 10th century A.D. from Annam (ancient Campā), by 'la science magique'. Some other scholars, mostly French and Dutch, followed M. Huber in interpreting the compound *siddhayātra* (literally 'one whose journey or voyage has been successful'), which occurs in several earlier inscriptions from Indonesia. The association of magic with these expressions gave rise to a theory to the effect that **somewhere** in Java there must **once** have existed **a school** which attracted people, desirous of acquiring **that magic power,** from the neighbouring lands and islands. This theory progressively gained ground until it received a setback when it was pointed out that similar expressions found in the *Pañcatantra* and the *Jātakamālā* ill assort with the 'magic' theory. In view of this Dr. Stutterheim attempted a compromise by eliminating the magic element but retaining the rest of the indeterminate characteristics of the theory. Prof. Sastri then endeavoured to set the controversy at rest by taking stock of the conflicting views. He finally adopted the partially discarded theory, maintaining that the concerned passages in the *Pañcatantra* and the *Jātakamālā* do not go against it but rather strengthen it. He further supported it with certain quotations from the *Mahābhārata* and some of the *Purāṇas*.

It would have been more helpful, had Prof. Sastri tried to explain the nature of the magic and to locate its centre said to have been frequented by its seekers. Instead, he contented himself by merely emphasizing 'that *siddhayātrā* in Indonesian inscriptions is a technical phrase with unmistakable reference to the acquisition of

---

[1] *JGIS.*, Vol. IV (1937), pp. 128–36.

magic power of **some sort or other'** by undertaking 'a pilgrimage to **some kṣetra'**.

The black types in this and the previous paragraph bring out the vague character of the theory, which reminds one of :

yasya kasya taror mūle yena kena vimiśritam ।
yasmai kasmai pradātavyaṁ yad vā tad vā bhaviṣyati ॥

'Under some tree or other, mixed with something or other, it should be given to someone or other, and it will result in something or other.'

Prof. Sastri, apart from interpreting the relevant texts of the *Pañcatantra* and the *Jātakamālā* differently,[1] minimizes their importance, as may be inferred from his remark: 'both works most probably anterior to the earliest of the inscriptions from Indonesia mentioning *siddhayātrā*.'[2] This shortcoming, if a shortcoming it is, is more than compensated for by the references that follow.

---

[1] It is doubtful if the interpretation offered by Prof. Sastri is wholly acceptable. Anyway, it is no use debating that here. Besides, we can do without those refutable passages, now that we have got very convincing evidence from more reliable sources. There is, however, one small point that may be discussed here with advantage. Prof. Sastri does not attach much significance to the distinction drawn between *siddha* and *siddhi*. He takes it for granted that both can be used promiscuously. He takes his stand on Pāṇini, III, 3, 114. He forgets that even a grammarian would refrain from employing a form, however correct it grammatically be, if it militates against the common usage, unless he has special reasons for doing so. And the form *siddha* is one such. It will be difficult to find an instance, in epigraphy or in literature, where *siddha* is used in the sense of *siddhi*. True, many early inscriptions begin with the auspicious formula *siddham* which is sometimes loosely rendered by 'success'. But needless to say that that is only the initial word of some such expression as *siddhaṁ naḥ samīhitam*, and as such it is often literally and more correctly translated by 'fulfilled' or 'accomplished'. Instead of *siddham*, many other inscriptions have *siddhir astu*, but seldom a variant *siddham astu* which one would expect if *siddham* can be used substantively. The substantive use of such forms as *samīhitam, hasitam, ruditam, gītam, pralapitam, bhāṣitam* and so forth is perfectly understandable, for they have, irrespective of grammar, the backing of the common usage. And even when a poet like Māgha prefers the rather uncommon *gatam* to *gatiḥ*, as in *gataṁ tiraścīnam anūrusāratheḥ* (Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*, I, 2), he has his justification in the requirements of metre, rhythm, alliteration and the like. But no such reason can be adduced in the case of *siddha* in *siddhayātrā* and the allied expressions with which we are concerned. And it is significant that in all these cases the form *siddha* alone is employed and nowhere *siddhi*. And yet the advocates of the 'magic' theory all take it in the sense of *siddhi*, most of them even correcting the reading *siddha* into *siddhi* to make it yield the sense that suits their interpretation. This emendation is suggested even by certain lexicographers in connection with *siddhayātrika*, which they need not do, if the very word *siddha* is capable of yielding the sense of *siddhi* according to Pāṇini, III, 3, 114. We have no right to presume that all these scholars were ignorant of that simple rule of grammar.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 132.

First of all, we have the authority of the *Mahābhārata* itself. Vaiśampāyana, relating the merits of the study of the epic to Janamejaya, says, *inter alia:*

vaṇijaḥ siddhayātrāḥ syur vīrā vijayam āpnuyuḥ ।
āstikān śrāvayen nityaṁ brāhmaṇān anasūyakān ॥

(Ādiparvan, ch. 51, v. 36).[1]

The context shows that there is no question of any magic here. The first sentence simply means 'The traders will be successful in their voyages (if they read or listen to the *Mahābhārata*)'.

Next, we have the testimony even of the earlier epic, namely Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. Rāma, accompanied by Sumantra, seated in his chariot, is proceeding from his palace to that of Kaikeyī on the day fixed for his *yauvarājyābhiṣeka*. He is yet unaware of the terrible news of his exile that is in store for him there. The streets of Ayodhyā are full of jubilant crowds, eagerly looking forward to the happy hour of Rāma's *abhiṣeka*. When they see him pass by, they admire him and shower their blessings on him. The greetings emanating from the womanfolk in the crowd include:

nūnaṁ nandati te mātā Kausalyā mātṛnandana ।
paśyantī siddhayātraṁ tvāṁ pitryaṁ rājyam upasthitam ॥

(Ayodhyākāṇḍa, ch. 16, v. 40.)[2]

There is no suggestion of any magic in this context either. The commentator Rāma in his commentary *Tilaka* simply paraphrases the term *siddhayātram* in this verse by *saphalagamanam*.

This stock phrase, as it might now well appear to be, seems to have its roots buried deeper still. For we have a closely analogous expression, a more explicit one indeed, in a work of the Vedic category. It reads:

Kaśyapasya = ātithiḥ siddhagamanaḥ siddhāgamanaḥ
(*Taittirīyāraṇyaka, prapāṭhaka* 1, *anuvāka* 8.)

The double compound of this text plainly means 'one successful in his onward journey and successful in his return journey'. And it is obvious enough that *gamana* and *āgamana* amount to a *yātrā*. Likewise, no connection of any magic is to be sought here.

It may be possible to find many more instances of the use of *siddhayātra* or allied expressions by a careful search in the wilderness of Sanskrit literature. Two things emerge clearly out of the foregoing examples: first, the expression was commonly used among the people in India, so much so that it had become a set expression, a stock phrase, so to say, centuries before Christ; secondly, it had no

---

[1] The reference is to P. P. S. Sastri's edition.

[2] The reference is to the Nirnaya Sāgara Press edition with the commentary (*Tilaka*) of Rāma, and to the Madras Law Journal Press edition.

tinge of any magic about it. And we know how largely the inscriptions of Indonesia have drawn upon the epics and early classical poems of India. Instances of their echoes in the terminology and phraseology of Indonesian epigraphy can be cited by the score.[1] Thus, possibly the expression *siddhayātrām samāgamat* or *siddhayātrām upāgamat* found in the Nhan-biêu inscription is but an adaptation along the lines of such borrowings, without having any hidden 'magic' about it.

B. Ch. Chhabra.

GENERAL ASPAVARMA AND HIS DYNASTY

There are some Indo-Scythian coins which present a singular feature. These present Greek legends on one side and Indian on the other side. For instance, the Greek legends on one side name King Azes (now called Azes II) and apply to him the usual Greek epithets written in Greek characters—Basileus Basileuon Magaloy Azoy—while the Indian side bears the following legend written in Kharoṣṭhī characters—'*Indravarmaputrasa Aspavarmasa Strategasa jayatasa*,' '(of) the victorious general Aspavarma, son of Indravarma.' This second Azes ruled between A.D. 1–19. Thus this Asparavarma piece is marked by two unusual numismatic features. Usually the legend in Kharoṣṭhī characters copies the Greek inscription of the obverse. But here the Kharoṣṭhī legend is completely independent of the Greek. In the second place, while all the words of the Indian legend are Indian, they include the Greek word *strategos* to which is added the Sanskrit genitive case-ending. The employment of a Greek term in the Indian legend was no doubt due to the fact that it could best signify the particular position which Aspavarma occupied in the Greek administration under Azes II. As Dr. W. W. Tarn points out (*The Greek in Bactria and India*, p. 241), the Indian Satrapies under Greek administration were governed by generals, *strategoi*. If Aspavarma were an Indian, no other Indian leader is called a *strategos* in any official document.

Alexander Cunningham has noticed some rare pieces of Aspavarma himself (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1890), together with two pieces of which the reverses bear the legend *Vijayamitraputrasa*, 'Vijayamitra's son'. From numismatic point of view, the type of coinage of Vijayamitra's son is the same as that of Aspavarma's coinage, though they differ in style. But they have common designs on both Obverse and Reverse.

---

[1] Compare, for instance, a reference given in *JGIS.*, Vol. XII, p. 15, and another in note 2 on p. 54 of *JRASB.* (Letters), Vol. I (1935).

In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1910 are published coins of the same Aspavarma described as son of Indravarma, but as *strategos* of the successor of Azes II, viz. Gondophares (*c.* A.D. 19–45), the renowned Indo-Parthian King described as King of Kings. The Greek legend of these coins is somewhat illegible. But its Kharosthī legend is the same as that of the Azes money, with the addition of the epithet *Tratarasa* which is the equivalent of the Greek term *sotcr*. This term points to a higher status than the term *strategos*, almost approaching royal status.

Sir John Marshall's excavations at Taxila have also brought to light a small coin of copper or mixed metal, which resembles the Azes money, but its Greek legend cannot be read. Its Kharosthī legend runs as follows: *Indravarmaputrasa Aspavarmasa Strategasa*. There are also discovered completely new bilingual silver coins of Indo-Parthian type, bearing on the obverse the symbol of Gondophares. Unfortunately, their Greek legends are not legible but they bear a Kharosthī inscription which mentions a person, named Sasan described as a *Mahārājā* and as the 'brother's son of Aspa'. The legend may be reconstructed as follows: *Maharajasa Aspabhrataputrasa tratarasa sasasa*. In this legend Aspa may be taken to be the *Strategos* Aspavarma. It is interesting to note that two separate issues were struck in great abundance in the joint names of Gondophares and Sasan (*Panjab Museum Catalogue*, pp. 147, 148). The Kharosthī legend speaks of Gondophares and of Sasan but the relationship, if any, between these two associated rulers, is not stated. Very probably, Sasan came to be a colleague of equal status with Gondophares. E. J. Rapson suggests that he was possibly a *strategos* or commander-in-chief (*Cambridge History of India*, I, 577). The Kharosthī legends of all these coins show that Aspavarma had served as *strategos* under both Azes II and his successor Gondophares under whom he was able to improve considerably his position later, and became a *Mahārājā*. Sasan, however, had a better start than his uncle Aspavarma. He began where his uncle ended as Mahārājā under Gondophares. And later he became his colleague of the same imperial status.

P. Thorburn possesses two coins which exhibit fully the Kharosthī legend which runs thus:—*Vijayamitraputrasa Itravarmasa apracharajasa*, '(of) the son of Vijayamitra, Itravarma, the *apracharaja*.' Itravarma may be taken to be Indravarma, father of Aspavarma, and, in that case, these coins reveal a family of four generations, grandfather Vijayamitra, father Indravarma, son Aspavarma and nephew Sasan who seems to have had the most successful career of them all, having achieved an equality of status with Gondophares, the King of Kings. The title of *Apracharaja* is somewhat singular, it means a King without a rival.

It may also be noted that while the names Vijayamitra and Indravarma are Indian, the name Sasan is Iranian. The fact was that this family was not Hindu by race. In those days many Saka military chiefs were fond of assuming Indian Sanskrit names, became Hinduized, and described themselves as Kṣatriyas.

About 1936 was discovered in Bajaur near Peshawar a steatite casket bearing two sets of inscriptions. The earlier one records the consecration of the corporeal relics of the Buddha in the reign of *Mahārājā* Menander and mentions the name of the donor of the casket as Viyakamitra who is also described as *apracharaja*, 'one without any royal rival or adversary.'

Sten Konow holds that the first part of the inscription, mentioning Menander (second century B.C.), must be taken as standing by itself without reference to his feudatory or any princeling and that the other part of the inscription mentioning *apracharaja* Viyakamitra was added perhaps a century later. It may also be assumed that the casket was the gift of the ruler of the region in which it was found. We may therefore work out the following history: the unrivalled (*apracharaja*), prince Vijayamitra ruled in Bajaur. The title *apracharaja* seems to have been his dynastic title because it was transmitted to his son Indravarma. Thus we have a House of princelings, Vijayamitra, his son Indravarma, and his grandson Aspavarma as ruling in ancient Udyana (Swat valley). Aspavarma's nephew Sasan achieved for his House the greatest power and prestige by his position as a co-ruler with the paramount sovereign of that region named Gondophares whose authority probably extended from Kabul to the Jumna. It may also be noted that the date of middle of the first century B.C. as assumed by Sten Konow is quite consistent with the fact that his grandson Aspavarma lived fifty years later, in the reign of Azes II (*c.* A.D. 1–19), as narrated above (*References*: N. G. Majumdar, 'The Bajaur Casket of the Reign of Menander', *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xxiv, part 1, January 1937; for joint issues of Gondophares and Sasan see *Indian Museum Catalogue*, vol. I, and *P. M. Cat.*, Pl. XV, 35. The subject of this article I had the pleasure of discussing with the renowned Numismatist, Dr. R. B. Whitehead, at his home at Cambridge in February, 1947.)

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI.

REVIEWS

WAR IN ANCIENT INDIA by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A., with a Foreword by Lt.-Col. Sir Dr.. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar. Second edition. Published by Macmillan & Co., 1948.

This book was first published in 1944 and the second edition is just out. I congratulate the author for the speedy sale of his first edition and I think that the present edition will also have a good demand in the market. The book consists of nine chapters with four appendices, a bibliography and an index. The author has ably examined the psychological factors leading to ancient Indian wars, *viz.*, (*a*) The mental atmosphere of the community being a caste society, (*b*) psychological barrenness of peace, (*c*) heroism and adventure, (*d*) human pugilism and pugnacity, (*e*) defence complex, (*f*) angry behaviour and spirit of jealousy, and (*g*) the mastery motive. Professor Dikshitar is right in pointing out that policy and method characterized wars in ancient India and that the wars were not recklessly entered into and ruthlessly fought. In his chapter on the laws of war he has ably shown that they, including the laws of chivalry, were so varied and complicated that they led to ineffective discipline, in some cases owing to excess on the part of leaders, and in other cases to the gradual extinction of the martial qualities by misplaced generosity through forgiving dangerous enemies who sought shelter in order to study the weakness of the enemy. He has admirably dealt with the weapons of war as far as can be gathered from literature. He has referred to the *āgneyāstras* (fire-arms) and has made a careful examination of them on the evidence of the Epics and the *Purāṇas*. Such minor weapons as *bhindipāla, śakti, tomara, nālika, laguḍa, pāśa, cakra, dantakaṇṭa, musuṇḍi,* have not escaped his attention. It is interesting to note that all the weapons were used in battles at the time of the Epics. The author has made use of the *Jātakas* in finding out references to various arms but in *Jātaka* (Vol. V, 128) mention is made of the following armours: *sandhiyuttameṇḍakasiṅgadhanu* (a bow made of the horn of a ram), *sandhiyuttatuṇhīra* (a quiver made up of joints). In the same *Jātaka* there is a reference to *sannāhakañcuka*[1] which is a kind of armour but its details are not given. The author has referred to javelin but he has not mentioned a kind of light javelin called *nārāca* (an iron weapon)[2] used by the Bodhisatta. In p. 105 of his book the author has referred to it on the authority of the *Vaśiṣtha Dhanurveda*. Various ancient forms of weapons as they appear in the sculptures have received a good treatment at the hands of the author. Some kinds of arms and armours exhibited in various coins of India have been well examined. The Chapter on army and army divisions having various sub-sections dealing with Elephants, Cavalry, Infantry, Admiralty, Units of the Army, etc., is very interesting. In his Chapter on the Departments of the Army, the author has not failed to do full justice to such topics as War-Council, War-finance, Arsenal, Foreign Department, Intelligence Department, Military and Non-Military Officers. As regards strategy and tactics in War discussed in Chapter VI, the author has divided wars under three heads: Land-war, Naval-war, and Aerial-war, but he has not gone into the details of these wars. Under strategical considerations he has dealt with the actual march of the army. He has shown from the *Agni Purāna*, how an army marched with its different units. Encampment, site for the battle-field, construction and siege of forts, siege-operations are some of the interesting topics discussed by him. The author has clearly shown that the tactics were effectively used both in

---

[1] Defensive weapon made up of steel rings-*samyutta*, V, 6 ; *Jātaka* II, 443., etc.
[2] *Majjhima*, I, 429 ; *Jātaka*, III 322 ; *Milinda*, 105, 244, etc.

righteous and unrighteous warfares. Aerial warfare is a burning problem of the day and is sure to attract as much attention as it deserves. His treatment of naval warfare is equally interesting, although it must be admitted that the materials for such a study are very scanty. In his Chapter on the history of diplomacy, the author has rightly shown that the ancient Indian diplomacy was 'a curious mixture of idealism and realism and was governed by sound principles of international morality'. The book is on the whole very readable, and it will surely be well received by all those interested in this important topic. The utility of the book has been greatly enhanced by supplying an useful Index and seven plates at the end illustrating ancient Indian warfares.

B. C. Law.

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF INSCRIPTIONAL PRAKRITS. By Madhukar Anant Mehendale; Deccan College Dissertation Series: 3; pp. XXXVIII, 345; Poona, 1948.

Poona may well be proud of this splendid work, which everyone interested in Indian Linguistics must always have at his elbow beside Pischel's Prakrit Grammar. What Mr. Mehendale has done is to present the entire inscriptional materials dating from the middle of the third century B.C. to the end of the fourth century A.D. in such a convenient manner that the relevant forms on any particular point can be picked out in a moment by every intelligent reader. But it is not merely a work of mechanical recording, though that too by itself would have been a stupendous achievement. The author has moreover tried to locate, both in time and space, the exact spot where each of the various speech-tendencies involved had its origin, and to indicate the directions in which those tendencies spread. For this purpose he has divided the inscriptions into four regional groups, Western, Southern, Central and Eastern, leaving out Asoka's imperial edicts dictated from Pāṭaliputra, which he deals with separately in his first chapter. Author's synoptic treatment of the Asokan inscriptions in contrast to his regional treatment of the rest, suggests that he is not prepared to accept the Asokan dialects as truly independent living idioms. There he is right in my opinion. Indeed the Asokan inscriptions of the south could not have been meant for the people to read and understand. But why then the dialectal variations also in Asoka's southern inscriptions? This question, so far as I know, has not yet been answered—not even by Mr. Mehendale in the work under review. I have very little to add by way of criticism. Only it seems to me that in phonology Mr. Mehendale has not always fully considered the possibility of compensatory nasalisation, which is all the more important since it may not have been accorded proper graphic recognition in the inscriptions, as he himself has admitted (e.g., p. 87). We have a typical case of compensatory nasalisation in *Saṅkamsana*<*Saṅkassana*<*Saṅkarsana* (p. 83), and who can say that we have not it also in dasana<darśana (p. 82) and in many other similar instances?

Batakrishna Ghosh.

LITTÉRATURE SANSKRITE par Louis Renou, avec en appendice ure table de concordance du Rigveda; Glossaire de l'Hinduisme; Collection dirigée par Jean Herbert et Lizelle Reymond; Fascicule V; pp. 1-160; Paris 1946.

This book aspires to be nothing more than a descriptive index to Sanskrit literature, but since it is written by its author it has all the characteristics of the work of a master hand. Moreover, it gives us a foretaste of what Professor Renou's *History of Sanskrit Literature* will be like when it comes. But even as it is, this little descriptive index gives the essential matter much more than any of the existing

works on the history of Sanskrit literature, for the author has fully taken into account the latest publications and the most up-to-date research. The author has purposely confined himself to the Brahmanical literature, taking note only of those Buddhist and Jaina texts of which the sectarian character is not too obtrusive. Thus works in Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa have found mention in it, though not those in Pali. Each of the paragraphs, arranged alphabetically according to the names of the authors and the titles of their works, mostly very short, is a model of perspicuous presentation. Bibliography could not but be meagre in a work which in fact claims to be nothing more than a descriptive index.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

LA KĀVYAMĪMĀṂSĀ DE RĀJAŚEKHARA, traduite du Sanskrit par Nadine Stchoupak et Louis Renou (Société Asiatique VIII; pp. 1–286; Paris 1946).

This translation of Rājaśekhara's well-known work was begun by the late Madame Nadine Stchoupak, but fate willed that it should not be completed by her. Her work has now been completed by her friend Professor Louis Renou. Besides giving a literal translation, Professor Renou has dealt with numerous minute problems in elucidation of the text in the foot-notes which are so numerous that what we have is practically a running commentary on the whole text. The work under review is therefore much more than what its title announces it to be, and every page of it bears eloquent witness to Professor Renou's vast erudition and conscientious versatility. Those who have read the text already will be surprised to see when reading this translation how much they had missed before.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

LES ÉCOLES VÉDIQUES ET LA FORMATION DU VEDA par Louis Renou (Société Asiatique IX; pp. 1–225; Paris 1947.)

Nothing has been published in recent years in the field of Vedic-philology that can even distantly be compared with this book, in which even quite minor texts, usually altogether ignored in accounts of the Vedic literature, have ben subjected to penetrating scrutiny by a scholar like Professor Renou, who has here discussed threadbare the problem of affiliation to particular schools of particular texts, from the *Saṃhitās* to the *Grhyasūtras*, taking full account in each case of the internal evidence, linguistic and otherwise, as well as the external evidence afforded by the ancillary literature, the Purānas, and other possible sources. But the most important feature of the work is contained in those parts where, apart from the question of affiliation, the author, quite objectively, deals with the structure, contents and language of the *Saṃhitās, Brāhmanas, Āranyakas, Upanisads* and the *Sūtras*. Literary evaluation of these texts has not been attempted at all. Otherwise the book under review might well have been called a critical survey of the Vedic literature.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

NOTES AND NEWS

The Presidential Address delivered by Dr. B. C. Law to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has been well received.

Dr. E. J. Thomas:—Comprehensive and enlightening survey . . . most instructive as to what has been done as well as a wide sweeping picture of the many tasks before us.

Mr. Oldham:—Most interesting and comprehensive address.

Dr. R. L. Turner:—Most interesting address . . . It is indeed a very fine account of what has been done during your Presidency of the Society.

Sir John Marshall:—I have found it of very great interest and a most valuable survey of what you are achieving in the field of Indian research. It is no less valuable, too, for the many pointers it gives for future research.

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri:—I have read with very great pleasure and profit your lucid survey of the present position in oriental studies and of the noble part played in them by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal during the year of your stewardship. I did not know of the Sanskrit version of the Achaemenid inscription by Dr. Sukumar Sen and I have learnt many other valuable things besides from your learned address.

The Allahabad University conferred on Dr. B. C. Law the honorary degree of D.Litt. at the Convocation held in December 1947 on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the University.

The First volume of the comprehensive history of India which is being edited by Dr. B. C. Law under the auspices of the Indian History Congress is progressing very well. The editor expects to bring out the volume in 1949.

WORKS BY

DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, D.Litt., Ph.D., M.A., B.L., F.R.A.S., F.R.A.S.B., F.Bom.R.A.S.

		Rs.	A.
1.	A History of Pāli Literature, Vol. I	7	0
2.	A History of Pāli Literature, Vol. II	7	0
3.	A Study of the Mahāvastu	8	0
4.	Supplement to the Study of the Mahāvastu	1	0
5.	Geography of Early Buddhism	2	0
6.	Buddhistic Studies	20	0
7.	Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India	10	0
8.	Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, Vol. I	8	0
9.	Ancient Indian Tribes	3	8
10.	Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II	1	8
11.	The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa	7	8
12.	Historical Gleanings	5	0
13.	Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective	4	0
14.	The Buddhist Conception of Spirits (Revised Edition)	3	0
15.	Women in Buddhist Literature	2	0
16.	Dāṭhāvaṁsa (Text and Eng. Translation)	4	0
17.	Cariyāpiṭaka (Text and Eng. Translation)	1	0
18.	Saundarananda Kāvya (Bengali Tr. with introduction and notes)	1	0
19.	Licchavi Jāti	1	4
20.	Bauddha Ramanī	2	8
21.	Bauddha Yuger Bhūgol	1	0
22.	The Law of Gift in British India (2nd Ed.)	3	0
23.	Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings	2	0
24.	Geographical Essays, Vol. I	3	8
25.	Gautama Buddha	1	8
26.	Śrāvastī in Indian Literature (A.S.I. Memoir No. 50)	1	4
27.	Rājagriha in Ancient Literature (A.S.I. Memoir No. 58)	2	12
28.	Kauśāmbī in Ancient Literature (A.S.I. Memoir No. 60)	1	10
29.	Pañchālas and their Capital Ahichchhatra (A.S.I. Memoir No. 68)	2	4
30.	Holy Places of India (C.G.S. Bulletin No. 3)	1	0
31.	A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions (C.U. Publication).		
32.	Designation of Human Types (P.T.S.)	10*s. nett.*	
33.	Thūpavaṁsa (P.T.S. Ed.)	7*s.* 6*d.*	
34.	Concepts of Buddhism (Memoir of the Kern Institute, Holland)	5*s.* 6*d.*	
35.	The Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon, Pt. III—Buddhavaṁsa and Cariyāpiṭaka (Eng. Tr.)	10*s.* 6*d.*	
36.	The Debates Commentary (Eng. Tr. of the Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa aṭṭhakathā)	10*s.* 6*d.*	
37.	India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism	Rs.6	
38.	Tribes in Ancient India (Bhandarkar Oriental Series No. 4)	Rs.8	
39.	Mountains of India (C.G.S. Bulletin)	Re.1	
40.	Rivers of India (C.G.S. Bulletin)	Rs.2	
41.	Ujjayinī in Ancient India (Publication of the Archaeological Dept., Gwalior State).		
42.	Jainaguru Mahāvīra	Re.1	
43.	Bhārater Puṇyatīrtha	Re.1	
44.	The Legend of the Topes (Eng. tr. of Thūpavaṁsa)	Rs.3	
45.	The Magadhas in Ancient India (R.A.S. Monograph, Vol. XXIV)	7*s.* 6*d.*	
46.	Aśvaghoṣa (R.A.S. of Bengal Monograph Series, Vol. I)	Rs.3	
47.	Buddhaghosa (Bombay Branch R.A.S. Monograph, No. 1).	Rs.6	
48.	Avanti (Prācyavāṇī Mandira Publication)	Re.1	
49.	On the Chronicles of Ceylon (R.A.S.B. Monograph Series, Vol. III)	Rs.3	
50.	Buddhist Encyclopaedia (In preparation).		
51.	Early History of India (,,).		
52.	Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras (In the Press).		

To be had of—

The Author at 43 Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta; Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co. (1933) Ltd., Calcutta; Messrs. Kegan Paul Trench Trubner & Co., Ltd.; Luzac & Co., London; The Indian Research Institute, Calcutta. Nos. 26–29 are obtainable from the Govt. of India Book Depot, Calcutta.

INDIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

1. *Vedic Series*—

Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā—edited by a board of eminent scholars. It consists of:

(i) The Text, Śākalya's Padapāṭha, Sāyaṇācārya's Commentary, extracts from other ancient Indian commentators, explanatory and critical notes in Sanskrit, and variant readings.

(ii) English translation (in the light of Sāyaṇa's commentary), critical notes embodying, among others, different interpretations of great European and American Vedic scholars, together with a synopsis of the results of historical, geological, archaeological, and philological researches of eminent Indologists.

(iii) Hindi translation (in the light of Sāyaṇa's commentary) with short explanatory notes and viewpoints of other interpreters, viz. Dayānanda Saraswatī, etc.

(iv) Bengali translation (in the light of Sāyaṇa's commentary) with requisite explanatory notes.

Each fasciculus consisting of Sanskrit, English and either of the Vernaculars (Hindi or Bengali) is priced at Re.1-8-0 (excluding postage). Subscriptions for 12 fascicles or 6 fascicles, payable in advance, are Rs.12 or Rs.6 (excluding postage). The foreign price for each fasciculus consisting of Sanskrit and English has been fixed at 2*s.* 6*d.* and for 12 fascicles at 25*s.* (inclusive of postage).

2. *Fine Arts Series*—

(1) **'Barhut'**—by Dr. Beni Madhav Barua, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.)—

Book I—Stone as a Story-Teller	Rs.5 or 7*s.* 6*d.*
Book II—Jātaka Scenes	Rs.7 or 12*s.*
Book III—Art and Illustrations	Rs.15 or 25*s.*

(2) **'Gayā and Buddha Gayā'**—by Dr. Beni Madhav Barua, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.), in 2 vols. with more than 40 plates .. .. Rs.12 or 20*s.*

3. *Indiar Positive Science Series*—

Upavana-vinoda (Sanskrit)—by Prof. Dr. G. P. Majumdar, M.Sc., B.L. (A treatise on Arbori-Horticulture) .. Rs.2-8-0 or 4*s.* 3*d.*

4. *Jyotiṣa Series*—

(1) **Pañcāṅga Darpaṇa**—by N. C. Lahiri, M.A.	Re.1-4-0
(2) **Indian Ephemeris, 1942**—by N. C. Lahiri, M.A. ..	As.12

5. *Indian Lexicon Series*—

(1) **Baṅgīya Mahākoṣa** (an Encyclopædia in Bengali) under the distinguished editorship of eminent scholars and general editorship of Late Prof. A. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa—

Vol. I published	Rs.12
Vol. II (complete)	Rs.12

(2) **Bauddhakoṣa** (Buddhist Encyclopædia in Bengali)—edited by Dr. B. M. Barua. Part I published .. Re.1

6. *Linguistic Series*—

Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit—by Dr. B. K. Ghosh, D.Phil., D.Lit. Rs.5

7. *Indian History Series*—

Early History of Bengal—Vols. I and II—by Prof. P. L. Paul, M.A. Rs.8

For further particulars please refer to—

THE HONY. GENERAL SECRETARY, THE INDIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
170 Maniktala Street, Calcutta (India).

Published by Satis Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., 170 Maniktala Street, Calcutta, and Printed by Norman A. Ellis at the Baptist Mission Press, 41A Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.