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also service for the hamlets of the village.⁷⁸¹ The custom of the time also laid down certain rules for guidance of the village servants in their work. A washerman, e.g. was not to wear the clothes given to him for washing; if he wore, hired out or lent them, he was to be punished.⁷⁸²

(6) THE TEMPLE: ITS ECONOMIC ASPECT

Introductory: secular functions of the Temple—The Temple as employer; number of persons employed—Free and servile—Office generally hereditary—Wages—Customary perquisites—Duties—Treatment of the employees by the Temple—Control over their conduct—The Temple as landlord; how the Temple acquired property—Direct farming and leases—House property—The Temple a careful landlord—Help rendered by the Temple to the tenants—The Temple as consumer—Services rendered by the Temple in the economic sphere: as lender—As depository—Reclamation of land—Handicrafts—Poor relief—Other ways of contact between the Temple and villagers—Privileges of the Temple: irrigation—Grazing—Property—Tolls—Taxation—Miscellaneous—The Temple as donee—The wealth of the Temple—The South Indian Temple and the Mediaeval European Church—The Temple as an agency in breaking the isolation and self-sufficiency of the village.

The religion of a community is not something unrelated to its secular activities any more than the religious experience of an individual is apart from his general mental development. The Temple likewise was a powerful social and economic entity besides being a source of religious inspiration for the people. Inscriptions give us some idea of the diverse

⁷⁸¹ 210 of 1919.⁷⁸² Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitkṣarā*, II, 238.

secular functions the Hindu temples were designed to discharge: they were fortresses, treasuries, courthouses, parks, fairs, exhibition sheds, and halls of learning and of amusement. Here we are more immediately concerned to note those spheres of activity in which the Temple touched the economic life of the people.

The position of the Temple as an employer providing work and the means of livelihood for a

The Temple as employer. large number of people is the most striking thing in this connexion. 'Abdu-r Razzāk noted with regard to Bidrur

that all the village enjoyed pensions and allowances from that building (the temple).⁷⁸³ Perhaps the most detailed account of the number of Number of persons employed. people who were thus supported by a temple and the wages they received is that given in the Tanjore inscriptions.⁷⁸⁴ The list includes the following:—

| Employee | Number | Remuneration for each |
|---------------------|--------|-----------------------------------|
| Dancing girls | 400 | 1 <i>vēli</i> of land and 1 house |
| Dancing masters | 12 | 1½ to 2 <i>vēli</i> of land |
| Singers | 5 | 1½ " |
| Pipers | 7 | 1½ " |
| Drummers | 2 | 1½ " |
| Lute-players | 2 | 1¼ " |
| Singers in Sanskrit | 3 | 1½ " |
| Singers in Tamil | 4 | 1½ " |
| Drummers (big) | 3 | 1 " |

⁷⁸³ 1442 A.D., 'Abdu-r Razzāk, Elliot, *History*, IV, p. 105.⁷⁸⁴ 1011 A.D., *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 66.

| Employee | Number | Remuneration for each |
|--|--------|-----------------------|
| Conch-blowers | 2 | 1 <i>vēli</i> of land |
| <i>Pakkavādyar</i> | 5 | " |
| <i>Gāndharvar</i> (Musicians) | 3 | " |
| Drummer | 1 | " |
| Troops of musicians | 16 | " |
| <i>Tiruvāy kēlvi</i> | 5 | " |
| Superintendents of temple women and female musicians | 2 | 2 |
| Accountants | 4 | 2 |
| Under-accountants | 4 | 2 |
| Drummers | 66 | ½ |
| Sacred parasol-bearer | 1 | 1 |
| Sacred parasol-bearers | 10 | 8/20 |
| Lamp-lighter | 1 | 1 |
| Lamp-lighters | 7 | ½ |
| Sprinklers of water | 4 | ½ |
| <i>Cannāliyal</i> | 2 | 2 |
| Potter | 1 | 1 |
| Potters | 10 | 8/20 |
| Washermen | 2 | 1 |
| <i>Kāvidi</i> | 2 | ½ |
| Barbers | 2 | ½ |
| Barber | 1 | 1 |
| Astrologers | 2 | 1 |
| Astrologers | 4 | ½ |
| Tailors | 2 | 1 |
| Jewel-stitcher | 1 | 1½ |
| Brazier | 1 | 1 |
| Master-carpenter | 1 | 1½ |
| Assistant carpenters | 4 | ¾ |
| <i>Pāpan</i> | 4 | 1½ |
| Superintendent of goldsmiths | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 609 | " |

The number of employees in the service of the Temple, and the variety of interests represented make

the position of the Temple as an employer considerably important. Nor should it be thought that the instance above cited is an exceptional one. Other inscriptions from elsewhere and of later date give such accounts. An inscription of 1280 A.D.⁷⁸⁵ from Kōlār district informs us that 52 families of servants had to perform various duties in the temple and were paid by grants of land. The list includes *Śiva Brāhmaṇas*, drummers, one dancing master, dancing girls, singers and stage managers, Brahmans for repeating prayers and conducting sacrifices, one gardener, families of potters and one accountant.

To the list we may add the number of employees in institutions attached to and under the management of the temple. Such were the professors appointed to teach the Vēdas, the teachers who expounded the Rūpāvatāra, the Vyākaraṇa and the Mīmāmsa employed in the Vēdic College attached to the temple in Ennāyiram in South Arcot⁷⁸⁶ and the men put in charge of conducting the hostel and the hospital in the same place.

The labour employed by the temple may be classed into free and servile. The latter is treated elsewhere.⁷⁸⁷ Connected with the former are certain interesting questions: Was the office hereditary? How were the employees paid?

⁷⁸⁵ About 1280 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, X, Bowringpet 38 a.

⁷⁸⁶ A.R.E., 1918, part II, para 28.

⁷⁸⁷ *infra*, ch. II, sec. (8).

Office generally hereditary.

What were their functions? Was the treatment meted out to them as employees on the whole fair? Appointments to temple offices were generally hereditary. An inscription⁷⁸⁸ records that a new dancing master was appointed in the place of a deceased relative of his. The hereditary principle was apparently so strong that a certain Svāmidēvar cancelled an order of the king appointing two *Saiva Ācāryas* and put in two others who possessed hereditary rights to the office.⁷⁸⁹ In an order of appointment it is stated, "Instead of those among these persons, who would die or emigrate, the nearest relations of such persons were to receive that paddy and to recite the *Tiruppadiyam*. If the nearest relations of such persons were not qualified themselves, they were to select (other) qualified persons, to let (these) recite the *Tiruppadiyam* and to receive that paddy. If there were no near relations to such persons, the (other) incumbents of such appointments were to select qualified persons for reciting the *Tiruppadiyam* and the person selected was to receive the paddy in the same way, as that person (whom he represented) had received it."⁷⁹⁰ In a few instances the particular relation who was to occupy the post was specified e.g. "the son of his [paternal uncle] who has married his daughter",⁷⁹¹ brother⁷⁹² etc. Occasionally

⁷⁸⁸ 23 of 1895, 6th year of Rājendra-Cōja.

⁷⁸⁹ 1087 A.D., 40 of 1906.

⁷⁹⁰ 1011 A.D., *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 65, p. 256.

Trav. Arch. Series, III, 23.

Ep. Ind., XI, pp. 184 ff.

⁷⁹¹ *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 66, sec. 427.

⁷⁹² *Ibid.*, sec. 449.

where the choice had to be made from among a number of claimants or for specific reasons from outside the hereditary circle, the recommendations of a *sabha* seem to have superseded the choice of an individual,⁷⁹³ and even the hands of a *sabha* (*parisad*) were tied by provisions made against abuse of their position.⁷⁹⁴ The wages received by these employees are often reckoned in terms of land⁷⁹⁵ in fact it would

wages. appear to have been *par excellence* the system in vogue then.⁷⁹⁶ Artisans too received wages in land.⁷⁹⁷ Female attendants seem to have been provided with houses also.⁷⁹⁸ In a few instances the houses are said to have been double storeyed.⁷⁹⁹ Sometimes, the employees were also paid some money—probably to enable them to purchase commodities which were obtainable only for money. In times of scarcity, however, when the temple had no funds, wages could be paid in kind. At Tiruvallam, for instance, when the temple had no fund, the trustees ordered that a certain portion of the sacrificial food (*prasāda*) might be given to the *araka*.⁸⁰⁰

Besides, there were certain customary perquisites which were not quite negligible, and increased the real Customary per- wages of the employee. Employees in quisites. some cases received food, some inscriptions specifically stating that Brahman employees and

⁷⁹³ 1413 A.D., 576 of 1916.

⁷⁹⁴ 991 A.D., *Trav. Arch. Series*, II, 7 C.

⁷⁹⁵ *supra*, pp. 275—76.

⁷⁹⁶ 1139 A.D., 393 of 1915, Guntur.

⁷⁹⁷ 729 of 1919.

⁷⁹⁸ 1235 A.D., *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 38—39.

⁷⁹⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 38—39.

⁸⁰⁰ 234 of 1921.

Non-Brahman employees were served with food.⁸⁰¹ The washerman had, if we may infer from a later evidence, the right to receive the heads of animals sacrificed and one woman of that class received from the villagers collectively 3 sheep and 3 rupees.⁸⁰² The temple also helped them in times of need. A temple woman was forced to sell, by public auction, her land in order to pay a fine imposed on her by Kālingarāyar, probably a minister of king Vīra Pāṇḍya, and the temple purchased it.⁸⁰³

Besides permanent employees, the temple also sometimes employed labour for temporary work such as executing the repairs in the shrine, and the wages paid took the form of gifts of land and a house-site.⁸⁰⁴ A variation of this was where such occasional services became periodical and recurring; thus in the temples of the south we find carpenters were engaged and provided with land generally termed *taccācārīyakkāni*, i.e., land set apart exclusively for the architects who were to look after the repairs in the temple, their duties also being described as *daśa-kriyai*.⁸⁰⁵ Masons similarly acquired the permanent right of repairing the temple.⁸⁰⁶

Where, however, lands were not assigned for wages, a gift of an annuity of paddy and a portion of the daily food offered to the gods made up the wages;⁸⁰⁷ or a

⁸⁰¹ 277-D of 1899, 1375 A.D. *South Ind. Inscr.*, VI, 785.

⁸⁰² Mackenzie, *The Village Feast*, *Ind. Ant.*, III, pp. 6-9.

⁸⁰³ 277 of 1910, *A.R.E.*, 1911, part ii, para 43.

⁸⁰⁴ 1247 A.D., 403 of 1908.

⁸⁰⁵ 188 of 1909, *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 60.

⁸⁰⁶ 1412 A.D., 676 of 1909.

⁸⁰⁷ 676 of 1916.

house, land and some offered food combined made up the full wage.⁸⁰⁸ In other cases, the wages were reckoned at a certain number of measures of paddy every day and a number of gold coins per year⁸⁰⁹; in others again, only paddy, e.g. 3 *kuruṇi* of paddy each to the drummers.⁸¹⁰ Where the wages took the form of land, the area of land allotted varied from 2 *vēli* of land with an income of 200 *kalam* of paddy annually for high officials like the temple superintendent to half a *vēli* with an income of 50 *kalam*, for servants, like the barber. Instances where paddy and money were combined also occur, e.g. 1 *padakku* of paddy per day and 4 *kāśu* per year.⁸¹¹

It appears thus that the range of payment was between 200 *kalam* and 50 *kalam*.⁸¹²

The duties performed by the temple servants are in most cases clear from their designations, but it may

Duties. not be so well known that a washerman was to supply the cotton rags used for torches⁸¹³ on some occasions, and to carry the torch in front of the goddess; he had, of course, some perquisites in return.

Whether Treatment of the employees by the Temple. on the whole the treatment of its employees by the Temple was fair we have no adequate data to decide. We have instances, however, of temple

⁸⁰⁸ 513 of 1925.

⁸⁰⁹ 1011 A.D., *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 69.

⁸¹⁰ *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 65.

⁸¹¹ See list given above.

⁸¹² *Infra*, ch. VIII.

⁸¹³ See for the survival of the custom in parts of Mysore, Mackenzie, *The Village Feast*, *Ind. Ant.*, III, pp. 6-8.

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A.VII.2.1

Ancient Tamil Literature: Its Scholarly Past and Future

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Among the most important sources for the study of ancient India are the Tamil anthologies and other representatives of the earliest Tamil literature. The six earliest anthologies can be reliably dated back to the second and third centuries A.D., while the *Kalittokai*, the *Paripāṭal*, and the *Pattupāṭṭu* are a little later.¹ The *Tolkāppiyam*, a prescriptive grammar and system of poetics, has often been considered to be even older than the earliest anthologies but has now been shown to describe paleographic features which do not enter the language until the fifth century A.D.² Other works which are probably pre-Pallavan are the eighteen minor works (*Patinenkilkkāṇakku*), the *Cilappatikāram*, and the *Maṇimēkalai*, all of which were probably written about the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. All the anthologies are rich in the details of everyday life which are neglected in most Sanskrit literature. It is no exaggeration to say that they furnish a better view of the daily life of the ordinary Tamilian of their period than is available for any other period or area of premodern India. It would be difficult to make too much of this fact. Current Indian histories consist far too much of unimaginative rehearsals of dynasties and generals; moreover, the source material for most ancient Indian history has been Sanskrit literature, which, while overwhelming in quantity, ignores for the most part the great majority of the population, who were neither Brahmins nor nobles. As a result, those customs and patterns of daily life with which we are acquainted are not representative of the majority of the people of ancient India. A reading of any of Nilakanta Sastri's books discloses many facts concerning the daily life and culture of the Brahmins of South India, who were never more than a tiny (though important)

minority, but it reveals an almost total lack of information concerning other segments of the South Indian population, even those high non-Brahman castes in whose hands the power has almost always been held. Ancient Tamil literature, on the other hand, was written by high-class poets who followed the model of the oral poetry of the Pāṇjans and Paraiyans, men of the lowest castes, and is devoid of both high-class and Brahmanical bias. For this reason, it gives a more accurate picture of the social life and customs of the area to which it belongs than does any other classical literature of India.

Not only does ancient Tamil literature furnish an accurate picture of widely disparate social classes; it also describes the social condition of Tamilnad much as it was before the Aryans arrived in the south. In other words, it reveals what at least one part of pre-Aryan India was like. It is true that Nilakanta Sastri and others have suggested that early Tamil literature is indebted to Sanskrit and that it shows a hybrid society in which Aryan and non-Aryan elements cannot be separated. In fact, however, there is relatively little which the most ancient Tamil owes to Aryan influence. Words of Sanskritic origin are quite few, comprising less than two percent of the *Murukārruppāṭai* and one percent of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*,³ itself later than the earliest works. This shows that Tamil literature developed at a time when Sanskrit did not have the boundless prestige it had attained when the other South Indian languages, which from the beginning are full of Sanskrit words, developed literatures. It follows that Sanskrit, and the northern culture for which it was the vehicle, had not penetrated into Tamilnad to a degree sufficient to supplant indigenous customs at the time when Tamil literature developed in the first centuries A.D. As regards customs, it is true that Brahmins were present in South India by the time of the Tamil anthologies and that they had some influence; and it is a fact that Buddhism and Jainism had been present in Tamilnad for a few hundred years; yet almost all the customs described in ancient Tamil are wholly alien to Aryan India of the time. Those elements which are Aryan, such as the three fires, are generally associated with Brahmins. When the anthologies were written, Brahmins were not yet used in indigenous temples and their presence was not demanded at marriages (a function they assumed as early as the *Cilappatikāram*),⁴ both of which facts show that they were relatively recent arrivals.

The availability of a literature describing Tamil society at a time when it was still unaffected by Aryan elements makes it possible to trace the origin of many customs and conventions which made their way into North India and eventually became pan-Indian. Especially significant is the insight which ancient Tamil provides into the development of Indian religion. The religion of the early Tamils was an animistic one in which

divine forces were conceived of as immanent within actual objects and as potentially harmful. These divine forces, called *aṇaṅku*, were for the most part not personified as gods; hence early Tamil literature is almost wholly lacking in mythology (another fact which shows how unaffected it is by Aryan elements, as later Tamil borrowed and developed the mythology of North India). This power had to be rigidly controlled. As a result, religious rites were carried out by the lowest castes: the Paraiyans, the Pāṇjans, the Tuṭiyans, and the Vēlans (here caste translates *jāti*, Tamil *kuṭi*; it is indigenous to South India and has nothing to do with *varṇa*, an Aryan system which has never been present in Tamilnad). There is evidence that the low status of these castes and their religious duties, which made them handlers of dangerous power, are intimately connected. These castes had the job of lighting the cremation fire and of worshiping the memorial stone, which was thought actually to be inhabited by the spirit of a dead hero. The Vēlan, who is even today found among the Paraiyans of Kerala, would dance ecstatically as he was possessed by Murugan, an indigenous god. The Paraiyan, the Pāṇjan, and the Tuṭiyān would each play a special instrument which was thought to be inhabited by sacred power and which was used for various ritual purposes. The pollution which is attached to the low castes is thus a legacy of indigenous Dravidian religion. It should be pointed out, however, that it has been influenced by Brahmanism. With the advent of the Brahmins as the new sacerdotal order, religious elements not identified with the Brahmins kept their dangerous properties while elements which the Brahmins espoused (many of which were indigenous) were set up opposite to them and were considered to be pure.⁵ Extreme measures were taken to insulate these elements from the dangerous powers, and so pollution in its modern sense came into being. It is not for purely theological reasons that Rāmānuja makes one of the most important qualities of God *nirmalatvam*, untaintedness.

Ancient Dravidian religion also elucidates the origin of many pan-Indian customs which have to do with women.⁶ In early Tamil, sacred power (*aṇaṅku*) clings to a woman and, as long as it is under control, lends to her life and to that of her husband auspiciousness and sacred correctness. But it is a power which must be kept firmly under control, lest it wreak havoc. Thus women must carefully observe chastity; they must restrain themselves in all situations, having "chastity increased by patience, with sharp teeth which their tongues fear if they talk loudly." At the dangerous times associated with birth and death, a woman must practice strong asceticism. When she is menstruous, she must stay outside the house and cannot touch dishes, while for a period of several days after childbirth (called *puniru*) she is impure and cannot see her husband. After the death of her husband, she is especially dangerous and must shave her head, cake

it with mud, sleep on a bed of stones, and eat lily seeds instead of rice. It is interesting to note that the tonsure of widows appears first in Sanskrit in the *Skandapurāna* in the ninth century A.D. If a widow is chaste and young, she is so infected with magic power that she must take her own life, her condition being such that "her youthfulness makes her sweet life tremble even though she is alone for a few seconds in the vast guarded palace of her husband where the eye of the drum [mulavu] never sleeps" (*Puram* 247). It is possible to trace the importation of virtually all these customs related to woman's chastity into Aryan India.⁷

Ancient Tamil illuminates several other elements of Indian civilization. Caste, for example, is found in the anthologies. There it is clear that caste is indigenous to South India and did not depend for its development on the *varṇa* system which was later superimposed on it (and which never had more than superficial importance for the caste systems of South India). It appears that the caste system was somewhat less elaborately developed at the time of the anthologies than it was later, though it is difficult to tell exactly since any information gleaned with regard to caste is incidental to the poetry. It is clear that each caste possessed a magical fitness to do certain work, especially those low castes whose occupations involved close association with and control of *anyañku*, sacred power. Thus there are at least three discrete castes whose main function is to sing and play instruments: each caste plays a different type of drum and has certain instruments which are peculiar to it.

Other customs found in early Tamil include *pūjā* with flowers; temple worship; drawing designs in front of houses (*kōlam* or *rāṅgāvali*); the king as the locus of sacred power (the early Tamil king is far more like the Indian king of classical Sanskrit than is the Vedic one); ecstatic worship of gods; use of the parasol by king; use of grass and dung as insulators from dangerous magic forces; and the performance of funerals by outcastes. Other customs died out but still provide insight into Indian culture: the erection of a memorial stone (*naṭukal*) in which the spirit of a dead hero was thought to reside; the establishment of a royal tutelary tree (*kaṭi maram*) which symbolized the king's connection with heaven and whose hewing down was the first task of an enemy; the worshiping with blood and liquor of a royal drum (*muracu*, whence Sanskrit *muraja*) made from the skin of a bull which defeated another bull and from the wood of an enemy tutelary tree; the use of various drums to evoke the sacred in battle (such drums are sometimes called the agency by which the battle is won); the sacrifice performed after battle in which skulls were used as pots, filled with blood, stirred with severed arms, cooked up by a barren woman, and offered in a ceremony modeled after the marriage ritual; and *vāṭakkiruttal*, a ceremony in which a slighted king starved himself to death.

together with those of his retinue and friends who would join him. The description of these and other customs and the assessment of their importance is one of the most critical tasks of Tamil scholars.

The significance of early Tamil for the history of Indian literature is perhaps even greater than its importance for other fields. According to the Allchins, there was for a long period before the birth of Christ an extremely conservative and homogeneous culture in the Deccan which produced the megaliths found there today.⁸ It was this culture which gave rise to Tamil civilization. In the north, this Deccan culture merged with Aryan culture in Maharashtra to produce a civilization which today is perhaps the most complete synthesis of Aryan and Dravidian in India. Both these offshoots of the original Deccan culture produced important literatures in the early centuries of the Christian era: Tamilnad gave rise to the poetry under discussion here, while Maharashtra produced the *Sattasai* of Hāla, representative of a large body of popular poetry, the great bulk of which has been lost. I have shown in my dissertation that ancient Tamil and Maharashtrian literature are closely related.⁹ They share a common metrical system, a common technique of rhyme, a common technique of suggestion, and hundreds of themes and conventions. With the exception of a few conventions, none of these shared elements appears in Indo-Aryan literature prior to the *Sattasai*. Beginning with Kālidāsa, however, whose date is after the first half of the fourth century A.D.,¹⁰ conventions shared by Tamil and Māhārāṣṭri appear prominently in Sanskrit, together with their common technique of suggestion. It is in fact no exaggeration to say that Kālidāsa has synthesized in a most felicitous manner elements from the two great literary traditions of India, Dravidian and Aryan. The reason for this synthesis is that he relied heavily for his conventions and techniques on Māhārāṣṭri Prakrit literature, of which the *Sattasai* is a part. This fact has long been suspected, but it has been possible to prove it by isolating elements which appear first in Māhārāṣṭri and Tamil and then showing that Kālidāsa has used them. There are some themes which appear in early Tamil that are found as early as the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Sanskrit. Through a detailed consideration of their use in both traditions, I have shown that these must have been used originally in the Deccan culture and must have entered North India with other Dravidian elements and words which become prominent in the Sanskrit epics. It is thus evident that a comparative study of ancient Tamil and Indo-Aryan literature can throw light on important areas of the history of Indian literature which until now have been dark. The development of *kāvya*, for example, is an area on which Winternitz, Macdonell, and Keith confess they cannot say anything beyond speculation. Yet a consideration of Tamil literature discloses clearly the main lines of that

Anthropologists too stand to gain greatly by a study of ancient Tamil. There customs of many groups are described which can still be found today. For example, the *kinai* drum player would hold in his hand a staff called *pirappuṇarttunkōl* (a rod that determines birth, that is, what has arisen and what will arise), which would enable him to tell the future. Today in Kerala, there is a caste called Kuravans, one of whose functions is to prognosticate with staff in hand.⁵⁷ Vēlans, who are often described in ancient Tamil, are also found today in Kerala as a subcaste of the Paraiyans. In fact, many of these groups are described in Tamil literature from all periods. It does not seem too much to hope that some day anthropologists will actually be able to trace the history of many Tamil castes. Unfortunately, most work done by anthropologists on modern Tamilnad has been devoted to the descendants of the *uyarntōr*, or "high ones." Much more study needs to be devoted to the low castes, who are, after all, just as important for a proper understanding of the customs of the area as their higher counterparts.

Thus we see that when the literature in early Tamil is translated, researchers in all areas of South Indian studies will have their horizons broadened considerably. Yet however good they are, translations will be inadequate, for they cannot convey significance of which the translator is unaware. To translate *Pāṇay* by "minstrel," for example, is to ignore the fact that the Pāṇan was of low status, of a separate caste, was often a servant, and was supposed to play the drum in wars. When indexing some of the anthologies for my dissertation, I included one category for all drums. I subsequently discovered that each of about ten drums had a distinct and important function and could be played only by one caste, facts which are overlooked in all research done to date that I know of. I am sure that there are other categories which I have unwittingly done away with in my translations and which remain to be discovered by future researchers. More important than this is the fact that we possess old, detailed commentaries on much of ancient Tamil literature. This ancillary literature is so large that no translation can take it all into account in annotations. Added to this are the fine modern editions of the Tamil classics, with excellent commentaries and, most important, with exhaustive indexes. There is simply no possibility that all this literature can be adequately rendered into English in the near future. At best, we may hope to possess fairly accurate translations of ancient Tamil which will be of use in developing general ideas of ancient Tamil society and literature. The material which exists only in Tamil will become more and more indispensable as research progresses.

What will the result of this research be on our ideas about South India?

Centre for Policy Studies We shall realize, I believe, that the role of Aryan culture in Tamilnad has

been overestimated. We shall see that all classes of South Indian Brahmins follow mostly Dravidian customs; that the "sanskritization" made so much of by some anthropologists is, in the case of Tamilnad at least, for the most part the adoption of Dravidian customs which have always belonged to the upper classes; and that where Aryan elements have entered into this process, they have been radically altered to fit Dravidian norms. For example, Brahmins today put stronger constraints on widows than do any other group; yet all these constraints can be shown to be Dravidian in origin, including continuous tonsure, which to my knowledge is today practiced only by Brahmins. Temple worship is likewise indigenous to South India. It is true that some of the original gods in the temples have been replaced by idols with Sanskrit names and that many rites performed in Brahmanical temples are imported from the north; but the treatment of temple idols as receptacles of immanent divine power and the place of the temple in the society go back to a time before the advent of the Aryans and are utterly foreign to the Vedas. It is also true that many stories in Tamil literature can be traced to North India. But the stories have invariably been modified to conform to Tamil ideals. In the *Kamparāmāyaṇa*, for example, Rāvaṇa is never allowed to touch Sītā, a change in keeping with southern notions of chastity. Indeed, Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and Kampan's *Rāmāyaṇa* are as different as Marlowe's *Faust* and Goethe's *Faust*; that is to say, beyond the fact that they adhere roughly to the same story, it is difficult to see anything which they have in common. Linga worship, which was imported from the north, was incorporated into the native religion; the phallic emblem being treated as the memorial stone was earlier. The tufts worn by Brahmins are found in ancient Tamil literature on warriors as well. Pollution itself, which is one of the most important factors in the working of sanskritization, appears to be a development of the ancient Dravidians' notion of being infected with immanent sacred power. Thus sanskritization in Tamilnad can be seen as a process not only of imitating the Brahmins but also of adopting practices which have always belonged to the "high ones." It is noteworthy that there are few Aryan customs followed by the Brahmins which have been imitated by non-Brahman castes in Tamilnad. Vellāljars do not undergo *upanayana* and do not wear the sacred thread;⁵⁸ nor do non-Brahman pūjāris light the sacred fires. It would in fact be as accurate to say that the Brahmins have undergone tamilization as to say that the non-Brahmins have been sanskritized. But both notions are simplistic and can only lead to confusion. Until we rid ourselves of the ideas of the supremacy of the Aryan in South India and also of the incorruptibility of the Tamil, we shall not understand the historical processes which have taken place.

The cause for our misconceptions can easily be explained. We have

been able to trace the customs and beliefs of the Brahmins in all periods and areas of India through the large number of law books and other writings they have left us, but for the great majority of the Indian population we have had no such literature and so have remained ignorant of their role. In fact, while the influence of Aryan culture in South India has no doubt been large, it has not been the predominant cultural influence. Rather, the Brahmins have been slowly assimilated until today in Tamilnad few of their customs can be traced back to the Aryan culture from which they purport to come. But the Brahmins have always traced their customs, no matter what their source, to an idealized Aryan society. Thus while the high non-Brahman classes of Tamilnad and, I suspect, elsewhere in India have simply followed many customs they have always possessed, we have found those customs described in Brahmanical literature and falsely concluded that the indigenous inhabitants were adopting Aryan customs. And when the lower classes have adopted higher-class ideals to better their position, as they have done in every society, we have falsely seen that as involving only the imitation of Brahmins rather than the imitation of all the higher classes. We must come to see that, in the south at least, the Brahman has imitated the high-class non-Brahman as much as the non-Brahman has imitated the Brahman, and probably even more: for in the south the Brahman was a newcomer, and to be accepted in the society he had to adopt those values and customs which were espoused by the highest indigenous members of that society. These facts emerge from a study of ancient Tamil literature. We shall come ultimately to see, I believe, that Aryan culture in Tamilnad, while important, has not been the all-dominating influence it has been claimed to be. We shall begin to discover, as we grow familiar with ancient Tamil literature, an entirely new stream in Indian culture which will dispel many of the mysteries which have plagued Indologists while they have relied only on Aryan sources.

NOTES

1. See G. L. Hart, *Related Cultural and Literary Elements in Ancient Tamil and Indo-Aryan* (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1969), p. 2.
2. Iravatham Mahadevan, "Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions of the Sangam Age," in *Proceedings of the Second International Conference of Tamil Studies*, vol. 1 (Madras, 1971), p. 83. Use of the *pulli* is described in the *Elatatikaram* of the *Tolkappiyam*.
3. J. V. Chelliah, *Pattupattu, Ten Tamil Idylls* (Madras: Kazhagam, 1962), p. 337. This estimate includes such words as *min* (DED 3999), *tamarai* (DED 2583), and *muttu* (DED 4062), which are known to be of Dravidian origin. It should be pointed out that the *Murukkarruppaṭai* is later than the bulk of the literature contained in the anthologies.

DED numbers refer to T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).

4. Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 15ff.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 119ff. All these customs are described fully and documented in my dissertation.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 108ff.
8. B. and R. Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civilization: India and Pakistan Before 500 B.C.* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1968), p. 232.
9. Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 207ff.
10. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. III, trans. H. Cohn (Calcutta, 1963), pp. 23ff.
11. A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964).
12. K. K. Pillay, "Aryan Influences in Tamilaham During the Sangam Epoch," *Tamil Culture XII*, no. 2 and 3 (1966), p. 164.
13. This is not the place to marshal all the evidence (which is extensive and, I believe, conclusive) that *pulavan* were from the high classes, while the Pāṇans and others were of low caste. Those who wish to investigate this important subject may consult my dissertation, pp. 119ff. See also *Puram* 170, 287, 289, 335; *Narriṇai* 77; *Kalittokai* 68.19, 95.10. Kailasapathy in *Tamil Heroic Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 95, is quite mistaken when he states that the Pāṇans were high (cf. pp. 43–47 of this essay).
14. Pāṇa is a low caste in Prakrit (DED 3351); even today there is a low caste of musicians called Pāṇas in Orissa. *Parn* means *paraiyan* in Kota (both words being derived from *parai*, "drum"—see DED 3319). Malas, a low caste in Andhra, are community musicians.
15. Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 236ff.
17. P. Sambamoorthy, *South Indian Music*, 5 vol. (Madras, 1958–1963). Mr. Krishnamoorthy Athreya, a friend of mine who is passionately devoted to Carnatic music, informs me that ragas and talas can be found in a crude form in Tamil folk music.
18. Sāṅgadeva, *Saṅgitaratnākara*, vol. 2 (Madras, Tamilnadu: Adyar Library, 1959), p. 147.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 335.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
21. For example, the system of seven cases (eight with the vocative) found in both the *Tolkappiyam* and in Sanskrit grammatical works is obviously native to the Sanskrit tradition since it fits that language but is most unsuitable to Tamil.
22. *Nātyaśāstra*, *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* 36 (Baroda, 1956), I, p. 350; *Tolkappiyam*, *Porulatikāram*, *Meyppāṭṭiyal*. See note 2 above.
23. Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 76ff.
24. B. Stein, "Integration of the Agrarian System of South India," in *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, ed. R. E. Frykenberg (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 175–216.
25. Stein uses the unfortunate term *Sat-Sudra*, which means "good Śūdras," for these landlords. Such a term can only perpetuate the present Brahman-oriented view of South Indian history. The high-caste non-Brahmans of Tamilnad, who have always been the most powerful and most imitated group in South India, never considered themselves Śūdras; nor has the *varṇa* system ever

ous in the early Chola period, before Rajaraja I, and once again attained high visibility in the thirteenth century when the Chola overlordship weakened. During the period of the great Cholas, from Rajaraja I through the time of Kulottunga I, these local chiefs almost disappear from view as that view is provided by inscriptions. This may, of course, mean that as a class of local leaders these warriors were eliminated much as the "poligars" were reduced later by Tipu Sultan and the British. In a few cases there is evidence of this. However, it is much more likely that this level of leadership continued intact, but submerged beneath the surface of a society only partially revealed to us in the inscriptions of the age.

Given the corporate character and local orientation of peasant society at the time and given the evidence of nonpeasant military power (mercantile and artisan guilds), it is difficult to suppose that those in control of the land—leaders of peasant groups—could have been anything but significant militarily. Under the circumstances of widely distributed military power which the evidence of the Chola age provides, the supposed monopoly of military power by the state can only be rejected—and with that rejection the final presumed function of the centralized state.

II

Historical scholarship is no exception to the principle in ordered inquiry that it is clearly one thing to challenge a comprehensive, even if incorrect, view of an age, and quite another to cause it to be abandoned. If the conventional conception of the medieval South Indian state is to be challenged and perhaps displaced, an equally comprehensive interpretation will have to be offered, one which may explain better than the existing one those facts which we possess. At the outset, and partly in continuation of the critique above, it is argued that any formulation on the nature of the medieval South Indian state must incorporate a set of characteristics applicable to all or to most medieval Indian states.

Medieval Indian states, as formal and concrete systems, appear to have been characterized by the following salient attributes: they were custodial, tributary, locally based, and oriented to rural networks. By "custodial" is meant that the state did not arrogate to itself and attempt to monopolize the coercive functions and authority of other, essentially nonpolitical institutions in the society. Notably, the Indian ruler tended to leave to kinship, occupational, and religious groups the authority for social control of its members; he tended to leave to various territorial associations—villages and circles of villages—the same authority with respect to their constituent groups. Indeed, it was through such corporate and associational entities that the Indian ruler exercised such power as he might claim and possess, for it was on the recognition of a ruler by such bodies

that his power depended. The Indian king was an overlord, not a manager; he demanded submission to his claim of superiority, rather than obedience to his orders; he did not distribute directives over the ruled.

The most important reason why the medieval Indian state was not a managerial state is that there was little for extralocal agencies to manage. Agrarian economies based upon large-scale irrigation works as in China and Mesopotamia required, or at least utilized, centralized and bureaucratized monarchies as the political instruments of management. While irrigation was of importance in Indian agriculture, it never, except perhaps in the Harappan culture, assumed the extensive and integrated forms which would have required hydraulic management. Control and storage of water consisted of minor, local works with but few exceptions; most cultivation, then as now, was carried on in a variety of "dry" ecotypes dependent upon monsoonal rains or mixed ecotype varieties involving some dry and wet agriculture based upon local tanks, wells, and minor riverine channels. No South Indian state, including Vijayanagar, had a department of irrigation. This appears to be true elsewhere in the subcontinent, for even the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya, which seems to have left no aspect of statecraft out of its imaginative purview, does not provide elaborately for the management of water.

If the mode of agriculture in southern as well as northern India provided no scope for the managerial state, industrial production and mercantile activities did not either. These activities were to a minor extent only concentrated in urban places, thus affording little scope for state control. Sacred, rather than economic or political, factors appear to have been responsible for many of the more persistent urban places in India, south and north. Without dense populations of rural folk bound to land enriched by elaborate irrigation works or large urban populations bound by interdependence to specific umlands, two essential elements of the managerial state were absent in India until the nineteenth century.

It is, of course, the custodial state which is implied in and extolled by the shastric tradition. The dharmic conception of kingship and rule in *nitiśāstra* from Kautilya onward affirms the role of the monarch as custodian. The institution of caste, as defined in *dharmaśāstra* and in reality, is viable only as each corporate ethnic entity, in hierarchical relations with others, supervises its own members. Such supervision is not simply permitted in shastra, it is enjoined. Unlike China, where the juridical parity of all families below the nobility was established from the time of Menzius and provided the basis for a civil law based upon the family, India recognized no homogeneous unit according to which state supervision and control could be exercised. It was a recognized responsibility of the Indian ruler to support those units in society which were charged with

supervision and at most to adjudicate conflicts among them when other means of coping with conflict, for example through corporate groups or territorial associations, failed. Even such adjudicating functions appear to have been rare. Under these conditions, there is truth in the often repeated statement that in ancient and medieval Indian polity, "legislation" was not considered an appropriate function of the state and the ruler. Without legislation (that is, statutory directives expressive of the coercive authority of the state), there could be no effective management of resources or people by the ruler or state; only custodianship was possible.

The concomitant of custodianship with respect to the sharing of resources which might be claimed by the state was tribute. The distinction here between a taxation system and a tributary system is not categorical but dimensional. Medieval South Indian society knew many means of transferring a portion of agricultural production and a share of the goods and/or profit from their sale by artisans and merchants. Tribute payments require a continuous demonstration of asymmetry to ensure a payment from the weaker to the stronger. While certain factors aside from the coercive power of those engaged in a tributary relationship might facilitate tributary payments—loyalty (or fealty in the medieval European system of feudalism), for example, or appeals to a transcendent moral order or an ideology based upon such an order ("faith" in Europe)—these by themselves would be ineffective in producing transfers of wealth. A taxation system is considered to be resource transfers among units within a social order in which stratified relations are sufficiently clear and stable to enable collections without regular resort to coercion and in which shared cultural and social interests among units provide legitimacy for such transfers. Tax payments thus appear as essentially voluntary in the sense that benefits accruing to those who pay and those who receive are seen as mutual.

According to the distinction between taxes and tribute suggested here, a transfer of resources—income or the means of generating income—may at times be considered a tax or a tribute depending upon the relationship between those who pay and those who receive payment. It is recognized in distinguishing between tax and tribute payments that it will often be difficult to determine whether one or the other term is appropriate. Regularity in the periodicity of the payment or the rate of payment, naively considered to be attributes of taxation, may be poor indicators. Prolonged asymmetry of power between those who pay and those who receive may provide for considerable regularity whereas factors which are not directly related to power—such as drought—may produce irregularities within a taxation system. Nomenclature is possibly the most hazardous basis for deciding whether a transfer is a tax or a tribute or, more precisely, where on the continuum a particular payment ought to be located.

While the distinction between tax and tribute may have the potential for being an important feature of the relationship between the state and the economy, it is a distinction which should be refined conceptually and verified empirically. However, even as a crude marker it suggests a relevant factor with respect to the South Indian state. That is, tribute payments can hardly be associated with the managerial state which must rely upon the careful and systematic exploitation of resources. Nor does one associate the tribute system with a bureaucracy, nor a tax system with a state lacking in the apparatus for systematic collection of the surplus. Taxes imply a mechanism for assessment of demand and modification of that demand to conform in some degree with such circumstances as the capability of the payer and the requirements of the payee. It is extremely rare in medieval India to find evidence of such an apparatus in respect to what was called "the central state."

However, from Chola inscriptions it is clear that regular transfers and remissions occurred at the local level of society. The list of transfers which has been culled from inscriptions is staggering in number, indicating not a sophisticated, bureaucratic apparatus but the opposite: variegated, local systems of transfer. Hazardous inferences have been made with respect to transfers between local institutions and the Chola state. Here there is neither convincing evidence of officials (that is, rational roles and offices) involved with taxes nor particular payments to the Chola state. It is only as an extension of what is most clearly a local taxation system that assertions regarding transfers to the Chola state are made. But we really know nothing concrete about extralocal transfers.

If transfers from localities to the Chola state occurred, they were tributary in character. Any inventory of terms which refer to transfers strongly supports this proposition, for most are obviously local transfers.²⁹ Further, one important structural element of the Chola period supports the distinction made here between tax transfers and tributary ones. That is, there are no linkage elements connecting very well developed local networks with the Chola state.

The absence of links between local networks and the formal institutions of the state is a fact of importance in any understanding of the Chola period. If we were to accept the assertions that in the Chola period we find "the almost Byzantine royalty of Rajaraja and his successors"³⁰ and "a nice balance struck between centralized control and local initiative,"³¹ we must be able to demonstrate the mechanisms by which "Byzantine" kingship and "centralized control" were executed. Both these terms, and similar ones which occur in the historical literature on the Cholas and other medieval South Indian states, are utterly inappropriate. Nilakanta Sastri comes much closer to a defensible proposition about the nature of the political system in a sentence which appears, remarkably,

in the same paragraph as the "nice balance" statement: that Chola society "is best described as a federation of groups." For, indeed, what the evidence of the Chola period persistently and massively impresses upon us is that the society of the age was essentially oriented around local networks of relationships among well-developed corporate groups and associations.

One may well argue about what constituted the local unit of society. The primacy of the village has been denied. We have much evidence of kinship, occupational, and religious groups which were part of the village organization in the sense of cooperating segmentally within a village, but members of such groups were involved in many villages of a particular locality and their locus must be placed beyond the confines of individual village settlements. The territory called *nādu* in Tamil country and called by other terms elsewhere is the local unit of greatest consequence. The *nādu* was not an administrative unit in the sense of being a bureaucratic contrivance or convenience, as is often stated. The *nādu* predates Rajaraja I's "byzantine" order and endured beyond the time of his successors. The *nādu* was a sociological and ecological unit; it was a "social field" or "arena" comprising various ethnic groupings whose social and cultural interactions constituted a microregion. Among the crucial determinants of the size and character of the *nādu* as a microregion was its agrarian-relevant environment. These issues will be touched upon below.

Whether one agrees with the assessment of the *nādu* as the critical unit of local organization or whether other kinds of local organization are delineated, such as that implied by Noboru Karashima, in which the *brahmadēya* is seen as the integrating core institution of local society,³² there can be no serious dissent from the emphasis upon local forms of Chola society. The burden of argument for those holding the view of a centralized governmental structure of any degree is to demonstrate how localized units of society—about which we know a good deal—were centrally affected.

Elements which might have linked localities with institutions of a central government appear to play a minor role in the society of South India from the tenth through the twelfth centuries. The most important "centers" were *brahmadēya*, which had no explicit governing functions relative to the localities in which they were, though they did have significant economic functions deriving from their pluralistic character (merchants, artisans, and cultivators resided there) and from their size. The sacred and economic functions of the *brahmadēya* may explain why it is here that one finds the largest number of inscriptions, and especially those referring to the Chola rulers and persons associated with the Cholas. Such trade centers of which we have evidence are for the most part *brahmadēya* or peasant

settlements which have grown larger than most settlements without, however, losing their rural and local-centered character. *Brahmadēya* like Uttaramērūr, Ennayiram, Tiruvaḍatturai, and Tribhuvani were large, pluralistic settlements with considerable self-government (*taniyūr*), yet they are still oriented primarily to local networks rather than extralocal ones. Certain of the more ancient urban places, such as Kanchipuram and Madurai, were politically important for the Cholas and appear to have been garrison points, but there is no evidence that such places—and they were few and far between—were linkage points in a centralized governmental system. In fact, from its inscriptions it would appear that Kanchipuram remained more important as a sacred center than anything else.

If the foregoing propositions about the medieval state system, including those of South India, are correct, then the conventional understandings of the state are very largely wrong. That is, if, as argued here, the South Indian medieval states were custodial rather than managerial, tribute-receiving rather than tax-based, and the society itself was organized into relatively isolated, locally oriented networks of relations among corporate groups and associations, then much that has been written about the state is incorrect.

III

Having argued that the medieval South Indian state cannot have been a centralized, bureaucratic system of political relations as may be found in some preindustrialized societies and as claimed in the conventional historiography, how may we speak of the political order of the time? This question may be pursued in two possible ways. The first is to attempt to fit political evidence of the medieval period of South India into a framework based exclusively upon Indian textual traditions such as to create a model of political relations which is *sui generis*; the second way is comparative.

Two possible contradictory conceptions of the state may be derived from classical texts. One is a centralized state structure in which the ancient kings were conceived as the owner-managers of the territorial patrimony. This model figures prominently in *smṛti* literature and appears to underlie the conventional historical views of Nilakanta Sastri and Mahalingam as well as others. Modern scholars of this persuasion have largely distorted the ancient model to conform with characteristics of the modern bureaucratic state.³³ Thus while the germinal conception of centralized monarchy comes from *nītiśāstra* texts, preeminently from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya, the state has come to be presented as a curiously modern, unitary, bureaucratized system extending from the king to the lowest level of society. Depicted as efficient and ruthless, this state is an

Letters of the Emperor Aurangzebe

Translated from the Persian by JOSEPH EARLES (Calcutta 1788)
B.M. 14779. a. 14

A.VII.3

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LETTERS, &c.

seem only two methods left now; either we must proceed to Malva and Akberabad, and you to the Deccan, or contrariwise; and an army must be stationed with a general of high rank (there are two remaining, Nusseret Jung and Firoze Jung) with you, and another with us, to represent the wants and necessities of every person w^t us.

It will not be prudent in you to come to Ahmednagar, as it will be losing time; but write whatever you may have occasion to communicate to us.

'Tis possible to stop a fountain's source with a probe,
When full it is not to pass it with an Elephant.

LETTER XCVII.

In the time of his Majesty Jennet *Mukani the Khalifa revenues amounted annually to 28 crores of daums, and the expences of his Majesty's government to a crore and fifty lacs of rupees; so that he expended during his reign, seven crores of rupees, besides †Asherfies, which were left him by his Majesty Arsh ‡Astani. At his demise 2 crore of rupees remained in the Royal Treasury, and his Majesty Saheb Keran § Sani, who exceeded all the princes of his time in knowledge, discernment, and judgment in the nature of affairs, brought 60 crores of daums in specie annually into the Khalifa Treasury, and limited the royal expences to one crore of rupees.

* An inhabitant of Paradise. The Emperor Jehangier.
† Gold Mohurs.

‡ At the threshold of the Empyrean Heaven, or the foot of the Throne of God. The Emperor Akber the Father of Jehangier.

§ The second Lord of Ages. Timur or Tamerlane was the first who bore this title, because his reign exceeded a Kirren, the singular of Keran, or a period of 30 years. The Emperor Shah Jahan.

All the Emperors of the race of Timur are distinguished after their decease by some such appellations as the two former of these, by which they are thence as well known as they were before by their proper names.

LETTER

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LETTER XCVIII. FORTUNATE GRANDSON.

Thy companion should always be better than thyself.
That thou mayest increase in virtue and knowledge.

LETTER XCIX.

SON Allijah, God preserve you. The Subah of Gujjerat is not like Bengal and Cabul. By reason of its great distance, it is proper the conduct of the Nazims should be inspected; therefore, act henceforth agreeable to established usage.

By promises and threats, they manage matters.

There are many more robberies committed in the city and its environs than there used to be formerly: What can be the reason of these irregularities in the Subahdarries not under our own immediate inspection?

The Zephyr cannot, from shame, look the rose in the face;
As he has opened the skirts of the bud, and can't close them up.

LETTER C. SON ALLIJAH.

Duration of time as the wind of the desert is past,
Sweetness, bitterness, beauty, deformity likewise are past,
The tyrant imagined he practised oppression on us,
But it hung on his neck and passed over us.

LETTER CI. FORTUNATE GRANDSON. Apply yourself always in the morning with assiduity to this:

Our poverty, our weakness, and infirmity thou knowest,
Our maladies, likewise their remedies, thou knowest.

LETTER

2d. There are four Rupees two annas, the produce of Cap-making with Aiyah Begé the †Mehldarnee, which let them take and lay out in grave cloaths for this miserable Creature. There are also 305 Rupees arising from transcribing the Koran, in my private Treasury, which let them distribute among the poor on the day of my death: For as money arising from writing the Koran is esteemed prohibited properly by the sect of the ||Shiah, they should not for this reason expend it on my funeral, or on any thing requisite for it.

3d. Let what is further necessary be taken from the Vakeel of Prince Allijah, who is next heir among my children, and charged with whatever is legal and prohibited. No questions will then be asked of this miserable creature, as the dead are in the hands of the living.

4th. Let them bury this wanderer in the vale of iniquity, bareheaded; as there are doublets hopes of mercy.

† The chief female attendant of the Mehl or Womens apartments.—Aurung-zebe seems here to have maintained himself by Cap-making; a remarkable instance of humility and self-denial in so great a Prince. The produce of labour and industry being considered by the Mohammedans, above all other kind, the most indisputable and lawful property, it has been held highly commendable by many of their learned theologists to submit by the practice of it. This may account for the Emperor's trade of Cap-making, who either was, or pretended to be, a very religious man. See also Letter 18th.

|| The Sunnis and Shiites are two great sects into which the Mohammedans are divided. The Sunnis acknowledge as lawful the succession of Abubikr, Omar, Othman, or Osman, and Ali, and receive the Koran and Mohammed's traditions, in the sense they are expounded by their four great doctors, Hanifa, Malek, Shafi, and Hanbal. The Shiites deny the lawfulness of the succession of Abubikr, Omar, and Othman, and maintain that Mortiza Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law (according to the Prophet's Will) ought immediately to succeed him. They pay no regard to the opinions of the above mentioned Doctors, but are entirely guided by their own imams. The Turks, Tartars, and Indians are of the former, and the Persians chiefly of the latter sect. The former account themselves the most orthodox. Aurung-zebe was of this sect but his sons were of the Shiites. They are inveterate and bitter enemies to each other. And the Shiites excommunicate and detest the Khalifs, Abubekr, Omar, and Othman, the immediate successors of the prophet and predecessors of Ali.

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ey to a wretched criminal, whom they lead bareheaded to a King of exalted § dignity.

5th. Let my Coffin be covered with some of the coarse white cloth called *Guzzi*; let no canopy be carried over it; and let them refrain from the vile practice of having Elegy singers to precede it.

6th. Let the ruler of the Empire treat those afflicted servants, who have wandered through wilds and deserts with this departed sinner, with affection and tenderness; and should any fault be discovered in them, let him reward it with forgiveness and mercy.

7th. There is none better calculated for a minister of state than a Persian. In war also from the reign of his majesty of blessed * memory, till the present time, none of this nation ever fled from the field of battle, or flipp'd from their feet of firmness; nor have they ever been refractory or perfidious: But as they require much attention and respect, it is difficult to satisfy them, tho' by all means highly necessary, and more so, not to treat them with neglect.

8th. The Tartars are undoubtedly a race of excellent soldiers. They are very expert and judicious in plundering and devastating a country, and in making night attacks and prisoners; nor do they account it any disgrace to retire from action fighting;—being in this respect far remote from the gross ignorance of the Hindostanians, whose heads may go ere they will go themselves.

It is by all means necessary therefore to treat these people with regard, as they will be serviceable upon many occasions where others will † not.

9th. To

§ This seems to allude to the custom of bringing great criminals in Hindostan who have been admitted to pardon, into the Sovereign's presence with their hands tied with their Turban, and consequently bareheaded.

* His father the Emperor Shah Jehan.

† Those nations in the two preceding articles which have been translated *Perſians* and *Tartars*, are expressed in the original by the words *Ira* and *Toran*. The former is generally understood for the kingdom of Perſia, comprehending

9th. To the + Syeds, worthy of prosperity, respect should be shewn, and according to the word God, " respect is due to his kindred," not to be neglected: And because the love of this race agreeable to the Koran " I require nothing of ye for him, except affection towards his kindred" is a reward of the command, it never should be diminished, for it is equally productive of temporal and eternal happiness. It is necessary however, to be very cautious of the Syeds of Barreah, and without abating any internal regard for them, not to advance them according to their dignity, as they will confederate, not only with the most powerful, but the tyrant of the country. If the rein, therefore, is once slackened, repentance will be in vain.

Repentance will not avail when the thing is done.—

10th. Let the tenth article of my Will be duly executed. They || will give their eldest daughter to the Prince Mohammed § Azim, and the youngest to Siadet Khan, the son of Siadet Khan, deceased.

comprehending all those regions extending from the Oxus to the Persian sea on the south, and the Tigris on the west; and the country beyond the Oxus is called *Turān*. But all the higher Asia, excepting India and China, is comprehended by Eastern Historians under these two names.

† The descendants of Mohammed by his daughter Fatima and the Khalif Ali.

|| It is customary to address persons of rank in the third person plural, and to use the third person singular yourself. Mohammed Azim Shah is the person here meant.

§ The second son of Sultan Mohammed Muazm.

LETTER

LETTER I.

To AMEER KHAN.

WRITE our * Grandson (the rememberer of the eternal great Koran) that some affairs of state being in agitation, and our desire to see that light of our eyes boundless; having in view our desire and the exigencies of Government, it is expedient that immediately upon the receipt of the Royal Order, he leave Murshed Kuli + Khan in the Lieutenancy there, and repair with the elephants and treasure to the presence without presence: And if he even march before the arrival of the order, it will be nearer obedience.

To verify the truth of the information, transmit this enclosed in your letter to him; tho' both we and he have the greatest confidence in your veracity and integrity.

LETTER II. To the Same.

THE Office of second Bukhshi has, agreeable to your desire, been conferred on Suddered Deen Mohammed Khan, you may therefore send for him from camp, and give him notice of his appointment. Till his arrival, however, it will be absolutely necessary for you to superintend this office, that the Moherers, through vile avidity, may have no opportunity of practising knavery, and suitors not to be incommoded by a cessation of business. A stanza of the Emperor seated in † Paradise being applicable here, it is cited:

Every one will rejoice in his mind,
He will give a polish to his mirror.
Wherever there is one distressed, assist him,
Hear, this very cup will reverberate.

* Sultan Mohammed Azim, called also Azimushan, the second son of Sultan Mohammed Muazm. He was at this time Subah of Bengal.

+ Commonly called Jaffer Khan, at this time Dewan, and afterwards Subah of Bengal.

† Shah Jahan.

LETTER

C H A P. VI.

Of the Revenues and Wealth of the Great Mogul.

GEMELLI 1695. **A**N infinite quantity of Roupies are continually flowing into the Great Mogul's exchequer; for besides the usual taxes and excessive imposts, the subjects must pay for their land, which is all his. Besides when a general, or any other person who has receiv'd the king's pay, dies, all his goods fall to the king, without leaving the children so much as a maintenance; a custom *Aurenge Zeb* condemn'd, when he spoke of his father, and yet all employments both civil and military, are sold. For this reason no family can continue long, great; but sometimes the son of an *Omrab* goes a begging. Add to all this, that tho' in so vast an empire, there be some barren lands, yet there are some kingdoms wonderful fruitful, as is that of *Bengala*, which exceeds *Egypt*, not only in plenty of rice, corn, sugar, and all other necessaries for the support of humane life; but in the richest commodities, as silk, cotton, indigo, and the like. Besides, the country is so populous, that the handicrafts, tho' naturally given to sloath, are forc'd, either by necessity or choice, to apply themselves to work on carpets, brocades, embroidery, cloth of gold and silver, and all sorts of manufactures in silk and cotton, generally worn there; besides those transported every year, by an infinite number of ships, not only into other parts of *Asia*, but into *Africk* and *Europe*.

Gold and silver That the reader may form some idea of the wealth of this empire, he is to observe, that all the gold and silver, which circulates throughout the world, at last centers here. It is well known that as much of it as comes out of *America*, after running through several kingdoms of *Europe*, goes partly into *Turky*, for several sorts of commodities; and part into *Persia*, by the way of *Smirna* for silk. Now the *Turks* not being able to abstain from coffee, which comes

from *Hyeman*, and *Arabia Felix*; nor *Persia*, *Arabia*, and the *Turks* themselves to go without the commodities of *India*, send vast quantities of money to *Mocha* on the *Red Sea*, near *Babel Mandel*; to *Baffora* at the bottom of the *Persian gulph*; and to *Bander Abassi* and *Gomeron*, which is afterwards sent over in ships to *Indostan*. Besides the *Indian*, *Dutch*, *English*, and *Portuguese* ships that every year carry the commodities of *Indostan*, to *Pegu*, *Tanafferri*, *Siam*, *Ceylon*, *Acbem*, *Macaffar*, the *Maldivie* islands, *Mozambique* and other places, must of necessity convey much gold and silver thither, from those countries. All that the *Dutch* fetch from the mines in *Japan*, sooner or later, goes to *Indostan*; and the goods carry'd hence into *Europe*, whether to *France*, *England*, or *Portugal*, are all purchas'd for ready-money, which remains there.

I was told, that the *Mogul* receives from only his hereditary countries, eighty *Carores* of *Roupies* a year (every *Carore* is ten millions) they could give me no certain account what the conquer'd kingdoms yield.

There is an author, not well acquainted with this affair, who reduces this monarch's revenue to thirty three millions: Another on the other side makes it infinite, and that alone which he says is five *India* in the treasury, seems fabulous. But they that will judge of it, by his expenses, must consider that the *Mogul* has dispers'd throughout his empire 300000 horse, and 400000 foot, who have all great pay. At court the daily expence is 50000 *Roupies*, to maintain the elephants, horses, dogs, hawks, tygers, and deer; as also some hundreds of black and white eunuchs to look to the royal palaces, musicians, and dancers. I am therefore of opinion, that next to the emperor of *China*, no monarch in the world is equal to the *Great Mogul* in strength and riches.

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C H A P.

old man, tho' after subduing the kings of *Visapor*, and *Golconda*, he had no enemies left, but *Savagi*, who is inconsiderable in regard of him ; yet fearing, with much reason, the perverse inclination of his sons, he had continued in arms in the field for fifteen years ; and particularly four years at *Galgala*, after defeating *Akbar*. He said his father *Scia-Geban* had not so much discretion ; for he might have learnt by many years experience, that the kings

of *Indostan*, when they grow old, must ^{GEMELLI} keep at the head of powerful armies, ^{1695.} to defend themselves against their sons. Yet I am of opinion, that notwithstanding all his precautions, he will come to no better an end than his predecessors. All I have hitherto said, concerning the intestine wars between the *Moguls*, was told me and affirm'd by several soldiers in the camp, who had been eye-witnesses, and some gather'd out of creditable authors.

C H A P. V.

Of the Government of the Great Mogul.

Four Se-
cretaries
of State.

FOR the better management of publick affairs, and due administration of justice, the king keeps four secretaries of state, who are to acquaint him with all that happens in the empire, and to receive his orders. The first of them is call'd *Bagsei*, and has the charge of warlike affairs, and looks that the soldiers be paid, punish'd, and reward'd, as also that the *Omrahs* keep their full complement of men. The second is call'd *Adelet*, who takes care that justice be administred, both in civil and criminal cases, giving the king an account what ministers behave themselves well, and what ill. The third they call *Divan*, and to him it belongs to divide the *Jagors* or feofs among the *Omrahs*, *Subas*, and other commanders ; and to see they do not oppres the inhabitants of the places committed to them with too heavy impositions. The fourth is known by the name of *Cansamon* ; who is a treasurer-general, that causes all the revenues of the empire to be brought into the treasury, and every week, lays before the king what every province is worth, and what it yields, and what money remains in the king's coffers.

Distribu-
tion of bu-
siness.
There are particular days appointed for these secretaries to inform the king, because a private audience would not suffice for such multiplicity of business. Monday therefore is laid aside for the affairs of *Labor*, *Debli*, and *Agra*; Tuesday for *Cabul*; Wednesday for the king.

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doms of *Bengala* and *Patna*; Thursday for that of *Guzaratte*; Saturday for that of *Brampour*; and Sunday for *Decan*; no busines being done on Friday, because it is the *Mahometan* festival.

Aurenge Zeb, notwithstanding his continual application to these private audiences with his ministers, yet never fail'd of the publick, except on Fridays, for the good of the subjects ; and this sometimes he did in three several places, one called *Divanaxa*, the other *Gosalxana*, and the third *Adelet*.

The *Great Mogul* is so absolute, that ^{Absolute} there being no written laws, his will in ^{Power} all things is a law, and the last decision of all causes, both civil and criminal. He makes a tyrannical use of this absolute power ; for being lord of all the land, the princes themselves have no certain place of abode, the king altering it at pleasure ; and the same with the poor peasants who have sometimes the land they have cultivated taken from them, and that which is untill'd given them in lieu of it ; besides that they are oblig'd every year to give the king three parts of the crop. He never admits any body into his presence, empty handed ; and sometimes refuses admittance to draw a greater present. For this reason the *Omrahs* and *Nababs* appointed to govern the provinces, oppres the people in the most miserable manner imaginable.

A.VII.5

to date both the records and the assessments of the earlier survey. The maintenance of such detailed and comprehensive records of economic conditions and taxable capacity of the people, we owe in all probability to the old Indian custom of bringing *on record* every fiscal matter.¹

State expenditure.

From the meticulous attention of our authorities to sources of revenue, however small, we should expect a corresponding minuteness in specifying the forms of obligatory State expenditure. But, the references to State expenditure in our authorities are not as full or systematised as those relating to the collections. A budget in the modern sense does not appear to have existed. Our writers are generally agreed that, in abnormal as in normal times, the expenditure of a State should not outrun its revenue. To ensure this, they strain ingenuity to discover new forms of revenue for meeting the progressive needs of the State. They advocate large and recurring annual surpluses. If, through unforeseen causes such as seasonal vicissitudes, epidemics or war, the income of the State shrinks, or its expenditure grows abnormally, the emergency is to be met by special expedients for raising the necessary funds. The elaborate provisions, which we find in the works of Kautilya and Šukra,² for meeting such emergencies would show that they were neither few nor infrequent.

This perfunctoriness in dealing with obligatory expenditure is striking if when considered in relation with

¹ See R. K. Mookerjee, *Local Government in Ancient India*, ch. VII.

² See Kautilya, Bk. V, ch. 2. The whole chapter, with its detailed description of the devices of 'emergency finance', is worth study. The fiscal expedients collected together in this chapter were apparently resorted to by financiers who were hard up. They are not to be treated as recommendations of Kautilya.

the acute sensitiveness of our financiers to the interests of the subjects. In strong language, the failure of the State to spend its revenues, in such a way as to develop the resources of the subjects, is censured.³ In equally strong terms is the type of taxation condemned, which trenches on the accumulations of the people and cripples their productive capacity. Our financiers have many devices for relieving the subject, considered as a consumer as well as a producer. The elimination of the middleman in many manufacturing operations by placing them under direct State-management is one of these. The old Indian State relied very largely on what would now be called 'non-tax receipts'. This is probably due to the anxiety of Indian statesmen to discover forms of income, which would be free from conspicuousness, would not press hard on the poorer section of the population, and would be un-obnoxious.

It must be however admitted, in fairness to Šukra, ^{Sukra on ratio of State expenditure to State income.} that he has made an attempt to give what he regards as the ideal proportions, in relation to the income, of the various items of public expenditure. But, he has furnished two seemingly inconsistent standards.⁴ He lays down first, that heads of the villages (*grāma*) are to receive one-twelfth of the income from the village, that the army is to be maintained by three such parts, charity is to be met to the extent of half such part, and people

³ समुदायिकेष्ववक्लसिकं व्ययमुपहत्य राजाऽनुत्प्येत् ।

See also *Sukraniti*, II, 337-8.

⁴ *Sukraniti*, I, 631-635:

ग्रामस्य हौदशोऽशेन ग्रामपान् सन्धियोजयेत् ।
त्रिभिरसैर्बलं धाये दानमधार्थाकेन च ।
अर्धाशेन प्रकृतयो द्वार्धाशेनाधिकारिणः ।
अर्धाशेनात्मभोगश्च कोशोऽशेन च रक्षयते ॥
आयस्थैवं षड्विभागैर्व्ययं कुर्यात् तु वस्तरे ।

be entertained with half of such a part, officers are to be paid half such part, the King's personal expenditure is to be met out of half such a part, and the treasury is to have the balance. This rule, dividing the income into six divisions, is obviously designed for all States but the smallest. In a later part of his treatise, a different proportion is given by *Sukra*. "The ruler, whose income is hundred thousand *kārgas* should every month spend one thousand five hundred on contingencies, charities and personal wants, one hundred on clerks, three hundred on counsellors, three hundred on wife and children, two hundred on men of letters, four thousand on cavalry and infantry, four hundred on elephants, camels, bulls, and arms, and save the remaining one thousand five hundred for the treasury."² It will be noticed that the two standards differ greatly. In the former, the military expenditure forms only 25 per cent. of the revenue, while in the latter it amounts to 52·8 per cent. The allotment for charity and learning is a little over 4 per cent. in the first and only 2·4 per cent. in the second schedule. The cost of administration is set at 12 per cent. of the revenue in the former, and at only 3·6 per cent. in the latter. In the first scheme, 50 per cent. of the revenue is to be saved, and in the second only 18 per cent. The difference is however only apparent and not real. A reconciliation is possible if the first scheme is taken to indicate the manner in which the income derived from a village is to be expended, *in and for the village*, leaving a surplus of half the aggregate collections, for the use of the central government, and the second is viewed as giving the normal proportions of the heads of expenditure of the central government. The interpretation can be justified on two grounds. The passage

²*Sukraniti*, IV, vii, 53-58.

: in *Sukranitisdra*, which lays down the first standard, definitely refers to the "collections of the village". Secondly, the absence of any reference to important and familiar items of revenue, such as customs, excise, tolls, etc., in that passage, should lead to the inference that it relates only to land revenue and minor collections made in the village. If this distinction is borne in mind, it will be possible to understand the difference in the percentages in these schemes for the several heads of expenditure, e.g., the civil list, general administration, etc. The revenue of the village will not ordinarily include items which accrue to the central exchequer. Consequently, a smaller percentage of the consolidated receipts of the kingdom will represent a larger sum than a higher proportion of those revenues, which are raised from villages only, would amount to.

Sukra is always for details, where details are available. His general recommendations in regard to the proportions of expenditure, without an attempt to work out their details, may suggest that the standards set by him were perhaps somewhat idealistic. But, it is not difficult to believe that parts at least of his scheme approximated to facts. For example, our knowledge of the strength of the army and the size of the military expenditure in Indian empires, for e.g., the Mauryan empire, will justify the belief that the proportion of the annual income set apart for meeting the military expenditure might well have amounted to a little over one half the aggregate revenue. The growth of armaments may be explained in various ways, e.g., from small States, weak international law and ambitious rulers, from the need to safeguard extensive frontiers against powerful and warlike neighbours, etc. This conclusion is strengthened by a study of the

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ULEMA IN POLITICS

his home and hearth in case of rebellion or war.⁴ His morale had to be high and he had to be loyal to the community of Islam and its ideals. If the Muslims had to survive as a group, they had to understand its *raison d'être*. In the public mind it was identified with the preservation of Islam. The Muslim community was to live and maintain its strength, because otherwise Islam would cease to exist in the Subcontinent.

(Circular stamp: H.V.L.S.)
The ulama played an important role in the creation and strengthening of this conviction. In those days the mosques were full of worshippers and the ulama were not unmindful of social, political and cultural problems. They were fully cognizant of the fact that a small minority, when it is exposed to the subtle cultural and social influences of a majority well entrenched in its religion, traditions and social and individual patterns of behaviour and convictions, the minority runs the risk of losing its individuality and gradual absorption into the majority. Hence they were extremely sensitive to any dilution of the orthodox Islamic doctrine with alien philosophies and beliefs. They worked consistently for the three cognate goals of maintaining the purity of the teachings of Islam, the preservation of the entity of the Muslim community and the strengthening of the Muslim Empire. For they knew that if the Empire languished, the Muslim community would lose its sense of direction and a purposeless bewildered group cannot adhere to a religion which demanded unity and cohesion within the ranks of its followers. Under such circumstances the purity of the doctrines of the faith also could not be sustained, because the Muslim community would lose its morale and the pride in its traditions. Therefore, if Islam and non-Islam were to become equally valid in the popular mind, eclecticism and heterodoxy would find a fertile soil for growth.

This, however, did not result in any blind support to the monarch. Indeed there emerged a balance of power between the administration and the ulama. Conflict was avoided by both the sides. Whenever the monarch went beyond the limits of the

⁴ I.H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, op. cit., pp. 87-88.

DARKENING CLOUDS

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interests of orthodoxy, he was corrected. And this was possible because the ulama exercised great influence over the army as well as the administrative officers and the rank and file of both. It is true that there were ulama who held extremist views and demanded of the sultan the exemplary behaviour and policies of an Abu Bakr or 'Umar.⁵ However, it was generally recognized that the circumstances in the Subcontinent were considerably restrictive because of the Muslims being such a small minority in the midst of a large population.⁶ That left the sultans with considerable freedom in moulding their policies. The power of the ulama was also an inhibiting factor in the development of tyranny or interference in the rights of the people. And it was not only the Muslims who were the beneficiaries of this power. The rights of the Hindus as well were protected, because the ulama did not like any open violation of the *shari'ah*. An anecdote will illustrate this point. Sikandar Lodi was once so carried away by his zeal that he wanted to destroy an old temple in Kurukshetra and stop Hindu pilgrims from bathing in the water of a pond held sacred by them. Malik-u'l-'ulamā' 'Abd-u'llah Ajodhani proclaimed boldly that the Sultan could not do so under the law. This displeased the Sultan, but he had to forego his intention.⁷

Whenever the *dhimmi*s did some thing that incensed the Muslim public, even the ulama were not able to help them. For instance, once a Brahmin annoyed the Muslims by not only converting a Muslim woman to idol worship but also inducing her to denounce Islam openly.⁸ His earlier success in converting Muslim men to his faith also must have been unpopular, but it seems that it was recognized that he was within his rights to preach his doctrines; but when a Muslim woman was not only induced to leave the fold of Islam but also to denounce it publicly,

⁵ E.G. Diyā-u'd-din Barani, *Tārikh-i-Firuzshāhī*, (Calcutta 1862), pp. 293-297 giving Qāḍī Mughith's conversation with 'Alā-u'd-din Muḥammad Khalī. For comments, vide I.H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, op. cit., pp. 45, 46.

⁶ Diyā-u'd-din Barani, *Tārikh-i-Firuzshāhī*, op. cit., pp. 216, 291; Also Diyā-u'd-din Barani, *Fatāwa-i-Jahāndārī* (Indian Office Library, ms. 1149) ff. 119 a, b.

⁷ 'Abd-u'llah, *Tārikh-i-Dā'udī* (British Museum ms. or. 197), f. 19.

⁸ Shams-i-Siraj 'Afīf, *Tārikh-i-Firuzshāhī* (Calcutta, 1870), pp. 379-382.

the patience of the Muslims was exhausted and the Brahmin was punished savagely.⁹ Incidentally this is the sole example in the history of Muslim rule in the Subcontinent of a non-Muslim being executed or punished for enticing away Muslims from their faith. This incident illustrates the helplessness of the ulema as well as the sultan in the face of public anger.

The fact that in the fifteenth century Muslims could be persuaded to apostatize from Islam invites a discussion of such a phenomenon that is germane to our theme, because it indicates both the weakening of the conviction that there could be no compeer of Islam and the loosening of the bonds of loyalty to the Muslim community. The growth of such feelings would necessarily weaken the Muslim Empire. And we find that the fifteenth century saw a decline of the Muslim power in the Subcontinent which was surpassed only in and after the eighteenth century. The delineation and analysis of the forces that carried the assault into the citadel of Muslim might would help us in understanding a little better the relationship between doctrine and politics in a Muslim society and between its health and the quality as well as the endeavour of the ulema.

The efforts of the ulema were supplemented by the work of the sufis in building up springs of spiritual fervour that deepened religious consciousness and loyalty to Islam. Indeed initiation into the sufi discipline became almost an integral part of a good Muslim education and many ulema added a new dimension to their understanding of their faith by seeking guidance from some eminent sufi and practising the exercises prescribed by him. The vogue of Sufism, however, opened the way to many abuses.

It is comparatively easy to find out the quality and the depth of a scholar's learning. A student who sits at the feet of a scholar soon discovers whether he is making any progress. But it is difficult to assess a spiritual guide's genuineness and stature. When Sufism came into vogue, along with men of great attainments, it also bred many charlatans and pretenders. Those who were in search of spiritual knowledge went to those who were willing

⁹ *Ibid.*

to take them as apprentices like students seeking academic knowledge from teachers. They did not take long to discover whether they were being guided properly. Even they ran the risk of taking the means to be the ends, because the sufi uses certain methods to induce a state of receptivity which increase concentration through the withdrawal of external senses. Through further efforts a deep emotional condition is produced which borders on ecstasy, but it still is not gnosis, much less the higher achievement of the beatific vision. And the supreme consummation of union with God lies even further. In these processes the neophyte passes through many critical phases. All sufis experienced ecstasy, which they termed as intoxication, but though this condition was highly pleasurable, yet it was not the goal, nor what was witnessed in that condition was necessarily true. When the road is so long and so difficult, full of so many pitfalls, it is not surprising that many of the travellers never reached the goal, and yet they were capable of leading others to the stages they had traversed or reached and in such a state of affairs raw experience and misleading notions find almost unlimited currency. The charlatan thrives on such ideas, because he can glibly talk about ecstasies that he has never experienced and truths that he has never witnessed. Loose talk about mystic truths can be subversive of true faith, because it loses all touch with reality and is only theoretical.

The common man had little conception of sufi doctrines. He was more concerned with the benefits he could draw from the supernatural powers that he associated with men of spiritual stature. Though all sufis strictly forbade miracle mongering as mere trickery, yet the common man's yardstick of measuring spiritual greatness was the capacity of "the saint" to perform supernatural feats. And when requests were addressed to some one for worldly benefits through supernatural assistance, some were likely to find fulfilment through the mere working of the law of averages. Those who were disappointed thought that they had failed in securing the goodwill of "the saint" and became more assiduous in paying court to him and those who gained what they had desired became louder in singing his praises. This made charlatanism a thriving business and created great misunderstand-

which occur in early times ... Nowadays planetary worship has the principal place in Sinhalese popular religion."

Instead of Perera who so vividly describes the essential aspects of the proto-Dravidian religion we could have quoted any account of the navagrahaśānti, "propitiation rite to appease the nine planets" from any of the mediaeval digests, Purāṇas, or works belonging to the first centuries A.D. such as the Yājñavalkyasmṛti or the Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra which is still supposed to belong to the Vedic literature. According to this lastmentioned text, written in a Sanskrit influenced by Tamil, this navagrahaśānti should precede all religious rites, and it is in all mediaeval digests the model of all śānti sacrifices. See Kane V, p. 749 ff. for a detailed account. (29)

There are very many different śāntis, most of them post-Vedic, prescribed, like the navagrahaśānti, to conjure away the evil effects of all kinds of bad omens most of which are of astrological nature. Some of them like the vināyakaśānti "appeasement of evil spirits of diseases" are prescribed as early as in the older Vedic Grhyasūtras, and it is easy to see how the Vedic rites proper become less and less important while the śāntis gain all the time more and more ground. Thus such late Vedic texts as the Adbhutabrahmaṇa and the bulky Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas contain nothing but prescriptions about the omens and portents. (30)

But we can trace the śānti also in the earlier Vedic literature right up to the Rgveda. In the Rgveda śānti (śam) is connected especially with Rudra, and from the Atharvaveda we wish to quote one stanza (19, 9, 10) from which it appears that "Rāhu, the later demon of eclipses and the planets were already early feared and their evil influences pacified" (31):

śām no grāhāś cāndramasāḥ śām ādityāś ca rāhuṇā
śām no mr̄tyūr dhūmāketuh śām rudrāś tigmātejasāḥ.

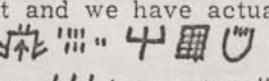
We conclude by remarking that water was an important means of effecting the appeasement of evil effects already in the early

Vedic ritual and that a direct line may be drawn down to the later śāntis and snānas, baths, which as pointed out already before are to be performed on astronomical occasions. (32)

Siva of the Indus Inscriptions

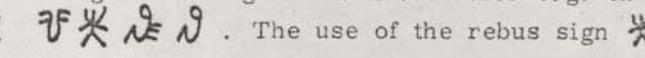
The undeniable celestial nature of Rudra in the Rgveda as opposed to his later plainly chthonic character has puzzled scholars. All possible explanations for the original function of this god have been proposed without, however, taking into account the clues provided by his epithet "the red boar of the sky" and the etymology of his two names. (33) It has been suggested - this theory has found several defenders but also opponents - that he was the "red" (=bloody, deathbringing) god of the proto-Dravidians: that the euphemistic name Siva, meaning "kind, auspicious" and occurring exclusively as an epithet of Rudra in the Rgveda, is derived from PDr. *ceva, civa, etc. "red" (DED 1607, found in all Dravidian languages) and that Rudra is a translation of it into Sanskrit < *Rudhra (on analogy with Indra) < Indo-European *rudhro-"red" (cf. Skt. rudhira "blood, red", Greek ε-ρυθρός, etc.) (34)

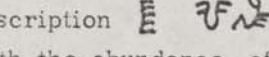
Because the proto-Dravidians personified the planets as mighty and malignant spirits, the solution to the riddle must be that originally Siva is the red planet Mars, the malignant star par excellence, in Dravidian called "The Red" (planet) = *ceva, civa (DED 1607) and cevvāy in modern Tamil (cevvāyi in Malayalam). The Sanskrit name of Mars is maṅgala "auspicious": cf. Skt. siva "auspicious".

DED 1607 *ceva is also used in Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu. to form the name of Ixora coccinea, the scarlet flowers which symbolize the "initial stage of warfare and cattle-lifting" to the Tamils and are sacred to Murukan. (35) The sign  denotes in our opinion the scarlet Ixora (or kānti) flowers. It has possibly been associated also with the concept of Siva's trident and we have actually a variant , too (inscr. 3002 = ), and the Sumerian sign  (with a variant ) meaning "great" (36).

The ligature  (7-0-2) where the sign is combined with the determinative of man shows that it also must denote an occupation or title (cf. FA p. 29 ff.); evidence for the same is also the mirror image reduplication  (FA, table 3). All this fits perfectly with the above identification, for we also have a homophone DED 2265 *cevv-, cemm-, ceyy-, the basic meaning of which is "straight" and which is used to denote "man of rectitude, honest, impartial man, great, majestic person as king, god, hero" (Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu. Te. Kol. Nk.); cf. also cenkol "sceptre" attested only in Tamil.

There seems to be also another graph for "red" (star). Quite a satisfactory identification of the sign , which also has a feminine form  (cf. FA, p. 29) is that it depicts the ear (cf. the corresponding Egyptian sign , Gardiner no. D 18). This would give us the homophone pair DED 1645 (a) *cevi "ear" (Ta. Ma. Ko. To. Ka. Kod. Tu. Te. Kol. Nk. Pa. Ga. Go. Konda Pe. Mand. Kui Kuwi Kur. Malt. Br.) = DED 1607 *ceva, civa etc. (cf. above).

That  and  are distinct signs and that they must denote stars is made clear by their contexts. They very often occur together with the other signs denoting stars. Cf. further e.g. inscription 3320 = . The use of the rebus sign  (picture of an evil spirit) also suggests that malevolent stars are concerned.  must then, denote  +  = "Siva's woman" (already understood as his sakti ?), Siva = Durga .

This would indeed by a very good meaning in view of the great number of "votive tablets" with the inscription  (FA, p. 14) which may be taken together with the abundance of the small terracotta statues of the Mother Goddess which no doubt are votive representations.

Almost all the words denoting Siva's special attributes in Sanskrit seem to derive etymologically from Dravidian thus corroborating his Dravidian origin. These attributes as well as the emblems which the Hindu gods hold in their hands derive deeper significance in a pre-Aryan context. While discussing these attributes

we will have occasion to refer to the Indica of Megasthenes, a Greek ambassador in the capital of Magadha in 300 B.C. Megasthenes' important account has often been blamed as unreliable, and recently the traditional identification of his Indian "Dionysos" and "Heracles" with Siva and Krsna (Schwanbeck, Lassen) has been attacked by Dahlquist. We believe that there is evidence enough in favour of the earlier interpretation of Megasthenes' Indian gods and his fair reliability (at least on topics where he has no Greek predecessors). (37)

According to Megasthenes Dionysos taught the Indians a satirical dance comparable to the Greek cordax. (38) Tāndava, the Sanskrit name of Siva's famous frantic dance, comes from Dravidian, cf. Tamil tāntavam "leaping, jumping" from DED 2578 *tāntu "to dance, jump" (Ta. Ma. Ko. To. Ka. Tu. Te. Kol.).

The words connected with Siva's hair twisted in the shape of a cowrie shell, also referred to by Megasthenes (39), come from Dravidian: Skr. jūta = DED 2184 *jutta (Ta. Ka. Kod. Tu. Te. Go. Kol. Kur); some of the items may be < IA; Skt. cūdā = DED 2247 *cūtu, cūttu etc. (Ta. Ma. To. Ka. Kod. Pa. Ga.); Skr. kaparda (kapardīn already in RS as an epithet of Rudra) = DED 1824 *kōtu "horns (of cattle or wild animals), branch of tree, coil of hair". (40)

Siva's drum which has the shape of an "hour glass" = Skt. damaru = DED 2406b *damāra "double drum, kettle drum mounted on an ox and beaten before princes" (Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu. Te.). The different kinds of drums used in later times by Tamils, their names and the divine worship shown to them are described in detail by Singaravelu (pp. 159-161). The whole of his description fits in with Megasthenes' account of Dionysos having taught the Indians to worship him beating cymbals and drums, so that in Alexander's times they still used to proceed to battle to the accompaniment of cymbals and drums. (41)

Megasthenes relates that Dionysos gave corn to the Indians, yoked bulls before the plough for the first time (cf. FA p. 31 and

Note 58), and thus made farmers of the Indian pastoralists. (42) The bull is the universal symbol of fertility; Rudra is already in the Rgveda called "bull" (RS 2, 33, 8), and the white bull Nandin is one of Siva's constant attributes.

Only the word for "phallus", Siva's foremost symbol, linga, is probably of Austroasiatic origin (cf. Mayrhofer s.v.), and may have been taken over from the Mundas together with the cult of the vegetation god whom the Dravidians identified with their own principal deity. Both the anthropological remains (43) and toponymy (44) prove that Mundas have lived in the Indus valley area before and together with the Dravidians. Conical stones of the same kind as the later lingas have been found in the Indus sites, and their identification can be now considered quite certain. (45) Rgveda also makes mention of ūśnadevās, "phallus worshippers", and the "proto-Siva" of the Indus seals is possibly also ithyphallic (46).

On an Indian bowl found in Mesopotamia, dating 2700 - 2500 B.C., we have probably the earliest record of the Hindu mythology. Here is depicted "a male figure with long locks of hair. He grasps two sinuous objects in either hand, apparently representing running water, which flows in a continuous stream from under the animals' mouths". He is surrounded by "an Indian bull", "a star", "a scorpion" and "ears of corn" (Mallowan p. 69): Siva of the Indus Culture.

Krsna of the Indus Inscriptions

Siva's identification with the red planet Mars is corroborated by the identification of Krsna, the other of the two great gods of Hinduism, who around 200 B.C. was identified with the Vedic god Viṣṇu as his eighth incarnation. The meaning of the black or dark-blue colour of his skin, so prominent in the pictorial representations, as well as of his name (Krsna = "the black one") has not yet been cleared up satisfactorily; "Krsna has therefore been considered to be non-Aryan, but this is not convincing" (47).

We would now link the Hindu god Krsna with the malignant black planet Saturn, basing ourselves in the first instance on von Negelein's description of Saturn in astrological Sanskrit literature:

"Under Saturn is everything black, and black means misfortune, also when it turns to dark blue. The ritual forbids wearing dark blue clothes, and Alberuni (II 132) informs us that a Brahman must have no blue colour on his body and that he has to wash himself for propitiation when it touches his body. According to Alberuni (II 215) Saturn and Mars are heavenly bodies of ill omen, and according to their character they belong to the darkness (tamas) ... Saturn's colour is black (II 213). That he is so much taken into consideration in divination is in the first place due to his dangerous nature. He has many appellations; they denote his lineage (from the sun, whose son he is), his slow walk, and his darkness; he demands black cattle as propitiatory offering, lies on black cloths, is worshipped with black flowers, and is himself called "The black one" (kṛṣṇa). In late ritual his figure is made of black crystal and is furnished with black linen cloth, dark coloured garlands and votive offerings (Yogayātrā 6.13; Weber, Indische Studien 14, 349). The war chariot on which the god mounts is made of dark metal. His mother is the shade (chāyā). He thus belongs totally to the realm of night and death, whose king he is ... Saturn is universally considered as a malignant planet in astrology. Jaldabaoth (i.e., Saturn), a dark god spreading evil and calamity, is at the head of the seven hostile demons, apparently the planets, that according to the Avesta cause evil in the world" (von Negelein, p. 245f).

The common Sanskrit name of Saturn is Śani or Śanaiścara "slowly moving". The Tamil name of Saturn is mai-min "the black star" = the Indus sign ♀ : DED 4187 *mai "black (pigment)" (Ta. Ma. To. Ka. Kod. Tu. Te. Nk. Go. Kur.; Skt.) (cf. DED 3918 *mā, māy, māl "black" including māyavān = māyan = māyōn "dark coloured person, Viṣṇu" and māyaval "woman of dark complexion, Durga" in Tamil [Ta. Ma. Ko. Ka. Tu. Pe. Kui



APPENDIX

DISTRIBUTION OF HARAPPAN SITES (fig. 1, p. 4)

This list is based mainly upon ceramic evidence. Sites marked with an asterisk have variant Harappan pottery. Doubtful sites are omitted.

1. Ahmadwālā, Bahāwalpur State. Unpublished.
2. Ali Murād. N. G. MAJUMDAR, 'Explorations in Sind', *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 48 (Delhi, 1934), pp. 89-91.
3. Allahdino, near Karachi, Sind. Unpublished.
4. Amrī. N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 48, pp. 24-8; J.-M. Casal as cited on p. 14.
5. Bala Kot, near Sonmiani, N.W. of Karachi. R. L. RAIKES in *American Anthropologist*, vol. 65, no. 3 (1963), p. 657.
6. Chabbuwālā, Bahāwalpur State. Unpublished.
7. Chak Purbane Syal. M. S. VATS, *Excavations at Harappā* (Delhi, 1940), I, pp. 475-6.
8. Chanhu-daro. N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 48, pp. 35-8; E. J. H. MACKAY, *Chanhu-daro Excavations* (New Haven, Conn., 1943).
9. Charaiwālā, Bahāwalpur State. Unpublished.
10. Dābarkot. AUREL STEIN, 'An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan', *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 37, pp. 55-64.
11. Daiwālā, Bahāwalpur State. Unpublished.
12. Damb Buthi. N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 48, pp. 114-20.
13. Derāwar, Bahāwalpur State. Unpublished.
14. Dhal. N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 48, pp. 125-7.
15. Diji-ji-Tākvi. M. S. VATS in *Arch. Sur. India An. Report*, 1935-6, pp. 36-7.
16. Edith Shahr, on the Porali river just N. of Bela in S. Baluchistan. ROBERT L. RAIKES and ROBERT H. DYSON in *American Anthropologist* (organ of the American Anthrop. Assoc.), vol. 63 (1961), p. 268.
17. Garakwāl II, Bahāwalpur State. Unpublished.
18. Ghāzi Shāh. N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 48, pp. 79-86.
19. Gorandi (b). N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 48, p. 88.
20. Harappā. M. S. VATS, *Excavations at Harappā*, 2 vols. (Delhi, 1940).
21. Jalhar, Bahāwalpur State. Unpublished.
22. Judeirjo-daro, 18 miles north of Jacobābād (Sind) and one mile west of the Quetta road. MORTIMER WHEELER, *Early India and Pakistan* (London, 1959), p. 98.
23. Kalibangan, district Ganganagar in N. Rajasthan. B. B. LAL, 'A New Indus Valley Provincial Capital', *Ill. London News*, 24 March 1962, pp. 454-7; and *Indian Archaeology* (New Delhi), 1960-1, pp. 31-2, and 1961-2, pp. 39-44.
24. Karchat. N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 48, pp. 129-31.
25. Khānpuri Thār, Bahāwalpur State. Unpublished.

APPENDIX: LIST OF SITES

26. Kotāsur. M. S. VATS in *Arch. Sur. India An. Report*, 1935-6, pp. 37-8.
27. Kot Diji, near Khairpur. Dr F. A. Khan as cited on p. 21.
28. Kotlā Nihang Khān (Rupar). M. S. VATS, *Excavations at Harappā*, I, pp. 476-7.
29. Kudwālā, Bahāwalpur State. Unpublished.
30. Lohri. N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 48, pp. 65-7 and 73-6.
31. Lohumjo-daro. N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 48, pp. 48-58.
- *32. Mehī. AUREL STEIN, 'An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia', *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 43, pp. 154-63.
33. Mitha Deheno, Sind. Unpublished.
34. Mohenjo-daro. J. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Valley Civilization*, 3 vols. (London, 1931); E. J. H. MACKAY, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, 2 vols. (Delhi, 1938).
- *35. Nokjo-Shāhdinzai. AUREL STEIN, *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 43, pp. 152-3.
36. Pāndī-Wāhi. N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 48, pp. 91-5 and 109-14.
37. Rupar, dist. Ambāla. See no. 24. Also Bara, 5 miles south of Rupar. Note in *Indian Archaeology*, 1954-5, pp. 9-11.
38. Sandhanāwālā. AUREL STEIN in *Geogr. Journal*, XCIX, no. 4 (London, 1942).
39. Shāhjō Kotiro. N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 48, pp. 137-9.
40. Shikhri, Bahāwalpur State. Unpublished.
41. Sotkah-Koh, Makran coast. GEORGE F. DALES in *Expedition* (Univ. Mus., Pennsylvania), vol. 4, no. 2, winter 1962, pp. 2 ff.; and in *Antiquity*, XXXVI (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 86-92.
42. Sutkagen-dor. AUREL STEIN, *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 43, pp. 60 ff. The name is properly spelt as here written, and not 'Suktogen-dor' as originally published. Correction in Aurel Stein, *Archaeological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Iran* (London, 1937), pp. 70-1. And now George F. Dales as cited under no. 41 (above).
43. Thāno Buli Khān. N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, no. 48, p. 142.
44. Trekoā Thār, Bahāwalpur State. Unpublished.
- 45-65 (?). About twenty Harappan sites were identified in 1950-1 by the Indian Archaeological Department, under the leadership of Mr A. Ghosh, in the northern part of the Bikaner Division of Rajasthan, particularly along the flanks of the (former) Ghaggar or Sarasvati river (see above, p. 2). These new sites lie between the Pakistan border and a point midway between Hanumāngarh and Sūratgarh in the Sarasvati valley, and also about 15 miles east of Bhādrā in the Drishadvati valley, near the border between Bikaner and East Punjab. In the former group the large mound of Kalibangan is notable (above, no. 23). Another, a few miles north of Anūpgarh, is known as Tarkhānawala Derā. Mostly unpublished: preliminary information from Mr Ghosh.

APPENDIX: LIST OF SITES

66-100 (?). In recent years Indus or sub-Indus material has been reported from something like forty sites between the mouths of the Indus river and the Gulf of Cambay. Notes on some of them will be found in *Indian Archaeology* (Gov. of India, New Delhi) annually since 1953-4. The sites include: Amra, district Halar, northern Saurashtra. Bhagatrv, on Kim estuary, district Broach. Lakhabal, district Halar, 9 miles east of Jamnagar. Lothal (Saragwala), district Ahmadābād. Mehgam, on Narbadā estuary west of Broach. Rangpur, south-west of Ahmadābād (see *Ancient India*, nos. 18-19, New Delhi, 1962-3, pp. 5 ff.). Rojdi, by Bhadar river 34 miles south of Rajkot. Somnath, district Sorath. Telod, on Narbadā estuary south-west of Broach.
To these sites may be added that of Alamgirpur or Ukhлина, 19 miles west of Meerut, in the Jumna basin. Mentioned in *Link: Indian News Magazine* (Delhi), 26 October 1958, p. 47; and *Indian Archaeology*, 1958-9, pp. 50-5.



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॥ श्रीः ॥

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BY

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कर्णरसायनमिन्वे यन्नाम सुधीशमण्डले ललितम् ।
कृष्णस्वाम्यग्नारित्यायवरश्चिंतं सुखं जीयात् ॥

आशैलेन्द्रादचलतनयापादविन्यासधन्या-
दालङ्कान्तं सकलविवृथैर्मान्यपाणिडत्यभूमा ।
ये च द्वीपा धरणिवलये भान्ति तत्रत्यविद्व-
द्वेयात्मीयोलसदुरुयशा: सोऽयमार्यशकास्तु ॥

पाण्डयाश्चोला: प्रथितयशसः पल्लवा ये तथान्ये
तेषां तेषां प्रथितचरितप्रन्थनिर्माणदीक्षः ।
सोऽयं श्रीमान् विमलधिवणः सर्वसिद्धान्तवेदी
जीयानानाविश्वदमणिर्भूषितः साधुवृत्तः ॥

भूपालेन्द्रमानितो विश्वविद्याशालास्थाने तत्वसारोपदेष्टा ।
श्रीमनिन्वे शिष्यमाग्यप्रसारो नानाविद्याशुक्तिमुक्ताकलापः ॥

आसमुद्रमवनीतलैकसामेवमानयशसां विपश्चिताम् ।
अग्रगण्यपदवीं भजन्नसौ भातु नित्यसुखसंपदुज्ज्वलः ॥

विश्वविद्यालयोदासविवृधो विमलाशयः ।
कृष्णमार्यमुधीः श्रीमान् चिरं जीयान्महीतले ॥

पञ्चषष्ठितमवार्षिकोत्सवोल्लासमान्यमुदारधीः सुधीः ।
कृष्णमार्यधरणीसुरोर्जनो भातु सर्वसुहृदर्थसिद्धये ॥

The True Inwardness of the Hindu concept of the State

By

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It is one of the shibboleths of modern western historical criticism, especially in its adventures in the eastern hemisphere, to inveigh against what it is pleased to call the theocratic conception of the State, and to insist upon the thorough dissociation of religion from politics and of politics from religion. But, though it is true that the confusion of the boundaries of politics and religion characterised primitive communities, and the demarcation of such boundaries went along with progress in civilisation, yet it is not wise to dissociate them altogether, if the highest purposes of human existence are to be achieved. It seems to me that India, in her periods of self-affirmation, preserved the golden mean between too much spiritualisation and too much secularisation, and that her special political ideas and institutions were due to this basic fact.

Europe and America have become thoroughly industrialised, and it was this fact that really led to a modification of the old concept of the State in the west. The industrial revolution brought the middle classes into power, and these are, in their turn, being superseded by the proletariat. The new gospel was and is the increase of power and production, and not the increase of harmony and happiness. England led the way in industrialisation and democracy. She, however, moved toward parliamentary democracy by easy and constitutional methods, by her unique way of counting heads instead of breaking them. France, on the other hand, preferred to break heads. In England the movement towards individualism was strong for a time, and then gave place to a movement towards collectivism in the form of socialism. Such was the swing of political thought in the nineteenth century. The newest roads to freedom, to use Bertrand Russell's phrase, are being made in Russia, Italy and Germany, whatever be their fitness for the onward journey of the spirit of man.

Thus in the twentieth century we have been witnessing the slow supersession of Democracy by Dictatorship. The Fascist ideal of a totalitarian and co-operative State aims at making the State a centre of all the living economic and social forces of the national life, and to abolish the party system in the political sphere and the clash of capital and labour in the economic sphere. On the other hand, the communist ideal is not a question of administration, but a question of revolution. Com-

munism has got a frank contempt for parliamentary democracy, and aims at the destruction of private ownership and at the collective control and ownership of the means of production.

Let us, therefore, not fail to bear in mind that Europe and America have not at all attained the summit of human wisdom in regard to political institutions. They are themselves groping in the dark, and are being buffeted and pulled and pushed by blind and titanic economic forces. We in India should prove all things and hold fast to that which is good. We must refuse to be bound to the chariot-wheels of England. We must know our own nature (*svabhāva*), and evolve in the manner which will best express it and help our uplift and the uplift of the world as well.

We can never understand aright the true inwardness of the Hindu concept of the State if we do not properly assess the true inwardness of the Hindu character. Sir Edwin Arnold has rightly observed in his *India Revisited* that "for all that strong survival of caste, the Hindus are a democratic and easy-going people." The Hindu does not worship wealth as the be-all and end-all of life. He has always loved the gospel of mercy, and is generally refined in his tastes, and religious in his nature. At the same time, the caste system, while securing unity within the caste and functional organization as well as individual and communal purity, and while helping to evolve a non-competitive organisation of society on the basis of apportioned services and regulated duties, has undoubtedly contributed towards an absence of national unity and cohesion. The Hindu has further exhibited, in some measure, a static temperament which has contributed towards his subjection to the tyranny of custom, though it is true at the same time that he has exhibited dynamic qualities as well. The 'unchanging East' is a fiction of the Western historians, though it is true that India's motto has always been *Festina lente*.

It is noteworthy that almost all the diverse theories that have been propounded in the West regarding the origin of the state and of sovereignty have had their counterparts in India from very remote times. It is wrong to suppose from the theory of the divinity of kings that the theory of divine right of kings had any special importance or extended vogue.¹ The social contract theory was well known, and it was clearly asserted that the will of the people was the source of sovereignty and the ultimate and omnipotent sanction in the community. The *Saptāṅga*

1. Verses 303-10 in chapter IX of Manu's Code show that the famous theory that the king has within him the *amśa* of the eight *lōkāpālas* implies that he must have shown their qualities. (तेजोवृन्दं नृपथरेत)

conception has a more than remote resemblance to the modern organic conception of the State, and shows the prevalence of a psychic concept of the State. In fact, just as in the realm of aesthetics and metaphysics, so in the realm of politics as well, India has shown surprising fecundity of mind and activity of practical effort.

Even in the *Rg-Veda* we find India in a mood of political experimentation and in a state of political ferment. We find the monarchy co-existing with the popular assembly which exercised effective control over the royal power. In the last hymn of the last mandala of the *Rg-Veda* we find a prayer for concord along with free discussion in the Assembly. It says: "Assemble; speak together; let your mind be of one accord." In the *Atharva-Veda* (VII, 12, 1) we find the prayer: "let both *Sabhā* and *Samiti*, the two daughters of Prajāpati, be accordant and favour me." Some States were republics, while in some other States there was elective kingship; but the norm was hereditary kingship. In course of time, the Hindus rose to the conception of a united India under a single ruler (*Sāmrājya*, *Pāramēshṭya*, *Adhirāja*, *Ādhipatiya*, etc.). The *Aśvamedha* and *Rājasūya* sacrifices were to be performed only by such suzerain kings. But all through India's history, there was the dominant concept of Dharma being the king of kings. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* Upanishad, for example, says: "Dharma is the kshatra of the Kshatra. Therefore, there is nothing higher than Dharma." Nor must it be forgotten that, through all the vicissitudes of India's history, the autonomy of the villages was kept intact. They were ruled by the village Panchayat or Council of Elders, which looked after all the affairs of the village. There were also important urban assemblies including guild assemblies. The urban assemblies were known as *Pauras*, and the rural assemblies as *Janapadas*. About these Mr. K. P. Jayaswal says well: "We had an organism or a twin organism, the *Paura-Jānapada*, which could depose the king, who nominated the successor to the throne, whose kindly feelings towards a member of the royal family indicated his chance of succession, whose president was apprized by the king of the policy of the State decided upon in the council of ministers, who were approached and begged by the king in all humility for a new tax, whose confidence in a minister was regarded as an essential for his appointment as Chancellor, who were consulted and referred to with profound respect by a king aspiring to introduce a new religion, who demanded and got industrial commercial and financial privileges for the country, whose wrath meant ruin to provincial governors, who were coaxed and flattered in public proclamations, who could enact statutes even hostile to the king, in fine, who could make possible or impossible the administration of the king. An organism with these constitutional attributes was an institution which we will be

justified in calling the Hindu Diet. The *Paura-Jānapada* were a powerful check on royal authority." The king had further to act always with the approval of the council of ministers (*Mantri-parishad*), whose number varied from eight to thirty-two, and upon the advice of the eighteen heads of departments (*tīrthas*). Further, the subdivision of sovereignty into its legislative and executive and judicial aspects was known well enough. Nay, it was recognised better than in these days that the State had to provide protection and education and work for all.²

We must note further that the seed of Indian federalism was sown long ago. We must not import into the ancient Indian federal concept the elements of modern federalism such as written constitution, a clear demarcation and delimitation of spheres of power, etc. But we certainly find therein the vital element of federalism, viz., a combination of central strength and provincial autonomy. Professor Sidgwick says in his well-known work on *The Development of the European Polity* that the federal type of government provides the maximum of liberty compatible with order. All attempts which were made in India in the direction of the over-lordship of India kept in mind this combination of central strength and provincial autonomy.

Another important feature of our social and economic and political life in ancient India was the generally active spirit of co-operation. *Gaṇa* typified an economic corporation, and *jāti* typified a social corporation. Though such a spirit of co-operation was not prevalent on a nation-wide scale, and hence the door was open to successful foreign invasions, yet the spirit was there, and was active in diverse ways. The various groups had settled functions in the body politic, and were inter-dependent, and worked in a spirit of harmony. As the entire fabric of life was based on the concept of Duty rather than on the concept of Right, the chances of social friction were slender and remote. Some guilds were very rich and prosperous, and it is said that the guild at Dāsapura³ built a magnificent temple to the Sun in 436 A.D.

Historical evidences like the *Uttaramallūr*⁴ inscription show how the Hindu polity was broad-based upon a well-designed democratic

2. Kālidāsa says in a famous stanza in Canto I of his *Raghuvamśa*:

प्रजानं विनयाधानाद्रक्षणा द्वरणादपि ।
स पिता पितरस्तेयां केवलं जन्म हेतवः ॥

3. Mandasor in Malwa (Sindia's Dominion). (It may be pointed out that, according to some, this was Kālidāsa's birth-place.—Ed.)

4. Madras Ep. Rep. 1899, pp. 24ff; V. Rangacharya's *Topographical List of Inscriptions*, I, p. 390, pg. 589.

basis. Each village was managed by a village council which had a small number of committees, such as the judicial committee, the charitable and religious institutions committee, the irrigation committee, etc. The Uttaramallūr inscriptions show that that village consisted of twelve hamlets and thirty wards. Each ward sent up a list of the names of the men who were fit for election to the village assembly. The tickets containing the names were placed in a pot, and one ticket was taken out for each ward. Only those who had property qualifications or educational qualifications were eligible for such election. It was laid down that the men who had one-fourth *Vēli* of land or a house, and those who were learned in the sacred books, were the only persons who could stand for election. A very wholesome rule which is worth copying even to-day is that no one who was below thirty-five years of age or above seventy years of age was eligible for election. If an elected member was guilty of malversation or other misdemeanour, his near relatives could stand for election.

It must be remembered also that India's genius has always been a rural genius, and that the supersession of agriculture by industry, and of the rural economy by the urban economy, will never strike root in the Indian soil. The West is paying to-day a heavy penalty for its violation of the rural basis of life and for its ever-increasing urbanisation and mechanisation of life. Class-war and unemployment on an ever-increasing scale are becoming the normal feature of life in the so-called civilised countries of Europe and America. India should not go along the same road in a mad gallop, and meet a similar dire destiny. Though it is not possible to go here into all the elements of the Hindu concept of the State, I must mention a few other aspects here. The Hindu State was a civil polity, and not a military polity. Militarism which is such a dominant feature to-day was not then predominant at all. Nor was war then a clash of armed peoples. It was a clash of the military castes alone, the bulk of the people following their peaceful and vital avocations. The crown of conquered countries was always given back to the dethroned king. The overlordship of the victor never overthrew the autonomy of the vanquished land.

It must be remembered also that the people had always the potent right of the removal of kings who acted against Dharma. Professor Sidgwick says: "A moral right of insurrection, as an ultimate resource against misgovernment, must be admitted in a democratic community, no less than under other forms of government." The right of removal of a bad king flows naturally from the view that the ultimate seat of political authority is the people. The famous declaration of Virginia "that when a government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalien-

able and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal," was familiar to Indian thought from very ancient times.

Though the *Artha-sāstra* has achieved well-deserved fame as a great book on Hindu polity, it is but one of the many works revealing the Hindu concept of the State. All the works on Hindu polity show the error of the once-contemptuously propounded theory that the ancient Hindu empires were only tax-gathering empires. In fact, taxation was light and mild and well regulated, and went along with the proper spending of the taxes for the public weal. Kālidāsa says in his *Raghu-vamśa*:

प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं सतेभ्यो वलिमग्रहीत् ।
सहस्रगुण मुत्त्वाप्तु मादते हि रसं रविः ॥

The *Artha-sāstra* shows that Chandragupta's empire was not only a warlike State, but was also progressive in every way. Irrigation was well attended to. Proper attention was paid to the methods of cultivation and the improvement of livestock. There were excellent roads and waterways. Production, distribution and consumption were well-organized and properly inter-related. Education, sanitation, and medical aid were in a proper and flourishing state. A register of births and deaths was kept, and there was also a periodical census. All these facts show the progressive and enlightened character of the Hindu concept of the State.

Thus, the great advantage which is enjoyed by India to-day is that the constitution-making going on to-day and partially accomplished by the recent Constitution Act is not really a transplantation of political institutions from Britain in an alien soil, but only a broadening and deepening of the pre-existing political ideals of the people, and an expression of the same through western political institutions suitably adapted to the genius of India. I do not mean to say that Britain is proceeding consciously in such a direction. But the stress of events, as guided by Providence, tends in that direction. Rural economy will undoubtedly persist in India, and Indian urbanisation and industrialisation will eventually turn away from the slum life of western cities. The democratic sense of the people will express itself successfully through the caste system which is only a means of social co-operation, and even in spite of the caste system if the latter does not lead to social co-operation, India will not allow the laws of Man to abrogate or injure the laws of God (Dharma). Thus the bad theocracy, which means blind obedience to unworthy claimants of divine authority, and "the right divine of kings to govern wrong," will go; but the good theocracy, which keeps the vital laws of God-revealed Dharma intact, will never go.

More than anything else, it is important to remember that the federal ideal is bred in the bones of the people. India has been straining her energies towards it. The new Constitution Act of India is but a fruit deriving its vital life from such a root. Professor Sidgwick has said well that the new political aggregate will be formed on the basis of a federal polity. He points out that a federal union enables its members to enjoy most of the military and economic advantages of large States, with the minimum sacrifice of local independence and individual freedom. He says also that the inconveniences of a federal state are, chiefly, the weakness of internal cohesion and the diversity of localised legislation. We have to avoid the dangers of federalism, and maximise its good effects. In this respect our past experiences, inclusive of achievements and failures, will be of great use to us to-day. The Hindu concept of the State is as useful to-day as it ever was before, in building up a united and regenerated India.

Al Ghazali

By

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PERSIA, in the second half of the 11th Century, was under the sway of the Seljuks and this was comparatively an era of peace and prosperity. The Seljuki kings were great patrons of art and learning, and so we find many eminent men of letters flourishing in that period. Though outwardly it was all quiet, inwardly a great intellectual unrest was disturbing man's peace of mind. The world of Islām at that time, and as a matter of fact for many centuries previously, was not that world of satisfaction when no doubt ever existed in the minds of the followers of the Prophet as regards the interpretation of the Holy Word of God. To them everything was explained by the Prophet himself, and the Arabs paid no attention to the philosophy of their religion. But as time passed on, the people came in contact with foreign culture and foreign ideas, and they had the wealth of the intellect made available to them through translations. At the time of Māmū Rashid, an academy was established which brought the wisdom of Greece and Egypt to the doors of the Ařabs. The result of this was an increasing tendency on the part of the philosophers to interpret the Qurān in terms of Greek philosophy. We may call them by the name of pro-Greek philosophers. As there was no correct Arabic or Persian version of Plato and Aristotle, these interpretations also fell short of Greek ideas. As the Muslims of this school of thought were not critical students of the Greek philosophy, and were merely imitators, they made many serious mistakes. They thought the *Aēnid* of Plotinus to be the work of Aristotle and called it the Theology of Aristotle. In this way they wanted to bridge the gulf between Aristotle and Plato—an impossible task. What can be the fate of the culture, as far as philosophical studies are concerned, that depends on the expounding of such people? Islām was getting away from its true picture, and was being submerged into Aristotelianism and Platonism. It was time that some one should arise and purge Islām of all foreign influence. Fortunately there appeared a sect of Ashaira, and sometime later a person, who may be called one of the greatest philosophers of Islām. His name was Abu Hamid Mohd. Ghazālī. He was born in 1058 in a village in Tus. It is very often said, especially by European critics, that Ghazali tolled the knell of Philosophy in Islām. But this is a mistaken idea. As a matter of fact, pro-Greek philosophers in the real sense of the word gave the world

The Committee System of Village Administration in
Cola Times—An Interpretation

By

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It is now a commonplace of South Indian history that there was a highly developed system of village administration in Cola times in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The discovery of this feature we owe to Mr. Venkayya, Government Epigraphist, Madras, in the closing years of the last century. The essential features of that administration as were evidenced by inscriptions at Ukkal and Uttaramallūr (two villages in the North Arcot and Chingleput districts) were :—

- (i) The South Indian village was governed by the village assembly.
- (ii) The village assembly had under its control a number of committees notably the "Tank supervision", *Pañca-vāra-vāriyam*, "Garden supervision," "Gold supervision," "Supervision of Justice" and "Annual supervision" committees.
- (iii) These committees were elected ; and
- (iv) Certain qualifications were prescribed for membership in these committees.

The assemblies and the committees together exercised a number of functions, such as looking to the construction and maintenance of irrigation works, management of temples, selling and purchasing lands, collecting and remitting taxes, altering the classification of land, management of charities, taking charge of deposits of money, lending and borrowing money, levying fines, controlling village servants, and leasing lands.

After discussing these points elaborately and also referring to the existence of some committees in the Telugu districts, Venkayya expressed the opinion that, until the contrary is proved, it may be assumed that the system prevailed over a considerable portion of South India.¹

1. Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras, 1899, part ii, paras 58-73; Cg. 589 in V. Rangacharya's Topographical List of Madras Inscrns. I, p. 580.

Since he wrote, many new inscriptions have been discovered, the notable advance made being the mention of other committees, such as the Fields Committee, the Land Survey Committee, the Accounts Committee, the Sluice Committee, and the Temple Committee, and more details relating to the constitution of the village assembly and its relation to the committees.

But the student of history does not feel satisfied with this information ; he would like to know the *raison de'etre* of this system of village administration, i.e., what explains the prevalence of the system over a considerable portion of South India, and why it was not prevailing elsewhere.

The enquiry becomes of absorbing interest when he learns, from known evidence, that the system was peculiar to South India. Professor Altekar assures us² by a critical examination of the evidence relating to Western India that the South Indian system of village administration was not prevalent in that area. And from what we know of Northern India, we may say that the elaborate system of committee-administration was not prevalent in that area.

A proper approach to the study of this interesting question must be inductive, i.e., it involves an analysis of all the known inscriptions relating to South India. From such a survey it appears to me that a rather remarkable fact emerges, viz., that the committee organisation is confined to one particular type of villages, viz., the *Caturvēdimāngalam*. The *Caturvēdimāngalam*, as the term indicates, was a village inhabited by Brāhmans who profess the four Vēdas. Often it was denoted by kindred names, *Brahmadēya*, *Maṅgalam*, *Agaram*, *Brahmapuram*, *Agarahāra*, *Agabrahmadēya*, *Agara-brahmadēśa*, *Brahmadēśam* and *Brahmāngalam*. It is not contended that a Brāhmaṇ village included only those who belonged to the community of Brāhmans ; on the other hand we have clear evidence to show that it accommodated other classes as well. Potters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, washermen, and village servants also lived there, though in separate Cēris, close to the Brāhmaṇ quarter of the village ; but it was a Brāhmaṇ village in the sense that the land of the village was held by the Brāhmaṇ community. This Brāhmaṇ community was a landlord body over a class of tenants, who were bound to pay certain shares of the yield to their masters. This landlord body might hold all the land collectively, sharing the yield, or might hold individual allotments, with or without periodical redistribution,³ with some portion of the village land held in common.

2. Altekar, *Village Communities in Western India*, pp. 20-30.

3. 205 and 213 of 1912, *South Indian Inscriptions*, II, 22, second tier, line 1—*Karaiyid*.

It is not necessary for us to enquire, at this stage, how such joint villages arose : as we see them in our inscriptions, foundation by kings of villages under such conditions or grants of the income from villages were some causes. But in whatever way they arose, the resultant features of a joint village are noteworthy, viz :

- (i) It was a settlement of a non-cultivating caste.
- (ii) It was in general a settlement of a landlord class placed over a body of cultivating tenants.
- (iii) There was some element of common ownership of land in the community.

It must be made clear that all *Caturvēdimāṅgalams* were not necessarily of this type. It is possible that *Caturvēdimāṅgalams* of THE JOINT TYPE OWED their origin to kings who consciously established such villages. Such foundations sprang up in many parts of the country, especially under the Cōla, Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagar kings. The community were allowed a large measure of control in managing local affairs, made necessary by the fact that the inhabitants of the village by the terms of the original grants or establishment of the village were bound to render certain dues and services to the landlord body, and the latter was allowed to conduct the revenue administration in their own way.

It was to the interest of the landlord community to see that cultivation was properly carried on, irrigational facilities were provided, and the dues received in time. To this purpose the village committees were constituted to be in charge of different kinds of work. These committees were subject to the control of a public assembly of all the joint-body for whose deliberation important administrative and judicial acts were reserved and which met in the open or in the temple.

The proper conception of the Committee organisation as we find it mentioned in our inscriptions is thus as an agency for looking to the proper cultivation of the village lands and securing to the body of the landholders in a joint village their proper dues from the tenants, and generally to enable them to adequately fulfil their corporate responsibilities.

This characteristic is made clear by several facts :—

1. Such committees are found mentioned only in joint villages. It is arguable that this is at best negative evidence, but the fact that, out of nearly 30,000 inscriptions, we find such important features mentioned only in one particular type of village, raises a strong presumption in favour of the contention that such organisation was primarily economic in motive. The necessity for such developed organisations in villages of

the Ryotwari type where each holder was independent of the others in the management of his land is not so obvious.

2. The functions exercised by some of the committees are primarily those which a landlord body would be expected to gain by. Thus the *ūrvāriyam*⁴ was a committee of officers whose function was evidently to see the lands of the village properly cultivated and to collect the produce. The functions of the "Wet Fields Committee"⁵ and the Irrigation Committee are also closely related to the same purpose.

3. The membership of the committees was regulated by one prime qualification—that the member must have a share of land—in other words he must be one of the shareholders of the village.⁶

4. The qualifications for membership in the village assembly in such villages—and not merely the committees—include land-holding.⁷ Thus it is stated, in one instance, of the children of *shareholders* in the village, that only one who is well-behaved and has studied the *Mantra-Brāhmaṇa*, and one *Dharma* (code of law) may be on the village assembly to represent the share held by him in the village, and only one person of similar qualifications may be on the assembly for a share purchased, received as present or acquired by him as *strīdhana*.

This is clear evidence to show that the village assembly and the committees were mainly concerned with the interests of the landholders in the village.

5. The joint responsibility for revenue imposed on such a village made it necessary for the body of landholders to have an efficient organisation to cope with it. This responsibility primarily meant that the joint village as a whole was assessed a certain amount by the State, for the payment of which the whole body was jointly responsible. The joint body was given freedom to control the distribution of the lump assessment among the shareholders, and the power to sell the lands of defaulters, and in general to do all things that would be consistent with their joint responsibility for revenue. If one shareholder was in default, the Government called upon the other shareholders of the village to pay the balance due by defaulting shareholders ; hence the right to sell their property was essential for the due discharge of their joint liability for revenue. The other powers of taxation claimed by the joint body included apparently the right to decide which lands should be

4. 269 of 1912, A.R.E., 1913, part ii, para 23.

5. *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, 156.

6. A.R.E., 1899, part ii, para 62.

7. A.R.E., 1913, part ii, para 23.

taxed. A Tinnevelly inscription⁸ records the settlement made by the assembly of *Tirukkūrālam* that taxes should be levied only on cultivated lands. Within limits, the joint body could also remit taxes; within limits because such remission should not ordinarily involve loss of revenue to the State; when the village assembly remitted taxes on one piece of land on its own responsibility without receiving compensation in the shape of a capitalised amount, it had itself to pay, and this it could do only when the shareholders were prepared to make up the amount.

These details of assessment and collection of village revenue are significant as they emphasise the sense of mutual dependence among the members of such a joint community. The welfare of all is inextricably connected with the proper cultivation of village lands, the maintenance of irrigation works, collection and remission of taxes, controlling the village servants, etc.; and it is not strange that an efficient committee organisation was developed to meet a felt need. It is significant that the mode of payment of taxes in *vella vagai* villages or *Ryotvāri* is stated to be different from the method in vogue in the joint villages.⁹

6. Finally, it may be remarked that the distinctive nature of these villages is brought out by the significant Tamil term "*Tan̄iyūr*",¹⁰ often applied to these villages. It is noticeable that the term *tan̄iyūr* is not found applied in the inscriptions to any but *Caturvēdīmāṅgalams*. It has been translated "free village", a village unit, by itself an independent village. 'free' and 'independent' are vague terms which do not indicate the real character of the village. It seems more precise to say that the *Caturvēdīmāṅgalam* was a distinctive type of village which was allowed a large measure of control in managing local affairs—made necessary by the fact that the inhabitants of the village, by the terms of the original grant or establishment of the village, were bound to render certain dues and services to the landlord body and the latter was allowed, nay required, to conduct the revenue administration in its own way—and that this landlord body was united by some elements of joint-ownership, either whole or partial.

To sum up then, we may say that the *Caturvēdīmāṅgalam* was, from the economic point of view, a community of landholders, united together by the fact that they owned all or some land in common, and that they were a landlord body, placed over a body of tenants who were bound to render certain services and dues to them, and that the landlord-com-

8. 430 of 1917.

9. *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, 205.

10. e.g., 167 of 1915.

munity had a large discretion in managing the affairs of the locality—which they did through a highly developed system of committees, subject to the village assembly.

In the present state of our evidence, it is difficult to say that such a highly developed government by means of committees existed in all villages in South India. It is permissible to assume that it existed in those villages where some element of joint tenure existed, necessitating joint partnership in deciding affairs which vitally touched all. In other villages, i.e., *Ryotwāri*—and it is to be remembered that most villages belonged to this type—it^{*} is probable that there was an influential body of elders who considered and decided questions concerning all, such e.g. as the conduct of temple affairs, looking to works of irrigation, etc. No regular constitution as we find to have existed at *Uttaramallūr* seems to have existed in such villages, nor was it necessary. The regular constitution in villages of the type of *Uttaramallūr* owed its origin to certain features which were peculiar to them. When a body of independent cultivators looked after their own lands, the common needs of the village were looked after by an informal meeting of the village elders, or the villagers generally. In this sense, it was in keeping with the rest of India, village affairs being generally looked after by a *Pañchayat* or an assembly.

Indeed, if we are to view the local administration of South India in its proper perspective, we must firmly grasp the fact that the elaborate development of the Committee organisation was prevalent only in a particular type of village in South India, viz., the joint village, and, as far as our evidence goes, the *Caturvēdīmāṅgalam* type of joint village, and not, necessarily, over the whole of South India.

If this interpretation is correct, can we draw any useful conclusion from the past for our guidance in the present? Here was self-government on small scale, local autonomy, as the term *Tan̄iyūr* suggests. We, too, have our problems of self-government, both provincial and local. Can the past give us any guidance in solving our present problems? This is an absorbing theme. Into the detailed discussion of this I do not feel myself competent to enter now, but one line of thought may be suggested. In the community of which we spoke, there were all the conditions present to develop a sense of responsibility in those in whom the power of government was vested. The successful management of the affairs of the village depended on the sense of responsibility felt by the members of the village who had a right to be present in the village assembly, and had a right to be elected to one of the committees. That they all belonged to one caste, they had, from the economic point of view, to gain or lose by attending to their village affairs enthusiastically or

otherwise, they had administrative responsibility, and they had leisure—these are all factors which could help to develop a corporate will, a will of the community for the common good. In other words there were all the natural and artificial bonds which were necessary to knit them into a body with a oneness of purpose. The oneness of religion and language, the sense of kinship, economic benefit, and administrative responsibility were all harnessed together to one central purpose, the efficient management of village affairs for the common good of all; the sense of neighbourhood and the opportunity for leisure helped the process.

The success of our modern democracies depends to a large extent on the sense of responsibility that the citizen is able to develop. To that end, local self-government is surely the best training ground. No doubt the present conditions are radically different from those in the joint community of which we have spoken. The intensification of private property and competition makes public power a ready hand-maid to private profit; communal and linguistic rivalries divide the members of the body politic one from another; and there is hardly leisure for the mass of the people to consider common affairs. The existence of these differences, which are really obstacles, only implies that the method of approach to re-vitalise the village must be different. To recreate old conditions is simply chimerical, nor does it seem necessary. Under altered conditions, a new method must be discovered of achieving the same objective.

Perhaps, a healthy, broad-based co-operative movement, embracing within its scope not only credit but other aspects of village life, including purchase and sale of commodities and insurance, may have potentialities, not dreamt of by us; but surely it cannot be beyond the ingenuity of statesmanship and the earnest student of the social sciences to find out a good way of achieving the object, viz., how to revitalise village life by developing the corporate sense of responsibility in the villager for the welfare of the village, so that it may be a happier place for him to live in.

Mahendragiri, Ruler of Pishtapura

By

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In I. 19 of the celebrated Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta occurs the passage *Paish̄apuraka-Mahēndragiri-Kauṭṭīraka-Svāmidatta*—which has been most indifferently dealt with by antiquarians and epigraphists. Grammar, however, requires that the words comprising it should be divided, as I have just done it. We have in the first place to remember that none of the king's names is coupled with more than one locality, as Fleet himself has aptly remarked. Secondly, the name of every locality is marked with *vriddhi* at the beginning and with the suffix *ka* at the end. If these two points are to guide us in the division of the words of this passage, I am afraid it is not possible to divide them otherwise. This is admitted by Fleet even. For, he rightly says: 'The first inclination then might be, divide the text thus, *Paish̄apuraka-Mahēndragiri-Kauṭṭīraka-Svāmidatta*; and to translate, "Mahēndragiri of Pish̄apura, and Svāmidatta of Kōṭṭūra"'. It is a great pity that Fleet did not stick to his first inclination, which is perfectly in accordance with grammar and common sense. The reason he specifies for giving up this view is that "though *giri* or *gīr* is a very common termination of proper names in the present day,.....it is used only as a religious title, and is affixed only to the names of Gōśāvis, and even among them it would seem to be confined to one particular division of the Daśanāmī-Gōśāvis... I think, therefore, that, in the absence of any other analogous instance, it would in all probability be incorrect to accept it as a suitable termination for a king's name". Fleet therefore divides the passage into *Paish̄apuraka-Mahēndra* and *giri-Kauṭṭīraka-Svāmidatta*. This procedure sets the rules of grammar completely at naught, because the *vriddhi* in *Kauṭṭīraka* clearly shows that the word *giri* preceding it is to be connected with *Mahēndra*. Again, if *giri* had really formed part of the name of the country whose ruler *Svāmidatta* was, we should have had *Gairikōṭṭīraka* instead of *giri-Kauṭṭīraka*. Secondly, it is not necessary to take *giri* here as a denominational suffix similar to that of *giri* or *gīr* of Gōśāvis, as Fleet has done. It is best to understand the whole of *Mahēndragiri* as one name and as the proper name of the ruler of Pish̄apura. If the names

1. *Corpos. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p.7, note 2.

of the sacred rivers have been adopted as individual names among Hindu females, the names of the sacred mountains have similarly been adopted among Hindu males. Thus mountain names like Himādri, Hēmādri, and Śēshādri are found used as proper names not only in modern but also in ancient India. If Śēshādri (=Vēṅkaṭagiri) is a sacred mountain in the Tamil, Mahēndragiri is so in the Telugu country. And if Śēshādri can be the name of an individual, there is no reason why Mahēndragiri should not be so.

EDITORS' NOTE

[That Prof. Bhandarkar's argument cannot be refuted is obvious from similar examples found in inscriptions. There was among the Konḍavidū Reddis, for example, a Śrīgiri who lived about A.D. 1400. See *Madras Topo. List. Inscrns*, II, NL 321. Another member of the clan was called Kumāragiri (1381–1407), who founded the Rājamahēndra branch of the Reddis by handing over that tract to Kātaya Vēma. *Ibid*, Gd. 17. Similar examples are available in Śvētagiri, Vēdagiri, Bhadragiri, etc., though the fuller form in regard to these names is got by adding *Indra*, *Nātha*, *Isvara*, etc., to the main stem.]

The Key to Indian History

By

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We seek to honour a distinguished South Indian historian, South Indian not only in the sense that he belongs to South India, but also in the sense that South India has been the chosen field of the research and the writings by which he has won distinction. Can we find any better tribute than to make our own humble contributions to South Indian History? In this brief paper the writer cannot hope to "advance the bounds of knowledge;" it must suffice if it does something to stimulate activity in the prosecution of those studies in which Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has been a pioneer.

The time-honoured *datum* of Indian History—the Aryan Migration—has not been swept away, though the need for its re-valuation in the light of recent discovery is generally recognised. But what follows the Migration? Hitherto the story has usually been unfolded in the light of a dominating conception—the Aryanisation of India. Quite apart from any revision of facts, it will modify the tone of many passages if we suggest that the process may no less truly be stated as the Indianisation of the Aryans.

Space does not permit an exposure of the old fallacy of confusing race and language. Nor should it be necessary: it is sufficient to name it. But is no caution needed against the fallacy of names—the notion that a name is a guarantee of identity? To keep clear of Indian controversies, take a case from the West. The northern barbarians who first brought the language into the Aegean area may reasonably be called 'Greeks' or Hellenes.' (It is difficult, without either pedantry or question-begging, not to give them the name). But we cannot proceed to equate these 'Greeks' with the Greeks who fought at Marathon and Salamis, who built the Parthenon, and gave us *The Bacchae* and *The Crito*. That is like assessing a man by his father's qualities only, and forgetting that he had a mother, or (to take a crude but relevant example) discussing a mule as if it were merely an ass, without saying a word about the horse in its ancestry.

All through history we find that the tests men have most readily accepted (because they were most easily applied) to discriminate between themselves and 'foreigners' have been language and religion.

As a preliminary to a more searching inquiry, apply these rough tests to the supposed Āryanisation of India. In language, it is obvious that South India remains to this day un-Āryanised: its speech is persistently Dravidian.

The test of religion is not so easy to apply: the complexity and variety of all that is vaguely summed up under the term 'Hinduism' present endless difficulties. But a partial clarification is possible. To begin with, the high philosophic doctrine which scholars quite intelligibly tend to put in the forefront, can we legitimately speak of it as Āryan? To say it is 'Vedic' is not enough—even if the term were more precise than it is. Is it found in the Hymns? Until it can be shown that it antedates the Migration, it would be rash to say it is Āryan. The part played in the development of the doctrine in historic times by Śaṅkarāchārya and Rāmānujāchārya gives further food for thought. On the face of it, the South has had something to say in the story: just how much is a question that must wait.

When we turn to the popular cults which bulk so large in work-a-day Hinduism, the result is much the same. To be frank, they are amazingly unlike anything we can, on independent grounds, label as 'Āryan'. A few points must suffice. A student of the Hinduism of the masses is certain to be struck by (1) the veneration of the cow, (2) the popularity of Gaṇeśa and (3) the ubiquitous appearance of the bull and the snake. Is there a hint of any one of them in a context uncontestedly Āryan? They fit the ideas of the Indianisation of the Āryans more readily than anything we can call the Āryanisation of India.

Even more telling is the consideration of certain elements which rise above the temple cults and in some measure mediate between them and the philosophies—Ahimsā and the doctrine of Transmigration. Neither has the air of being originally Āryan. The jovial flesh-eaters of pre-Migration days might be expected to pay about as much heed to the claims of Ahimsā as the Homeric Achaeans or the writers of John Company. But if these things are not Āryan, we have not simply to ask next, 'Whence did they come?'; we have also to ask, 'what then do we mean by the Āryanisation of India?'

In passing, it is pertinent to glance at the thorny problem of caste, though it is too vast for even a preliminary discussion here. While the actual castes of to-day can only be affiliated to anything 'Vēdic' by a veritable *tour-de-force*, they have affinities which seem to reach far back in the life of South India. Is not that true also of Ahimsā and the closely related ideas of Transmigration?

If the necessary re-orientation of Indian History is to be effected, we need first a searching examination—or re-examination—of all ele-

ments which are not demonstrably "Āryan" (i.e., which cannot be proved to be characteristic of the Āryans before the *Migration**), and still more of any elements which are (*even prima facie*) non-Āryan. Thus, to use examples already mentioned, a critical and historical investigation of (1) the cow-cult, (2) the worship of Gaṇeśa, (3) Ahimsā and (4) Transmigration, is urgently needed, and might be expected to yield valuable results. To add (at some risk) an instance that comes very near home—What is the historical significance of the distinction between Teiikalai and Vaḍakalai? "Every schoolboy knows" that they differ on important points of theology. But as an answer to the question, this is no more convincing than to say that the schism between East and West in Europe was due to a difference of opinion on the *Filioque* clause.

The thrilling discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro must be noted, since they obviously confirm the view that the full interpretation of Indian History demands attention to the non-Āryan elements no less than to the Āryan. Unfortunately for the present argument, they still have the effect of concentrating interest in the North. The plea for greater attention to South India is not to be dismissed or discounted as a piece of local or parochial enthusiasm. It rests on solid historical principles. To unravel the process indicated as the 'Indianisation of the Āryans' nothing can help us more than a careful, detailed study of pre-Āryan or non-Āryan India. To say that South India has not been Āryanised at all is much too sweeping: but obviously it has only been Āryanised to a limited extent. By studying India where it is least Āryanised—in the South, and especially in the Tamil country—is the most hopeful line of approach to the fuller revelation of pre-Āryan India. The key to Indian History lies in South India: and it is for us—the writers and readers of this Festschrift—to take up the challenge.

*Quite obviously, to prove that a Norman family in England in the twelfth century followed a certain custom is not an adequate proof that it is a Norman custom.

Portuguese in Ceylon, and further rebuilt its strong fortress. The British continued the use of Colombo as the capital town, from their occupation of it in 1796. When the Kāṇḍyan realm was taken by the British in 1815, Kandy was no longer the capital, notwithstanding the separate administration of it. In 1833, for administrative reasons, the separate administration of the Kāṇḍyan realm was abolished, and Colombo became more firmly established as the capital of all Ceylon. Kāṇḍy however retained the old title in Sinhalese speech and writings, and retains it to this day; it is still Mahānuwara and Nuwara, since the opening years of the 17th century.

Irai, Irai-kaval and Iraiyili

By

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THE period of Cōla rule in South India was marked by a great advance in administrative organisation. Hundreds of stone inscriptions and half-a-dozen copper plate grants have conserved a large number of interesting facts bearing on the details of daily administration. I propose here to discuss the exact significance of some land revenue terms which occur frequently in the inscriptions, and a correct understanding of which is essential to a proper estimate of the actual working of the tax-system. We derive no assistance from literature, indigenous or foreign, in the elucidation of these terms, and we must depend solely on the possibility of the texts of various inscriptions interpreting one another when they are read together. Though a sure method, this is necessarily slow, and cannot be pursued on a large scale when the majority of inscriptions remain unpublished. Sometimes we derive much knowledge from a casual phrase in an otherwise unimportant inscription. The collective responsibility of village assemblies for the payment of land revenue, for instance, is nowhere categorically stated; but it does not take the study of many inscriptions to find this large fact borne in on us in a hundred different ways.

Irai and *Vari* are the two most general terms for tax. Though both these terms are employed of land tax as well as other taxes and dues, still *Irai* is more particularly associated with land, while *Vari* has reference to the other taxes. True we have terms like *taṭi-irai* (tax on looms), *Sekkīrai* (tax on oil-mills), and so on; we have also the term *sillirai*, minor dues, to describe collectively a number of sundry small assessments. But the phrase *irai-irādu pojār*, 'those who have gone without paying the tax', is often found employed to describe default in land tax; and the distinction between *irai-nilam* and *iraiyili* (-nilam) is among the most striking features of the Cōla land-revenue system. It will be recalled that the possession of a minimum extent of *irai-nilam* (tax-paying land) was prescribed as a qualification for a candidate who sought election to one of the *vāriyams* (executive committees) of the Sabhā of Uttaramērūr. The village assemblies were responsible for the payment of land-revenue, and lands from which taxes fell in arrears escheated to the village after some time, as is seen from the phrase *irai-irādu-ūr-nōkki vilunda bhūmi*, 'land that had fallen

to the village on account of arrears in its revenue dues', which occurs in an inscription from Uttaramērūr.¹

The word *vari* also occurs in connection with land revenue as well as other items of revenue. In phrases like *ūriduvāri* and *śilvāri*,² i.e., taxes or dues levied by the *ūr* (township) and minor dues, the word seems to have no reference to land-revenue, but to other parts of the tax-system. But the term *peruvāri*³ (major taxes), as opposed to *śilvāri*, does not include the land tax among others. The expressions *puravuvāri*, *varippottagam*, *varikkaṇakku*, *variyil-idu* mean respectively the land tax, tax-register, land revenue accounts, and an entry into the register; the same terms are found employed also to describe the officers in charge of the respective duties.

The term *Iraiylī* means land which is not taxed, and at first sight it may appear that such lands were totally exempt from all payment of taxes and dues. In fact, we find the term often employed in this sense in the Tanjore inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja I. Some villages granted by the king to the Tanjore temple are, for instance, described in detail, and the extent of the lands in each village, non-taxable as well as tax-paying lands, is recorded in one of these inscriptions.⁴ This inscription describes the *Iraiylī* lands as opposed to *irai-katṭina-nilam* in the following terms: *ūr-nattamum*, *śrīkōyilgaṇum*, *kuṇaṅgaṇum*, *ūḍa-ruttuppōṇa vāykkālāṇum*, *paraiccēriyum*, *kammāṇaccēriyum* *śuḍukādum* *ulliṭtu Iraiylī nilaṅgaṇum*, i.e., tax-free lands including the residential part of the village, sacred temples, tanks, channels passing through the village, the habitat of the Pariahs and of the artisans, and the cremation ground. In the sections that follow in the inscription, the total extent of each village named is first given, then the extent of *Iraiylī* lands as defined above, and finally the extent of tax-paying land with the taxes thereon. But apart from the non-taxable lands just mentioned, instances of such outright exemption are comparatively rare; we have an example of this in a record of the fifth year of a Rājakēsari-varman from Tiruverumbūr⁵ which states the decision of the Sabhā of Śrī-kaṇṭha-caturvēdimāṅgalam in the following terms:

ittiruverumbūr ḍālvār eppērppaṭṭa iraiyum
kadavarallāmaiyl it-tēvasvam eppērppaṭṭadum sabaiyōm kol-
lappeṛādōmāgavum,

1. 17 of 1898.

2. 193 of 1924. All my citations from unpublished inscriptions are due to the courtesy of the Archaeological Department.

3. 147 and 149 of 1925.

4. SII. ii. 4.

5. 133 of 1914.

i.e., 'as this Alvār (god) of Tiruverumbūr has not got to pay any kind of *irai*, we, the members of the Sabhā, are bound not to take anything from the properties belonging to this deity'. The inscription also lays down drastic punishments, including ex-communication (*anyōnyasahavāsam varjjippadāgavum*), against any one who violated this decision. This is an early Cōla inscription, and for its contents, it is remarkably free from technical terms. It is clear, however, that this is a case of full remission by the Sabhā of all taxes due from the temple, and apparently for no consideration; but there is no indication whatever that the revenues of the government underwent any diminution on account of this decision; the villagers evidently had to make good to the central government the tax due from the temple by distributing it among themselves. There are numerous examples in the Tanjore inscriptions and elsewhere calculated to show that, after a careful survey of lands in a village, the officers of the central government fixed the total of the taxes due from the village in cash and in kind, and that the detailed assessment according to holdings was left to the local assemblies. The assembly of Śrīkaṇṭha-caturvēdimāṅgalam made up its mind not to assess anything on the lands held by the temple, and therefore not to collect anything from it. That this decision put an additional burden on the landholders of the village, and that it was natural for them to seek to escape this burden by making the temple contribute its normal share to the revenues of the state, may be inferred from the safeguards provided against attempts to violate the decision then reached. When remissions went in reduction of the revenues of the central government, this fact was clearly recorded, and the procedure was far more elaborate as may be seen from the Anbil plates, the Tirumukkūḍal inscription of Virarājēndra⁶ and other records.

The procedure adopted by the Sabhā of Śrīkaṇṭha-caturvēdimāṅgalam, that by which some lands were made tax-free by the taxes due from them being distributed over the other holdings in the village, gave rise to a class of land which gets a special name in the later records; that is *ūr-kil-iraiyili*, meaning tax-free under the township. This is clearly expressed in the following sentences that occur in an inscription.⁷

....innilaṅgaṇukku ūr-vilukkāṭṭuppaḍi pottagappaḍi parri vanda nilam engal pērgalilē ērri irrakkak-kadavōm āgavum; engalpakkal virrukondārum stridhanam perrārum marrum perru uḍaiyārum ippaḍi irukkakkadavargal āgavum, meaning, 'for these lands we bind ourselves to pay the taxes as an excess (contribution) distributed pro-rata over our holdings held in accordance with the record (of land-rights), and

6. EI. XV, XXI.

7. 109 of 1911.

those who buy land from us, or get it as dowry or otherwise, will also be bound to pay likewise (this excess-contribution).'

But very often lands were made *iraiyili* by the villagers for a consideration. The village assemblies accepted a lump sum of money and made the land *iraiyili*. The usual instances under this head were those of gifts of land to temples, *mathas*, and for other charitable purposes by donors who paid down cash to cover not only the price of land (*vilaidravyam*) but also the tax-dues on it (*irai-dravyam*), and we have accordingly several sale-deeds which contain the phrase *vilaidravyamum irайдravyamum arak-kondu*, i.e., having received the entire amount of the price-money and the tax-money. The *irайдravyam* in such instance was doubtless a sum equivalent to the capitalised value of the future dues, which was to serve as an endowment, from the interest on which the future dues could be met as they accrued. This is clearly brought out by the term *irai-kāval-dravyam* 'money securing the *irai*', which is sometimes employed. It may be noted that an inscription⁸ of the thirteenth year of Rājarāja I has the words: *innilattukku irai-kāval candrādittaval iraikku vēṇḍum dravyamellām nāṅgal arak-kondu*, 'We having received in full all the money required (to meet) the *irai* for all time (as long as the moon and sun endure) as *iraikāval* for this land'. The *irайдravyam* might be paid either with the price of the land or at any subsequent time, and, in any event, this payment was sometimes acknowledged by a separate document setting forth the amount received and the taxes to be met from the proceeds of the investment thereof.⁹

A number of inscriptions from Uttaramērūr speak of *pūrvācāram* (lit. ancestral practice) in this connection, the Sabhā collecting *pūrvācāram* before making lands *iraiyili*.¹⁰ This is no doubt the same as the *irai-dravyam* of the other records, with the additional implication that the amount was calculated according to rates fixed by ancient custom. We must also note in passing that the *irrai-dravyam* was in no sense a trust fund to be kept intact in order that the *irai* may be met from time to time; the Sabhās often spent these amounts on immediate requirements, and paid the taxes from their general revenues in the succeeding years; but there is much evidence to show that care was taken to spend such 'trust funds' (as we should call them) on items of productive capital expenditure, generally the improvement of irrigation facilities in the village or the reclamation of waste land.

8. 266 of 1917.

9. 194 of 1925; 168 of 1929.

10. See The Cōlas, Vol. I, Index s.v. *pūrvācāram*.

A Cōla inscription of uncertain date from Üṭṭattūr¹¹ enumerates the following as examples of *iraiyili* lands: *dēvadānam*, *tiruvidaiyāṭṭam*, *pallicandam*, *ayyan-pātti*, *madappūrum*, *agarappāṛru* and *bhaṭṭavṛtti*. We cannot enter into a detailed examination of all these terms here; but their citation is enough to show that the generic term *iraiyili* is applied to cover a variety of exemptions and immunities, not all of the same character or extent. We have already seen that it is applied even in cases where the taxes were not remitted, but only commuted by a lump sum payment in advance. And we find here a list of the types of *iraiyili* lands which must have differed a good deal from one another in the nature of the immunities attaching to them. That *Iraiylī* lands were by no means in the enjoyment of absolute immunity from taxes and dues, but had to meet sundry payments, becomes clear from several inscriptions. An inscription of A.D. 1116 from Uttaramērūr¹² states that no *iraiyilk-kāśu* would be collected from some land for the year then current, but that in subsequent years the land would have to pay five *kāśus* per annum under this head. Again we find from an inscription¹³ of the reign of Rājarāja I that some lands in the enjoyment of the Jain temple of Tiruppāṇmalai (North Arcot) and described as *Iraiylī-pallicandam*, had yet to pay two cesses—*karpūra-vilai* and *anniyāya-vāva-danḍa-irai*. The payment of these cesses, particularly the *karpūra-vilai*, diminished the usefulness of the land to the temple, and on the specific representation of a Lāḍa princess that these dues should be remitted, her husband, the Lāḍa chieftain, who held the fief area, consented to remit the collection of these dues for the future.

Before concluding, we may draw attention to one other interesting, if somewhat difficult, term which occurs in connection with *iraiyili* lands, and that is *kāśu-kollā-iraiyili*. I think this term should be interpreted in the light of the other term noticed a little earlier, *iraiyilikkāśu*, and I am inclined to suggest that lands described as *kāśu-kollā-iraiyili* were exempted from the payment of *iraiyilikkāśu*. The question then arises what is *iraiyilikkāśu*? We may be tempted to see in this another form of the *iraikāval-dravyam*; but I think the two terms are different and have nothing to do with each other. For in no single case in which *irai-kāval* is said to have been paid in cash is the phrase *iraiyilikkāśu* employed; and the Uttaramērūr inscription cited above shows that the latter was a small annual payment, while the former was a more considerable lump sum payment paid in lieu of the regular land tax accruing

11. 525 of 1912.

12. 168 of 1923.

13. 19 of 1890; E.I. iv. p. 139. My interpretation of the record differs from Venkaya's.

for all future time. To understand the real meaning of *iraiyilikkāśu* we must, it seems to me, think of another aspect of the Cōla tax-system. A distinction is often made between *nellāyam* and *kūśāyam*, income in kind and income in cash. It may be suggested that *iraiyili* lands, in view of their status, were not expected to pay all the cash dues in full, but to make some contribution on a reduced scale in lieu of the regular cash dues to which other lands were subject, and this contribution came to bear the name *iraiyilik-kāśu*. And the lands which were excused even this payment were the *kāśu-kollā-iraiyili*. It is only on some such interpretation that the phrase *kāśukollā-ūr-kīl-iraiyili*, sometimes found in inscriptions,¹⁴ becomes intelligible as applying to lands, of which the taxes in kind were paid by the villages while the cash dues stood entirely remitted. These suggestions must be considered tentative, and must await confirmation by further study.

14. 245 of 1925.

The Purvaraja of the Velvikkudi Grant

By

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FROM the dawn of authentic history the Far South of India beyond the Krishnā and the Tungabhadrā has constituted a world by itself. As pointed out by Dr. Vincent Smith, it was ordinarily so secluded from the rest of the country that its affairs remained hidden from the gaze of other peoples. Enterprising rulers even in this region cherished, however, the ambition of universal Indian dominion, and poets now and then sang of a Southern prince who led expeditions to the North, and was believed to have extended his sway, temporarily at any rate, over the massive plain "decked with the Ganges as with a pearl necklace."

Sa sāgarāmbarām urvīm
Gaṅgāmauktikahāriṇīm
babhāra suchirām vīro
Meru Mandara kūṇḍalām.¹

At times invaders from Northern and Eastern India would push through the rugged valleys of the Narmadā and the Mahānādi, the Godāvāri and the Krishnā, carry their arms deep into the lands of Kāñchi and Karnāṭa, and thus lift the veil in which the mysterious realms of the Far South were shrouded. The most famous among the invasions from the North were those led by the Mauryas in the third or the fourth century B.C. and the Guptas in the fourth century A.D. That a third dynasty which for a time held its court in the old imperial city of Pāṭaliputra also claims to have overrun the Far South of India is not so well known to students of antiquity. The line of kings referred to is the famous Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihār. In the Monghyr Plate of Devapāla, his father Dharmapāla—a contemporary and rival of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs of the Deccan in the latter half of the eighth century A.D.—is said to have undertaken a *Digvijaya* in the course of which his followers are said to have performed holy rites at Gōkarṇa, apparently in North Kanara.

*The author uses *ch* for *c* and *sha* for *ś* in this article.

1. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 26 (No. 32)—Amarāvati Inscription. Cf. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, pt. iv, The Larger Sinnamanur Plates:—"Mahipatīnām Himāchalāropitāśāsanānām." The exploits of Rājendra Chōla I are well-known.

A Hindu University at Kanci

By

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INDIA has been reputed for her learning and philosophy from very early times. But what confronts an antiquarian at the outset is whether there were schools and colleges, like those we have to-day, and whether these educational institutions were affiliated to a University as we understand to-day. The impression created on the average reader of Indian literature is that, when a boy attained sufficient age to begin his educational career, he was often sent to a village schoolmaster who was a pandita and, until the course was complete, he was to live under the control and guidance of the teacher. In some cases there was a Pāṭaśāla or school, one in the midst of ten or twelve neighbouring villages with free boarding and lodging, something like the Rāja's College of Sanskrit and Tamil Studies in Tiruvāḍi, Tanjore district to-day. Besides the pīal school of the village and Pāṭaśāla of a group of villages, there were also colleges which went by the name of Vidyāsthāna. We have the unimpeachable testimony of epigraphy to corroborate this statement. Professor Hultsch gives an extract of a set of five copper-plates of Vijaya Nṛpatuṅga devarman which were discovered at Bāhūr near Pondicherry by M. J. de la Fon (See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., pp. 180-181). The purpose of the charter was the gift of three villages, Cheṭṭupākkam, Viṭāṅgatankaduvaṇūr, and Iraippunaiccēri, to the Vidyāsthāna at Bāhugrāma (Bāhūr). The donation was made at the request of the ministers of Tuṅgavarman, or more precisely, Nṛpatuṅgavarman. There are some interesting details given about this institution. It was the organization of the learned men of the locality who were also responsible for its maintenance and control. It also received encouragement from the State. The grant is expressly said to have been made for the advancement of learning, and was consequently exempted, on the authority of a written document, from all taxes due to these villages. Another interesting detail that is furnished in this inscription is that the college at Bāhūr consisted of fourteen gaṇas, identified with fourteen divisions of literature—four Vedas, six Aṅgas, Mimāṃsa, Nyāya, Purāṇa and Dharmaśāstra, and fourteen divisions of Musical Science. It would thus appear that the fine arts were not neglected. The verse in question runs as follows:¹

1. (See for the full text of the Grant S. I. I., ii, pp. 514 ff, and for a translation

विद्यानदी तथागाथा चतुर्दशगणाकुला ।
बाहुग्रामजुपां स्थानं व्याप्य यस्मात् व्यवस्थिता ॥ २५ ॥

Epigraphy again throws welcome light on the existence of a Hindu University at Kāñci, the capital of the Pallavas from A.D. 200 to 900. We are familiar with the great University of Nalanda, its curriculum of studies, and the life led by the University students.² It is refreshing to know of the contribution made by South India to create a University atmosphere and to enrich the University life in general. The ancient city of Kāñci figures prominently in legend and history. We have elaborate description of the foundation, by celestials, of the Kāmākṣi shrine in that city in the *Lañitōpakhyanā* portion of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. In Tamil literature of the Śāngam period and especially in the *Maṇimekalai*, a classic which belonged to the second half of the second century A.D., Kāñci figures as a centre of great learning and as a great school of Buddhist philosophy. Side by side there flourished also other schools of thought and religion.³

Next we have the Pallava charters which show that Kāñci continued to be a University centre under the liberal and progressive administration of the Pallavas. The *Velūrpālaiyam* plates of Vijaya Nandivarman III are interesting in this connection. The verses (7 and 8) run thus:

स्कन्दशिष्यस्ततोभविजानं घटिकां राजसस्त्यसेनातजहार यः ।
गृहीतकाञ्चीनगरः ततोभृत्कुमारविष्णुस्समरेषु जिष्णुः ॥
S. I. I., II, pp. 501-13.

This means that Skandaśīya became the controlling authority of the Ghaṭika of the twice-born, which was so long under the control of King Satyasēna. The late Mr. V. Venkaya identified this Skandaśīya with Skandavarman in his article on *Tirukkalukkunram* inscriptions; and if this identification is correct, he must be Skandavarman II. The next verse of the inscription shows that Kumāraviṣṇu was the son of Skandaśīya and a conqueror of Kāñci. This bears testimony to the fact that, while Skandaśīya succeeded in getting at the management of the University at Kāñci, it was given to his son to take over the administration of the city. Or if we read the half line गृहीतकाञ्चीनगरः with the stanza preceding it, it would appear that Skandaśīya conquered Kāñci and

of the Sanskrit portion in Prof. J. Dubreuil's *Pallavas*: pp. 48-51): See also Prof. V. Rangacharya's *Ins. of Madras Presidency*, Vol. III, p. 1694.

2. See in this connection Sankalia's *The University of Nalanda*, published by B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, 1934.

3. See S. K. Aiyangar: *Intro. to his book 'Manimekalai in its Historical Setting'*, 1928.

*Mr. Kavi points out that the half verse ends with ततोऽभवत्, and the next half begins with द्विजा : After यः a new verse in a different metre begins.

became the patron of the University as well. One thing is clear, and that is that when the Pallavas assumed sovereignty in Kāñci, it was already a flourishing University centre.

This is not all. The same Velūrpālaiyam plates furnish more information on this subject. In verse 13, it is said

तत्पुत्रसनुवर्त्तरसिंहवर्मा पुनर्व्यधा द्योघटिकां द्विजानां। शिलामयं वेशम्
शशांकमौले: कलासकल्पद्वयं महेन्द्रकल्पः।

With regard to ‘पुनर्व्यधाद्यो’ it is strange that the Editor of the inscription has adopted a wrong reading while the correct one was available to him. The correct reading which gives the correct sense is पुनर्व्यधात्. Again in the second line *katpa* in both places is *kalpa* meaning equal. Narasimhavarman II, son of Paramēśvara I's son, who was equal to Indra, reorganised the Ghaṭika and erected a stone-house for Śiva, like the very Kailāsa. The latter shows that it was Narasimhavarman who built the Kailasanātha temple at Conjeevaram. But what we are more concerned with here is that the Pallava king reorganised the Ghaṭika (पुनर्व्यधात्). It is unfortunate that we have no materials to show in what direction this reorganisation was effected. But it would not be wrong if we infer that a patron of art and letters like Narasimhavarman II should have improved the University both on its academic and financial side.

Passing on, we find the Ghaṭika mentioned in the Tālagunda inscription of Kākusthavarman (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff.). Professor Kielhorn ascribes this epigraph to the first half of the sixth century A.D. It may be observed that Kākusthavarman belonged to the Kadamba family who were Brahmins and devoted to the study of the Vēdas and performance of yajñas or Vēdic sacrifices. It is said that a member of this family, Mayūraśarman by name, went to the Pallava capital Kāñci, accompanied by his guru, to complete the full course of his studies. The story goes that their stay at Kāñci led to misunderstanding with the reigning king, which ultimately led to war and Mayūraśarman's success. Confining ourselves to verse 10 of the inscription which runs as follows:

यः प्रयाय पद्मवेन्द्रपुरीं गुरुणासमं वीरशर्मणा अधिजियांसुः प्रवचनम्
निखिलं घटिकां विवेशाऽग्नु तर्कुकः ॥

We have to note that this is very important from more than one point of view. First, it shows the universal recognition of the University learning at Kāñci. If this were not so, a prince of the neighbouring kingdom would deem it derogatory to enter an alien's territory with a view to further investigation of his studies. Though he belonged to an entirely different kingdom, and though he held the status of sovereignty not

inferior to the Pallava, yet the Brahman prince Mayūraśarman who had heard so much of Kāñci as a centre of learning made an humble petition to the University with a view to get the full benefit of the exposition of fundamental doctrines. In this connection the term *Tarkuka* is taken to mean a suppliant, and does not at all mean mendicant. It is said that the prince came along with his guru Viraśarma. It is difficult to explain why the guru came to Kāñci. Two explanations are possible. One is that Viraśarma had not seen the institution and longed to visit it. Or the term *tarkuka* is a misreading for *Tarkika* meaning logician and philosopher. Both pupil and master came to Kāñci to hold contest with University authorities on all chief doctrines worth investigating. If neighbouring princes and kings resorted to the citadel of learning, need it be told that Kāñci occupied a unique position as a University centre?

Next we have evidence to show that the University of Kāñci continued to the beginning of the eighth century A.D. This is furnished by the Kāñci Inscriptions of Vikramāditya edited by Dr. Hultzsch (Ep. Ind. III. pp. 359-60). This Vikramāditya was Vikramāditya II, who, according to the inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi, conquered Kāñci and returned the riches of the Rājasimheśvara temple. But what is interesting to us is the text of the inscription covered by the lines 6-8. The inscription is in Kanarese, and refers to the *Ghaṭikeya Mahājana*. It is said that those who destroyed this charitable grant would go to hell as those who commit the sin of killing the members of the Ghaṭika. Hultzsch's rendering “men of the assembly” is not happy. The Ghaṭika under reference is not assembly, but the University itself. Perhaps Hultzsch was led to this interpretation by the term *Mahājana* occurring with *Ghaṭika*. The honourable members of any big public institution in ancient India went by the name of *Mahājana*. The term must not be taken in its restricted sense. Viewed in this light it shows the sense of high appreciation and sincere feeling on the part of king Vikramāditya towards the University and its shining lights. To the king, the University authorities were sacred and inviolable, and it was a heinous crime to do injury to them.

Thus we see that, for at least a thousand years, from the early centuries before the Christian era down to 800 A.D., Kāñci flourished as a great University centre. The antiquity of the Kāmākṣi cult, the evidence of Tamil literature, and lastly the evidence of inscriptions, show unmistakable traces of different institutions specialising in Vaidic, heretical and other systems of philosophy which existed side by side, and all of them collectively made up the great Ghaṭika of the history of which South India may feel proud.

Notices of some of the Vidyas mentioned in the Puranas

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ANCIENT writers have defined the term 'Vidya' differently. Thus Kauṭilya thought that the characteristic feature of the four-fold Vidya is that it helps men to know their duty as well as their objective (Artha Śāstra, II, i)¹. His disciple Kāmandaka represented it as a means of knowing the caturvarga thoroughly (Niti Śāstra, II, 3, 17).² The Viṣṇu Purāṇa identified all Vidyās, other than the Parā one, with Śilpam (I. 19, 41)³. Śukrācārya opined that works which could be accomplished by means of speech, are called Vidyās (Niti Sāra, IV. 3, 25)⁴. Finally Jayanta Bhaṭṭa in his Nyāya Mañjari represented Vidyā as a means of knowing how to attain the object of human striving (p. 3)⁵.

It appears, however, that none of the definitions quoted above are satisfactory as they mostly represent the particular view-points of different writers, who flourished between the fourth century B.C. and the ninth century A.D. In this circumstance some such definition may be suggested.

VIDYĀ.—PARĀ AND APARĀ

The term 'Vidya' is derived from the root 'Vid'-to know. Hence the derivative sense of the word is 'knowledge'. But in our country true knowledge or Vidya proper has always been identified with Brahma Vidya or Mokṣa Vidya, technically called Parā Vidya or Pure Know-

1. चतुर्व एव विद्या इति कौटिल्यः ।
ताभिर्धर्मीर्था यद्विद्यात्तद्विद्यानाम् विद्यात्वम् ।
2. विद्याभिराभिनिषुणं चतुर्वर्गमुदारधीः ।
विद्यात्तदासां विद्यात्वं "विद्वज्ञाने" निगच्यते ॥
3. तत्कर्म यद्य वन्धाय सा विद्या या विमुक्तये ।
आयासायापरं कर्म विद्यान्याशिल्पनैषुणम् ॥
4. यद् यद् स्यात् वाचिकं सम्यक् कर्म विद्याभिसंब्रकम् ।
5. वेदनं विद्या तत्र न विद्यावेदनमपितु पुरुषार्थसाधनवेदनं विद्यायाः-
स्थानमाश्रय उपाय इत्यर्थः ।

ledge. Now, knowledge helps us to discover the truth by removing the veil of darkness or ignorance, called A-Vidya, which by blinding our eyes, renders us incapable of having a direct vision of the true character of things. Hence Brahma Vidya has been called सिद्धविद्यक for it helps us to realise the Supreme Truth which is eternally self-existent. In other words, it unfolds the vision of truth.

Sharply distinguished from the Parā or Pure Vidya stands the Aparā or impure Vidya which has been called साध्यविद्यक for with its aid one can call into being the non-existent, or more properly, bring into manifestation the unmanifest, just as a sculptor with the help of his chisel may wrest a beautiful image of Sarasvati imbedded in a block of marble.

In other words, Parā Vidya is directly connected with jñānam or knowledge in its highest form, while Aparā Vidya though partaking of the nature of Vidya in a certain sense, is the fountain-head of action or kriyā. But Vidya in his highest sense is Brahma Vidya, and as such it is ज्ञानात्मिका, and hence beyond the range of description or communication. Aparā Vidya, however, bridges the gulf that separates jñānam from kriyā.

Then Aparā Vidya helps us to discover the secret of, and thereby gain control over, certain phases of the cosmic processes and functions, in a way unknown to the laymen not initiated into its mysteries.

DISTINGUISHED FROM KALĀ.

On the other hand Vātsyāyana has described Kalā as 'what can be put into practice by repetition' (अभ्यासप्रयोज्या ; I, 3, 14), while Śūdra defined the term as 'what could be practised even by a dumb person' (IV. 3, 25).⁶

Then Kalā is the art or device by the employment of which the knowledge of the manifestations referred to above may be utilised, consciously or unconsciously, for practical demonstration.

Thus Aparā Vidya and Kalā agree in that both are साध्यविद्यक, i.e., the scope is more or less limited by pragmatic efficiency; and they disagree in the fact that while Vidyās deal generally with the theoretical side, Kalās lay more stress on the practical aspect.

But it appears ancient writers have at times used the terms rather loosely, for instance Vātsyāyana has identified Kalā with Vidya; the

6. शक्तो मूकोऽपि यत् कर्तुं कलासंशन्तु तत् स्मृतम् ।

Amara Kośa with Śilparin, while Hemachandra with Śilparin and Vijñānam (cf. The Kalās, JRAS. 1914). As a matter of fact it is not always possible to make a fine distinction between Vidyā and Kalā, for the two are often found to cover much the same ground in connotation.

ANTIQUITY OF THE VIDYĀ

The antiquity of the Vidyās can be traced as far back as the R̄gveda which makes mention of the Madhu Vidyā (I. 116, 12; 191, 10), and the Pravargya Vidyā (I. 116, 12 with Sāyaṇa). The former Vidyā represented the occult science whereby poison could be converted into nectar, while Sāyaṇa explains the latter one as the knowledge of the three Vedas and the corresponding Brāhmaṇas. The Pravargya Vidyā, as explained by Sāyaṇa, appears to be identical with the Trayī Vidyā, which is described by the Chāndogya Up. to have originated when Prajāpati brooded upon the creation (II. 23, 2). The term Vidyā when used by itself and without any qualifying prefix, has probably been used in the Vāj. Saṁ. (XL, 12), Tait. Saṁ. (II. 1, 2, 8; V. 1, 7, 2), Atharva Veda (VI. 116, 1; XI. 7, 10) and the Ait. Br. (VIII. 23, 8 ff) in the sense of Trayī.⁷ Various branches of learning prevalent in our country before 600 B.C. are enumerated in different works, viz. the Śatap. Br. (XI. 5, 6, 8) with the Br̄hadāraṇyaka Up. (II. 4, 10; IV. 5, 11), the Jaim. Up. Br. (I. 53, 9), the Chānd. Up. (VII. 1, 2), the Maṇḍūka Up. (I. 1, 4f) etc. Names of the special Vidyās current at that time lie scattered in these texts, of which mention may be made at this place of the Sarpa Vidyā (Śatap. Br. XI. 5, 6, 9), the Deva Yajana Vidyā (Ibid 10), the Asura Vidyā (Ibid. XIII. 4, 3, 11), the Agni Vidyā (Katha Up. I. 13ff), the Pañcāgni Vidyā (Chānd. V. 3 ff), the Sāṇḍilya Vidyā (Ibid. III. 14, 1ff), the Paryāṇa Vidyā (Kauṣ. Up. I, 3), and of the Saṁvarga Vidyā (Ibid. IV. 3, 1ff). It appears, however, that most of the Vidyās mentioned last are esoteric ones.

It is worth noting here that attempts were made as early as the age of the later Saṁhitās to classify the Vidyās on some well-recognised principles, e.g. Vidyā and A-Vidyā (Vāj. Saṁ. XL, 12 ff), Parā and Aparā (Maṇḍrika Up. I, 1, 4ff), as also Ātma Vidyā and Mantra Vidyā (chānd. VIII. 1, 3).

The number of the branches of learning as well as that of the special Vidyās naturally increased as time wore on, and the Purāṇas, com-

7. The names of the four Vedas, however, are mentioned as early as the Śatap. Br. (XI. 5. 6. 4 ff) and the Gopatha Br. (I. 2. 16); besides this the latter work gives the names of the five minor Vedas (I. 1. 10. 21).

piled as they mostly were at a later date, give us the largest number of these, some of which we shall deal with in the present paper.

It may be mentioned here, in passing, that various synonyms have so far been suggested for the term Vidyā, viz., Mantra, Śāstra, Vijñāna, Manta, Vijjā (in Pāli) etc.

With these few words by way of introduction, we directly proceed to enumerate the Vidyās mentioned in the Purāṇas.

VIDYĀS MENTIONED IN THE PURĀNAS

(i) *Assuming various forms at will* इच्छारूपधारिणी Taken recourse to by Madanikā, the daughter of Mēnakā (Mārkand. II, 30); by Mahiṣa, the Asura while fighting with the Dēvi (Ibid, LXXXIII, 20-41; Skanda, Setu Māhātmayām, VII, 20-25) (also cf. Padma, Sr̄sti, 21,3; Rmn. VI. 37, 7-8; Mbh. III. 96, 7-8).

(ii) *Travelling a thousand yōjanas in half a day—with the help of an ointment rubbed on the sole of the feet* पादलेपम् and certain prescribed formulae (Mārk. LXZ, 8ff.).

(iii) *Astragrāma-hṛdaya Vidyā*—Efficacious in killing all enemies. A list of possessors beginning from Śiva given (Mārk. LXIII, 23-27).

(iv) *Sarva-bhūta-ruta Vidyā*—To understand the speech of all living beings (Mārk. LXIV, 3; Padma, Sr̄sti, 10, 85; Matsya, XX, 25), (cf. Rmn. II. 35, 19; Mbh. I. 70, 45; XII. 116, 15; XIII. 117, 8; Jātaka, I, 211; II, 388, etc.)

(v) *Padminī Vidyā*—The possessor became the lord of the Nidhis, who supplied him with unheard of wealth (Mārk. LXIV, 14-15).

(vi) *Rakṣoghna Mantra*—To ward off the intruding Rākṣasas from a sacrifice (Mārk. LXX, 21-22).

(vii) *Jālandhari Vidyā*—Communicated to Lava and Kuśa by Vālmiki along with other arts and sciences. (Padma, Pātāla, XXXVII, 13).

(viii) *Vidyā-gopāla Mantra*—For acquiring supernatural powers in speech (वाक् सिद्धिं) (Ibid. XLI, 132).

(ix) *Parā Vālā Vidyā*—For attaining super-human powers instantaneously. First communicated to Arjuna by Tripurā Devī (Ibid, XLIII, 40).

(x) *Śakuna Vidyā*—Science of omens. Specimens given (Ibid, LXIII, 49ff.). (cf. Mbh. III. 65, 24).

- (xi) *Puruṣa-pramohini Vidyā*—To win over a man (Padma, Bhūmī, XXXIV, 38).
- (xii) *Indrajāla Vidyā*—with the help of which Sulocanā changed herself into a man (Padma, Kriyā, Yoga-sāra, V. 214). Cf. Kādambari, p. 75.
- (xiii) *Yayñā Vidyā, Veda Vidyā*—(Padma, Sṛṣṭi, XVIII, 47). (cf. Mbh. I. 70, 38).
- (xiv) *Ullāpana-vidhāna Vidyā*—Kṛṣṇa cured the hunch-back of Mathurā with the help of this Vidyā (Viṣṇu, V, 20, 9-10).
- (xv) *Āsuraka Mantra*—for counteracting the effects of ordeals (Skanda, Kumārikā, XLIV, 21).
- (xvi) *Sārasvata Mantra*—for attaining mastery over all arts and sciences (Ibid, XLVI, 132-33).
- (xvii) *Dākini Mantra*—First communicated to Pārvatī by Śiva; being infatuated she began to drink the blood and eat the flesh of her lord (Ibid, XLVII, 61-64).
- (xviii) *Eight Siddhis* or super-human powers attained by a Yogi enumerated (Ibid, LV, 92ff.).
- (xix) *Mahā-Garuḍa-Mantra*—to neutralise the effect of snake bites (Skanda, Veṅkaṭācala Māhātmyam, XI, 28).
- (xx) *Vaśikaranya Mantra*—(Skanda, Vaiśākha Māsa, XXIV, 33).
- (xxi) *Māraṇa, Mohana, Vaśya, Ākarṣaṇa and Kṣobhaṇa*—(Skanda Dharmāranya, XX, 27).
- (xxii) *Sāvari Mantra Vidyā*—Efficacious in bringing into control others by producing infatuation (Ibid. XXXVI, 41).
- (xxiii) *Agni Stambhana ; Jala Stambhana, Vāk Stambhana, Khecarītvāni, Adrśyatvāni* (Skanda, Kāśi, XLV, 15). (cf. Mbh. III. 122, 14 ; 124, 17 ; IX. 29, 52, etc.).
- (xxiv) *Viṣa Vidyā* (Ibid, XLVI, 17) (cf. Mbh. I. 20. 16ff ; Jātaka, VI, 181).
- (xxv) *Viśoṣinī Vidyā*—cultivated by Agastya before drinking off the contents of the ocean (Skanda, Nāgara, XXXV, 33). (cf. Mbh. III, 105, 3ff.).
- (xxvi) *Puñiliṅga Mantra = Garbhopaniṣad*—Efficacious in producing a son (Ibid, XXXVI, 6-7).
- (xxvii) *Vāmadevya Mantra*—for protection against evil spirits (Ibid, 9).

- (xxviii) *Śrī Sūkta Mantra*—for obtaining wealth (Ibid. 14).
- (xxix) *Sarpa Sūkta*—for keeping away snakes (Ibid, 23).
- (xxx) *Vyāghra Sāma Mantra*—for keeping away tigers (Ibid, 26).
- (xxxi) *Devavrata Mantra*—for temporising freaks of nature (Ibid, 28).
- (xxxii) *Pañcendra Mantra*—for overcoming droughts (Ibid, 29).
- (xxxiii) *Prājāpatya and Vāruṇa Mantra*—for stunning enemies (Ibid, 35).
- (xxxiv) ‘*Kālī Karālī*’ *Mantra*—for sucking anything dry (Ibid, 36).
- (xxxv) *Nagara Mantra*—to neutralise the effect of poison and indigestion (Ibid, CXIV, 79-83).
- (xxxvi) *Vajrā Vidyā*—to foil snake bites (Ibid, CXVII, 25-26).
- (xxxvii) *Laghimā Vidyā*—for levitation of the body (Ibid, CXXIX, 66).
- (xxxviii) *Vāruṇa Mantra*—for drawing water from the earth (Ibid, CLXXXIII, 11).
- (xxxix) *Khecarī Vidyā ; Bhūta Tantra ; Vyantari Vidyā and Gāndharva Vidyā*—(Skanda, Prabhāsa-Kṣetra, VIII, 6-9).
- (xl) *Vaiṣṇava and Māheśvara fevers*—created by Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively for overwhelming the armies of each other (Skanda, Avantikṣetra, II, 32ff.; Bhāgavata, X, 63, 24 ; Brahmavaivarta, IV, 120, 50-52).
- (xli) *Śabda Vidyā*—described as extensive (Skanda, Prabhāsa, CCIV, 14) (cf. Hiuen Tsang. I, p. 78).
- (xlii) *Sañjīvanī Vidyā*—for bringing back to life the dead people. Applied by Śukrācārya to restore to life Andhaka's fallen heroes, while the latter was fighting with Śiva (Vāmana, LXIX, 7-8 ; Śiva,⁸ Dharma, IV, 187) (cf. Mbh. I. 76, 7-8).
- (xliii) *Mṛtyuñjaya Vidyā*—Śukrācārya did not lose his life even when devoured by Śiva, because just then he was repeating the Mantra (Śiva, Dharma, V, 8-10 ; Skanda, Kāśi, XVI, 1ff.; Padma, Uttara, IV, 35).

⁸. The Śiva Purāṇa is not included in the traditional list of the Mahāpurāṇas, but see Farquhar's Outline of the Religious Literature, p. 139.

(xliv) *Vaiṣṇava Yoga*—To outwit Śiva, Urvaśī assumed the form of Pārvatī with the help of the Yoga. Her companions too assumed the forms of other companions of Pārvatī (Śiva, Dharma, VII, 28-32). Veda-nidhi's eldest son vanished with the aid of this Yoga from the presence of the Gandharva maidens (Padma, Svarga, X, 45). Similarly did the Ṛṣi lad Agnipa (Padma, Uttara, CXXVIII, 54).

(xlv) *Infusing life into a wooden figure*—through yogic powers (Śiva, Dharma, XIII, 17ff.) (cf. the rite of Prāṇa-Pratiṣṭhā in connection with image worship).

(xlvi) *Māheśvari Mahāvidyā*; *Dhanur Vidyā*; *Śastra Vidyā*; *Astra Vidyā*; *Laukiki Vidyā*; *Ratha Vidyā*; *Gaja Vidyā*; *Āśva Vidyā*; *Gadā Vidyā*; *Mantrāhvāna Vidyā* and *Mantra Visarjana Vidyā*—transmitted to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa by Viśvāmitra (Brahma, CXXIII, 97-98).

(xlvii) *Vajra-vāhanikā Vidyā*—for vanquishing the enemy in the field of battle (Liṅga, II, 51).

(xlviii) *Sinha Vidyā*—could give the desired colour to the stones wherewith to make images (Agni, XLIII, 13).

(xlix) *Garga Vidyā*—The science of constructing residential houses (Agni, LXV, 7) (cf. Vāstu Vidyā, Mbh. I. 51, 15; Jātaka II, 297, etc.).

(i) *Narasīha Vidyā*—Helps one to attain the object of one's striving (Agni, LXIII, 3).

(ii) *Bhelakhī Vidyā*—Proof against death and enemies in the battle field (Agni, CXXXIII, 40).

(iii) *Mahāmāri Vidyā*—for crushing the enemy (Agni, CXXXVII, 1ff.).

(lvi) *Antardhāna Vidyā*—communicated to Pṛthu by the winged beings (Bhāgavata, IV, 15, 19). (cf. Mbh. III. 244, 22).

(liv) *Vaiṣṇavi Vidyā*—with the help of which Indra vanquished the Asuras (Ibid, VI, 7, 39-40). Summed up in the Nārāyaṇa Kavaca (VI, 8).

(lv) *Āśvaśirā Vidyā*—for attaining emancipation in the course of this life (Ibid, VI, 9, 52).

(lvi) *Deva-hūti Vidyā*—Employed for calling upon the gods. Communicated to Pṛthā by Durvāsas (Ibid, IX, 24, 32).

(lvii) *Mahāmāyā Vidyā*—Destroyed all magical charms (Ibid, X, 55, 16).

(lviii) *Sarva-kāma-prada Vidyā*—for fulfilling all desires to be repeated for seven nights together (Garuḍa, I, 201).

(lix) *Viṣṇu-dharmākhya Vidyā*—To attain the status of Indra by defeating all enemies (Ibid, I, 202).

(lx) *Citra Śāstra*—The science (?) of Painting (Bhaviṣya, I. 162, 53).

(lxii) *Dyūta Vidyā*—The science (?) of gambling (Ibid, III (b), 13, 3). (cf. Jātaka, VI, 281).

(lxiii) *Gupta Vidyā*—for spiriting away persons (Ibid, III (c), 30, 42-43).

(lxiv) *Yakṣamayī Vidyā*—Yielded five pieces of gold whenever repeated (Ibid, III(d), 7, 13).

(lxv) *Susīlā Mahāvidyā*—Sharpened the intellect and helped to acquire learning (Brahmavaivarta, III, 17, 14).

It will be evident from the list of the Vidyās compiled that it was possible to acquire one in different ways; e.g., :

(a) through control of the mind or the vital force (yogic),

(b) through psychic force represented by a dynamic sound (Māntrik).

(c) through potencies and properties inherent in natural objects or objects artificially manufactured for specific purposes, and

(d) through other sources.

AGE OF THE PURĀNAS

After giving a tolerably complete list of the Vidyās mentioned in the Purāṇas it may not be considered irrelevant if we do now proceed to fix the approximate age of the texts in which most of them find a literary recognition for the first time. Fortunately for us, the previous researches of such noted scholars as Wilson, Fleet, Smith, Pargiter, Keith and others in this field have made our task easy to a certain extent so far as the fixing of the lower limit is concerned.

Though the Purāṇas in some form or other existed as early as the days of the later Sainhitas (Vide Ātharva Veda, XI, 7, 24), modern authorities, however, are not prepared to assign such an early date to the existing texts. As is well-known, most of the scholars led by Pargiter are inclined to assign the third century A.D. to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, though the Devī Māhātmya section was not added to it till

the Sixth Century A.D. (Farquhar, p. 150). Next in order come in the Padma, the Bhaviṣya and the Brahma, verses from which have been freely quoted in the land grants of the fifth century A.D. (J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 248ff.). With reference to the first-named Purāṇa, which is encyclopaedic in character, though the facts that Kālidāsa, who is said to have flourished in the fifth century A.D., made use of it, and that the frequent mention of the term 'Dināra', make it probable that a part of the text was known as early as the fourth century A.D. in the Marāthā country, it will be more reasonable if we can see our way to assign a period beginning from the fourth century A.D., rather than a particular date for the compilation of the work. In regard to the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa though it is certain that the Āpastambiya Dh. Sūtra—a production of the fifth century B.C.—quotes from a Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa (II. 24, 6), the Bombay edition of the text appears to have been substantially recast at the Court of Jayachandra of Kanauj in the twelfth century A.D.

Then come in the Vāyu, the Matsya, the Viṣṇu and the Brahmanāḍa which, on grounds of the historical data furnished by those texts, have been assigned to the fifth century A.D. by Smith and Pargiter. So that we shall not be far wrong if we fix the period from the third to fifth century A.D. as the lower limit of the age of some of the Purāṇas, as we mostly find them to-day.

Of the other Purāṇas, the Skanda has been assigned to the middle of the seventh century A.D. by the late Mm. Pt. Hara Prasad Śāstri (JASB. 1893, pp. 250ff.), while Mr. Vaidya and others are in favour of assigning 900 A.D. to the compilation of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (JBRAS, 1925, I, p. 144ff. etc.). The Agni, the Garuḍa and the Nārada group, saturated as each is with Tāntric doctrines, and influenced as it is by the tenets of the Bhakti cult, cannot be placed earlier. No definite dates have so far been suggested for the compilation of the Vāmana, the Kūrma, the Varāha and the Liṅga, but these must have come into being by 1000 A.D. as the existence of all the eighteen Purāṇas has been testified to by Al Beruni. The Brahma-Vaivarta, as it is published to-day, seems to have been thoroughly recast after the Chaitanya movement in Bengal. So that it can be safely placed in the fifteenth century A.D., though the kernel might have been ready as early as the tenth century A.D. In these circumstances we are inclined to propose the period ranging from the twelfth to the fifteenth century A.D. as the upper limit of the date of the compilation of the Purāṇas.

So, it will not be unreasonable on our part to conclude that the Vidyās enumerated above were cultivated in our country roughly during the first twelve centuries of the Christian era and even earlier, and that most of them were gradually forgotten for want of culture brought on by political causes.

Some features of the Primitive Dravidian Tongue

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Just like the Primitive Indo-European mother-tongue, which the Philologists have constructed as the result of an inter-comparison of the facts of the various groups of languages belonging to the Indo-European family, the primitive mother-tongue of the Dravidian group of languages may also be traced by an inter-comparison of the grammatical facts of the languages spoken in Southern India. To talk of a primitive Dravidian language may be exasperating to some of those who, while denying an independent existence to the languages of South India, are inclined to maintain that the languages spoken throughout India or even perhaps the whole world, are either allied to the Indo-European or derived from Sanskrit or Prākrit. But a family relationship between Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayālam, Tulu and some other languages of the hill tribes spoken in southern and central India cannot be doubted by anybody, and until the grammatical facts and the word material of all these languages are satisfactorily traced to the Āryan sources, their cognate relationship with the Āryan or Indo-European cannot be an accomplished fact. Some Dravidian scholars like Dr. Caldwell, while connecting these languages with the so-called Scythian group, considered that there might be a remote possibility of contact between the Āryan and the Dravidian groups of languages at their original sources in pre-historic times, while others thought that the Dravidian was a direct off-shoot of the Āryan. But there are a few other scholars who consider the Dravidian to be neither Āryan nor Scythian, but an independent group by itself.

Leaving aside the question of ultimate relationship of these languages for the present, and depending upon the family-relationship that these languages of South India bear to one another, one can try the possibility of tracing the earlier form of language of which these must have been the later developments, since they bear a family-relationship with common linguistic characteristics of their own. If we bring together all the distinguishing features found common to these languages and try to trace them to their original sources, we may get an idea of the general features of their common mother tongue. Of course, much has yet to be done even by way of comparison and construction in connection with these languages, unlike Indo-European. Yet the general agglutinative nature which these languages have yet preserved to a great extent, may help to make our task easier. By a comparison of their grammatical facts and word-

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A Chronological Bibliography of the Writings of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar

1900. May. Mysore under the Wodeyers. (Thesis for the M.A. Degree) Madras Review. (1900.)
 1901. April. The Chola Ascendancy in South India. (1901.)
 1902. January. The Chola Administration. (1902.)
 1902. July. The Third Tamil Sangam. (MCCM 20; 26-30.)
 1902. September. Kamban and Jayamkondān. (MCCM 20; 138-43.)
 1903. December. India and Imperial Protection. (IR 3; 760-2.)
 1904. Ramanuja, His Life and Times, Wednesday Review, Trichinopoly. (Republished in book form by Messrs. G. A. Natesan.)
 1904. April. The Age of Namāvār. (MCCM, 558-62.)
 1904. The Age of the Last Seven Patrons of Tamil Literature. (Madras Review.)
 1904. December.
 1905. November.
 1906. May-Sept. Historical Connection between South India and Ceylon. (S.T. 4; 346-54, 388-96, 476-83; 522-31.)
 1906. June. Self-Immolation which is not Sati. (IA 35; 129-31.)
 1906. July. Brhat Kathā. (JRAS 1906; 689-92.)
 1906. August. Tirumangai Alvār and His Date. (IA 35; 288-33.)
 1907. November. Lessons from Ancient India. (IR 8; 809-22.)
 1908. May. Yatirājāvaibhavam of Āndhapūrṇa. (IA 38; 129.)
 1908. August. Celebrities in Tamil Literature. (IA 38; 227-43.)
 1909. The Augustan Age of Tamil Literature. (T.A. 5; 23-51.)
 1909. Aug.-Dec. Ancient India in Tamil. (ST 6; 471-518 7; 42-92.)
 1909. October. History of South India. (QJMS 1; 3-9.)
 1910. The Chola Empire in South India. (JSIA 1; 30-117.)
 1910. January. India at the Dawn of the Christian Era. (JSIA 1; 30-117.)
 1910. April. Gold Mining in Ancient India (QJMS 1; 111-3.)
 1910. October. Fire-Walking Ceremony at the Dharmarāja Festival. (QJMS 2; 29-31.)
 1911. Ancient India, containing a selection of the more important of the above.
 1911. April. The History and Commerce of the Indian Ocean. (QJMS 2; 71-82.)
 1914. Jan.-Feb. A note on the Diamonds in South India. (QJMS 3; 129-40.)
 The Mahāvāṁśa and South Indian History. (IR 15-20; 114-9. QJMS 4; 127-40.)
 1914. Oct.-Dec. The Chank in Ancient India. (QJMS 4; 160-2.)
 1914. June-Dec. Landmarks in South Indian History. (JSIA 5-85-99.)
 1915 Feb.-March. The Alvārs, and their Times. (QJMS 4; 169-72.)
 1915 April. The Dynasties of the Kali Age. (IR 15-297-9.)
 1915 October. Social Legislation under Hindu Governments. (Reprinted as a book.) (IR 6; 47-7 and QJMS.)
 1915. A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History. (Reprinted as a book.) (QJMS 6-61-109.)
 1915. September. Research in South Indian History, Educational Review. (Presidency College Union Society, Inaugural.)
 1916. The Age of the Sangam Literature, (Pachaiyappa's Historical and Tamil Societies.) Inaugural (Pamphlet.)
 1916. Agnisikandha and The Fourth Rock Edict of Asoka. (JRAS 1915; 521-7. IA 44-203.)
 1917. The Yet-Remembered Ruler of a Long-Forgotten Empire; Krishnadevaraya. Lecture to the Maharaja's College Union Society, Mysore. (Hindustan Review. 1917.)
 1917 May-April. The Antiquities of Mahabalipur. (IA 46; 49-57, 65-73.) (Revised and reprinted in Notes on the Seven Pagodas by Sir R. C. Temple and others; Issued as a separate reprint. IA 1929.)
 1917. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil's Dravidian Architecture. (English Edn.)
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 1918. The Beginnings of South Indian History.
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- A mediæval Kērala Ruler, Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara. (Ernakulam College Magazine, July 1919.)
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 (2) Jatāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya.
 (3) Educational Foundations in Mediaeval India. (Everyman's Review.)
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 The Age of Perundēvanār. (ABI 3; 57-65.)
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 The Bakhair of Rāmarāja. (IHR C.P. 7-54-63.)
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 Vyāgra, the Feudatory of Vākātaka Prithivisēna. (IA 55; 223-7.)
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1928. Introduction to R. Gopalan's The Pallavas of Kāñchi.
1928. Bappabhaṭṭi-Charita. (J. Bo. Br. R.A.S.)
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1930. The Pandyan Kingdom by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. (Book Notice.) (IA 188.)
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1930. The Rise of the Mahratta Power in the South. (JIH, Vol. IX, p. 173.)
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1932. Two Uttaramallūr Inscriptions of Parāntaka I—A New Study. (JIH. XI, Appendix.)
1933. Some Rajput Traditions in South India (Ojha Commemoration Volume.)
1933. March. The Tamil Śāgam in a Pāndyan Charter of the early Tenth Century A.D. (IHQ. Vol. IX, pp. 63-75.)
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Soviet Indologists and the Institute of Oriental Studies: Works on Contemporary India in the Soviet Union

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Modern Soviet Indology as an academic discipline, covering the vast range of issues relating to contemporary India, began in the years following the October Revolution, with the 1930s being the formative period. This discipline had the rich heritage of classical Indology of prerevolutionary Russia, which had developed a strong tradition of Oriental studies. Yet Indological studies during this earlier period concentrated on such subjects as ancient and medieval history, philosophy, and religion. According to two writers specializing in this field, "In spite of its considerable achievements . . . classical (academical) Indology did not for various reasons develop the necessary set of subjects for the study and comprehension of a country so complicated and original as India. . . . Topics related to civil (political), social and economic life of Indian society, in particular contemporary Indian society, were almost completely disregarded by academical Indology" (Alayev and Vapha 1968: 4). However, they add that "outside the academical school" there existed at the same time the tradition of the works of the revolutionary democrats and "progressive workers" like Novikov and A. N. Radishchev, which were marked by a "resolute note of sympathy for the peoples of India and censure of the colonial plundering." These ideas were further developed by Soviet Indology under "new historical conditions" (*ibid.*).

Some of the earliest accounts of India were contained in the travelogues of Russian

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The author would like to thank Professor Jerry Hough of Duke University who guided the research for this article undertaken at the Russian Institute, Columbia University. The subsequent part of the research was carried out at the Russian Research Center, Harvard University. The author would also like to thank Dr. Blair Ruble of the Kennan Institute of Advanced Russian Studies, along with Hough, for insightful comments on the manuscript. A great deal of information on the Institute of Oriental Studies (IVAN), particularly its structure and activities during the late 1970s, is based on extensive interviews with two of its

members. The information on IVAN in some Western reference aids is not clear and is often contradictory.

Note: The term *Indology*, which generally has a "classical" connotation, has been used in this article to cover the entire range of India studies, including contemporary issues. Similarly, *Soviet Indologists* includes Soviet specialists on contemporary India. The term *Orientalology* covers the entire range of Oriental studies, of which Indology has been a part.

Note also that a list of acronyms and abbreviations frequently used in this article is included.

Editor's Note: I would like to acknowledge the valuable assistance of Professor Gregory Grossman, University of California, Berkeley, in checking the romanization of Russian names and titles.

travelers to India and in the works of pioneers of Russian Indology. One such account, wrapped in fantasy, was written around the twelfth century A.D.—*The Story of India The Rich*. It was followed by the more realistic accounts of Russian merchants such as Afanasi Nikitin's *Travels Beyond Three Seas*, and those of other travelers such as F. S. Efremov. Among the early Indologists visiting India was G. S. Lebedev, a musician and dramatist, who lived in Bengal for twelve years (1785–1797), studying Sanskrit and Bengali drama. The translation of the Bhagavadgita by a Russian writer in 1792 was followed by the establishment of chairs in Oriental languages and Sanskrit at Moscow and St. Petersburg universities, which later published the so-called "St. Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary." Another Russian scholar who visited India in the nineteenth century was Ivan Minaev who toured India, Ceylon, Nepal, and Burma studying Buddhism. (For further details, see Kemp 1958.) Peter the Great founded schools for the study of Oriental languages, libraries, and museums, with collections of Oriental manuscripts, and also conceived the (unrealized) project of setting up an Asian academy. In 1818, the Imperial Academy of Sciences announced the formation of the *Aziatskii Muzei* (Asiatic Museum) with scholars Kh. D. Fren, B. A. Dorn, K. G. Zeleman, and S. F. Ol'denberg as its successive directors (1818–1934), who laid the foundations of Russian Orientology. (For details on this, see Ruble 1978: 343–45.)

The October Revolution lent a new dimension to Soviet Orientology in general and Indology in particular, and the Marxist-Leninist approach now served as a theoretical framework for research on the more topical issues such as the independence movement and the role of the national bourgeoisie in India. From 1917 on, modern Soviet Indology evolved through several phases, the periodization of which has been defined differently by different scholars. Zafar Imam (1977) distinguishes four periods, Walter L. Laqueur (1956), six.

For the purposes of this essay, I have preferred to trace the evolution of these developments through three broad phases: the Lenin and Stalin period, the Khrushchev period, and the post-Khrushchev period.

In this essay I have studied the main trends in the evolution of modern Soviet Indology through each of these broad phases. I have also examined the extent to which these trends reflected developments in Soviet Oriental studies, of which Indology was a part, and the manner in which both these in turn were conditioned by shifts in Soviet ideology. Alongside, I have also examined developments in Soviet Indology within the context of the organizational growth of the Institute of Oriental Studies (IVAN) and the evolving expertise of noted Soviet Indologists on contemporary India. Furthermore, I have also sought to determine the extent to which appointments and organizational changes in IVAN reflected the following: (1) emerging trends in Soviet Orientology and Indology, especially in the context of shifts in emphasis to the study of contemporary issues, and (2) the status accorded to India studies (in IVAN), which in turn was shaped by shifts in Soviet ideological formulations.

The Lenin and Stalin Period

In this first phase in the growth of Soviet Indology, from 1917 to the mid-1920s, the number of institutes engaged in Oriental studies increased. This increase logically coincided with the theses adopted at the Second Comintern Congress in 1920 and the

Fifteenth CPSU Congress in 1927 underlining the need for supporting the liberation movements in the East. In the 1920s institutes for research on Asiatic studies were opened in Tashkent and Baku, and the Asiatic Museum (opened in St. Petersburg in 1818) was enlarged between 1920 and 1926, also the time when many Indologists joined the Collegium of Orientalists founded in 1921 (Gafurov 1970: 7). The All-Russian Association of Orientology (VNAV) was organized in 1922 as part of the Commissariat of Nationalities, with *Novyi Vostok* (New East) as its organ, published from 1922 to 1930. Laqueur describes this group of Soviet Orientalists, chief among whom were Mikhail Pavlovich and V. A. Gurkho-Kriazhin who ran the *Novyi Vostok*, as "communists without academic training, but with academic ambitions, some quite capable and others of no distinction whatever" (1956: 21).

According to another scholar, Oded Eran, the VNAV was attached to the Commissariat of Nationalities, not merely for the purpose of establishing a hold over the former Eastern domains of the tsarist empire (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan), which at any rate had been re-annexed by 1921, but also for developing new relations with the "foreign East." Eran also attributes the growth of Oriental studies in the period following the October Revolution to the need felt by the Bolsheviks for developing "area expertise" for these regions. In fact, Eran holds that "the first actual foreign policy research programs began to develop early in the twenties, in the field of Oriental studies . . . since the West [at any rate] was better known" (1979: 18–27).

Following the Sixth Comintern Congress held in 1928 (under Stalin) and its adoption of the "theses on the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies," which marked the beginning of a militant line, Soviet Orientalists were criticized for their "apolitical approach and their pseudo-Marxist stand." As a result, the VNAV was dissolved and replaced by the new Association of Marxist Orientalists, which began a new publication, *Revoliutsionnyi Vostok* (Revolutionary East). Another significant publication during this period was *Materialy po natsional'no-kolonial'nym problemam* (Material on national colonial problems). (For further details, see Alayev and Vaphi 1968: 7.) It is interesting to note how the shifts in the Bolsheviks' perception of the role of the national bourgeoisie in national liberation movements affected the development of Soviet Oriental studies in general and Soviet Indology in particular. The writings of Soviet Indologists during this period were marked by the inconsistency to be expected from scholars required to effect a volte-face, along with the shifts and fluctuations in the Comintern strategy.

The new strategy formulated in 1928 denounced "national reformism," and the role of the Indian national bourgeoisie was dubbed as "vacillating." Consequently, in the Comintern's perceptions, the role of the Indian bourgeoisie was somewhat discredited. Soviet Orientalists, in keeping with this line, "now denounced the same national movements which had hitherto been considered communism's main allies" (Laqueur 1956: 22; also Eran 1979: 26). This line was amply reflected in the works of the Soviet Indologists V. V. Balabushhevich, I. M. Reisner, E. M. Zhukov, and A. M. D'akov during the 1930s, when Gandhi was described as a "petty-bourgeois politician" and the Indian National Congress was denounced for compromising with the British imperialists. In 1935 the "Soviet Orientalists were obliged to perform another about-face. With the adoption of the 'popular front' as the keynote of Soviet world policy . . . the national reformists again became allies of the Communists, and writers in *Revoliutsionnyi Vostok* had to find words of praise for both Gandhi and

Chiang Kai-shek" (Laqueur 1956: 23). These inconsistencies in the writings of Soviet Indologists during this period thus reflected the fluctuations in Soviet policies, and the role of the scholars remained essentially propagandist—a passive role of apologists functioning within orthodox ideological constraints. It would be interesting—though outside the scope of this article to discuss in detail—to study the interrelation between the changes in Comintern strategies and shifts in Soviet academic perceptions along with similar shifts in Soviet strategy and tactics for the Indian communists, which, as in the case of Soviet Indologists, caused immense confusion and disarray among the former. (For a detailed discussion, see Donaldson 1974.)

During the 1929–1934 period, Soviet Oriental studies "had become completely politicized and in fact were carried on mainly by the Comintern personnel. Consequently, when the latter were decimated by the great purge of 1937, Eastern studies "received a mortal blow and virtually ceased to exist in any form, either academic or propagandistic . . . the Association of Marxist-Orientalists came to a sudden unexplained end in 1937" (Laqueur 1956: 23). According to Eran, in 1928 the Central Committee meeting of the All Russian Communist party expressed dissatisfaction with the work of VNAV, and a showdown occurred between it and the Scientific Research Association (NIA), a Comintern-run Oriental studies research group. Following a 1930 resolution of the Central Committee, the presidium of the Communist Academy took over management of all Oriental research in the Soviet Union and continued throughout the 1930s (Eran 1979: 27–29). This takeover also influenced the content and character of Soviet Oriental studies, which now became relatively more politicized.

The growth of Soviet Indology during this phase, therefore, needs to be viewed against this background of developments in Soviet Oriental studies. Commenting on the emerging trends in this field, L. B. Alayev observes that Marxist-Leninist theory had now become the methodological basis for researching Indian problems during this period, and the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on India served as examples of scientific studies of such problems (1968: 9).

The Institute of Oriental Studies and Soviet Indologists

The main centers of Indology that came to develop such an expertise were the Institut Vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk (IVAN), the Oriental Studies Institutes in the Central Asian Republics, the Institute of World Economics and World Politics, the International Agrarian Institute, and the Scientific Research Association for the Study of National and Colonial Problems. Specialists in Indology were trained mainly at the IVAN in Moscow and the Leningrad Institute of Living Eastern Languages.¹ IVAN was founded in 1930 in Leningrad after the merger of the Asiatic Museum, the Collegium of Orientalists, the Institute of Buddhist Culture, and the Turkology Centre, and it became a part of the Social Sciences Section of the U.S.S.R. Academy

¹ The study of the structure, organization, and growth of IVAN is based on the following sources: *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia* 5 (New York: Macmillan, 1973, trans. of 3rd ed.); *220 Let Akademii Nauk SSSR, (1725–1945)* (Moscow, 1945), pp. 270–71; G. G. Kotovskii, "Indology in the USSR," *Soviet Review*, no. 24 (New Delhi:

USSR Embassy, 1976), pp. 12–13; A. Alutuk, "Indology in the Soviet Union," *Studies of the Soviet Union* 1 (1957): 105; *Fifty Years of Soviet Oriental Studies, Brief Reviews, 1917–1967*, nos. 1–26 (Moscow, 1967); V. V. Balabushhevich and A. H. Vafa, "Indology in USSR" in *India and the Soviet Union: A Symposium*, ed. by V. V. Balabushhevich

of Sciences.² The directorship of IVAN, from its inception, was held mainly by eminent academicians and Orientalists (Appendix I). As for its organization, to start with, IVAN had the following geographic divisions: Caucasus, Arab countries, Jewish-Turkish, Iran, Indo-Tibetan, China, Mongolia, and Japan-Korea. By 1937 it had added two more divisions, the Novo-Indiskii (Modern Indian) and Drevnego Vostoka (Ancient East), which gave further impetus to the study of contemporary India and to growth of expertise in this field.

A study of the pattern of the academic training of some of the Orientalists associated with IVAN at its inception reflects the continuity in the existing trends in Soviet Oriental studies (Appendix I). This points to an accent on the study of "classical" Orientology including linguistics, philosophy, and religion. More importantly, it also points to what the establishment perceived as a gap in the orientation of the "old school," which did not equip these scholars to deal with contemporary themes that were part of the newly introduced charter of IVAN. Eran holds that "the decision to establish IVAN was well within the trend toward harnessing the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences to the service of the Soviet government and its practical needs . . . the obvious intention was to convert the Institute into a body for policy-oriented research projects." He comments that the scholars at IVAN were incapable of making this switch and adduces arguments in support of this. Eran adds that in the mid-1930s under Samoilovich's directorship, efforts were afoot to induce "more politically oriented scholars," but that his successors Struve and Barannikov were not "particularly policy-oriented figures" (Eran 1979: 48–49, quoting Kuznetsova and Kulagina 1970: 106).

In keeping with the existing trends in Soviet Oriental studies, the study of classical Indology reached its peak during the 1930s in the form of several translations of works of literature, philosophy, religion, and philology; yet alongside, a core of Indologists also studied the problems of contemporary India. Among those scholars were I. M. Reisner, A. M. D'akov, V. V. Balabushhevich, and N. M. Goldberg, who through their works laid the foundations of modern Indology (Appendix I). These trends in the study of Soviet Indology, which had taken root in the mid-1930s, in turn promoted the development of a more scientific and thorough study of India. In methodological terms, research work was improved and was undertaken mainly at the institutes of the U.S.S.R. and the Republican academies of sciences. The Tashkent, Leningrad, and Moscow universities in particular instituted chairs for India studies and Indic languages (Alayev and Vapha 1968: 10). Furthermore, some Indologists at IVAN were also concurrently affiliated with the Pacific Institute, which dealt with contemporary issues and political problems of the general Pacific Ocean basin area, including South and Southeast Asia (Rernnek 1975: 103).

and Bimla Prasad (New Delhi: Peoples Publishing, 1969); Paul K. Urban and Andrew I. Lebed, *Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1917–70* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1971); *Directory of Soviet Officials, Vol. 1* (U.S., Central Intelligence Agency, 1951, 1960, 1975); "Soverskoe Vostokovedenie v Akademii Nauk SSSR," in *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow, 1974). Also see *The World of Learning* 1975–1976, 2 (London: Europa, 1975); R. S. Soll, A. A. Zuehlke, Jr., and R. B. Foster, *The Role of Social Science Research Institutes in the Formulation of Soviet Foreign Policy* (Arlington, Va.: Stan-

ford Research Institute, 1976); UNESCO, *World Index of Social Science Institutions* (Paris: UNESCO, 1970, and Amendment #6, 1972); W. Kasack, *Die Akademien der Wissenschaften der sozialistischen Unionenrepubliken: Struktur und Ausgaben, Verzeichnis der Institute* (Boppard: J. Boldt, 1974).

² See Urban (1971: 109) and Eran (1979: 44–46) for the role assigned to the USSR Academy of Sciences. Also see A. Vucinich, *The Soviet Academy of Sciences* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1956), pp. 9–10.

The Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941–1942 and the evacuation of IVAN from Leningrad to Tashkent led to functional and structural changes, significant from the point of view of the development of Soviet Indology. In 1943 some Orientalists organized the Moscow Group of IVAN (MGIVAN), which kept Moscow as its base even after IVAN moved back to Leningrad. The MGIVAN, formed by politically oriented scholars, included two noted Indologists, Goldberg and Reisner, with expertise in contemporary problems. MGIVAN was accorded official status in 1943, coinciding with the Kremlin's preparations for the allied summit conference at Teheran, and, in the period that followed, this group continued to focus on the study of Iran, Turkey, and India. While the Leningrad IVAN continued its tradition of scholarship in nonpolitical themes, MGIVAN, given its orientation and perhaps its proximity to the Kremlin, became the raison d'être for the reorganization of IVAN in 1950, and also its operational base in Moscow thereafter. The plans for reorganizing IVAN began in the mid-1940s and took place along with three momentous developments in the East—the independence and partition of India in 1947, the creation of Israel in 1948, and the formation of the People's Republic of China in October 1949 (Eran 1979: 49–50). Yet none of these developments was reflected immediately in the structure of IVAN or in the writings of Soviet Indologists.

The study of modern Soviet Indology, however, experienced teething problems that led to changes effected during the reorganization of IVAN in 1950. One of these problems was the small number of specialists on modern India and Asia "relative to the needs of the Soviet state which had emerged after World War II as a world power" (Remnek 1975: 103). On the eve of the reorganization of IVAN, only thirty-six Orientalists were affiliated with its Moscow division, and of these half were graduate students and doctoral candidates. Furthermore, "the grouping in one sector of specialists on Turkey, and Arab countries, Korea and Mongolia, India and Afghanistan spoke for itself" (Kuznetsova and Kulagina 1970: 115, 138). Again, in the initial stages, works on contemporary India were still few, partly because, as noted before, Soviet Orientology was still "steeped in traditions of research in philology and pre-modern history" and as such was "ill-suited to satisfy the intelligence needs of an emergent global power" (Remnek 1975: 109). In his article, "For Advanced Soviet Oriental Studies," S. P. Tolstov, who became the director of the reorganized IVAN, criticized the Leningrad-based Orientalists for "their reluctance to engage in a genuine Marxist study of the history and culture of the peoples of the East" (1950: 4).

In September 1950 a decree of the presidium of the Academy of Sciences criticized IVAN for neglecting work on topics of contemporary significance and decreed the reorganization of the institute and its merger with the Pacific Institute, to be centered in Moscow (Kuznetsova and Kulagina 1970: 134). The new tasks outlined for the institute included study of contemporary issues like the national liberation movement, agrarian reform, and the workers' movements in Asia and North Africa. In keeping with the new orientation in Oriental studies, IVAN came to be affiliated with the department of history and philosophy of the Academy of Sciences, instead of the literature and language department (Appendix II). The reorganized institute was headed by S. P. Tolstov as the Director, and V. I. Avidev, E. M. Zhukov (former Director of the Pacific Institute) and I. S. Braginskii as members (loc. cit., 135).³ These appointments in IVAN appear to reflect the changed

³ According to one of the IVAN members interviewed, Braginskii was the vice director of IVAN and not merely a member. Eran (1979: 57) confirms this.

trends in the study of Soviet Orientology, which had also led to the reorganization. Avidev and Braginskii were politically oriented and vocal critics of the Leningrad IVAN's role; Zhukov was credited with similar views. According to one writer, the appointments of the heads of sectors also reflected a similar trend. India and Afghanistan were headed by D'iakov, who along with Guber and Zhukov came from the Pacific Institute; the writer adds: "Strangely, the directorship was given to a relatively apolitical figure, S. P. Tolstov, an ethnographer and archaeologist" (Eran 1979: 57).

For several years following the reorganization of IVAN, academic production declined. A regular journal of Soviet Orientalists did not appear until 1955, when the publication of *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie* was begun (the journal of the same name published earlier from Leningrad had ceased publication in 1949). Two series, *Uchenye Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniia* (Learned Papers of the Institute of Eastern Studies) and *Kratkie Soobschcheniya Instituta Vostokovedeniia* (Short Communications of the Institute of Eastern Studies), were published in the interim period, dealing with classical Orientology and contemporary problems. This overall slack in publications continued for some time, partly because of the shifting of the center from Leningrad to Moscow.⁴ According to one writer the relative inactivity of the reorganized IVAN could also be attributed to the change in the Kremlin's strategy toward the East. Disillusionment with the forces of nationalism in Asia had led Stalin to reinstitute the prewar dogma "requiring a Communist leadership in 'the national liberation movement.' . . . Since Soviet opportunities in Asia had not expanded . . . the reorganized IVAN was left practically unemployed" (Eran 1979: 58).

As for the writings of Soviet Indologists, the period 1945–1946 was marked by contradictory trends, particularly in their assessment of the role of the Indian National Congress (which they identified with the national bourgeoisie). D'iakov's writings in 1945–1946 viewed Nehru as a "progressive" and the Indian National Congress "as the most influential of the national political organizations in India" (Remnek 1975: 111–12). Yet soon thereafter, the Conference of Moscow Orientalists (held in June 1947, on the eve of India's independence) "contained sharply negative appraisals of the Indian bourgeoisie and the National Congress . . . thus the left strategy [communist-led united fronts] received explicit endorsement" (*ibid.*). Interestingly, the shift in the Kremlin's assessments of India and of Nehru, begun in early 1954, was not reflected in the assessments of Soviet scholars, which continued to be negative almost until Nehru's visit to Moscow in 1955.

Despite these contradictory trends, some beginnings in the study of contemporary problems and themes were made during this period. D'iakov's book on India (during and after World War II) appeared in 1952; about the same time, S. M. Mel'man, specializing in India's nationalities and economic problems, wrote her book on the economy of India and the politics of British imperialism in 1951.⁵ General

⁴ See Remnek (1975: 106–107), who quotes an article in *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR*, no. 6 (1951: 89) as saying that delays were reported in the transfer of library funds from Leningrad to Moscow, due to lack of space and personnel. Remnek further observes that this disruption following the reorganization affected publication plans, which were far behind schedule. Kuznetsova mentions that only seventeen of the twenty-eight books that were to be published in 1952 appeared in print.

⁵ The Russian title of D'iakov's book is *India vo vremia i posle Vtoroi Mirovoi Voiny 1939–49* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1952). A leading article by D'iakov during this period was "K Voprosu o natsional'nom sostave naseleniya Indii" (On the question of national composition of the population of India) in *Uchenye Zapiski Tikhookeanskogo Instituta* (Scholarly Papers of the Pacific Institute), 1 (1947): 223–330. The Russian title of Mel'man's book is *Ekonomika Indii i politika*

works on the modern history of the Orient also appeared, while research on classical Orientalism continued to be carried out at the Leningrad branch of IVAN. After its reorganization in 1950, IVAN came under constant review by the presidium of the Academy of Sciences, which continued to issue decrees for the restructuring of the institute. In February 1952, following the Nineteenth Congress of the CPSU, the Academy of Sciences decreed the reorganization of IVAN, followed by another decree shortly thereafter in 1955 (Appendix II). Following the reorganization in 1953, Tolstov was relieved "on account of his illness" and the politically more outspoken V. I. Avidev was appointed director in his place.

According to Eran, the appointments of Kovalev (a China expert) and Guber (an expert on Southeast Asia) as deputy directors reflected the importance attached to the growing influence of local communist parties in these regions. Similarly, the regional groupings indicate that both India and Japan lost their former independent status (Eran 1979:58).

The Khrushchev Period

The period between 1953 and 1956—with significant changes occurring after the Twentieth CPSU Congress—was marked by cautious changes in the organization and structure of IVAN. Two of the three top area experts, Maslenikov (on China) and Braginskii (on the Near and Middle East), were relieved of their positions.⁶ In 1954, A. A. Guber was appointed director by a resolution of the presidium of the Academy of Sciences; the choice of Guber, an expert on Indonesia and South East Asia, was probably linked with the significance attached to the forthcoming Bandung Conference in 1955. V. V. Balabushevich, one of the leading specialists on India, who had been with the Institute of World Economics and World Politics from 1939 to 1950, was to head the sector on the history and economy of India. Changes made in IVAN in August 1955 also reflected the shift in the Soviet policy toward India following Stalin's death—favorable references in Malenkov's speech of August 1954, the growing economic links between the two countries during 1953 to 1955, Nehru's visit to Moscow in June 1955, and the visits of Khrushchev and Bulganin to India in November-December 1955.

The year 1956 brought a new program of Oriental studies for IVAN, adopted by the presidium of the Academy of Sciences following the criticism of the institute at the Twentieth CPSU Congress. Criticism of IVAN had been voiced in an unsigned editorial in *Kommunist* as early as May 1955, shortly after the Bandung Conference in April; the editorial emphasized that the growing importance of Asian and African countries had necessitated the expansion of Oriental studies. Another article on Oriental studies in the August issue of the same journal exhorted the Soviet Orientalists to adopt a new program. For the fulfillment of this program, IVAN was further enlarged, and the first All-Union Conference of Orientalists was held at Tashkent in June 1957, with 250 Orientalists participating from the republics of the Soviet Union along with guest scholars from China, Mongolia, Korea, and Vietnam. In the

⁵ *Angliiskogo imperializma* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1951). See biographical information in Appendix II.

⁶ Maslenikov was relieved mainly because, after the Korean fiasco and the failure of the "militant"

line, the China section of IVAN came under heavy criticism. Braginskii, who was described as having made "mistakes in the past," lost his position mainly because he preached the "now discredited line" (Eran 1979: 66).

1950s the number of Orientalists increased sharply. In the regional breakdown of these Orientalists, India, ranked with China, was at the top.⁷

The year 1956 was also marked by Khrushchev's enunciation at the Twentieth CPSU Congress of the "zone of peace" concept of alliance with the emerging Afro-Asian nonaligned nations and his denunciation of the theses adopted at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. In his speech to the Congress, Mikoyan is said to have remarked that "while all of the East has been awakened, IVAN was still asleep." The management of IVAN also came under heavy criticism at the Congress, particularly for "its overemphasis of some areas and underemphasis of others regardless of current policy priorities and requirements."

In September 1956, IVAN was once again restructured—this time with six divisions, in which China and India were the only two countries with separate departments (Appendix II). The 1956 reorganization of IVAN points to the importance attached to Africa and India as the leaders of the nonaligned bloc of Afro-Asian nations by the new Soviet leadership. Soviet Indology received considerable impetus during this period with four noted Indologists holding important positions in IVAN: V. V. Balabushevich, I. M. Reisner, S. M. Mel'man, and C. E. Chel'shev. B. G. Gafurov, a senior party official from the republic of Tadzhikistan, was appointed head of IVAN, with H. A. Dvoriakov and R. A. Ul'ianovskii (a specialist on India) as deputy directors.⁸

In February 1961, the institute was restructured yet again, when Pakistan, Ceylon, and Nepal were placed with India under the overall charge of Balabushevich. In May 1962 the institute organized a seminar on the "Policies and Position of the Indian National Bourgeoisie and Its Principal Organizations." The publications of IVAN during the 1960s increased greatly; more significantly, the volume of work done on India by 1965 made necessary the compilation of a scientifically systematized reference book, published in the form of a bibliographical work, *Bibliografia Indii*. This was an extremely useful compilation listing all Soviet publications on India (over 9,000 references) from the eighteenth century to 1961.⁹

The mid-1950s witnessed the volte-face effected by Soviet scholars through a favorable reassessment of Gandhi, Nehru, and the Independence movement. These trends gathered momentum after the new Third World strategy enunciated by Khrushchev at the Twentieth CPSU Congress in 1956. The first signs of a shift in

⁷ In 1956 the first group of Soviet Indologists, including Balabushevich, Diakov, Komarov, and Kovrovskii visited libraries, archives, and research institutions in New Delhi, Calcutta, and other Indian cities. (See Remmek 1975: 108.)

⁸ For Gafurov's biodata, see *PPU*, pp. 164–65. According to Eran (1979: 76), "Gafurov was not the most prominent Orientalist available," but his advantage lay in being an Oriental from the Republic of Tadzhikistan. For Ul'ianovskii's biodata, see Appendix II.

⁹ (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1965). Books published after this date are listed in the *Literatura v stranakh Azii i Afriki, Ezhegodnik*, 1961, 1962, 1964, 1965 (Annals of Soviet literature on Asia and African countries). A bibliography of books published by IVAN in 1957 was compiled as *Bibliographia: Akademii Nauk SSSR, Institut Vor-*

tokovedenia, 1957 (Bibliography: USSR Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies; Moscow, 1959). For further details on the subjects covered by Soviet Indologists during the 1960s, particularly in IVAN publications, see Kuznetsov and Kulagina (1970: 184–98), under the heading "Work on Significant Eastern Problems at the Institute in the Last Decade" (till 1967). Also see Alayev and Vapha (1968: 23–33), which deals with contemporary India (until 1968).

For other bibliographic references for this period, see T. P. Thornton, ed. *The Third World in Soviet Perspective: Studies by Soviet Writers on the Developing Areas* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), esp. "Bibliographical Note," pp. 333–41, and, for relevant articles in Soviet journals, see "Surveys of Soviet Orientalism," pp. 341–42.

Soviet academic perceptions of India appeared in D'iakov's article in 1955 (Donaldson 1974: 76), which evoked "widespread resistance within academic circles," and which in turn led Mikoian to rebuke Soviet Orientalists in his speech at the Twentieth CPSU Congress. A further criticism of the "sectarian" approach of Soviet Orientalists came in a major article in the *Kommunist* and in the journal of IVAN (NAA) in that same year.¹⁰ In the years 1956–1957, Soviet Indologists went through the exercise of "self-criticism" by admitting their "past mistakes" and reevaluating the role of Gandhi, the national bourgeoisie, and the Indian National Congress (INC), which was now assessed as leading a genuinely anti-imperialist movement.

The scholars explained the reevaluation in various ways. In a joint article, D'iakov and Reisner attributed the erroneous assessments made in the past to Stalin's theses expounded at the Sixth Comintern Congress, and to his doctrinal and ideological formulations, according to which the national bourgeoisie in India (identified with the INC) had compromised with imperialism and Gandhi had thus been an agent of imperialism (1956). Zhukov attributed his reassessment to the fact that "until quite recently we did not possess sufficient knowledge of the facts of Indian history," a deficiency set right by the study of Nehru's accounts of the national liberation movement in India (1956: 130).

This exercise was preceded by a debate among Soviet Indologists, touched off by a paper by A. I. Levkovskii, at a conference of Orientalists held under the aegis of the India section of IVAN. His contention—challenged cautiously by D'iakov—was that no new developments had taken place since World War II to warrant a reassessment of the national bourgeoisie. Levkovskii further held that this amounted to questioning the tasks entrusted to the Orientalists by the party leadership at the Twentieth CPSU Congress. His dissenting note was recorded in Balabushhevich's concluding remarks that, despite the majority opinion, some scholars rejected the idea of the national bourgeoisie being a progressive force. (For speeches at this conference, see Eran 1979: 167.) This debate among leading Soviet experts on India in some ways reflected the differences of opinion among the other Orientalists at IVAN, too, on the role of the national bourgeoisie (also reflected in IVAN publications).¹¹

The lack of optimism was based partly on their disillusionment with the national bourgeoisie and with its role in the Arab world, where in some countries it had taken an anticommunist line on domestic issues. The IVAN debate in turn reflected the debate on this issue in other forums of the international communist movement, following the Sino-Soviet ideological differences and Khrushchev's cautious appraisal at the Twentieth CPSU Congress in 1956. Beginning in 1959, IVAN became an advocate of this cautious conservative line laid out by the party. This orientation in IVAN's thinking is also attributed to the "party links" of its director, Gafurov, his deputy director, Ul'ianovskii, and K. N. Brutents, who succeeded Ul'ianovskii.¹²

¹⁰ The article "Za dal'neishii pod" em Sovetskogo Vostokovedeniiia" (For the further uplifting of Soviet Oriental studies), appearing in *Kommunist*, no. 8 (1955), suggested to Orientalists a reassessment of Gandhi's role in his struggle with imperialism. The unsigned article, "Ob izuchenii ekonomiki stran Vostoka" (The study of economy of the countries of the East), appearing in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, no. 4 (1955), was critical of the Orientalists' assessments of the role of the national bourgeoisie. In the same journal, another article

written in a similar vein is by S. S. Mikhalev, "XX S'ezd Kommunisticheskoi Partii Sovetskogo Soiuza i zadachi izucheniiia sovremennoego Vostoka" (1956, no. 1: 3–12).

¹¹ See the editorial of the April 1957, no. 2, issue of *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie* and other references given in Eran (1979: 167–70).

¹² For details on this line as reflected in IVAN's publications, see Eran (1979: 176–79), who holds that both Gafurov and Ul'ianovskii were "directly

The trends in Soviet Indology during this period were marked by Soviet Orientalists newly assessing the nature of Indian economy. This was characterized by "a greater tendency towards economic realism in the determination of developmental strategies, and evaluation of foreign aid." However, despite their favorable assessment of the Nehru government, "doubts concerning the degree of progressiveness of the national bourgeoisie of India . . . persisted in the academic community . . . an attempt was made to add some degree of precision to [this] concept . . . at a conference on this subject held towards the end of 1956, at the Institute of Orientology" (Remnek 1975: 139–40, 222). Similar debates followed.

The Post-Khrushchev Period

After Khrushchev's ouster in 1964—preceded by Nehru's death in the same year—the methodology of Soviet scholarship toward the Third World changed; this in turn conditioned Soviet academic analysis of developments in post-Nehru India. The cautious style of the new Soviet leadership and the setbacks to Khrushchevian expectations from the radical regimes in Africa led Soviet scholars to conduct a fresh inquiry, testing the efficacy of such theoretical formulations as the "national liberation movement," and the "noncapitalist path of development." Most scholars agreed that the "revolutionary democrats" had failed to bring about radical transformations and that the "noncapitalist path" was not easy; at the same time the role of the national bourgeoisie was also reassessed. Nehru's death was followed by a growing Soviet concern over the short-lived "ascendancy of the right-wing forces" in the ruling Congress party, but its split in 1969 and Mrs. Gandhi's "consolidation of power brought about a partial rehabilitation of India in Soviet eyes" (Remnek 1975: 224).

During the 1970s, Soviet Indology on contemporary India became more realistic. It developed apace and was in keeping with the trends emerging from the consolidation and growth of Indo-Soviet relations. The Soviet leadership's full support of Mrs. Gandhi throughout the 1970s (until her defeat in 1977) was matched by similar trends in the writings of Soviet Indologists, indicating a sharper convergence of views of the Soviet leadership and the academic community. For this period, however, the source material on the structure and organization of IVAN, and on Oriental studies in general, is not as integrated as it was for the preceding period; for example, there are practically no book-length works on Soviet Indology covering the period beyond the early 1970s. Nonetheless, I attempt herein to reconstruct the development of Indology during this period through an analysis of articles and books on Oriental studies, scattered in Soviet journals. Similarly, information on the organization of IVAN in the 1970s has been gleaned from articles and reference aids.

Gafurov's 1970 article describes the structure of IVAN (in 1970) as including the following departments: (1) China; (2) India, Ceylon, and Nepal; (3) Southeast Asia (a separate department for Southeast Asia was set up, mainly on account of the developments in this region between 1966 and 1971); and (4) Arab countries (p. 7). The structure of IVAN in 1975 appears in a reference aid of the same year with a

associated with B. Ponomarev, the head of the International Department of the CC, CPSU" and that Ul'ianovskii had been his protege.

¹³ "Institute of Oriental Studies," in *Directory of Soviet Officials*, Vol. 1 (U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, 1975).

somewhat confusing picture of its organization.¹³ It lists the names of heads of "known" departments and then goes on to list the names of departments, heads of which are not known (Appendix II). Gafurov is listed as the director, and the names of the five deputy directors appear in the following order: R. T. Akhramovich (since 1972), K. V. Malakhovskii (since 1971), K. N. Brutents (since 1972), G. G. Kotovskii (since 1968), and V. M. Solntsev (since 1972).¹⁴ Of these, the last three are specialists on India, and Solntsev is, in fact, in charge of the India section.

Although the description of the organization of IVAN is far from clear, it points to a few significant trends in its structure in the 1970s, including the introduction of "functional" departments (in addition to the regional ones). These were on "socio-economic problems of Asia and North Africa" and on contacts with "regional movements of national liberation and of scientific information." These departments have been highly innovative in a theoretical sense, and their leading figures include the noted Indologists A. I. Levkovskii, L. I. Reisner (I. M. Reisner's son), G. G. Kotovskii, and N. Simonia.¹⁵ There is debate among some of these Indologists whether India can solve her economic problems. Kotovskii appears very pessimistic in his writings; Reisner and Levkovskii are fairly pessimistic; and Simonia is on the whole optimistic.¹⁶ More information on the structure and staffing of IVAN is contained in the same reference aids for 1978, 1979, and 1980 (Appendix II).

Information on the present structure of IVAN and the reorganization effected in 1978 under its new director, Primakov, formerly director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEKO) stems from an interview with one of its officeholders (Appendix II).¹⁷

In the 1970s a series of conferences of Orientalists on Indological studies were held, one in December 1971.¹⁸ Although hailing the advancement in the study of "contemporary" political and economic questions, participants at the conference pointed to insufficiencies in traditional Indological research, especially in relation to the social institutions, as Kutsenkov pointed out. In religion and philosophy, the speakers noted weaknesses in research on Buddhism and the history of Hinduism. This perhaps indicates a situation almost the reverse of that obtaining in the 1930s, when Orientalists were engaged primarily in the study of "classical" Indology and were exhorted to undertake the study of "contemporary" issues.¹⁹ The conference

¹⁴ Brutents, like his predecessor Ul'ianovskii, is a specialist on India, and, like him, he also later held the position of deputy chief for Third World, in the International Department, CC, CPSU. The description of five deputy directors in this reference aid is somewhat confusing. It appears that they have not taken into account the retirement of some of them, and some of the dates mentioned appear to be incorrect. In view of this, it may be assumed only that these five men served as deputy directors at some time in the 1970s.

¹⁵ See Lev, I. Reisner, *Razvivayushchiesya strany: Ocherk teorii ekonomicheskogo rasta* (The developing countries: Outline of the economic growth theory), (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), and N. Simonia, *Stryany Vostoka: Puti razvitiia* (Countries of the East: Paths of development) (Moscow: Nauka, 1975). The information on some of these departments in

IVAN is corroborated by Ruble (1978: 348), who gives the organization of IVAN in 1977.

¹⁶ Based on discussions with Jerry Hough.

¹⁷ For Primakov's biography, see *Year Book, 1975* of the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (New York: Macmillan, 1975), p. 646. Primakov is a journalist by training rather than a research scholar, and his specialty is the Arab Middle East. A recent publication by him is *Anatomia Blizhnego vostochnogo konflikta* (The anatomy of the Near East crisis), (Moscow: Nauka, 1979).

¹⁸ This conference was covered in the article "Konferentsiya Sovetskikh Indologov," NAA (1971, no. 3: 219-24). Eran observes that, during this period, IVAN sponsored "legitimation ceremonies related to Soviet relations with Asian nations," by way of ceremonies, symposia, and conferences (1979: 234).

closed with a resolution to hold meetings every two or three years on different aspects of Indology and a combined conference of Indologists from specialized fields once every five years.²⁰

Articles on contemporary India continued to appear throughout the 1970s. A significant one was by G. G. Kotovskii, head of the India section of IVAN, in which he presented guidelines for the study of India's contemporary problems (1974: 11). A series of articles on Oriental and African studies appeared before and after the Twenty-fifth CPSU Congress in February-March 1976, in leading journals of IVAN. The first of these articles was on Soviet-African studies, by V. G. Solodovnikov (1976: 8); two other articles appeared on the problems of national liberation revolution and the tasks of Soviet Orientalists.²¹

Intensive study of some of the theoretical concepts formulated in the articles was already being undertaken in the newly introduced functional departments of IVAN. The progress in Soviet Oriental studies between the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth CPSU congresses was reviewed in another article written about the same time. The author notes that "with the rapid political, economic . . . development in Oriental countries and their growing international importance, new and more complicated tasks are being set before Soviet Oriental scientists" (Malakhovskii 1976: 8-10).

No single compilation such as the *Bibliografia Indii* exists for Soviet publications on contemporary India during the 1970s, but some idea is provided by a study of articles appearing in Soviet Oriental journals.²² The focus of these publications was on the Indian economy. Articles and books were also published on allied topics in other

¹⁹ Eran observes that, during the Brezhnev era, IVAN, in addition to policy research, also undertook work in nonpolitical scholarly fields and to this extent "has now regained some of its historical character" (1979: 234).

²⁰ The following are some of the conferences held in the 1970s. In June 1971 a conference was held on "The Impact of Scientific-Technical Revolutions on Developing Countries" under the joint auspices of IVAN and IMEMO. For details, see Richard Lowenthal, "Soviet Counter-Imperialism," *Problems of Communism*, November-December 1976.

In January 1974 the Twenty-ninth International Congress of Orientalists was held, and in early 1975 the First Coordination Conference of Orientalists of Socialist Countries was held. See, respectively, Yu. V. Gankovskii, "XXIX Mezhdunarodnyi Kongress Vostokovedov" NAA, 1974, no. 1, and G. A. Andreev, "Pervoe Koordinacionnoe Soveshchanie Sotsialisticheskikh Stran," NAA, 1975, no. 3.

The second conference of scholars on Indian studies was held at IVAN in Moscow in January 1976. About 200 Soviet scholars participated along with guests from other socialist countries. In November 1977 a seminar, "Perspectives of Independent India and Socialist Soviet Union," was organized in New Delhi to commemorate the sixteenth anniversary of the October Revolution. Participants in the seminar included seven delegates from the Soviet Union, led by G. K. Shirokov, Acting Director of IVAN, and a number of Indian econ-

countries of South Asia. Another noticeable trend was the increase in publications on socioeconomic problems of the other developing Afro-Asian countries and the role of foreign capital and monopoly in these countries. Books were also written on the problems of Soviet Oriental studies. A significant publication, *Problemy Vostokovedeniia* (Problems of Oriental Studies; Nauka, 1974) was compiled by I. S. Braginskii, and another was *Strany i Narody Vostoka* (Countries and Peoples of the East; Collection, Issue 19, India, Book 4; Nauka, 1977).

As for Soviet journals on Oriental studies, an article reviewing the work of the IVAN journal *Narody Azii i Afriki* (NAA) appeared in *Kommunist* in June 1974. Surveying the journal's coverage of socioeconomic problems in the Afro-Asian countries, Nikiforov et al. observe that "in 1973 and in its first issues of 1974 the journal intensified the coverage of major issues such as 'the influence of the Leninist [policy] pursued by the USSR' in these regions" and the national liberation movements. As for the coverage of India in the journal, the authors hold that it "is able to respond to the basic works by Soviet Orientalists, and particularly to fundamental works published in recent years on the recent and most recent histories of India." In the 1970s the journal covered all aspects of India studies—culture, language, religion, philosophy, and a range of problems relating to contemporary India—although articles in the latter category are relatively few.

The coverage of contemporary problems of Asia and Africa during this period appears to be relatively wider in *Azii i Afrika Segodnia* (AAS), the "scientific and sociopolitical journal of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the IVAN and the Institute of Africa." It covers extensively problems of contemporary Asia and Africa relating to socioeconomic development and national liberation movements. As for the coverage of India, a cluster of articles under the heading "India 1976" and "India 1977" have appeared on the occasion of India's Independence Day; similarly "Pakistan 1976" for Pakistan. Articles on the economic and political problems of contemporary Asia and Africa have also been covered in the journal *Mirovaya Ekonomika i Mezhdunarodnye Otnoshenia* (World Economy and International Relations). "Review articles" on problems of contemporary India appear in *Mezhdunarodnyi Ezhegodnik. Politika i Ekonomika* (MEPE), the yearbook of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), which began publication in 1957.²³ Considerable research on India, particularly of her economic problems, has been undertaken at the IMEMO, which focuses its research on specific issues and problems, unlike IVAN where the focus is on regional specialization; IMEMO has also taken the lead in adopting innovative methodology and formulating somewhat controversial theoretical concepts. Other than the journals of IVAN and IMEMO discussed above, articles on contemporary India and other Asian and African countries appear in two Soviet English-language journals, *New Times* and *International Affairs* (IA).

Soviet writings on India and other developing countries during this period continued the trends of the late 1960s and started new ones. As one specialist on the

tion in *Novye Knigi*. It also has a synopsis of the contents of books and a separate section on South Asia. Another bibliography covering literature on Indian history, economy, and sociopolitical institutions has been compiled by I. V. Sakharov, *India: Rekomendat'nyi ukazatel' literatury* (India: Recommended index of literature), Kniga (Series: Countries and Peoples of the World).

²³ For some years, in the category of articles covering topical problems in India, subtitles have been used, e.g., "India-1965: The Indo-Pakistan Conflict and its Cessation." The articles are by well-known Indologists and economists (Imam 1977: xv, xvi).

U.S.S.R. and Third World economies observes, "the developing countries are being increasingly studied within the context of their own specific requirements and possibilities rather than according to preconceived dogmatic theories" (Valkenier 1968: 659). The publications of IVAN in the 1970s also stressed the specific developmental problems of these countries, and the "specificity" of the East was first thoroughly analyzed in a two-volume publication of the Institute of Oriental Studies in 1974 (B. G. Gafurov, ed., *Zarubezhnyi Vostok i Sovremennost'* [The East Beyond our Borders and the Contemporary World; Moscow 1974]). Another significant publication was by G. F. Kim, *Proletarskii Internatsionalizm i Revolutsii v Stranakh Vostoka* (Proletarian Internationalism and Revolutions in Countries of the East; Moscow, 1975). Valkenier adds that a more recent trend is the evolution of a new thinking among Soviet scholars on the Soviet Union's economic relations with the developing countries, based on considerations of geopolitical developments and the framework of an "interdependent global economy" (1979: 25, 32). Another specialist remarks that on questions concerning the Third World, "in general, discussions have become much freer and more sophisticated . . . one of the most active participants in the debates has been R. A. Ul'ianovskii [a specialist on India] . . . during the 1960s and most of the 1970s" (Hough 1980: 528–29).

On the whole, these trends show that Soviet scholarly assessments have become more realistic. Similar trends also characterize assessments of India's economy by Soviet Indologists. Although routinely critical of the role of the multinationals, the growth of monopolistic tendencies, and the ascendancy of "rightist" trends—particularly after Mrs. Gandhi's defeat in 1977—Soviet writings express confidence in the continued role of the state sector in the Indian economy and appreciation of India's developmental model, especially during Mrs. Gandhi's leadership. In a relative sense, therefore, Soviet assessments of India have been less doctrinaire and more realistic. Particulars of some among the new generation of Soviet Indologists, writing on contemporary India, are spelled out in Appendix I. Interestingly, their career patterns and academic training are similar to each other's, as in the earlier generation. Most of them appear to have combined an educational career either at the Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with practical experience and subsequent careers at IVAN and IMEMO.

Conclusion

The discussion of the evolution of Soviet Indology indicates that, although the tradition of classical Indology begun in imperial Russia continued to flourish, along with it developed modern Indology (beginning in the 1930s) by Soviet Indologists engaged in the study of problems of contemporary India. This development received further impetus with the reorganization of the Institute of Oriental Studies in 1950. Shifts in Soviet ideological formulations affected the development of Soviet Oriental studies and in turn that of Soviet Indology. Similarly, the various reorganizations of IVAN reflected the evolution of Soviet foreign policy and the requirements of domestic politics. In the Brezhnev period some of these trends continued, but on the whole the writings and assessments of Soviet Orientalists and Indologists were more realistic. Research on contemporary Indian problems also received attention at the IMEMO, and it was promoted further through interaction among scholars of this institute and IVAN, which in its turn was reorganized to include innovative functional departments. Commensurate with the growth in the body of Soviet Indologists was the

phenomenal rise in the number of publications relating to contemporary India, especially during the 1970s. These developments can be attributed to the importance assigned by the Soviets to their relations with India.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

| | |
|--------|--|
| AAS | <i>Azia i Afrika Segodnia</i> (Asia and Africa Today) |
| AN | (Academy of Sciences), Moscow |
| CC | Central Committee |
| CDSP | <i>Current Digest of the Soviet Press</i> |
| CPSU | Communist Party of the Soviet Union |
| IA | <i>International Affairs</i> (Moscow) |
| IMEMO* | (Institute of World Economy and International Relations), under the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences |
| IVAN | Institut Vostokovedeniia, Akademii Nauk (Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences), Moscow |
| MAI* | (World Agrarian Institute) |
| MEPE | <i>Mezhdunarodnyi Ezhedobnik. Politika i Ekonomika</i> (Yearbook of IMEMO) |
| MGIMO* | (Institute of International Relations), in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, USSR |
| MGIVAN | (Moscow Group of IVAN) |
| MGU* | (Moscow State University) |
| MIV* | (Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies) |
| NAA | <i>Narody Azii i Afriki</i> (Peoples of Asia and Africa), Moscow (journal of IVAN) |
| NIA* | (Scientific Research Association) |
| PPU | <i>Prominent Personalities in the USSR</i> (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1968; comp. by Institute for the Study of the USSR, Munich) |
| VNAV* | (The All-Russian Association of Orientology) |

Notes on the history of the names of the journals and IVAN.

The AAS was called *Sovremennyi Vostok* (Contemporary East) from 1957 (when it was started) to 1961, when it got its present name. The NAA, prior to 1961, was called *Problemy Vostokovedeniia* (Problems in Oriental Studies), and between 1959 and 1955 (when the journal was restarted) it was called *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie* (Soviet Oriental Studies). IVAN, between 1960 and 1969, was called Institut narodov Azii AN SSSR (Institute of the Peoples of Asia, USSR).

*Derived from names in Russian, e.g., AN is the abbreviation of Akademii Nauk. For purposes of brevity, for most abbreviations of Russian names only the English translations are listed here (in parentheses).

Appendix I

Directors of IVAN

S. F. Ol'denberg (1930–32); A. N. Samoilovich (1932–37); V. V. Struve (1937–38); A. P. Barannikov (1938–41); V. V. Struve (1941–50); S. P. Tolstov (1950–53); V. I. Avidev (1953–54); A. A. Guber (1954–56); B. G. Gafurov (1956–57); E. M. Primakov (1977–).

Eminent Orientalists at IVAN (1930–36)

B. M. Alekseev, A. P. Barannikov, E. E. Bertels, B. E. Vladimirtsov, S. A. Kozin, P. K. Kokovsov, H. J. Konrad, I. U. Krachkovskii, N. A. Nevskii, S. F. Ol'denberg, H. A. Orbeli, A. N. Samoilovich, A. A. Freiman, and F. I. Shcherbatetskoi.

Most of these scholars belonged to the "older Academical School," and of these, such distinguished scholars as Shcherbatetskoi and Ol'denberg reached the peaks of their careers during the "Soviet period." The biographies of these two scholars (see below), who were also noted Indologists, reveal a marked similarity in their training, particularly at St. Petersburg University, which presumably had a strong tradition in Oriental studies, and in their subsequent career patterns at IVAN and the USSR Academy of Sciences.

S. F. Ol'denberg (1863–1934), the first director of IVAN (1930–32), graduated from the faculty of Eastern Languages at St. Petersburg University in 1885 and wrote his dissertation on "Buddhist Legend." He was appointed "extraordinary academic" at the Russian Academy of Sciences (AN) in 1903, a full member in 1908, and Vice President (1904–29). He was a professor at St. Petersburg University (1889–1934) and Director of the Asiatic Museum, IVAN (1916–34). (For details of his work, see Miliband 1975: 398–400.)

F. I. Shcherbatetskoi (1866–1942) graduated from the faculty of History-Philology at St. Petersburg University in 1889, and proceeded for higher studies to Austria, Germany, and India. He was appointed corresponding member (AN) in 1910 and full member in 1918. He was a professor at St. Petersburg–Leningrad University (1901–30), chief of the Indo-Tibetan section at the Leningrad branch of IVAN (1930–42), and honorary member of the Asiatic societies of Great Britain, Germany, and France. (For details of his work, see Miliband 1975: 621–22.)

Biographies of Scholars of Modern Indology

V. V. Balabushhevich (1900–70), who graduated from the faculty of Middle-East, IVAN (Moscow) in 1925, was a researcher at the Institute of World Economics and World Politics (1939–50) and at IVAN (1960), where he was the head of the division on India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Nepal. He participated in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth congresses of Orientologists, the Twenty-fifth session of the Congress of Indian Historians (Poona, 1963), and was an honorary member of the Institute of Historical Research, India and of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta University. His works on India during the 1930s and 1940s included a study of the working class and the National Liberation movement. (For details, see Miliband 1975: 57.)

A. M. D'jakov (1896–) graduated from the Moscow State University (MGU) in 1921, wrote his dissertation on "The Question of Nationalities of India," and obtained his doctorate from the Institute of Sciences in 1948, for his thesis, "British Politics in India" (1947). From 1945 to 1950, he was at the Pacific Institute and was concurrently a member of the Central Committee (CC) of the Higher Diplomatic School (CPSU); from 1950 on he was at IVAN as head of the India section. D'jakov's expertise was mainly on the nationality question, on which he wrote a number of books and articles. (See Miliband 1975: 193.)

J. M. Reisner (1898–1958) graduated from the Eastern faculty, Military Academy (RKKA). He was a candidate of the Institute of Sciences in 1935 and obtained his doctorate there in 1953. He was a professor at IVAN, Moscow (1925–35), the MGU (1934–58), the World Agrarian Institute (MAI) (1925–35), Institute of History (1938–41), and IVAN (1944–58), where he was in charge of the section on Indian History and Philosophy. Reisner's works on contemporary India included several works on Gandhi, agrarian problems, and the working class movement. His diplomatic assignment to Afghanistan (1918–22) led him to acquire expertise on that country, too, including publication of several books. (See Miliband 1975: 469–70.)

N. M. Goldberg (1891–1961) was a candidate at the Institute of Sciences (1945) and a senior scientist there in the same year. He worked in the Oriental division at the IKKI (Executive Committee of the Communist International) (1920–35). He was a Tass correspondent and later professor at the MGU from 1943, at the Institute of History (1941), and at IVAN (1943–61). His works covered several aspects of modern Indian history. (See Miliband 1975: 145.)

S. M. Mel'man (1896–) was a candidate of Economic Science (1941) and wrote her dissertation on nationality problems in India. She was awarded her doctorate in economic science in 1967. She was an instructor at the Military-Political Academy from 1919 to 1920; at the KUTV (Communist University of Workers of the East) from 1926 to 1936; at the IKP (Institute of Red Professors) from 1930 to 1934; at the NIINKP (Scientific Research Institute of National Colonial Problems) from 1936 to 1938; at the Institute of World Economics and World Politics from 1939 to 1947; and at IVAN since 1950, as head of the economics sector of the India department. (For publications, see Miliband 1975: 353–54.)

Biographies of Scholars Writing on Contemporary India

Given below, by way of a sample, are the academic and career patterns of some leading Soviet Indologists writing on contemporary India.

M. A. Alexandrov (1935–) graduated from the MGIMO in Eastern Studies in 1957; earned a Masters in Economics in 1962; was Senior Researcher in Economics in 1970; and Researcher in IVAN since 1962. He is a specialist on Indian economy and has about eighty works to his credit. (For details, see Miliband 1975: 641.)

K. A. Antonova (1910–) graduated from MGU, Faculty of History. Her dissertation on India in the period of the governor generalship of Warren Hastings. She got her Ph.D. in 1950, was Senior Researcher at IMEMO (1930–35) and researcher at the Institute of Studies of the East (since 1950). Her major works include a book on the British conquest of India in the eighteenth century, written in 1958, and some on India's economy. (See Miliband 1975: 37.)

M. A. Maksimov graduated from the MIV in 1950; candidate Economic Sciences Senior Scientific Worker at IMEMO. (For details, see Miliband 1975: 320.)

R. A. Ul'ianovskii (1904–) graduated from the Indo-Afghanistan sector of the department of Social Sciences and Diplomatic Studies from MIV and was a "candidate of economics science" in 1958. His dissertation was on problems of economic development of independent India (1947–57). He was a doctor of economic sciences in 1964, professor in 1963, senior scientific worker in 1960, and instructor at the MIV since 1930. He became deputy chief editor of the journal of IVAN in 1957 following his position as deputy director of IVAN in 1956. He was also a member of the Scientific Council of IVAN and IMEMO and became the deputy head of the CC Sectt. International department in 1966. He participated in a number of conferences in India—the Twenty-sixth International Conference of Oriental Scholars (Delhi, 1964), the Forty-seventh Scientific Conference of Marxists (Bombay, 1960), and the Conference on Banning Nuclear Tests (Delhi, 1962). Ul'ianovskii, who is a specialist on India's economy, is said to have contributed a number of articles to academic journals in the 1930s under the pseudonym of O. Rosaliev. He was interned in a prison camp during the purges and was released after Stalin's death. For details of his publications, see NAA, no. 2 (1974): 219–20, which outlines a list of his "principal scientific works," including a book on Gandhi. (See also Miliband 1975: 565–66.)

Source: Biographical information has been taken from S. D. Miliband, *Bibliographichekskii Slovar'*, Sovetskikh Vostokorodov (Moscow: Glavnaya Redaktsiya Vostochnoi Literatury, 1975). Miliband also gives a list of about 20 Pakistan specialists, along with biographies. His book lists 37 specialists on Afghanistan, 5 on Bangladesh, 21 on Burma, and 13 on Sri Lanka. The list for India has a total of 188 scholars.

Appendix II

Structure of IVAN Following its Reorganizations

The 1950 Reorganization. The institute was restructured on the following lines, and the geographical divisions along with their heads were: (1) China (V. A. Maslenikov), (2) Mongolia and Korea (G. D. Sanzhev), (3) Japan (E. M. Zhukov), (4) South East Asia (A. A. Guber), (5) India and Afghanistan (A. M. D'jakov), (6) Iran (B. H. Zakhoder), (7) Turkey and Arab countries (V. A. Gordlevskii), (8) Soviet East (E. E. Bertels), and (10) Eastern Manuscripts (D. L. Tikhonov). The secretary of the Institute was C. D. Dvilkov. Functionally, IVAN was divided into three scientific councils: Historical, Economic, and Philosophy.

The 1953 Reorganization. IVAN was restructured along the following geographical lines: (1) Far East (V. A. Maslenikov), (2) Near and Middle East (I. S. Braginskii), and (3) India and the countries of South East Asia (A. A. Guber). This is in contrast to the seven territorial divisions at the time of IVAN's reorganization in 1950, when India and Afghanistan formed a separate division. This move was apparently aimed at tightening the structure and functioning of IVAN. The three subject sectors were: Historical and Cultural Council of the East (E. E. Bertels), Ancient East (V. I. Avidev), and Leningrad Eastern Manuscripts (D. L. Tikhonov).

The 1955 Reorganization. In 1955 the Presidium of the Academy once again decreed a reorganization of IVAN, this time into twelve sectors, combining the geographical and subject divisions; the sector on History and Economy of India and South East Asia was placed under V. V. Balabushhevich.

The 1956 Reorganization. In this reorganization, India, unlike the five other regional departments, was placed under the overall charge of Balabushhevich and was further subdivided into the following sectors: History and Philosophy (I. M. Reisner), Economy (S. M. Mel'man), and Languages and Literature (C. E. Chel'shev). The section on Pakistan also came under the India department. The other geographical sectors included a special department for the countries of the Arab East in addition to the existing department on the Near and Middle East and a special department for Africa, both of which were significant innovations. The remaining two were issue-oriented sectors, and in 1958 they were combined into a department for International Problems.

The 1961 Reorganization. The department on India continued to remain under the charge of Balabushhevich. In addition to Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal were placed under India.

Structure of IVAN in 1975. The names of the heads of the "known" departments were identified as: (1) Arab countries (Y. A. Lebedev, since 1968), (2) Chinese History (R. V. Viatkin, since 1972), (3) Social Problems Department (V. F. Li, since 1973). Departments, the heads of which were not known, were listed as: (1) Near and Middle East Countries, (2) General Problems of the National Liberation Movement of Asian and North African Countries. In another category it lists two other departments, along with names of heads: (1) Section on Socio-Economic Problems of Asia and North Africa (A. I. Levkovskii, since February 1974), (2) Ancient Eastern History (V. I. Avidev).

Structure of IVAN, 1978–1980. The reference aid for 1978 makes note of E. M. Primakov taking over as the new director of IVAN in the same year. Four of the five deputy directors mentioned in the 1975 aid continued, except for Brutents who was replaced by G. K. Shirokov. The 1979 and 1980 reference aids merely mention three deputy directors: K. V. Malakhovskii, Shirokov, and V. M. Solntsev. Information on the other heads of departments remained the same, with some additional details on the South Asian department, now headed by Kotovskii, with E. N. Komarov as his deputy. The 1978 reference aid mentions two further subsectors under this head: a Pakistan-Bangladesh sector and a History and Economics

of Burma sector. In addition to the two deputy directors, Shirokov and Solntsev, mentioned in the reference aids, another Orientalist, G. F. Kim—who became the chief editor of AAS after Gafurov's death and was a head of the department of General Problems in IVAN—was elevated to this position. According to IVAN members interviewed, this reorganization (unlike the earlier ones, which were undertaken through the decrees of the Academy of Science) was effected by IVAN itself, and to this extent it could be indicative of a greater degree of autonomy for the institute.

The structure of two of the four main regional departments (China and the Far East, and South East Asia) remained unchanged, but an important change was effected in the other two. The department of South Asia (which hitherto had included India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Pakistan) was reorganized, and Pakistan was moved along with its head, Yu. V. Gankovskii, and placed along with Afghanistan, Iran, and Turkey. This presumably was indicative of IVAN's recognition of Pakistan's growing interests and affinity with the Islamic countries of the Middle East. The section on India continued to be headed by Kotovskii—who had held this position since Balabushevich's death in 1968—with Komarov as his deputy. Prior to Balabushevich, D'iakov and his deputy Mel'man had held this position until 1956. Another Indologist, A. A. Kutzenkov, held the important position of head of the Department of International Relations in IVAN. Subsequently Kutsenkov moved to the position of editor of NAA, replacing Braginskii.

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Irrespective of what is being done or not done at top-level, it appears necessary and more fruitful to begin from the bottom and spread among the people in the West a more widely diffused knowledge of the Orient, its peoples, histories and achievements. So far the Orientalists in the Universities in America and Europe have done excellent academic work, editing texts, translating them and giving expositions of the thought of the East; but these literary activities, referred to as Oriental studies, have generally been carried on in a textual, and oftentimes cold and ponderous manner and conducted in seclusion so that they have failed to reach the larger public or enthuse the common people. As *The Times Literary Supplement* once put it, these studies have been 'orchidaceous' and cannot be said to have become a real inspiration.

To those who have visited the countries in the West or studied the spread of Oriental thought in these countries, it should be clear that much of the dissemination of this knowledge and growth of interest in it has been due to those popular and unofficial activities such as the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement, theosophy, and the efforts of individual teachers and authors who worked among and wrote for the public at large. Now profiting by the lessons of these two lines of work, could something be done in the West, which would more successfully achieve the object of the average educated Occidental having about the Orient neither no idea nor funny ideas, but a fair amount of correct learning? It is here that authors in the West, and particularly those writing more specifically for schools and colleges, could do something effective. And the present is precisely the time for them to do it.

In a way this problem has faced the Oriental professors themselves. The increasing paucity of students in their specialistic courses have made them give anxious thought to the question of how to preserve the studies or make them more attractive and useful. Sir Ralph Turner, Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, pointed out in his Memorandum on the Present State of Indian Studies in Great Britain that a new life could be infused into these studies if, instead of a few always pursuing them as a separate speciality, the students of different subjects like history, art, archaeology or law are made to study also the Indian or Oriental aspects of those subjects as part of their curricula. At their sixth conference at Edinburgh in July 1953, the British Orientalists resolved that Oriental scholarship should not only form an academic speciality, but should contribute the Oriental counterpart to the respective humanistic

faculties, philosophy, history, art or literature, so that liberal university education would no longer be purely parochial or even merely European, but truly universal comprehending a knowledge of the contributions of the Orient in the respective spheres, and that steps should be taken to make not only the community at large but university authorities too recognize this. That is, the findings of India for example in the various branches of knowledge should be made part of the general body of knowledge: To illustrate: a history of literary criticism should deal not only with Aristotle's *Katharsis* but with the *Rasas* of Bharata's more complete treatise on drama, not only with Abercrombie but with Anandavardhana who enunciated more precisely and fully, twelve centuries before, the principle of Suggestion. In linguistics it is now recognized that proficiency includes a knowledge of Sanskrit in addition to Greek and Latin. In history new accounts should come into being, continuing the effort of H. G. Wells. In sciences the history of the growth of the different branches can hardly afford to omit an adequate account of the contributions, for example, of ancient India which gave the world the numerals, the place value and the decimal. The West owed not less to India in medicine and surgery. We have the *Nyāya* of the Brahmanical or Buddhist logicians and in philosophy the *Vedanta*.

The Scarbrough Commission appointed for reporting on Oriental studies (1947) rightly urges the sowing of the seeds of Oriental knowledge even in the stage of children's education. In Austria, the present writer was gratified to find a robust Sanskritist of Vienna, Mr. Krause, teaching Sanskrit along with Greek and Latin at the Middle School stage so that boys and girls might grow from young years into a feeling of greater Indo-European unity.

UNESCO is just the body to render effective the practical execution of this idea. It is planning to write a comprehensive cultural history of mankind and through its International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies and its several affiliated bodies it can make the scholars, authors and educationists of the different nations realize the value of this new world-approach to the treatment of the history and development of thought. Putting before us the UNESCO plans for achieving this end, Mr. Schneider said at the meeting of the International Union of Orientalists in September 1953 that a new type of writing and a new series of books were needed in the different branches. A more sympathetic understanding and objective presentation will be called for than one finds now in the sporadic references to Oriental contributions

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in works on the history of subjects like mathematics, where for example one finds in the book *Number* by Dr. Dantzig (George Allen and Unwin) ancient Indian mathematicians referred to as fools.²

In scientific subjects, the study of ancient Indian contributions is bound to be only of historical interest, but a correct statement of that too has its own value. But in art and literature, and in some fundamental problems of law and sociology, and most decidedly in philosophy and religion, the results of this new approach to education and books would indeed be pronounced. The wisdom of the East can serve to restore the balance and cure West of its threefold affliction of production, power and politics!



2. *Number: The Language of Science* by Tobias Dantzig. George Allen and Unwin, London, 1930 edn. p. 81. This authoritative writer mentions the *Lilavati* here as a "treatise on general theology".

THE ORIENT AND THE WEST¹

The Modern Age which brought the European nations into close commercial and political relations with the Eastern peoples discovered also the rich and ancient civilizations that the Oriental countries possessed. The discovery of Sanskrit by Sir William Jones and the translation into an European language of the Upanishads by Anquetil Duperron may be considered two of the most notable events that happened in modern times in the intellectual life of the West. For over a century and a half since then, Orientalists in Europe and America have been engaged in interpreting the history and culture of the Orient; but this work which could hardly be divorced from the general European background was always coloured by the fact of the political subordination of the East by the more materially advanced West.

The end of the Second World War saw also the beginning of the end of colonialism; a new life had begun to sweep over the whole East and in the wake of the Indian Independence, the passion for freedom from foreign domination and exploitation had begun to animate every nation of the Orient. Apart from the mutual tensions among the nations of the West, portents are showing of a more serious East-West tension which it is most unwise to allow to take shape. There are talks of 'one world' and some international organizations have also been set up which are trying to explore the ways and means of relieving these tensions through programmes of work which would bring together intellectuals of all nations and promote by collaboration in cultural undertakings greater understanding of each other's culture among the peoples of the world. It is fruitful to consider the possibilities of this line of work in respect of the civilizations of the Orient.

1. Courtesy: Books, the journal of the National Book League, 7, Albemarle Street, Picadilly, London, W. 1.

Mr. Herbert Howarth who was in charge of this League and journal when I was in England, presided over a lecture of mine on the Sacred Writings of the Hindus in the Indian Institute of Culture, London; later when he came to know the work I was doing—my survey of Indological studies, attending Orientalists' Conferences and visits to UNESCO, invited me to contribute this article. The article was reproduced in full by the Hindu, Madras, and attracted attention in the Humanities division of the UNESCO and other quarters too abroad.

S. Hillman & W.
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GLOSSARY

- Acāra*: Conduct, manner of action, good behaviour, practice, usage, tradition, an established rule of conduct, righteous custom.
- Acārya*: A spiritual guide or teacher.
- Adharma*: Unrighteousness, injustice, wickedness; demerit, guilt, sin.
- Adhīśvara*: A priest of a particular class (as distinguished from the *hotṛi*, the *udgātṛi*, and the *brahman* classes). The *adhvaryu* priest had to make preparations for the sacrifice, repeating the formulas of the *Yajur Veda*.
- Āditya*: Twelve secondary deities of the heavenly sphere regarded as diversified forms of the Sun in the several months of the year.
- Agni*: Fire; sacrificial fire; the god of fire, the second great god of Vedic rites.
- Ahimsā*: Not injuring anything, harmlessness, a cardinal virtue of most Indian sects, particularly of the Buddhists and Jains.
- Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*: Name of the Brāhmaṇa reputed to have been composed by Aitareya, attached to the *Rg Veda* and prescribing the duties of the Hotṛi priest, commenting on various sacrifices and rituals.
- Ajñā*: Order, command, authority.
- Ākranda*: A king of a manḍala who is the rear friend of a neighbouring king and checks the attack made on him by another king.
- Akrandāsāra*: A king of a manḍala who is the friend of the rear friend.
- Akṣavāpa*: The keeper of dice or superintendent of a gambling table; one of the king's *ratnins* in Vedic times.
- Amātya*: An official; in early times a companion of a king, later a minister, usually of a lesser grade; one of the seven *aṅgas* or constituents of the State.
- Amātya Sampat*: Ministerial office.
- Aṅga*: Literally a limb or member; more especially the seven *aṅgas* which in their totality constitute the State.

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Angada: A nephew of Rāma whose exploits and eligibility for kingship are narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; also a monkey-prince who helped Rāma in the same epic.

Aparādha: Offence, transgression, fault, mistake; title of ten specified offences.

Āpastamba: A renowned sage and reputed writer on ritual and law.

Ari: An enemy.

Arimitra: Enemy's friend.

Arimitramitra: Friend of the enemy's friend.

Artha: Wealth, property, money; material prosperity as one of the four aims of human existence.

Arthaśāstra: A book treating of practical life and political government, especially that attributed to Chāṇakya or Kauṭilya.

Arya: Originally a member of the race which immigrated from Central Asia into Āryāvarta; later a highly esteemed, honourable man, especially an initiated member of the three higher classes.

Āsana: Neutrality, halting; one of six types of foreign policy.

Āsoka: A well-known king of the Mauryan dynasty who reigned from circa 269 to 232 B.C., noted for his humanitarian rule and extensive empire.

Āśrama: A hermitage, the abode of ascetics, hermits or retired saints or sages; a stage in the life of a Brahman.

Asuras: Supernatural beings of a demonic nature who, in Hindu literature, are depicted as trying to wrest sovereignty from the gods. In early Vedic literature the term is also sometimes applied to certain of the gods.

Asuravijayin: Demoniac conqueror.

Āśvamedha: The horse sacrifice, the antiquity of which reaches back to the Vedic period; kings who engaged in it spent enormous sums in gifts to the Brahmans, but primarily it was a symbol of political sovereignty and power; it was considered to have great spiritual efficacy in promoting the welfare of the kingdom.

Āśvin: Literally mounted on horseback, a cavalier; twin horseman deities in the Vedas.

Ātmāniṣa: Making peace with an enemy by making offerings; peace made after sacrificing one's own army.

Aurasa: One's own son, a legitimate son, by a wife of the same caste, married according to the prescribed rules.

Bala: Literally power, strength. Military force, troops, an army; one of seven *aigas* or constituents of the State.

Bali: Tribute, offering, oblation; tax, impost, royal revenue.

Bhāgadugha: One who deals out portions, distributor; one of the officials in the *ratnīn* ceremony, sometimes interpreted in later times as an economic official.

Bhārata: Descended from Bhārata or the Bhārata tribe, belonging or relating to the Bhāratas; 'King Bhārata's realm', i.e. India; the story of the Bhāratas and their wars (sometimes identified with the *Mahābhārata* and sometimes distinguished from it).

Bhaujya: The rank of a king with the title of Bhoja, according to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*; a paramount ruler of the southern quarter.

Bheda: Literally splitting, breaking open; winning over to one's side by sowing dissensions, one of four political expedients.

Bhiṣma: A son of Sāntanu and Gaṅgā. In the Mahābhārata war he took the side of the sons of Dhṛitarāṣṭra against the sons of Pāṇḍu, and he was renowned for his continence, wisdom, bravery, and fidelity to his word. He narrated a lengthy sermon on politics and *rājadharmā* as he was dying, according to the *Santi Parvan*.

Bhūmeradhipati: Lord of the soil.

Bhūmi: The earth, soil, ground; land, one of the objectives of inter-state relations.

Bhūpati: 'Lord of the Earth'; a king, prince.

Bodhisatta (Pāli, in Sanskrit *Bodhisattva*): one whose essence is perfect knowledge, one who is on the way to the attainment of perfect knowledge; the term by which the Buddha is recognized in his former births in the *Jātaka* stories. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, a heavenly and compassionate spirit.

Brāhma: Relating to Brahma or Brahmā, holy, sacred, divine.

Brahma (also *Brahman*): The one self-existent Spirit, the Absolute; the universally diffused essence, having neither beginning nor end, the only real entity.

Brahmā: A god, looked on as supreme in later Vedic times.

Brāhmaṇa: (i) That portion of the Veda (as distinct from its Mantra and Upaniṣad portion) consisting of a class of works called Brāhmaṇas; they contain rules for the employment of the Mantras or hymns at various sacrifices, with detailed

explanations of their origin and meaning and numerous old legends. (ii) One of the four main classes of Hindu society; the supreme priestly class whose duty is to teach; issued from the mouth of the Creator.

Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad: Name of a celebrated Upaniṣad forming the last five Prapāṭhakas or last six Adhyāyas of the *Śathapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

Brhaspati: 'Lord of prayer or devotion'; name of a deity in whom Piety and Religion are personified; he is the chief offerer of prayers and sacrifices, and therefore represented as the type of the priestly order, and the Purohita of the gods with whom he intercedes for men; in later times he is the god of wisdom and eloquence to whom various works are ascribed; name of a law-book attributed to Brhaspati.

Brhaspatisava: Name of a festival lasting one day, said to confer the rank of a Purohita on those observing it.

Buddha: Awakened, awake; with Buddhists, a fully enlightened man who has achieved perfect knowledge of the truth and is thereby liberated from all existence and before his own attainment of Nirvāṇa reveals the method of obtaining it; especially the principal Buddha of the present age, born at Kapilavastu about 560 B.C.

Buddhism: Those doctrines taught by Siddārtha Gautama the Buddha and later expanded and modified by various teachers and councils. It split into two main sects, the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. Among the principal tenets of Buddhism are the importance of suffering and the methods of eliminating it, the impermanence of all things, and the non-existence of the ego; Buddhism is also noted for its emphasis on humanitarianism and *ahimsā*, or non-injury.

Cakravartī (also *Cakravartin*): Rolling his wheel everywhere without obstruction; a ruler, the wheels of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction, emperor, sovereign of all the world; ruler of a *Cakra*, or circle of kingdoms described as extending from sea to sea.

Candāla: An outcaste, a man of the lowest and most despised of the mixed tribes, said to be born from a Śūdra father and a Brāhmaṇa mother.

Caritra: Behaviour, conduct; custom, a mode of judicial decision.

Dāna: A gift; the gift made after a sacrifice to the officiating priest; bribery, one of four traditional political expedients; giving desirable gifts to influence political action in one's favour.

Dānavas: A class of demons often identified with the Daityas or Asuras and held to be implacable enemies of the gods or *devas*.

Danda: Literally, a stick, staff; military power and sovereignty; application of power, violence; embodied power, the army; the rod as a symbol of judicial authority and punishment; punishment, corporal, verbal, and fiscal; chastisement and imprisonment, reprimand, fine.

Dānda: Relating to punishment.

Dandanīti: Application of the rod, administration of justice, judicature (as a science); the science of politics as one of four traditional sciences.

Daivīśakti: Divine fortune or fate in a causal sense; one of the three powers of the king in their application of inter-state diplomacy.

Dāśarājña: The battle between King Sudās and the ten kings mentioned in the *Rg Veda*.

Deśa: Province, country, kingdom; one of three factors shaping the policy of the king in marching against foreign enemy.

Deva: A deity, a god; a god on earth or among men, either Brahman, priest, or king; prince.

Devaputra: The son of a god or demigod; a royal title, especially of the Kuśāṇa kings.

Devāñampriya: 'Beloved of the gods', title of Emperor Aśoka and his grandson.

Devāpi: 'Friend of the gods', name of a Ṛṣi who was the son of Rṣti-ṣena. According to a later legend he is a son of King Pratipa, resigns his kingdom, retires to the woods and is supposed to be still alive. He is concerned in the problem of primogeniture in that his younger brother Śantanu acceded to the throne in his stead.

Devī: A female deity, goddess; queen, princess, lady, the consecrated wife or daughter of a king, but also any woman of high rank.

Dharma (Sanskrit, in Pāli and Prākrit *Dhamma*): That which is established or firm, steadfast decree, law; usage, practice, customary observance or prescribed conduct, duty, right,

justice (often as synonym of punishment or *dānda*); virtue, morality, custom, law of social order, norm of social classes, righteousness in relation to the temporal ruler, virtue, one of the four goals of human existence sometimes personified as a deity.

Dharmanyāya: The rational interpretation of dharma.

Dharmarāja: A just or righteous king; name of Yama, the Hindu god of death; also applied to Yudhishthira.

Dharmaśāstra: Name of versified texts which deal with law, social conduct and other aspects of dharma.

Dharmasūtra: A Sūtra work on law and customs.

Dharmavijaya: The victory of justice or virtue; conquest by a righteous king, who restores his enemies on their thrones as his tributaries and does not annex their territories.

Dharmayuddha: Righteous fighting, especially with observance of the ethics of war as laid down in the Dharmaśāstras.

Dhvaja: A banner, standard or pennant.

Digha Nikāya: An important Buddhist text of the Pāli canon, containing long sermons ascribed to the Buddha.

Diodorus: A Greek writer who relates information on the life of ancient India, which he largely copies from Megasthenes.

Dhṛitarāṣṭra: 'Whose empire is firm'; the blind brother of Pañḍu; father of the 100 Kurus who fought the five Pāñḍavas in the Mahābhārata war; his blindness was a bar to his assuming the legitimate kingship.

Dhṛitavrata: Maintaining or upholding law or one's vows, firmly resolute.

Durga: Fortified urban area; one of seven constituents or *aṅgas* of the State.

Draupadī: The devoted common wife of the five Pāñḍavas, won by Arjuna; she figures prominently in the *Mahābhārata*.

Dūta: A messenger, envoy, ambassador, negotiator.

Dvāpara: Name of the third of the four *Yugas* or ages of the world.

Gāya: A flock, troop, tribe; body of followers or attendants; any assemblage or association of men formed for the attainment of the same aims; a tribal community, in this sense sometimes translated 'republic'.

Gautama: Relating to Gotama; (i) family name of Siddārtha the Buddha. (ii) An important writer of Dharmaśāstra.

Gandharva: In the *Rg veda* a minor god who lives in the sky and whose special duty is to guard the sacred Soma; he is parent of the first pair of human beings, Yama and Yamī and has a peculiar mystic right over women and has a right to possess them; the Gandharvas later were regarded as a class and have the same characteristic features as the one Gandharva.

Gāndharva-Vivāha: Clandestine marriage by the agreement of the two parties.

Gopa: A cowherd, herdsman, milkman; a protector, guardian; the superintendent of several villages, head of a district; a king, as chief herdsman of his people.

Govikartana: One of the jewel-bearers or *ratnins* of the king, associated with the cow-raid in the consecration ceremony.

Grāma: An inhabited place, village, hamlet; the collective inhabitants of a place: any number of men associated together, multitude, troop of soldiers.

Grāmanī: The leader or chief of a village or community, in Vedic sources the leader of a sept or clan; in Ceylon a chief.

Gr̥hastha: Literally, living or staying in a house; a householder; a Brahman in the second of four periods or *Āśramas* of his religious life during which he raises a family and performs the duties of a householder.

Gupta: The name of the founder of the renowned Gupta dynasty in which the names of the sovereigns generally end in 'gupta'; is often found in names of the Vaiśya class.

Guru: Any venerable or respectable person or relative older than one's self; a teacher, especially a spiritual parent or preceptor from whom a youth receives the initiatory Mantra or prayer, who instructs him in the Śāstras and conducts the necessary ceremonies up to that of investiture, which is performed by the *Ācārya*.

Hanumān: The monkey god who served Rāma and whose exploits are narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Hotṛ: Sacrificer, priest, especially a priest who at a sacrifice invokes the gods or recites the *Rg Veda*; one of the four kinds of officiating priest.

Ibha: Servants, dependents, domestics; later often means a wealthy man.

Indra: The god of the atmosphere and sky; in Vedic mythology he reigns over the deities of the intermediate region or atmosphere; he fights against the demons of darkness and conquers with his thunderbolt; in general he is a symbol of generous heroism; not originally lord of the gods of the sky but he was addressed in Vedic prayers and hymns more than any other deity, and ultimately superseded the more lofty and spiritual Varuna; in the later mythology Indra is subordinated to Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Isāna: Owning, reigning; a ruler, master, one of the older names of Śiva-Rudra.

Jainism: A religion founded by Mahāvīra, noted for its emphasis on non injury (*ahimsā*); though its doctrines differ considerably, it has much in common with Buddhism.

Janapada: Inhabited country; territory of the State; one of the seven *aṅgas* of the State.

Jānapada (with long first syllable): The inhabitants of the *jānapada*.

Jātaka: The stories of former births of Gautama the Buddha which usually illustrate a moral teaching.

Jyeṣṭha: Eldest, pre-eminent, chief; rights of seniority.

Kāla: Time, measure of time; one of three factors shaping the policy of marching against the enemy.

Kali: Name of the last and worst of the four *Yugas* or ages; the present age, the age of vice; the Kali age contains 1,200 years of the gods or 432,000 years of men and began on 18 February 3102 B.C.; at the end of this *yuga* the world is to be destroyed.

Kāli: Name of Durgā; a form of Durgā.

Kāma: Pleasure, enjoyment; love, especially sexual love or sensuality; Love or Desire personified; the god of love; one of the four ends of human existence.

Kāmasūtra: Name of a treatise on sexual love and erotics by Vātsyāyana.

Karmasacira: Act, action, performance, business; any religious act or rite; the causal principle of cosmic justice, whereby deeds are recompensed either in this life or another.

Karmasaciva: An executive officer, assistant.

Karṣa: A weight of gold or silver; = approximately 280 grains troy.

Kauṭilya: Name of Cāṇakya or Viṣṇugupta, the minister of Candragupta Maurya to whom the authorship of the *Arthaśāstra* is attributed.

Khalifa: (Caliph), a successor of Mohammed as ruler of the community of Islām.

Khaṇḍa: Territory of 100 *Māṇḍalas*.

Koṣa: King's treasury; revenue; a treasury; apartment where money or plate is kept; accumulated wealth; one of seven elements or *aigas* of the State.

Kṛta: The Golden Age or *Yuga*; the first age cycle of the world, after which things have become progressively worse.

Kṣatra: Dominion, supremacy, power, might, government; the military or reigning order; temporal power.

Kṣātra-Dharma: The duty of the second class or of a kṣatriya; bravery, military conduct.

Kṣatriya (Sanskrit, in Pāli *Khattiya*): Governing, endowed with sovereignty; a member of the military or kingly order which constituted the second class; said to have issued from the chest or arms of Brahmā.

Kṣemakṛt: King as welfare worker; conferring peace or security or happiness.

Kubera: The god of riches and treasure.

Kumāradevī: Name of the mother of Samudragupta.

Kūral: A sacred South Indian text which includes a number of political maxims.

Kuru: The most northerly of the four *Mahādvipas* or principal divisions of the known world; it was conceived as a country beyond the most northern range of the Himalayas, often described as a country of everlasting happiness, and considered by some to represent the ancient home of the Āryan race; the people and the country situated near the country of the Pañcālas in the Gangetic Doab.

Lakh: 100,000.

Lichchhavis: A tribe of Northern India which probably had a form of oligarchy, prominent around the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.: this tribe exerted political pressure on various kings.

Lobhavijayin: Greedy conqueror; one who engages in war for the sake of booty.

Madhyama: Intermediate king; impartial, neutral.

Mahābhārata: Great epic poem of about 215,000 lines describing the acts and contests of the sons of the two brothers Dhṛitarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu, who were of the lunar line of kings reigning in the neighbourhood of Hastināpura; attributed to the Sage Vyāsa.

Mahābhiṣeka: Solemn sprinkling or unction; great coronation, the performance of which elevated a king's status.

Mahāmāṭra: Highly esteemed or honoured; in the time of the Buddha and later a high ranking state official; Aśoka appointed *dharma mahāmāṭras* to ensure the adoption of his new policy in various parts of his kingdom; the term was rarely used in later times.

Mahāpadma Nanda: The founder of the Nanda dynasty which was later overthrown by Candragupta Maurya.

Mahārāja: Literally, a great king; later the term was devalued and applied to much smaller rulers.

Mahā Sammata: Highly honoured; chosen by the people; the Great Chosen One, the title of the first king, according to Buddhist traditions.

Mahāvaṇisa: A well-known Buddhist chronicle of Ceylon in Pāli, written by a monk named Mahānāma in the fifth century A.D.

Mahiṣī: Any woman of high rank, especially the first or consecrated wife of a king; the first married and chief wife of the king; one of the *ratnīs*.

Mandala: Anything round, especially the circle of a king's near and distant neighbours with whom he must maintain political and diplomatic relations; a theory according to which interstate relations are based upon proximity to other foreign territories.

Mandate of Heaven: A Chinese political theory which holds that the emperor rules by virtue of a command or blessing from Heaven.

Mantra: A Vedic hymn or sacrificial formula, that portion of the Veda which contains the texts called *ṛc* or *yajus* or *sāman*

- as opposed to the brāhmaṇa and upaniṣad portion; a mystical verse or magical formula, incantation.
- Mantrin*: Literally, knowing sacred texts or spells; especially a king's counsellor, minister or adviser.
- Mantri-Pariṣad*: Council of *mantrins*.
- Manu*: the man *par excellence*, or the representative man and father of the human race, regarded in the *Rg Veda* as the first to have instituted sacrifices and religious ceremonies; the legendary author of the *Mānava Dharmasāstra*, one of the most important law-books of ancient India.
- Mati-Sacivas*: Advisory councillors.
- Mātsyanyāya*: Analogy of the stronger fishes devouring the smaller, by implication—anarchy.
- Mauryan*: Of or pertaining to the dynasty founded by Candragupta Maurya, which ruled from *circa* 321 to 184 B.C. The word may also be applied to the approximate period of Mauryan rule.
- Māyā*: Deception, fraud; witchcraft, magic; an unreal or illusory image, phantom, apparition.
- Megasthenes*: An ambassador of Seleukos Nikator (Alexander's successor in Asia and ruler over the whole region between the Euphrates and Indus, 312 B.C.) at the court of Candragupta. He left an account of India, which has been preserved in fragments.
- Milindapañho*: 'The Questions of King Milinda', a Buddhist text in which the king discusses Buddhist concepts with a leading monk-scholar.
- Mitra*: Friend, ally.
- Mitramitra*: Friend of a friend; in the *maṇḍala*, the ally of an ally.
- Mokṣa*: Salvation or final release from the cycle of rebirth, one of the four goals of human existence.
- Mrtyu*: Death; Death personified, the god of death.
- Nakula*: A son of the Aśvins and Mādri; twin brother of Sahadeva, fourth of the Pāṇḍava princes.
- Nārada*: A Ṛṣi; the legendary author of a law-book noted for its support of regal prerogatives and powers.
- Nirṇaya*: Mode of judicial decision.
- Nirṇayaka*: Having no leader or ruler; anarchic.

- Nirukta*: A later text which attempts exposition of the Veda and Vedic legends.
- Nisṛṣṭārtha*: Ambassador; a *chargé d'affaires*, agent, messenger dispatched on a specified errand.
- Nītiśāstra*: The science of or a work on politics, discussed from both the practical and the ethical point of view.
- Niyama*: Restraint, an additional type of political expedient.
- Nṛpa*: 'Protector of men'; prince, king, sovereign.
- Nyāya*: Reasoning, logic; a source of State law.
- Ojas*: Bodily strength, vigour, energy, ability, power.
- Pālāgali*: In Vedic times a minor queen; the daughter of one of the minor court officials.
- Pañcāmyta*: The five kinds of divine food (viz. milk, curds, butter, honey and sugar); the five elements.
- Pāṇḍava*: A son or descendant of Pāṇḍu, especially the five heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, the side which generally represented righteousness as against the Kurus who generally represented the forces of evil in the *Mahābhārata* war.
- Pāṇḍu*: A son of Janamejaya and brother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra; he retired to the woods, relinquishing the kingship, the struggle for which precipitated the *Mahābhārata* war.
- Pariṣad*: An assembly or council, especially the advisory body of ministers or high royal officials with whom the king consulted on administration.
- Parjanya*: The Vedic rain god.
- Pārṣṇigrāha*: The rear enemy of a king.
- Pārṣṇigrāhāśāra*: The ally of the rear enemy of a king.
- Prabhāvaśakti*: Strength of a king's material resources, one of the three powers of the king in the context of inter-state relations.
- Pradhāna*: Literally, 'chief, principal'; the chief minister.
- Prahita*: An envoy of the king.
- Prajā*: Literally, children, family, descendants; subjects in a political sense.
- Prajāpati*: Literally, 'Lord of creatures', the protector of life, creator, a supreme god in the later Vedic period.
- Prajñātman*: Intelligential self.
- Prakṛtis*: The seven *āṅgas* or limbs of the State, namely *svāmī*, *amātya*, *janapada*, *durga*, *koṣa*, *bala*, and *mitra*.

- Prāṇa*: Breathing spirit; the breath of life; vitality.
- Pratinidhi*: King's deputy; substitute, representative proxy.
- Prthivī*: 'The Broad One'; the earth or wide world personified and often invoked together with the sky; earth regarded as one of the elements.
- Pūga*: Assembly or group of families in the same village; any assemblage or combination or body of persons; assembly of townsmen.
- Purāṇa*: An ancient tale or legend, old traditional history; a class of sacred works supposed to have been compiled by the poet Vyāsa; the chief Purāṇas are eighteen.
- Purohita*: A family priest, a domestic chaplain, more especially the powerful royal priest who exercised considerable political power through his advice to the king.
- Puruṣa*: Literally, person; an officer, attendant, servant; the primaeva man as the soul and original source of the universe; the personal and animating principle in men and other beings, the soul or spirit.
- Puruṣamedha*: A rite of human sacrifice mentioned in detail in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.
- Puruṣārtha*: Any object of human pursuit; any one of the four objects or aims of existence.
- Rājā*: King, sovereign, chief.
- Rājadhāni*: A large town, seat of a king.
- Rājadharma*: A king's duty; rules or laws relating to kings and the righteous way in which they should govern and conduct themselves.
- Rājakṛt*: 'King maker'; in the Vedic period those who place a king on the throne.
- Rājan*:=*rājā*.
- Rājanīti*: Royal conduct or policy, statesmanship, politics.
- Rājaśāstra*: } Royal science, state policy, statesmanship; science
- Rājavidyā*: } of kingship.
- Rājaśāsana*: Royal laws, edicts of the king; one of the sources of law.
- Rājasūya*: A great sacrifice performed at the coronation of a king by himself and tributary princes, which confirms his title.
- Rājya*: The State; the totality of the seven *angas*; kingdom; sovereignty.

- Rākṣasa*: Demonical; an evil or malignant demon.
- Rāma*: The hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*; king of Ayodhyā, son of King Daśaratha of the solar race; Viṣṇu took this form at the close of the second or *tretā* age to destroy the demon Rāvana.
- Rāmāyaṇa*: The great epic poem of Vālmiki describing the exploits of Rāma and Sītā. Part of the first and seventh books are thought to be comparatively modern additions.
- Rāṣṭra*: A kingdom, realm, empire; later often a province.
- Rāṣṭragopa*: Protector of the kingdom; applied to the *purohita* or a high officer of a king.
- Rāvana*: A demon king, the representative of evil, who abducted Sītā in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.
- Ratnins*: In Vedic times 'jewel-bearers' of the king, also known as *rājakṛts* (q.v.), in whose dwellings the *Ratna-havis* is offered by a king.
- Rg Veda*: A collection of hymns in praise of the gods, not arranged for any ritual purposes; the most sacred and oldest of the Vedas.
- Rṣis*: Ancient legendary sages or seers.
- Rta*: The cosmic law of the Vedas, later largely superseded by the concept of *dharma*.
- Rtvig*: In the Veda, a sacrificial priest.
- Rudra*: A Vedic god associated with disease and magic, later identified with Śiva.
- Sabha*: In Vedic times the meeting-place of the tribe, later any assembly, council or public audience.
- Sabhya*: Member of an assembly; belonging to or fit for an assembly or court; suitable to good society; an assistant at an assembly or council; an assessor, judge.
- Sahadeva*: Son of Mādrī and reputed son of Pāṇḍu, but probably son of the Aśvins; the twin brother of Nakula.
- Śakti*: Power, a fundamental objective of foreign policy; ability, strength, might, regal power; in medieval Hinduism the active force of a divinity personified as his wife.
- Śākyā*: The tribe of kṣatriyas in Kapilavastu of which Siddhārtha, the founder of Buddhism, was a member; a Buddhist mendicant.
- Sāma*: The policy of using kind or gentle words for winning an

- adversary, conciliation, negotiation; one of the four *upāyas* or means of success against an enemy.
- Samāhartā*: A collector, especially of revenue.
- Sāma Veda*: The second of the four Vedas, a reproduction of parts of the *Rg Veda* transposed and arranged for the Soma ceremonies performed by priests called *udgātṛs*.
- Samgrahīty*: In Vedic times an official, generally thought to be collector-general of revenue; possibly a charioteer.
- Samhitās*: 'Collections', especially of the four Vedas.
- Samiti*: Meeting, assembly, society; In Vedic times an assembly with some affinity to *sabhā*.
- Samrāj*: } A universal or supreme ruler, a sovereign lord, paramount sovereign one who rules over other princes
- Samrāṭ*: } and has performed the *Rājasūya* sacrifice.
- Samśraya*: Taking refuge with a powerful king, one of six traditional methods of foreign policy.
- Samsthā*: Usage, one of four sources of positive law.
- Samudragupta*: A great king of Northern India who probably reigned from about A.D. 335 till 376.
- Sandhi*: Treaty, one of six traditional methods of foreign policy.
- Saṅgha*: Any number of people living together for a certain purpose, a community, congregation; collective body or brotherhood of monks, especially Buddhist monks.
- Sannyāsin*: The final stage of the four *āśramas*, that of a wandering recluse living on a strict diet of obtainable vegetarian food.
- Santanu*: The father of Bhīṣma who married the fisherman's daughter Satyavati; also in the *Rg Veda* x, 98 the younger brother of Devāpi who acceded to the throne in his stead.
- Sānti Parvan*: Twelfth section of the *Mahābhārata*; recounts the coronation of Yudhisṭhira in Hastināpura. To calm his spirit, troubled with the slaughter of his kindred, Bhīṣma instructs him at great length in the duties of kings, and gives rules for adversity and for attaining final emancipation.
- Sarasvatī*: The goddess of learning, wisdom and music; also a river.
- Śarirātman*: Bodily self.
- Śāsana*: An edict; royal command.
- Śāsanahāra*: Courier.
- Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*: Literally, the Brāhmaṇa with a hundred

- paths or sections, an important commentary on the Veda containing, among other things, ritualistic instructions for various royal sacrifices.
- Satya*: Truth, a standard of state policy in an emergency.
- Savitṛ*: Stimulator, rouser; name of a Vedic sun deity, the personified divine influence and vivifying power of the sun; the sun before rising is Savitṛ and after rising until setting is Sūrya; reckoned among the Ādityas and even worshipped as 'lord of all creatures' supporting the world and delivering his votaries from sin.
- Senāni*: } Commander of the army, one of the *ratnins*; the
Senāpati: } leader of an army, general, chief.
- Shiki*: Feudal rights in medieval Japan.
- Śīla*: Good behaviour; a moral precept.
- Śiṣṭa*: Disciplined, cultured, educated; a learned or well-educated man; a courtier, counsellor; such people often decided points of law.
- Sita*: The wife of Rāma, abducted by Rāvaṇa, the demon king, the ideal Hindu wife.
- Sitādhyakṣa*: Superintendent of agriculture.
- Śiva*: Name of the destroying and reproducing deity who constitutes the third god of the Hindu triad, the other two being Brahmā and Viṣṇu. In the Veda the destroying deity was known as Rudra, but later the name of Śiva was given to him and the office of creation and reproduction as well as dissolution; his active destroying function is oftener assigned to Kāli, his consort; as presiding over reproduction consequent on destruction Śiva's symbol is the *liṅga* or phallus, under which form he is worshipped at the present day.
- Smṛti*: A branch of Brahmanical sacred literature dealing with civil and religious law, a source of law of the social order. In a broader sense *Smṛti* includes all sacred literature of less antiquity and sanctity than *Śruti*, i.e. the epics, Purāṇas, and Dharmāśāstras.
- Snātaka*: One who has bathed or performed ablutions; a Brahman who, after properly completing his studentship as a *brahma-carin* under a religious teacher, returns home and begins the second stage of his life as a *grha-stha*.
- Soma*: The juice or extract from the soma plant mixed with clarified butter, flour, &c., made to ferment and then offered

in libations to the gods. It was also personified as one of the most important of the Vedic gods, sometimes identified with the moon.

Śreni: Guild of artisans or traders.

Śruti: Source of *dharma*; sacred knowledge orally transmitted by the Brahmins from generation to generation. Generally taken to include the four Vedas with their Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads.

Sthāna: Equilibrium, one of three conditions of states in the context of inter-state relations.

Śūdra: A man of the fourth or lowest of the four original classes whose only business, according to Manu, was to serve the three higher classes; the tenth *mandala* of the *Rg Veda* says that he originated from Brahmā's feet.

Sugrīva: Name of a monkey-king who, with his army of monkeys headed by Hanuman, assisted Rāma in conquering Rāvana, believed to be the son of the sun; he was re-established on the throne of Kiśkindha usurped by his brother Vālin.

Śukranīti: A text dealing with the science of government, certainly not earlier than the Muslim period and very likely of a much later date.

Śulka: Toll or customs duty.

Sūrya: The sun or its deity; in the Veda the name of Sūrya is generally distinguished from Savitṛ and denotes the most concrete of the solar gods, whose connexion with the luminary is always present to the poet's mind.

Sūta: Messenger, charioteer, master of the horse; he acted also as a bard, and preserver of royal traditions.

Svadharma: One's duties as a member of a specific class in society; one's own duty.

Svāmin: Ruler, king, sovereign, one of the seven constituents or *angas* of the State, and the most important.

Svayu: Left to itself; ruling of one's own free will or own right, as Indra.

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa: One of the later Vedic texts explaining sacrificial ritual.

Tendaana: 'Custodian of the Earth'; a religious official of the Tallensi tribe in Ghana.

Tirtha: A worthy person; a title sometimes applied to certain

counsellors of a king; a sacred bathing place in a pool or river.

Udāsīna: Neutral king.

Upāya: Title of four political expedients.

Uraga: A serpent, snake; a *Nāga* or semi-divine serpent usually represented with a human face.

Vairājya: Extended sovereignty.

Vaiśya: 'A man who settles on the soil'; a peasant or agriculturist; a man of the third class whose business was trade, as well as agriculture. The Vaiśyas are said to have emerged from the belly of Brahmā.

Vājapeya: 'The drink of strength or of battle'; one of the seven forms of the Soma-sacrifice offered by kings or Brahmins aspiring to the highest position, and preceding the *Rājasūya* and the *Brhaspatisava* sacrifices.

Vānaprastha: A Brahman in the third stage of life who has passed through the stages of student and householder and has abandoned his house and family for an ascetic life in the woods.

Varna: Literally, colour, outward appearance; the four classes of men.

Varnāśramadharma: The principle of caste duties and the idea of acting according to the obligations of one's own caste and not interfering with or confusing those of other castes; the compound couples with these duties those of the four stages of life (*āśrama*).

Vārttā: Livelihood, business, profession, especially that of a Vaiśya.

Varuna: The god in the Veda commonly associated with Mitra and presiding over the night as Mitra over the day, but often celebrated separately, whereas Mitra is rarely invoked alone; he is often regarded as the supreme deity, being then styled 'king of the gods' or 'king of both gods and men'; the moral god of the Vedic period. Later he became the god of waters.

Vasiṣṭha: Name of a celebrated Vedic Ṛṣi or sage; contend with Viśvāmitra, another great Ṛṣi; the reputed author of a minor law-book.

Vāvātā: In Vedic times the favourite wife of the king.

Vedas: The sacred works which constitute the basis of the first period of modern religion.

Vetana: Fees, payment, wages.

Vidatha: An assembly, probably not political; a meeting, an assembly, either for deliberating or for the observance of festive or religious rites.

Vidura: Name of younger brother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu (sons of Vyāsa); councillor to the Pāṇḍavas.

Vigraha: War, one of six traditional methods of foreign policy.

Vijigīṣu: Literally, 'one desiring to conquer'; a warrior, invader, antagonist; the central figure of the circle of states.

Virāj: Sovereign, ruler, chief king.

Viś: In the Vedas, the people, subjects.

Viṣṇu: Name of one of the principal Hindu deities; he is in part a personification of the light and of the sun, especially in his striding over the heavens, which he is said to do in three paces; he has on several occasions been born on earth to protect the world from evil.

Viśvāmitra: A Vedic Ṛṣi, 'friend of all'; his fame rests chiefly on contests with Vasiṣṭha and his success in elevating himself, although a kṣatriya, to the rank of Brahman; reputed to be author of nearly the whole of *Rg Veda* III.

Vriddhi: Growth, increase; one of three conditions of states in the context of inter-state relations.

Vyasana: 'Calamities' or 'vices' affecting the seven constituents or *aṅgas* of the State; attachment, devotion, or addiction to passion; evil, sin, vice.

Vyavahāra: Custom, one of the four methods of judicial decision and sources of law.

Yājñavalkya: One of the ancient traditional lawgivers of India.

Yama: The god of death.

Yāna: Marching against the foreign enemy, one of six traditional types of foreign policy.

Yayāti: A legendary king whose sons, except the youngest, Pūru, refused to take on the burden of his old age. As a consequence of Pūru's obedience and devotion Yayāti had him installed as king.

Yudhiṣṭhīra: Name of the eldest of the five reputed sons of

Pāṇḍu; he ultimately succeeded Pāṇḍu as king; noted for his righteous conduct.

Yuga: One of the four periods of the *kalpa* or time cycle of which this is the Kali Yuga, the fourth and last.

Yugadharma: Duties of castes in successive age-cycles.

Yuvarāja: Crown prince.

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collection of customs duties.¹⁰⁹ This is supported by the *Viṣṇudharmottara*,¹¹⁰ which lays down that the duties should be levied at one place and in one coin only.

Our *Purāna* neither defines expenditure (*vyaya*), as is done by Somadeva Sūri,¹¹¹ nor provides a systematic treatment of the items of state expenditure. The first charge on the state exchequer seems to be the provision for the comfortable upkeep of the brāhmaṇas. The king is enjoined to inquire into the learning and the means of livelihood of the learned brāhmaṇas of his kingdom and to provide decent annuities to them.¹¹² He is to set apart a portion of his capital to settle the brāhmaṇas who are learned and follow their prescribed duties.¹¹³ Like Manu, Yājñavalkya, the *Nitiprakāśikā* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, our text declares that a gift to the brāhmaṇa is an imperishable treasure, and so the king should offer gifts to him.¹¹⁴ It advises that brāhmaṇas should be honoured with offers of land, hamlets, cows, villages and various other things for gaining religious merits, and particularly on such important occasions as coronation, propitiation of different calamities and planets.¹¹⁵ It¹¹⁶ assigns as many as six chapters to the treatment of the various types of gift, which indicates its popularity in contemporary times. We find the description of gifts in almost all the *Purānas* except the *Vāyu*, the *Viṣṇu*, the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, the *Brahma*, the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Brahmavaivarta Purāna*,¹¹⁷ which, except the last one, were compiled earlier. The most detailed description is provided by the *Matsya Purāna*,¹¹⁸ in thirty chapters. The popularity of making gifts to the brāhmaṇas in our period is supported by numerous land grants

109 *Ibid.*, 258.52.

110 *VDP*, II, 61.57 and 59; *diśi diśyekameva svāchchhulkāsthānāṁ nṛpasaya tu.. phinnakarśāpanāṁ ūlkam na grāhyāś pṛthivikṣitā*; III, 323.45-46; *śūlakasthānambhavedekāṁ na. dvīśyāṁ kathañchana... etc.*; *Vasistha*, 19.25 contains the same verse as in the *VDP*, III, 323.46.

111 *NVA*, 18.9.

112 *Agni*, 223.31; *VDP*, II, 61.66.

113 *Ibid.*, 257.36; *Yāj.*, 2.185; *CI*, IV, p.298 Klaира Plate of Yaśahkarna: Year 823 (A. D. 1076) informs us that the Kalachuri King Gāṅgeyadeva established a settlement of brāhmaṇas. Thus we find that the advice of our *Purāna* was actually followed in our period.

114 *Ibid.*, 225.23; cf. *Manu*, 7.82, *Yāj.*, 1.315; *NP*, 8.62; *VDP*, II, 65.60.

115 *Ibid.*, 218.32, 266.20, etc.; *VDP*, II, 65.48

116 *Ibid.*, chaps, 208-13.

117 Centre for Policy Studies, *Purāna-Viṣaya-Samanukramaṇikā*, Hoshiarpur, 1952, p.33.

118 Chaps. 81-91: 204-6 and 273-88.

of Gupta and post-Gupta times. We have also literary references to various gifts offered to the brāhmaṇas.¹¹⁹

Further the king is instructed by our *Purāna* to spend on the care and maintenance of the poor, the destitute, the widow and women in general.¹²⁰ This is in line with the *arthaśāstra-smṛti* provision, though relief measures suggested here are not so liberal.¹²¹ Furthermore, the king is advised by our text to provide pensions to the relatives of his soldiers,—a provision found in the *Arthaśāstra* and the law-book of *Vasiṣṭha*.¹²² The *Viṣṇudharmottara*,¹²³ however, restricts royal relief to such women as possess no son. But Somadeva Sūri¹²⁴ declares that the king who does not look after the progeny of persons killed while on government duty becomes indebted to them.

The *Agni Purāna* indicates that the officers in charge of one, ten or hundred villages or the lord of the *viṣaya* are to be provided with a share in the daily offerings of revenue (*bhoga*) made by the villagers.¹²⁵ It mentions regular payment of wages to soldiers as a strong point of the army.¹²⁶ It further recommends to the king to arrange for the livelihood of his loyal servants¹²⁷ and to bestow rewards and marks of distinction on them.¹²⁸ Lakṣmīdhara quotes *Śāṅkha-Likhita*¹²⁹ and supports the idea of special rewards. However, the *Agni Purāna* does not discuss the scale of pay and emoluments, as is done in great detail by Kauṭilya.

The government is expected to spend a good deal on the defence of

119 Bhāsa in one of his drama depicts Karṇa as stating that the kṣatriyas earn through arrow, and so a kṣatriya father is really mistaken if he earns for his son. Bhāsa adds further that the king should bestow all his riches on the brāhmaṇas and leave the bow as the only legacy for his son: *bāṇādhinā kṣatriyāṇāṁ samṛdbhiḥ putrāpekṣā vāñchyate sannidhānā virotsaṅge vittamāvarjya sarvāṁ rājñā devam chāpamātrāṁ suēbhyan*. (*Pañcharātri*, Banaras, 1958, 1.24).

120 *Agni*, 225.154

121 *Arth.*, 2.1; *Gautama*, 10.9-12, 18.31; *Sānti*, 86.23; consult Ghosal's *Hindu Revenue System*, p.160 and *HDS*, Vol.III, p.59.

122 *Agni*, 236.65; *devādipūjanāṁ kuryādrakṣeṣyodhakuṭumbakam*; cf. *Arth.*, 5.3; *Vasiṣṭha*, 19.20.

123 II, 177.92.

124 *NVA*, 30.93: *rājā rājakāryeṣu mṛtānāṁ sanitimapoṣayanāṁ abhāgīṣyāt...*

125 *Agni*, 223.2.

126 *Ibid.*, 239.31; *KNS*, 4.64.

127 *Ibid.*, 239.41; cf. *KNS*, 5.46.

128 *Ibid.*, 221.6: *vastrāḥ ratnamalāḥ kāraṇā rājñā dattām cha dhārayet*; *VDP*, II, 25.16; *NP*, 8.27.

129 *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, pp.81-82.

the kingdom. The tone of the *Agni Purāṇa* leads us to conclude that a large amount is to be spent on presents to the inimical as well as friendly kings, on bribes to create dissension in the rank and file of the enemy, and on preparation and execution of war efforts.¹³⁰ The system of offering monetary allurements is recognised as one of the constituents of the state by the *Viṣṇudharmottara*.¹³¹ So the ideal of an expansionist state advocated by our *Purāṇa* presupposes huge military expenditure.

In addition to all these items of expenditure the *Agni Purāṇa* provides for the performance of coronation,¹³² its anniversary,¹³³ various religious and propitiatory rituals,¹³⁴ organisation of festivals in honour of gods,¹³⁵ raising of flag-staff of Indra,¹³⁶ worship of goddess Durgā in the month of Āśvina,¹³⁷ and of royal emblems,¹³⁸ etc. Our *Purāṇa* also commends to the king the construction of temples and provision for painting, dance, music and the purificatory bath of the images.¹³⁹ That this actually worked in practice is shown by epigraphic evidence. The Chaulukya king Bhogaśakti granted eight villages for providing materials for the worship of the god, the repairs of the temples and the maintenance of a *sattra* in the town of Jayapura. He assigned certain rights, levies and taxes to the temple and exempted the merchants of the town from the octroi duties and the obligation to serve meals to the royal officers in return for celebrating the annual *yātrā* festival and looking after the service and property of the god.¹⁴⁰

A kind of budgetary policy of the state is formulated by the *Agni Purāṇa* by stating that half of the daily revenue of the king should be deposited into the treasury and the other half be given away to the brāhmaṇas.¹⁴¹ Someśvaradeva, the *Śivadharma* and Hemādri, as quoted by Nīlakanṭha Bhaṭṭa, and the *Sukranītisāra* make a similar attempt to provide a budget of expenditure for the state. According to Someśvara-

130 *Agni*, 226.12-13, 241.59 and 62, 245.27, etc.

131 III. 145.3.

132 *Agni*, chaps.218-9.

133 *Ibid.*, 269.38-39.

134 *Ibid.*, chaps.149, 164, 263-4, etc.

135 *Ibid.*, chapt.68.

136 *Ibid.*, 268.3-12.

137 *Ibid.*, 268.13-16.

138 *Ibid.*, 268, 16-31.

139 *Ibid.*, 222.14.

140 CII, IV, No.31 Añjaneri Plates of Bhogaśakti: K.E. 461 (A. D. 709-10 or 710-11).

141 *Agni*, 223.13-14: *koṣe praveśayedardhanī nityam chārdhamī dvije dadet.*

deva the total income should be divided into four parts; three-fourth of the income should be spent on the promotion of piety (*dharma*), material resources (*artha*) and worldly pleasures (*kāma*), and one-fourth should be kept into the treasury as reserve because the lack of resources impoverishes a man.¹⁴² The *Śivadharma* and Hemādri divide the royal income into five parts, of which three-fifth are to be spent on personal uses and two-fifth on pious works.¹⁴³ A most detailed budgetary provision is attempted by the *Sukranītisāra*.¹⁴⁴

The *Agni Purāṇa* seems to be the first authority which hints at the formulation of a tentative budget, but we do not find any other example where half of the total revenue is sought to be disbursed among the brāhmaṇas. Hsüan Tsang¹⁴⁵ informs us that the royal revenues of Harṣavardhana were divided into four parts, the one for the expenses on administration and state worship, the second on high functionaries of the state, the third for rewards to learned persons, and the fourth for making gifts to various religious sects. Thus there were certain earlier ideas on the mode of expenditure, but the *Agni Purāṇa* does not adopt them completely.

142 *Abhilāsi*, I. 2.543-4: *dharmārtha kāma siddhyarthaiḥ kuryādbhāgatra-*

yaṁ nṛpaḥ bhāgenaikena chīvāśyāṁ kāryah kośasya sañchayah ... etc.

143 *Dānamayūkha*, Banaras, 1909, p.5: *Śivadharma—tasmātribhāgāṁ vittasya*

jīvanāya prakalpayet, bhāgadvayāṁ tu dharmārhamanityam jīvitāḥ yataḥ,

Hemādri—sarvavittasya bhāgapañchakāṁ kṛtyā bhāgatrayah jīvanārthaḥ

bhāgadvayāṁ dhārmārthaḥ

144 *Sukra*, 1.316-7, 4.7, 27 and 29.

145 Beal, S., *Travels of Hiouen-Thsang*, Vol.II, Calcutta, 1958, p. 142.

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THE FUTURE OF INDIAN STUDIES *

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UNTIL THE present generation Indian studies in this country have been very closely connected with linguistics and comparative philology and with the old Vedic literature. In some of our Universities there is still no department of Indian studies, Sanskrit being merely a part of Comparative Philology.

Attention has slowly been turning away from Comparative Philology and from the Vedic literature to later phases of Indian civilization. Now that India is no longer in a backwater, but has come out into the main current of world history, there is sure to be an increasing interest in modern India and Indian cultural history.

In the future Indian Studies will have to face in two directions—towards the past, a study of the Sanskrit language as a tool to be used by linguistics and comparative philology, and towards the future, a study of Sanskrit and Pāli and Prākrit as a means of interpreting Indian cultural history, which will serve as a foundation for the understanding of modern India. We shall need to train both types of Sanskrit scholar. Also we shall need to extend our linguistic interests to the modern languages of India, at least to the two national languages, Hindi and Urdu.

My fear is that the present tendency to activation and immediate practical utility may lead to the production of students of modern India who know little or nothing of the languages and little or nothing of India's past history.

There seems to be an increasing tendency on the part of social scientists to deal with ideas or concepts as things completely detached from the study of the languages and literatures of the countries with which they are dealing. It seems to me that no man is fully equipped to deal with modern India unless he can read the national languages of the country—Hindi and Urdu—well enough to read newspapers and other pertinent material, and unless he has a good knowledge of India's past cultural history and some knowledge of Sanskrit. If I wanted to write a book about the Mississippi river I would not go to New Orleans, sit on the

* Presidential address delivered at the Society's Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, March 28, 1951.

bank of the river, watch the water flow past me, and write my book. I would want to go up the river to its source and examine its tributaries.

I have heard it argued that the teaching of history in all of our schools and colleges is wrong, that all courses on history should deal primarily with the present. This means that any course on Indian history would deal primarily with modern India and that the past should be brought in only occasionally in places where it could be shown clearly that the past has a definite bearing on the present. Otherwise the past should be buried and allowed to rest in oblivion.

The tendency towards activation has resulted in some quarters in the idea that all education—even higher education—is a technical training in applied science, applied social science, and applied humanities; merely a few years of technical training in which the study of books plays considerable part, after which a man throws away his books and spends the rest of his life in activities. There is plenty of room for applied science, applied social science, and applied humanities for men of the requisite temperament, but there is also need of scholars who will resist this tendency and will work at problems merely because they are interested in them irrespective of their immediate utility. The world would be a poorer place if there had not been some men who had the leisure to work quietly, with no idea of the application of the matters at which they were working.

The humanities rest on a solid foundation of language study, and work with languages and difficult texts requires long continued application. One is never through with books. If compelled to spend the greater part of one's time in activities there would be little advance in scholarship. The source from which the application is to be made would soon dry up.

One trouble with Indian studies in this country has been the fact that, generally speaking, we have never had more than one man at any one University. If his interests cover all phases of India's cultural history and all the languages involved, he is so much occupied in teaching and in master-

ing a variety of difficult subjects that he has little time for productive scholarship. I know this from my own experience: I was interested not only in Sanskrit but in all phases of Indian cultural history. For forty-three years I taught all who came to me to be taught—Vedic Sanskrit, Classical Sanskrit, Buddhist Sanskrit, Pāli, Prākrit, occasionally elementary Hindi, and of recent years Tibetan, but in addition to teaching Sanskrit to students of Comparative Philology I have been interested in developing the study of various phases of Indian cultural history, especially literature, religion, and philosophy. The result has been that during my twenty years in Chicago and twenty-three years at Harvard I taught steadily at double the normal amount, and frequently even more than that, an average of about three hours a day. Three hours a day of teaching requires at least the same amount of time in preparation and background reading. Where is there time for long-continued, steady work on difficult texts?

To meet the present needs of Indian studies a one-man department is not sufficient. A four-man department is the minimum for effective work. Two men could deal with the ancient languages—Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākrit, and with Indian cultural history, one man being interested especially in language study and comparative philology and the other in the literature and cultural history. One man could deal with modern languages, at least the two national languages—Hindi and Urdu. One man could deal with modern India, beginning either with the downfall of the Moguls and the beginning of the British empire in India in the eighteenth century or with the vague beginnings of Indian nationalism in 1885.

Eventually modern India might be taken over by the Department of History, but the man should be closely associated with the Department of Indian Studies, should have some knowledge of Sanskrit and a good background of Indian cultural history.

Some years ago I was approached—as a Trustee of the Harvard-Yenching Institute—and asked if I would vote to support on Institute money a man in the history department to teach Chinese history. I asked how much Chinese the man knew and was told that he knew none. Knowing that the Institute would not be willing to support a man unless he had a good knowledge of Chinese, I asked my inquirer if he would be willing to recommend to a Professorship of Spanish American his-

tory a man who could not read Spanish. He said, "Certainly not, but China is different."

Distance produces a flat landscape, and from the distance of ignorance things seem much less complicated than when one begins to gain some close knowledge of them.

It may not be possible to get our Universities to promote actively such enlarged Departments of Indian Studies. Other matters may seem to be of more immediate importance. It may be necessary to find individuals or foundations which are willing to devote money to such a purpose. If so, such Institutes should be closely associated with some University, but in such a way that they would have freedom of action so that University administrations could not divert money to other immediate and supposedly more useful purposes or favor modern India at the expense of language study and past cultural history. My own experience has led me to distrust present-day University Administrations.

During the present generation Indian studies have been turning away from Vedic studies to later phases of Indian literature. In particular, there has been a strong swing towards Buddhist Sanskrit and the various phases of Mahāyāna Buddhism. This tendency has driven some Sanskritists to the study of Tibetan and Chinese, since most of the early Sanskrit Buddhist literature has been lost or preserved only in fragmentary and imperfect condition and much of this literature has been preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations. The quality of the Chinese translations varies greatly. They tend to paraphrase and give the general sense of the texts rather than to translate literally, and they are not of great help in reconstructing the original language. The Tibetan translations are marvelous for their word-for-word fidelity to the original. They are of great help in dealing with badly mutilated texts and in giving a clear impression of the original. With a good knowledge of Tibetan and of Buddhist Sanskrit the Tibetan texts could be rewritten in a Sanskrit that would approximate very closely to the original. The next great task of Buddhist studies is that of reconstructing, so far as possible, the old Sanskrit canon. I anticipate a wide development of this comparative study of Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese texts in the effort to reconstruct the history of Buddhist thought. Buddhist literature is

not all extant in any one language. All four languages must be used.

There is still no really satisfactory monograph on Hinduism. Various phases of Hinduism have been dealt with, but the widely scattered material has not yet been integrated into a complete picture. As compared with Buddhism, Hinduism is amorphous and hard to describe as a unit.

Modern Hinduism is not a religion in the western sense of the word; it is a whole ethnic culture which contains many religious sects and many philosophical systems, held together and unified by the tenacity of Indian social custom. There is not one prophet, one scripture, one universal norm of conduct for all men, treated legalistically by an organized religion as in Islam or Christianity. There are many prophets, many scriptures, many codes of conduct adapted to social groups of varied intellectual capacities, many ways of reaching salvation, just as many rivers flowing from different directions ultimately reach the ocean. It is like a lake into which one dips a pail and takes out such water as is adapted to one's use. Dogmas and norms of conduct have only relative validity, are working hypotheses adapted to various groups and levels of society. As an Indian author has phrased it: "Moral categories are no more final than intellectual categories. Moral life is only an episode in the career of the human soul." Higher Hinduism transcends these relative moral and intellectual values and finds a unity by means of personal experience.

There has always been in Hinduism a constant struggle between dutiful action (*karma* or *dharma*), devotion or feeling (*bhakti*), and knowledge (*jñāna*). The heart (*bhakti*) seems to have the power to turn the head (*jñāna*) towards a mystical type of knowledge and the head seems able to turn the heart towards a philosophy which rises above an emotional theism; and underlying both of these is the tenacity of old social custom (*dharma*).

There are four points of view from which Hinduism would have to be described.

First—the lower popular cults and beliefs and practices, which center around the worship of local godlings or village deities.

Second—the theistic religious sects on the middle and higher levels, which worship deities of a more cosmic nature—such as Vishnu, Shiva, Krishna, Rāma, Kāli, Durgā. Very characteristic of Hindu thought is the disinclination to conceive of the Godhead as exclusively male, the conception

that the female principle in nature deserves as much recognition as the male principle. Why must God be he rather than she? Philosophy transcends this duality by making the ultimate reality neuter.

Third—the higher theology or philosophy which tries to make a synthesis and tends to think of this unity as impersonal. Even in the so-called theistic systems a personal God is not well motivated, is a vague, casual, almost useless figure who is "bound by regards" to *karma* and presides indifferently over the universe as an administrator rather than as a creator. The Universe emanates from him as *līlā* "play" or "sport." The world is the play of Brahma, as the Vedanta phrases it. God is like the rain, which does not create seeds but makes their germination and development possible.

Fourth—the basic social *dharma* which underlies all of these and finds its expression in the caste system: old traditional codes of conduct adapted to various stages of life and classes of society. This duty is partly social and partly religious. There is no clear demarcation between what is secular and what is religious. Philosophy has not yet completely detached itself from religion. The final goal of each philosophical system is a religious goal, not merely an intellectual understanding.

Historically the way in which Hinduism emerged from Brahmanism, in which the Vedic ritualistic fire-sacrifice was gradually replaced by permanent temples and images and worship (*pūjā*) has not yet been clearly worked out. The whole literature of the Āgamas and Saṃhitās, which connects the early Hinduism of the Epics and Purāṇas with later Hinduism has been neglected. Little of it has been edited and still less has been studied carefully.

In the past the study of Sanskrit literature has been directed almost exclusively to the philosophical and religious texts and to belles lettres. The Arthashastras and other texts that deal with the practical affairs of life have been largely neglected.

I hope that in the near future this widely scattered material which has a bearing on Indian realism will be collected and worked up into a *Répertoire*.

There is still a large field in India for archaeology—a quiet, persistent, systematic archaeology that does not depend for support on spectacular finds. The first edition of Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* (1909) and later books—as com-



pared with earlier histories such as those of Elphinstone and Lassen—show the enormous advance made by Indian archaeology during the past fifty years. Many dark corners of Indian history may be lighted up by archaeology during the next fifty years.

These are the four fields of Indian studies in which I anticipate the greatest advance in the future: 1. The reconstruction of the Sanskrit Buddhist canon. The development of Mahāyāna out of Hinayāna Buddhism and a better knowledge of the various phases of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

2. A more detailed study of Hinduism.

3. Progress in the study of Indian History through archaeology and a more systematic ransacking of Sanskrit texts.

4. The systematic collection of material dealing with Indian *realien*.

In conclusion may I return to an idea expressed earlier. We should not allow the present emergency—however serious it may be—to destroy scholarship and humanistic studies or allow ourselves to be regimented into lines of study that are considered by the planners to be of immediate expediency.

ARCHAIC FEATURES IN SOUTH ETHIOPIC¹

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FROM THE DESCRIPTIVE and geographical point of view the Ethiopic languages are to be divided into two groups: North-Ethiopic and South-Ethiopic. North-Ethiopic includes Geez, Tigre and Tigrinya; South-Ethiopic includes Amharic, Argobba, Harari, Gafat, and Gurage.² The language of Geez is no longer spoken; it remained the language of the liturgy. Tigre is spoken in the Northern part of Eritrea, in the region of Keren (up to the border of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan), in Massawa, and on the islands of Dahlak. Tigrinya is spoken in the Northern part of Ethiopia and in Eritrea. Amharic is used in the central part of Ethiopia and is the national language of the country. Argobba is spoken in the region of Ankober, north of Addis Ababa, and in the region south of Harar. Harari³ is spoken in

the city of Harar. Gafat was spoken in the southern part of Godjam, in the region of the Blue Nile; at present it is spoken only by a few individuals.⁴ Gurage is a language cluster spoken in the province of Gurage, situated south-west of Addis Ababa. It is divided into three main groups:⁵ (a) Occidental Gurage including Chaha, Ezā (closely related to Chaha), Ennemor,⁶ Gyeto (closely related to Ennemor), Endegeñ (close to Ennemor); with a possible sub-group of Muher, Masqan, and Gogot; (b) Oriental Gurage including Selti,⁷ Wolane, and the dialects spoken on the islands of the Lake Zway; (c) Northern Gurage with Aymallal as its only representative.

The two groups of North-Ethiopic and South-Ethiopic differ from one another in more than one respect as regards phonology, morphology and syntax. The question was, therefore, asked by

¹ A part of the investigation of the South-Ethiopic languages was made during my second trip to Ethiopia in 1950. This trip was made possible through a grant of the Social Science Research Council to whom I wish to express my sincere thanks.

² The names of the languages are abbreviated as follows: A = Aymallal, Amh = Amharic, Arg = Argobba, C = Chaha, E = Ezā, Ed = Endegeñ, En = Ennemor, G = Gogot, Gf = Gafat, Gt = Gyeto, Gz = Geez, H = Harari, M = Muher, Ms = Masqan, NE = North-Ethiopic, S = Selti, SE = South-Ethiopic, Te = Tigre, Tna = Tigrinya, W = Wolane, Z = Zway. The South Ethiopic languages, except Amharic, were recorded by me in Ethiopia in 1946-7 and in 1950.

³ The term 'Harari' is a misnomer. This language is

known in Ethiopia under the name of 'Adare.' 'Harari' is used here because it was accepted under this name by Western scholars.

⁴ See my article 'A year of research in Ethiopia,' *Word* 4 (1948) 220-1.

⁵ This division agrees with the one proposed by Marcel Cohen, *Études d'éthiopien méridional*, p. 100 ff.; the details differ.

⁶ The dialect of Inor mentioned in Cohen, *Études* 89 and passim, is the Amharic term for the Gurage 'Ennemor.'

⁷ The dialect of Ulbarag mentioned in various descriptions is the same as Selti; the differences between these two dialects are insignificant.

Marcel Cohen⁸ whether one single language has been imported into the African territory of Ethiopia and differentiated into various languages, or whether different languages came to Ethiopia through different channels and at different times. Cohen takes no position. 'On ne choisira pas ici entre les deux manières de voir.'⁹ At the time when M. Cohen dealt with this problem the answer to this question was particularly difficult to find—and as a matter of fact still is—because our knowledge of the South-Ethiopic languages other than Amharic was inadequate. As for Amharic, it presents a stage of the 'Proto-Ethiopic' type very much different from the North-Ethiopic languages. It could, therefore, lead to the consideration that it derived from a language group different from the one which resulted into Geez and the other North-Ethiopic languages. If, however, we reexamine the other SE languages so closely connected with Amharic and yet presenting features not found in Amharic but in the NE languages, we might arrive at the conclusion that South-Ethiopic and North-Ethiopic could be reduced to a common origin. The purpose of this article is to bring us nearer to the solution of this problem. The article deals with phonological and morphological phenomena and with the vocabulary of the SE languages other than Amharic, which we might consider 'archaic' in the sense that they are found in the NE languages. It must be pointed out once more that the features discussed below are not found in Amharic; they either disappeared or have been altered in this language.

As for Harari and Oriental Gurage, languages which have several features in common with North-Ethiopic, an important reservation should be made. Conti Rossini¹⁰ expressed the opinion that the Harari and the Gurage are military colonies from North Ethiopia. If this opinion were confirmed by extra-linguistic proofs, the features common to Harari-Oriental Gurage and North-Ethiopic would not necessarily indicate a common origin, but might bring us to the conclusion that they were inherited from North-Ethiopic. Unfortunately, the extra-linguistic disciplines (history, archeology) do not help us yet in the solution of the problem.

⁸ *Études* 38 ff.

⁹ *Op. cit.* 40.

¹⁰ *Storia d'Etiopia* 283.

1. The laryngeals

Geez has the Semitic laryngeal series of ' (glottal stop), ' h, h and the velar b. Tigre and Tigrinya have ' , h and b (representing h and b). If we had to judge from Amharic and some South-Ethiopic languages we would state that the laryngeals have become zero in South-Ethiopic.¹¹ This is, however, not the case in all the SE languages where the laryngeals are still preserved in one form or another.

1.1. In Harari, the situation of the laryngeals is as follows.¹² In the verbs with an initial laryngeal, ' and ' became zero; h, h and b became b.¹³ Thus agāda 'bind' (root qd), amīna 'believe' (root 'mn); hala 'to be' (root hw), karāsa 'plough' (root hrs), hadāra 'pass the night' (root hdr).

Medially, ' is either preserved or became zero, ' and h became zero, h and b became b. Some examples are: la'aka or li'ha (from *laaka) or leka 'send' (root lk),¹⁴ wala 'pass the day' (root wl), leqa 'grow' (root lhq), temā 'taste' (root f'm);¹⁵ but lähasa 'lick' (root lhs), wähata 'swallow' (root wht).

As 3rd radical, ' and ' became ' ; h h and b became b: näsa'a 'take' (root ns), sāma'a 'hear' (root sm); but näqāha 'wake up' (root nqh), fätaha 'dissolve' (root fth), bázaha 'be numerous' (root bzth).

It must be noted that in Harari we find a stage where the original triliterals, with a laryngeal as one of the radicals, became biliterals due to the fact that medial ' or final h (in rare cases) could become zero. Thus the verbs of the type la'aka (with an original medial laryngeal) have also the

¹¹ In Ancient Amharic, too, the laryngeals were still pronounced, to judge from the Royal Songs (14th century); see E. Littmann, 'Altamharisches Glossar' *RSO* 20.473-505. No definite rule, however, can be given concerning the pronunciation. The most that can be said is that the laryngeals were already confused in the pronunciation. This is proved by the variants in the spelling as well as by the inconsistent correspondence of the Amharic laryngeals with the original Geez laryngeals.

¹² The nouns have not been examined here but the situation is the same as in the verb.

¹³ The existence of b was not recognized by E. Cerulli, *Studi etiopici*, I. Harar, nor by M. Cohen, *Études*; instead, these authors mention h.

¹⁴ The laryngeals becoming zero have caused the original triliterals to become biliterals. This explains the great variety of the bilateral verbs in South Ethiopic.

¹⁵ See § 15, note.

man prose writer who won the Nobel Prize for his *Buddenbrooks* in 1929, wrote *Die vertauschten Köpfe* (The Transposed Heads) as an American exile in 1940. It is a modern adaptation of the ancient motif from the *Vetālapañcaviniśati*, which he imbued with his gentle irony and psychological interpretations. Mann received the suggestion for this story from the German Indologist, Heinrich Zimmer, jun. In his "Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus" Mann acknowledges Zimmer's contribution.

There is no other poet in the twentieth century who has as close an affinity with the Indian spirit as Hermann Hesse (born 1877), a Nobel Prize Winner in 1946. He travelled to India in 1911 to find new stimuli and reported on this journey in his book "Aus Indien" in 1913. One of his finest novels is "Siddhārtha" (1922) in which he describes the way to bodhi with neo-romantic verve. This novel made him conscious again of "the world of the Indian spirit which was holy and congenial since my youth." The Indian curriculum vitae in Hesse's novel "Das Glasperlespiel," 1943,—which describes the symbol play of a few initiates—is diffused with Yoga and Māyā.

8. INDOLOGY IN GERMANY TODAY:

Though there are six chairs of Indology in West Germany, Sanskrit is taught in almost every university.

There are two chairs of Indology in East Germany: Berlin (since 1825) and Leipzig (since 1848). The Leipzig chair has been vacant since 1958. The chair in the Berlin Humboldt University (previously Friedrich Wilhelm University) has been held by Walter Ruben (born 1899) since 1950. Ruben was a pupil of Jacobi. His translation and commentary of the *Nyāyasūtras* (1928) and his textual criticism of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1936) are well known. His study of the Kṛṣṇa legends was published in Ankara in 1943. Ruben's recent publications are written from the standpoint of Marxism and Leninism, e.g., his history of Indian philosophy (1953).

In Leipzig Friedrich Weller (born 1889) was Professor of Indology from 1938 to 1958 when he retired. Weller is internationally renowned for his buddhological studies, which include also Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian parallels. Weller edited several Tibetan texts (e.g., *Buddhacarita* in

1928) and compiled a *Tibetan-Sanskrit glossary of the Bodhicaryāvalāra* (1952, ff.).

In the framework of linguistic studies Sanskrit is also taught in Halle, where Karl Ammer succeeded Paul Thieme, and in Jena by Richard Haushild (born 1901), who revised Thunberg's *Handbuch des Sanskrit* (Heidelberg, 1953 ff.). Johannes Schubert is Professor of Tibetan in Leipzig, Dr. Manfred Taube is his assistant.

It is worth mentioning that several Indologists left East Germany in the last decade.

In West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany) there are chairs of Indology in the universities of Bonn (since 1818), Göttingen (since 1862), Hamburg (since 1914), Marburg (since 1869), Munich (since 1867) and Tübingen (since 1856).

The famous chair at Bonn University has been held since 1818 by August Wilhelm von Schlegel, Christian Lassen, Theodor Aufrecht, Hermann Jacobi, Willibald Kirfel (1922-1955) and Paul Hacker (since 1955).

Willibald Kirfel (born 1885) did valuable research work on Indian cosmography. In his *Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa* (1927) he demonstrated that the coinciding passages of different purāṇas were probably the most ancient. He was also interested in Indian medicine and ethnology. His recent publications deal with the symbolism of Indian religions. Kirfel's successor to the chair of Sanskrit is Paul Hacker (born 1913). His principle field is the system of Vedānta. In this research he determines the single teachers of Vedānta and interprets their individuality. Hacker's concern is also vernacular Hindi. In 1958 he published a monograph on auxiliary verbs in Hindi. Hans Losch (born 1902) is also Professor of Sanskrit in Bonn. He has written on Indian law, state theories, theatre and Indo-German relations.

The chair at Göttingen University has been held by Ernst Waldschmidt (born 1897) since 1936. Waldschmidt is a Buddhologist and has published a treatise on Buddhist art in India (1932). His great achievement is the evaluation of the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts which were found in East Turkestan during the four "Royal Prussian Turfan Expeditions." Waldschmidt and his pupils (F. Bernhard, Herbert Härtel, Kusum Mittal, Valentina Rosen, Dieter Schlingloff) are editing the texts and comparing them with parallel versions in the Tipitaka. Waldschmidt is also comparing the

text with Chinese and Tibetan versions (e.g., the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*). He is editor of the series *Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfund* (in the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin). Walter Schubring (born 1881) held the Hamburg chair of Indology from 1920 to 1950. As a pupil of Ernst Leumann he was interested in Jainism. Schubring published many papers, a catalogue of the Jain manuscripts in the Prussian State Library in Berlin (1944) and a comprehensive standard work on the doctrine of the Jainas, 1935. He and Dr. Klaus Ludwig Janert are cataloguing the German Sanskrit manuscripts in the frame of "The Cataloguing of Oriental Manuscripts in Germany," organized by Dr. Wolfgang Voigt, Marburg. Schubring was succeeded by Ludwig Alsdorf (born 1904), who has also written on Jain subjects. Alsdorf identified the Vasudevahīṇī as version of the fairy-tale novel *Bṛhatkathā* (*Das Harivamśapurāṇa*, 1936). His linguistic studies are concerned with Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa (*Apabhraṃśa-Studien*, 1936). In 1955 he published a geographical manual (*Vorderindien...*). Alsdorf revised and restored Lüders' posthumous treatise on Vedic religion (*Varuṇa I and II*). He has also written on subjects dealing with Indian history, literature and religion. A recent publication is concerned with the Aśoka-Inscriptions.

Johannes Nobel (1887-1960) was Professor of Sanskrit in Marburg from 1928 to 1956. Indology owes to him critical editions, translations and glossaries, for example, of the *Suvarnaprabhāsottama-sūtra* (with Tibetan and Chinese parallels). Nobel was also a good connoisseur of Indian Kāvya. His successor is Wilhelm Rau, who had studied Sanskrit and Hindi "on the spot." His monograph *State and Society in Ancient India* (according to the Brāhmaṇas), Wiesbaden, 1958, had a wide response.

The chair at Munich University has been held since 1867 by Martin Haug, Ernst Kuhn, Wilhelm Geiger, Hanns Oertel, Walter Wüst and Helmut Hoffmann. Oertel (1868-1952) famed for his Brāhmaṇa studies, had been Professor in New Haven for many years. Helmut Hoffmann (born 1912), Professor in Munich since 1948, was a pupil of Heinrich Lüders. He published the fragments of the Āṭanāṭika-sūtra. His main concern is the history of Buddhism and Lamaism. His treatise on the sources for the history of the

Tibetan Bon religion (*Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon Religion*, 1950) is the first comprehensive study of this intricate subject. He has also assessed for this purpose Mongolian texts. A synoptical study of the religions of Tibet (*Die Religionen Tibets*, 1956) determines the close connection between religion and history in this country. At present Hoffmann is preparing monographs on the symbolism of Tibetan religions, on the Legends of Tilopa, and on the late Buddhist Kālacakra system. A pupil of Hoffmann, Dr. Bishnāth Banerjee, Calcutta, wrote a thesis on the latter problem. Under Hoffmann's guidance the preparatory work for a dictionary of written Tibetan is going on in the Bavarian Academy of Sciences where Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm is working in association with the two Lamas Jamba Losang and Yishi Thondub who were selected by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Their stay was made possible by the financial support of the Rockefeller Foundation, New York. Dr. Frank Richard Hamm is contributing to this dictionary Tibetan-Sanskrit entries.

Helmuth von Glasenapp (born 1891) was Head of the Sanskrit Department at Tübingen University from 1946 to 1959. He has written many standard works on Indian religions and philosophy, which acquainted Germany with the intellectual heritage of India. His work on Jainism has been translated into Gujarati under the title *Jaina-Dharma*, 1930. A treatise *Buddhistische Mysterien* came out in 1940. At present von Glasenapp is publishing two volumes describing the Indian influence on German philosophy and literature. He is a member of the All-India Sanskrit Parishad, Bombay. Since 1959 Paul Thieme (born 1905) has been Professor of Indology at Tübingen University. Earlier Thieme had been Professor at Halle, Frankfurt and Yale universities. He is internationally renowned as a Vedist (e.g., *Der Fremdling im Rgveda*, The Stranger in the Rgveda) and as an expert on Indian grammatical science. Thieme has studied Pāṇini in India with Pandits. He is conversant with nearly all the Indo-European languages and has written many papers in which he discusses linguistic and religious problems from a comparative point of view. One of his recent publications is *Mitra and Aryaman*, New Haven, 1957.

Indology in West Germany is not restricted to these six universities alone. Nearly all universities

in West Germany and West Berlin teach Sanskrit within the framework of Indo-European or Iranian studies, and in each university there is considerable interest in Indology among the students. Sanskrit is taught in West Berlin by Olaf Hansen, in Mainz by Helmut Humbach (both professors are experts in Iranian languages), in Cologne by Robert Birwé (*Pāṇini*), in Erlangen by Karl Hoffmann (Vedic grammar), in Frankfurt by Bernfried Schlerath (Kingship in Veda, stylistic problems of the Veda), in Freiburg by Ulrich Schneider (Buddhology, religious history), in Münster by Hermann Berger (*Pāli*, *Prākrits*, Burushaski), in Würzburg by Manfred Mayrhofer (Linguistics, *Pāli*) and Friedrich Kohl (Jain Studies).

Moreover, there is a great number of younger scholars who do research work in West German institutes. We can mention here only some of them (they are all doctors of Indology): in West Berlin Klaus Fischer and Herbert Härtel (Indian fine art), Heinz-Jürgen Pinnow (Munda languages), in Göttingen Klaus Ludwig Janert (Veda, Epigraphy, Tamil) and Gustav Roth (Buddhology), in Hamburg Frank Richard Hamm (Jain and Tibetan Studies), Klaus Bruhn (Jain texts, Indo-German relations), in Mainz Heinz Bechert (Buddhology, Ceylon), in Munich Friedrich Wilhelm (*Sāstras*, Tibetology), in Saarbrücken Claus Häbler (*Kāvya*, Linguistics), in Tübingen Wolfgang Schmid (Hindi, Linguistics) and Hanns-Peter Schmidt (Veda, Awesta). In India are staying at present Dr. Klein, Dr. Nölle and Dr. Scharfe. Several Indians are lecturing in West Germany, e.g. Dr. Biswas in West Berlin.

German indologists attend the "Deutsche Orientalistentag" (which is held every three years) as well as international conferences, especially the "International Orientalists' Conference" which was held in Munich (1957), in Moscow (1960) and will be held in New Delhi in 1963.

In 1959 a great exhibition "Five Thousand Years of Art from India" was held in Villa Hügel, Essen, on the initiative of the Krupp Company. On the occasion of this exhibition a conference was held which was attended by indologists and experts on Indian art from many countries. The papers were published in a special volume *Indologentagung, 1959*.

German indologists contribute papers not only to the well known *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Journal of the German Oriental Society) but also to Oriental periodicals in many other countries. The publication of monographs is supported to a great extent by the "Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft" (German Research Community), Bad Godesberg. Three universities in West Germany have their own series, where indological books are published: Bonn: *Bonner Orientalistische Studien* (Bonn Oriental Studies); Hamburg: *Alt- und Neuindische Studien* (Ancient and Modern Indian Studies), ed. Ludwig Alsdorf; Munich: *Münchener Indologische Studien* (Munich Indological Studies), ed. Helmut Hoffmann.

When we look back to the Indological achievements of the nineteenth century, we can say that the fundamental standard works have been written in this period by scholars of various countries. In the interim the field of research has enlarged tremendously and scientific methods have been refined. This necessarily entailed specialization and exact study even of minute problems. However, the ideal of cosmopolitan humanity engaged in free, unbiased research remains since the days of Herder and Goethe as our prime responsibility.

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The quotations of Goethe's poems are taken from the translation of Edgar Alfred Bowring, London, 1891; Heine's poems are quoted from the translation of Louis Untermeyer, New York, 1937; the prose quotations in English are by the author.

SATYAM EVA JAYATE NĀNRTAM

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THE ABOVE PASSAGE is quite well known. It occurs in the Mundaka Upaniṣad (3.1.6) of the Atharva Veda, and the first part of it has now been inscribed as the motto of the Indian nation. The passage has been mostly taken to mean "Truth alone conquers, not falsehood."¹

In the above interpretation *satyam* and *anṛtam* are taken to be the subjects, but this does not seem to be correct. Both *satyam* and *anṛtam* have to be regarded as the objects, and a *r̄ṣi* is to be understood as the subject. Taken this way, the sentence would mean "A sage obtains only the Real (i.e., the *Brahman*), not the unreal." This construction was already seen by Deussen² who translates "Wahrheit ersiegt er (i.e. the *ativādin* cf. Chānd. 7.16), nicht Unwahrheit."

This interpretation will be found to be in harmony with the spirit of the Upaniṣads in general and that of the Mundaka in particular. According to these philosophical texts the highest goal of a sage is to obtain unity with *brahman* which is the ultimate Reality or *satyasya satyam*. Whatever is lower than this *satya* is *anṛta* or unreal, and a sage does not seek after that. About the real and unreal forms of *brahman* we read in the Maitri 6.3: *dve vāva brahmaṇo rūpe mūrtam cāmūrtam*

¹ So, for example, Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*. Max Müller (SBE 15), "The true prevails, not the untrue." Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads*, "Truth alone conquers, not untruth." Hillebrandt, *Aus Brahmanas und Upaniṣaden*, "Die Wahrheit allein siegt, nicht das Unrecht."

² *Sechzig Upaniṣads des Veda* (1st edition, 1897). The same interpretation is also intended by J. Hertel, see below pp. 407.

ca/ atha yan mūrtam tad asatyaṁ yad amūrtam tat satyam/ tad brahma taj jyotiḥ.³

It will be useful to cite here in full the stanza from the Mundaka (3.1.6) in order to be able to understand the context and appreciate the correctness of the above interpretation.

*satyam eva jayate nānṛtam, satyena panthā vitato devayānah/
yendkramanty r̄ṣayo hy āptakāmā, yatra tat satyasya paramām nidhānam//*

Here in the last three quarters of the stanza we are told that the heavenly path by which the sages go is laid out by the Real, and the place where the sages reach is the highest abode of the Real. Therefore, when the subject matter is the path taken by the sages to reach the abode of the Real, it would be improper to give a worldly meaning like 'truth alone conquers' to *satyam eva jayate*. In the context it can only mean "A sage obtains only the Real" because the place where he reaches is the abode of the Real.⁴ He does not obtain the unreal or lesser worlds because there are other paths which lead to them which the sage does not take. With the expression *satyam eva jayate* which means 'A sage obtains only the Real (i.e., *brahman*)," we may well compare Mundaka 3.2.9 (sa

³ Also cf. Br. 2.3.1 *dve vāva brahmaṇo rūpe mūrtam caivāmūrtam ca, martyam cāmūrtam ca, sthitam ca yac ca, sac ca tyac ca.*

⁴ We may also compare *tasyaīza ātmā viśate brahma-dhāma* Mund. 3.2.4; *tan . . . brahma-lokām gamayati teṣām na punarāvṛttih*, Br. 6.2.15; *sa enān brahma gamayati ega devayānah panthā iti*, Chā. 5.10; also 4.15.

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become a Christian, than he began to seek the salvation of others, and while yet only a subaltern, devoted a considerable portion of his pay to pious objects. When he joined the 13th Regiment of Light Infantry, with which he went to India, he commenced in earnest to point his men to the Cross of the Saviour, which was his glory and his joy; and as often as opportunity served, read the Bible and prayed with them; for years continuing this truly Christian practice. In the year 1824, war broke out with Burmah, and Havelock joined the army under Sir Alexander Campbell. Rangoon was captured, and Havelock did his utmost to prevent the commission of those excesses incident to the capture of a city. He sought and obtained permission from the General to occupy a large Pagoda, or Temple, a place filled with idolatrous images, and turned it into a sanctuary for the Lord. An officer walking one day in the same part of the town, heard the sweet voices of Christian melody proceeding from the idolatrous fane, and entering, he found Havelock preaching to nearly one hundred soldiers the glorious gospel of the blessed God. Would such labors be fruitless? Did the good seed fall into the ground and die? Oh! it could not be. He who has promised to bless every toiler in his vineyard, gave the pious officer souls for his hire. A Baptist Church existed in his regiment, and would it not be suffered, that some whom he had lead to Jesus, left their bright seats to escort and welcome their beloved commander to his throne in the skies? Thither he has gone, and if Baxter regarded heaven more beautiful because

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Hampden, the patriot and soldier, was numbered among its inhabitants; forgive the expression, that heaven is not less glorious because Havelock is there

II. Some reflections which the fall of such a man is calculated to inspire. I will not dwell upon all the lessons this event so powerfully teaches; one, first to arrest our attention is: *That the princes and great men in Israel must fall.* Though reconciled to God through the death of his Son, and brought into close and endearing relationship with the Godhead; though possessed of special qualifications, and designated to special work, the princes and great men in Israel, mortal and sinful like other men, like other men must die. The kingly pine tree of the forest must decay, as well as the shrub which flourishes under its boughs. The law that brings mourning to the cottage, clothes the throne in sackcloth. Death breaks the sword of the soldier, and the sceptre of the king. But while exemptions from the power of the spoiler cannot be claimed, for the sake of worldly distinctions, of intellectual power, or official glory; it frequently happens, that peculiar circumstances distinguish the fall of great men in the Church, as if to compel attention to their superiority, and to the surpassing excellence of the gospel as exhibited in their character and history. Such was the case in regard to General Havelock, whose fall was as peculiar as it was interesting and glorious.

And how can we but reflect attentively on the Cause in which he fell? In affirming its righteousness, as the warfare of humanity against barbarism; of civilization

and Christianity against fiendish cruelty; I do not endorse all the circumstances that preceded the Indian Mutiny.. As a man and a Christian, I cannot approve the deeds by which the government of my native land conquered and colonized Hindostan. I know that fraud and violence, that cruelty and ruthless rapacity have been the agencies by which the Honorable Company, aided by the government at home, have won the states and provinces of India to their sway; and therefore, as God lives and reigns a God of truth and righteousness, I wonder not that the apathy of the English people, and the crimes of English statesmen, should have excited the displeasure of the Most High. But the events which have filled the world with weeping and indignation, I connect not so much with political considerations, as with moral and religious causes. Politicians may prate about the annexation of Oude, and factions may raise this as a rallying cry to obtain pre-eminence and power: but I look to less palpable but more certain reasons of the horrors we deplore. I believe in my conscience, that the persecution of Christian missionaries; the withholding the gospel from the Sepoys, (the only class in rebellion) but above all, the base and selfish support of the vilest of Idolatries by the Government of India, are the real causes of the rebellion. *Therefore, I arraign the East India Company before God and the universe,* as having provoked the outpouring of the wrath vial which has filled our hearts and our homes with woe. Jehovah, so long insulted, rose up from his throne, his hand took hold on vengeance, and he has compelled us to

hear his voice, saying in tones of indignation "I am the Lord, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, neither any praise to graven images." Mark it well! the very power by which the Company held India; the very men to whom they would not allow the gospel to be preached, have been the only actors in the bloodiest drama of the world's history. The most cherished vices were changed into scorpions, and armed with the deadliest sting. But while men of all shades of opinion affirm that India must be re-conquered, they must also sympathize with the mission which Havelock performed. It was not to pull down a righteous ruler from his throne, nor to unfurl the banner of aggressive War, but to succour and save helpless women and babes, that Havelock marched, and fought, and died. I will not repeat here the story of his achievements. History will tell of his conquering career from Allahabad to Cawnpore, and from Cawnpore to Lucknow. His deeds will be recounted by some worthy pen, and then it shall be known how tenfold the number of his troops could not daunt their brave hearts, and that it was only when burning suns, deadly diseases, and the bullets of the foe had thinned his ranks, that Havelock paused for a moment in his career of victory. I say, history shall tell how the glory of Clive at Plassey was nine times in less than a month equalled by Havelock and his brave soldiers in their memorable march, and that the Hero fell when effectual aid was brought to the imprisoned tenants of the Residency of Lucknow. His was indeed a holy mission: like a stern Puritan man of

Rev James Lewitt

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God, he fulfilled it: he saved the wounded, and the women, and the children—he did his work, and died! In holier cause, warrior never fell; with brighter laurels no soldier died!

And who can but think too of the Time when this great man fell? It is you know, a popular and I think a true sentiment, that God gives to every man a mission; provides and qualifies the laborer for his task. What that task is, the course of events will determine: and the obvious duty of the Christian is to yield unreservedly to Divine providence, that it may herald his way. God had a work for Havelock to do, it opened before him as he followed the leadings of duty, and “he was immortal till his work was done.” That a special destiny was assigned to him, that he was chosen out, and reserved to do what has cast so bright a lustre round his name, seems to me at least, impressively suggested by his former history. With the exception of a few years, his life was spent in active service, and he left home and its endearments without a murmur when duty called him away. In Burmah, China, Persia, Affghanistan, and the Punjab, he distinguished himself, but having no powerful patron or well filled purse, he gained by merit the steps in the service to which he rose. For twenty-three years he was only a subaltern, and in 1845, having been in the army nearly thirty years, he was raised to the Brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. But worth will win its way, and Havelock’s time was not yet come. In more than thirty battles he did not receive a scar, two horses were shot under him at Moodkee, and a

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third at Sabraon, and though often in the thickest of the fight, he seemed to have a charmed life amid showers of bullets and flashing steel. God thus strangely “shielded his head in the day of battle;” “a thousand fell at his side, but it did not come nigh him.” But a crisis was approaching in the history of India; *the hour came and the man appeared:* and after forty years service, and when more than sixty years of age, Havelock’s mission on this earth was seen; with a brave heart he did his work, and died. Slight of mould and small of stature, though having an eagle’s eye and a lion’s heart, he was preserved amid the deadly diseases of Eastern climes. During his march to Lucknow, he slept but a few minutes at a time; his work was before him, and he went onward fearlessly and rested not till his victorious banner floated proudly from the Residency of Lucknow. *Then,* his task was performed, and the Captain of salvation called him home to heaven.

Who can but think of the Manner of his fall? To me I confess, it seems exquisitely beautiful. He died not in the bosom of his family, receiving the loving administrations of her who is now a widow, to smooth his dying pillow; his work and his God willed that she should be far away. He fell not on the battle field, pierced by the sword of the foe; a holier death awaited him, a death such as Christians could have wished England’s favourite soldier to die. “Life’s labor o’er,” a Disease attacked him, which medical skill could not overcome. He knew his overwrought frame could not triumph over the wasting sickness which had seized it,

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series of territorial divisions designed for the purpose of general administration. The scheme, as we learn from parallel passages in Manu,¹ and the Mahābhārata,² comprises groups of 100, 20, 10 and 1 villages which are under a suitable head. Here it will be observed the basis of the whole structure is the village headman who is almost completely ignored in the Arthaśāstra. Another difference between the system of the Smṛtis and the Arthaśāstra lies, as we shall presently see, in the fact that while the official land-holding which is mentioned in connection with these officers is apparently enjoyed in full ownership in the former case, it amounts to a mere usufruct in the latter.³

¹ VII, 115-117.

² XII, 87, 3-5.

³ Besides the above a group of five village officials is mentioned by the commentator Nilakanṭha (on Mahā., II, 5. 18). This consists of the *prāstāta*, the *samāhartā*, the *sannidhātā*, the clerk, and the witness. There seems to be no authority for this statement. The first three officials at any rate are well-known to the Arthaśāstra as high officers of the central administration.

APPENDIX

THE BRANCHES OF STATE EXPENDITURE.

The most systematic classification of the heads of State expenditure that is found in the Hindu technical literature on polity occurs in a chapter of the Arthaśāstra relating to the collection of revenue by the *saṃāhartā*.¹ There we are introduced to a 'body of expenditure,' 'Ausgabenkörper' (*vyayaśarīram*) consisting of eighteen specified items as follows :

- (1) What is required for worship of the gods and the king's ancestors, as well as for gifts,
- (2) What is given as present on occasions of auspicious prayers by the priests,
- (3) The royal seraglio,
- (4) The royal kitchen,
- (5) Expenses for employment of messengers, 'Gesandten-aufwand,'
- (6) The royal store-house,
- (7) The armoury,
- (8) The warehouse for merchandise,
- (9) The store-house for forest produce (*kupyagrha*),
- (10) The State workshops, 'Verarbeitungswerkstätten,'
- (11) Forced labour (*visti*),
- (12, 13, 14 and 15) Maintenance of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants,
- (16) The State herds,
- (17) Preserves for wild and domestic animals, birds and snakes,
- (18) Storing places for wood and hay,

The above classification, it will be noticed, has still less scientific value than the parallel classification of the constituent

¹ II, 6.

elements of the 'body of income,' which occurs in the same chapter. In fact it gives us a list (which is far from being exhaustive) of the branches of State expenditure, without the least pretence to their arrangement according to cognate types. Among its points of special interest may be mentioned (a) the relatively large number of items comprising what may be called the personal expenditure of the king, which shows how largely the State was identified with the king, and (b) the inclusion of forced labour in the list of items of expenditure, and not, as might be expected, among those of income. For the rest, it may be remarked that the items mentioned in the foregoing list are not in general matched by those found in the Smṛtis.

Not only does the Arthaśāstra give us the most systematic classification of the heads of State expenditure, but it presents the completest account of one of its most important branches, which relates to the upkeep of the royal establishment. This forms the subject of a whole chapter bearing the title of 'maintenance of the people in the king's service.'¹ The king, we are first told, should secure the performance of services out of one-fourth of the revenue (*samudayapāda*) according to the capacity of his kingdom, or else by engaging the agents on terms sufficient to attract them. In other words one-fourth of the revenue is in general to be spent upon the maintenance of the king's establishment. This is immediately followed by a list of various persons on the royal establishment arranged according to grades of salaries as follows :—

1st grade, 48,000 (panas).

Sacrificial priest, spiritual preceptor, minister (*mantrin*), chaplain (*purohita*), commander-in-chief (*senāpati*), Crown Prince, Queen-Mother, and Queen-Consort.

¹ V, 3.

2nd grade, 24,000 (panas).

Door-keeper (*dauvārika*), keeper of the seraglio, *praśāstā* ('Leiter,' 'Chef der Pioniertruppen'), *samāhartā*, and *sannidhātā*.

3rd grade, 12,000 (panas).

Royal prince, the prince's nurse, the captain (*nāyaka*¹), the city judge,² the officer-in-charge of the State workshops (*kārmāntika*), the Council of ministers, the Superintendent of the country-part (*rāṣtrapāla*) and the boundary-officer.

4th grade, 8,000 (panas).

The heads of corporations (*śrenīmukhya*), the officers in charge of elephants, cavalry and chariots, and the *pradeṣṭr* ('Strafrichter').

5th grade, 4,000 (panas).

The superintendents (*adhyakṣas*) of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants, as well as the guardians of forests of useful products and of elephant-forests.

6th grade, 2,000 (panas).

The 'Wagenmann' (*rathika*), the elephant-trainer, the physician, the trainer of horses, the carpenter and the breeder of animals.

¹ Gan. takes it in the sense of infantry-commander, but this is contradicted by the mention of *padika*, *senāpati* and *nāyaka* as different ranks in the army in Kauṭ., X, 6.

² *Pauravyāvahārika* in the original. Sh. takes it in the sense of the officer in charge of the town and the Superintendent of Law or Commerce. This is negatived by the fact that the corresponding term occurs in Aśoka's inscriptions as the title of a single official.

charges and cesses imposed by the ancient as well as mediæval governments were in practice so heavy as to leave the cultivator a bare margin for subsistence. In so far as the ancient period is concerned, there is little, if any, positive evidence in favour of this statement. While it is probable that the government proportion of the agricultural produce in the Maurya Empire was $\frac{1}{4}$, it is expressly declared to be $\frac{1}{5}$ for the seventh century by the valuable testimony of Hiuen Tsang.¹ The nearest approach to the system of State rack-renting is found in the body of maxims attributed by the Kashmirian Kalhana to the king Lalitaditya, but the chronicler's authentic records of financial exactions by the rulers of his country in later times contain not a single example of oppressive enhancement of the burden of land-revenue. On the other hand, the analogy of later times combined with the general policy of the law-books and the Niti treatises leads us to infer that the ancient Indian rulers like their successors were in general too much alive to their own interest to press the burdens upon the cultivators to the breaking-point.²

Before leaving the subject of land-revenue, we may make

receiving rent....The nominal percentage of land-revenue to the produce did not much matter, because the Government usually made up for any deficiency by exacting a multitude of extra periodical cesses, not to speak of occasional forced contributions."

¹ See above, p. 225.

² Cf. in this connection the pertinent remarks of Baden-Powell, an eminent authority on Indian land-systems:—"All settled rulers, not mere marauders under the necessity of plundering while they could, have recognised that security to the cultivators means in the long run the best revenue.....The harshness of native rule is usually inferred from the heavy revenue demand or the excessive share of the produce; but it is forgotten that the demand was not enforced except in the most elastic manner, and that pressure was relaxed at once in a bad season. The European principle is a low rent and punctual, inexorable payment. The Oriental rule is the largest possible claim and only take what you can for the season" (*The Indian Village Community*, p. 209 n.).

some general observations regarding the class of lands alienated by the State. The Arthashastra, as we have seen,¹ recommends the grant of lands by the king to certain classes of Brähmanas with complete exemption from taxes and fines. The numerous examples of land-grants in the ancient Indian historical records tend to show that land was frequently granted by the rulers for pious purposes, and that these grants were contemplated to be perpetual and heritable and not only revenue-free but often charged with assignment of the revenues. The evidence of those records, however, is enough to show that the ruling authority frequently maintained a strict supervision over the pious grants. We thus find that the grants made even in favour of the Brähmanas are sometimes expressly declared to be resumable for breach of certain specified conditions.² In other cases, again, the grantees were saddled with the obligation of excluding revenue-paying tenants from the revenue-free villages.³ Finally the recorded instances of the resumption of pious grants for loss or forgery of the royal charter⁴ would seem to point to an organised system for the periodical inspection of revenue-free tenures by the State authorities.

With regard to other classes of alienated lands the Arthashastra and the Smṛtis mention lands granted as remuneration for service to officials, such grants resembling in part (as said above) the Waṭan and the Jaigir of Muhammadan times.⁵ Concrete instances of such grants are also mentioned in the historical records, the holders usually being excluded from the right of alienation of their lands.⁶ Grants of a more special character, which are likewise mentioned in the inscrip-

¹ Above, p. 43.

² Ibid, p. 195.

³ Ibid, pp. 190-191.

⁴ Ibid, pp. 196, 234; cf. also Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, No. 25.

⁵ See above, pp. 44-51.

⁶ Ibid, pp. 212-213.

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APPENDIX

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

There are three significant terms in Sanskrit literature—*sabha*, *parisad*, and *samiti*, the correct interpretation of which has not yet been arrived at. Different meanings are suggested but still no satisfactory solution is reached. These are technical terms of great administrative importance. स + भा = to shine, भयासह वर्तते इति—that which shines or is illustrious. This may be the hall in which meetings were held or the assembly itself composed of illustrious persons. This term repeatedly occurs in the South Indian inscriptions and is invariably the governing body of the village, its jurisdiction however extending over that village only. Thus it is an important institution of the South Indian local administration.

The second term *parisad* is परितः + सोदति इति परिषद् = to sit. This literally means 'sitting round,' i.e., those who speak in the assembly. The term परिषदो occurs in the *Rigveda Samhita*,¹ and Śāyaṇa comments: परितःसोदत आसीनान्. The other term *Samiti* is सम्यक्यन्ति इति समितिः॥

The *Sabha*.—Having defined exactly what the meanings of these different terms are it would be interesting to examine the composition, constitution and functions of these bodies. Let us first examine the conception of the *Sabha* in Vedic times. Professors Macdonell and Keith take the view that the term refers to both the assembly and the hall in which the assembly met.² They further opine that the hall was also used for purposes of gambling

¹ iii. 33. 7.

² R. V., vi. 28. 6; viii. 4. 9. etc.; A. V., v. 31. 6; vii. 12. 1-2, etc.; Tait. Sam. iii. 4-8; vii. 1-8; Sat. Br., ii. 3. 2. 3; v. 3. 1. 10, etc.; see *Vedic Index*, vol. ii, pp. 426-7.

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from the technical term *sabhasthānu*. The hall was something like our Town Halls where all the public affairs of the state and society were discussed and resolved upon. It was not exclusively in use for state purposes.¹

The Vedic *Sabha* was originally composed of aristocrats, Brahmans and Maghavans. Considering the then state of society which was tribal in character it is too much to expect anything of a democratic preponderance. The *Rig Veda Samhita* has yet another term² *Sujāta* or of good birth in support of our statement. There is a passage in the *Maitrāyani Samhita*³ which throws interesting light on the question whether members of the fair sex were eligible for membership. The passage cited shows their ineligibility. Appropriate to this the Tamil classic *Purapporul Venbamalai* has a reference.⁴ It is said here that when the enemy set the city to fire there was such a bewildering confusion that women rushed to the assembly hall inadvertently. And this indicates that women even in ancient Tamil Nādu were not admitted to the assembly.

The *Sabha* was then the council of elders, mainly a judicial body like that of ancient Greek city-states. The elders were men of such high character and learning that they evoked respect from all communities. Hence the *Yajur Veda*⁵ (*Śukla*) is thus eloquent :

नमः सभायः सभापतिभ्यश्च ।

They did not forfeit the trust and confidence placed upon them. That this was so for several centuries to come, is evident from the writings of Megasthenes who observes, 'The seventh caste consists of the councillors and assessors, of those who deliberate

¹ Tait. Br., iii. 4. 16, कृताय सभाविनेम् । Bhāṭṭabhāskara comments

कृताय=युगाय, सभाविनम्=सभाकर्त्तं द्युताय सभायामविष्टातारम् ।

(Bibliotheca Sānskrīta, No. 38, pp. 173-4.)

² vii, 1. 4.

³ तस्मान्निरिद्रिया खोपुमानिद्रियवाँ स्तस्मात्पुमाँसः सभायन्ति न
विद्यो यादितरान्त्सोमाजश्रीणोद्युन् पात्रोवत्तित्रियः सभामोद्युन् पुमाँसा

⁴ Vanchipalalam, fl. 14.
⁵ xvi, 24.

on public affairs. It is the smallest class looking to number, but the most respected on account of the high character and wisdom of its members.¹ This is quite in keeping with Kauṭalya's recommendation of the highest qualifications for councillors. From the technical name *nariṣṭa* given to the *Sabha* in Vedic literature Mr. Jayaswal attaches some constitutional import to it, meaning the resolution of the council as something inviolable and binding on all,² basing his interpretation on Sayana's commentary.

Though we have no direct evidence as to the actual working of the *sabha* still the fact remains that it was presided over in its session by the *sabhapati*, and it was guarded by a *sabhapala*. Originally the *sabha* was more a court of justice where the king heard and decided cases and disputes. This is obvious from the occurrence of the terms *sabhacara*³ and *sabhasad*, sitter in the assembly.⁴ The Vedic *Sabha* was more of a legislative and judicial character. It is said in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*⁵ and also in the *Chandogya Upaniṣad*⁶ that the king went to the *sabha* as well as the *Samiti* possibly to guide its deliberations. The authors of the Vedic Index seem to read in these passages an interpretation that will nullify the statement of Zimmer,⁷ namely, that the *sabha* was the meeting place of the village council with the *Gramani* as its president. Zimmer is not altogether wrong as Professors Macdonell and Keith suppose. In those days when local self-government was the rule and not the exception it was but right that the village had its own *sabha*. We must not confuse ourselves with the word *sabha*. There were *sabhas* in towns as well as in villages. But their powers were different. One was the larger assembly which concerned itself with the general affairs of the state in particular and the other took notice of local matters only.

These village *sabhas* or smaller councils of the village administration often call for notice in South Indian Inscriptions. These *sabhas* generally met in the temple halls (*sabhamandapa*), and

¹ McCrindle, p. 43.

² *Hindu Polity*, part i, p. 18.

³ *Taitt. Br.*, iii. 4. 2. Bhṛtabhāskara comments on the term समाचरं=सभायां निव्यं चरतं धर्मप्रवक्तारम्. (*Bibliotheca Sanscrita*, 38, p. 159.)

⁴ *V. I.* ii, p. 428; *Taitt. Br.*, i. 2. 1. 26.

⁵ iii. 4. 14.

⁶ v. 3. 6. ⁷ *All. Leben*, chap. vi, p. 174.

particularly under a large and shady banyan tree in special platforms constructed for the purpose. The *sabha* had for its members the village elders, the *bhāttas* (learned men), the *vīśiṣṭas* (straight and moral men), and prominent priests of the temple. Representatives of the merchant class (*nagarattar*), of the common folk (*urar*), and of the district (*nāṭṭar*) often sat in the *sabha*. The qualification for the Brahman members of the *sabha* was to be well versed at least in one of the *Dharmaśāstras* and to have studied at least one whole *Veda* with its *pāriśiṣṭas*.¹ From the Ukkal and other inscriptions² it is clear that the institution of the *sabha* had reached a high degree of efficiency and was in good working order about the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. The *sabha* had the following duties among others. It exercised supreme right over the village lands. It was the arbitrator in the disputes arising from the purchase or sale of lands. It confiscated and sold lands of defaulters. It was responsible for the state levy of the village. It raised public subscriptions in the cause of common interests.³ It obtained loans to meet emergencies such as famine. It had a treasury of its own. It held a supervising control over the various committees of its own in the village, and also over temple accounts. It had the right to punish the internal enemies of the village (*grāmadrohins*).⁴ In a word it did everything to insure the moral and the material welfare of the village.

The Samiti.—The *Samiti* in Vedic literature undoubtedly refers to a definite communal institution. Professors Macdonell and Keith take the view of Hillebrandt according to whom the *sabha* and the *Samiti* are much the same. The very name implies a different connotation. It must have been a people's assembly, generally presided over by the king; and it is just possible that one of its functions was the formal election of the king by giving their unanimous assent of the choice perhaps made by the members of the *sabha*. Taking for granted this elective character and also the fact of the king presiding over the assembly of the people, it shows that the king was the servant of the people. This also demonstrates that the people had a voice in the administration of the land though it was not definite or assertive in character. But it is certain that this assembly was

¹ *Bh. Commemo.* Vol. p. 227.

² *S. I. I.*, vol. iii, part ii.

³ *Ep. Report*, 1909, pp. 82-83.

⁴ *Ep. Report*, 1910-11, p. 72.

different¹ from the *sabha* as regards its constitution and function.

The Parisad.—Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has made a notable contribution on the subject.² He quotes passages from the *Atharva Veda* wherein it is explicitly stated that the *sabha* and the *samiti* are separate institutions. Both of them are described as the two daughters of *Prajāpati*.³ But it would be reasonable to assume that the *samiti* and *pariṣad* were identical. This is evident from the *Bṛhadaranyaka Upaniṣad*.⁴ The institution of *samiti* was not a long-lived one. It became practically extinct with the commencement of the period of the *Jātakas* (600 B.C.). But the word *pariṣad* occurs in different senses in the post-vedic period. It is principally an academy of science and then a royal court. Even in this latter sense its political function amounted to judicial matters only. In the traditional usage the term *pariṣad* meant an assembly of learned men to decide legal points and customs of the land.⁵

The Paura-Jānapada.—There were besides the *Paura* and *Jānapada* assemblies as is evident from the inscriptions of Aśoka not to speak of numerous literary references. Whenever changes are to be effected in the constitution, or new laws promulgated, the king first got the approval of this body and placed the matter before the council or the public.⁶

The assembly had also the power to demand redress of their grievances at any time, or present compensation bills for losses sustained.⁷ It is said that when the council refused to execute the king's orders as regards certain gifts he placed the matter before the assembly. From this we may infer two facts. There were two political institutions, one the council and the other the assembly. The first was known by different terms.—*pariṣad*, *rajukas* (Aśoka's inscription), etc.; and the latter by the *paura*.

¹ Cf. Zimmer's *All. Leben*, chap. vi, pp. 174-176 where there is a learned discussion on the subject.

² *Hindu Polity*, vol. i, pp. 11-21.

³ सभाचमासमितिश्वावतः प्रजापतेऽहितर्णि संविदाने ।

येता संघठा उपमा स शिक्षाच्चार वदनि पितरःसंगतेषु ॥ (vii. 12. 1.)

⁴ vi. 2.

⁵ *Vasistha*, iii. 20; *Manu*, xi. 3.

⁶ Girnar Rock viii, Kālsi Rock viii, Dhauli Rock viii.

⁷ *Yāj.*, ii. 36; *Manu*, viii. 40.

Jānapada, *rāṣṭra*, *pragraha sabha*,¹ *prakṛti* of the *Śukrānti*, or *prakṛti sabhasad*² or simply *sabha*.³ Functions practically remained the same though the designations often underwent some transformation.

But Dr. Law has taken objection to the use of *Paura* and *Jānapada* as corporate bodies at all. He examines both directly and indirectly all the evidence adduced by Jayaswal and comes to the conclusion that there is no ground whatsoever to understand these two terms as technical terms signifying any corporate associations. In every place whether in the texts or in the inscriptions they simply mean people of the town and the country.⁴ We are afraid that Dr. Law is rather dogmatic in his statements. In some places they may mean what he says. But still to totally deny the existence of such organized bodies of citizens is to miss the mark altogether. The audience of His Majesty by the people must not be and could not be so cheap and easy as Law would imagine. It is to deprive the office of kingship of all dignity whatsoever. The king may do justice and judgment to a very poor and insignificant citizen; but it does not mean that the king allowed any indiscriminate interview of any of his subjects aggrieved or no. It would not, on the face of it, be a working principle. The fact is that there were what were known as group organizations both in towns, and the country parts and their representatives on behalf of the public of the city or the commonality of the realm, pleaded before the king for redress of this or that grievance. Hence it is far more reasonable to take them to be corporate associations which were highly respected as popular bodies both by the king and his ministry. They were often consulted so that there might not be any room for dissatisfaction among the public at large. This is borne out by the certain evidence of the inscriptions. Most of the interpretations which Law proposes are highly doubtful. The term *Paura-Jānapada* which so often occurs in the political and historical literature of the Hindus also occurs in the various inscriptions.⁵

¹ *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ayodhya Kāṇḍa*, lxxxi. 12; and lxxxii. 1-4.

² *Ibid.*, lxxxiii. 4-17.

³ *Mahābhārata*, xii. 83. 1-2.

⁴ *I. H. E.*, vol. ii, Nos. 2 and 3.

⁵ The Inscription of Rudradaman; *Ep. Ind.*, *Lüder's list*; 965, Fleet, *G.I.*, vol. iii, p. 60; the Kalinga Edict of Aśoka; Aśoka Pillar Edict iv; Rock Edict, viii, (Girnar) the Kharavela Inscription, *J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. iii, p. 456.

Not the least interesting is that similar organizations are also mentioned in Tamil literature. In the *Perumkathai*¹ we meet with two terms “பூர்ணி, பூதி,” along with *aimperumikuļu* and others who came to attend the festivities of Naravānan's birth-day. The Sanskrit equivalents of these two terms are *Paura* and *Jañapada*, representative assemblies of the people and not the mass of citizens. Whenever the latter is to be mentioned the expression is மனமகாபாரி meaning not a corporation but a great body of all citizens.

The Sabha in Later Times

Coming to the position that the *sabha* occupied in the Epics² it is interesting to see that the judicial character of it becomes increasingly dominant. We see that the king presided over this assembly invariably, but in his absence the prime minister presided over the meetings of the council. In the *Harśacharita* we see that when Rājyavardhana died, it was the prime minister *Bhāṇḍī* who presided at the meeting convened for the purpose of selecting his successor.

The qualifications of the *Sabha* members are striking. It is Draupadi who says that³

‘it is no *sabha* where there are no elders: they are not elders who do not speak the *dharma*: it is not *dharma* if it is not founded on truth; it is no truth if it is combined with fraud.’ The *Jataka* contains a similar verse.⁴

¹ v. 6. 39.

² See for more details *J.A.O.S.*, xiii, pp. 148-49.

³ न सा सभा यत् न सन्ति वृद्धाः

न ते वृद्धा ये न वदन्ति धर्मम् ।

नाती धर्मे यत् नस्यमहित

न तस्यं यच्छलेनानुविद्धम् ॥

* नसा सभा यत्थ न संतिसंतो

न ते संतो येन भण्निति धंमं ।

रागं च दोसं च पहाम मोहं

धंमं भण्नताच भवन्निसंतो ॥ (See *Hindu Polity*, i, p. 19.)

(*Mbh.*, *Sabha*. lxxxix. 65.)

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The *Sabha* consisted of all castes and classes. The Kṣatriyas are there conspicuous. Bhiṣma and Vidura who are Kṣatriyas and Drona, Bharadvāja and Kṛpa (Brahmans) are among those present.¹ These were well disciplined by the *Śastras* and highly respectable. Draupadi raised a point of law before this august assembly of sages, ministers, and courtiers, whether Yudhiṣṭhira had the right to pawn her after he had himself become a slave.² Bhiṣma justifies Yudhiṣṭhira's right by saying that the technicalities of *dharma* are too subtle.³ Karpa, Duśśasana, and Duryodhana justified the action on the part of Duśśasana to drag her by force into the open court though she was sparsely dressed and in her periods. But Vidura sympathized with Draupadī and appealed to the assembly for an impartial consideration of the question without fear or favour but with an eye to *dharma* and *satya*. He asks every member to speak out his opinion according to his knowledge and judgment free from *kāma*, *krodha*, and other undesirable influences. He further expatiates on the point and says⁴ that he who is a member of the assembly and fails to give out his opinion or distorts the law when asked for, comes close to being a liar and quotes the classic discussion between Prahlāda and the sage Angirasa on this point. Vikarna, one of the brothers of Duryodhana, associated himself with the views of the sage Vidura. Bhiṣma accepts the position as a most difficult one and accepts also his inability to give a decisive reply, but added that

इमे सभायां उपनीतशास्राः

क्रियावन्तः सर्वं एवेन्द्रकल्पाः ।

गुरुस्यानागुरुवथैव सर्वे

तेषामप्रे नोत्सहे स्थातुमेवम् ॥ (*Sabha Parvan*, lxxxix. 48.)

¹ *Ibid.*, lxxxix. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, lxxxix. 59-61.

ये हि प्रश्नं न वित्त्याद्वर्मदर्शी समांगतः ।

अनृते या फलावासिः तस्याः सोऽधं समश्नुते ॥

यः पुनर्वित्थं व्रूयाद्वर्मदर्शी समांगतः ।

अनृतस्य फलं कृत्वं स प्राप्नोति निश्चयः ॥

(*Sabha Parvan*, xc. 64-65.)

Yudhiṣṭhīra himself is the best and final authority on the subject.¹ Duryodhana too acceded to this position and ordered that every one of the five husbands could speak on the point. On this the members became extremely happy and loudly applauded him by signs of eyes and lips. But a few became distressed and cried 'Oh, Alas!' Bhīma spoke hot when Bhīṣma, Drona, and Vidura asked him to forbear. Karṇa replied Bhīma hotly and Vidura spoke of the prosecution of dharma in the *Sabha* and insisted that Draupadī's position was the right one. He added that if this were overlooked the prosperity of the state would come to an end. Moved by Draupadi and others, Dhṛitarāṣṭra released the Pāṇḍavās with Draupadi from slavery and asked them to be friendly with the Kurus by ruling at Kāñdavaprasta.² This shows how the business of the assembly was usually conducted. That ladies could take part in the assembly discussion is seen from the fact that Maṇḍodari goes to Rāvaṇa's court after the death of Prahasta and dissuades him by several arguments to desist from fighting Rāma.³

Hārita's classification of the sabha.—There is an interesting chapter (V) in Chāṇḍeśvara's *Rājanīti Ratnākara* which further throws light on the *sabha* and its constitution. This is not an original work but a compendium of the various *smṛti* texts. Hārita is quoted. According to him there are four kinds of *sabha*: *pratiṣṭita*, *apratiṣṭita*, *mudrīta*, and *sasīla*. It is *pratiṣṭita* if it were established by the king himself in his royal domains; *apratiṣṭita* if it were a voluntary organization of the villagers, *mudrīta* if established by the king's secretaries or judges, and *sasīla* if established by the king himself by a royal writ. The *sabha* is likened to an organism. The head is the king, the face secretary, the arms members, the hands *sāstra*, knees accountants and scribes, eyes gold and fire, and feet servants. Each of these ten members has its own individual and collective functions to perform. The secretary is the speaker, the king is the person who finally decides, members discuss questions of policy, *smṛti* is the law, gold and fire are for oath, the accountant counts the *artha* law, gold and fire are for oath, the accountant counts the *artha*

¹ *Sabha Parvan*, xci. 14-21.

² *Sabha Parvan*, xcii and xciii.

³ *Yuddh.* see after chap. lix, two *prakṣipta* chapters.

or wealth, the scribe is the writer of writs and orders, witnesses are servants, *anagnakau* (अनग्नकौ) are the plaintiffs and defendants. The judicial aspect of the assembly would be more fully treated under the chapter on the administration of justice.

Assemblies in Tamil literature.—It would be certainly interesting to study what sort of assemblies and councils were prevalent in ancient South India. The *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimekhalaī* are two classical treatises which are a mine of information for reconstructing the history and social life of ancient Drāvida. A study of these and other classical treatises shows that there must have been five big assemblies. (1) The representative assembly of the people acting as a check on the ruling chieftain (மக்கள்), (2) the assembly of the ministers of religion, (பாரிசுபாடு), (3) the assembly of physicians perhaps a Board of Public Health (பார்சுசு), (4) the assembly of astrologers (குழித்தார்) and (5) the assembly of ministers for revenue and judicial administration of the state (அமைச்சர்).

There are two technical terms in Tamil literature which connote great political significance. These are 'கல்வெள்ளு' and 'கல்வெளவு'. These terms occur jointly and severally in different places in different treatises.¹ The term 'கல்' which is another term for 'கல்' occurs in *Tolkāppiyam* (*kilavi*, *sātra* 57), and means simply an assembly. There are two interpretations for both the terms. One interpretation for the term 'கல்வெள்ளு' is that given above, and the other has already been noticed.² The two interpretations for 'கல்வெளவு', otherwise known as 'கல்வெளுத்தொலை' are as follows: '(1) ஏணத்தியவர் (account officers), (2) கல்மீதினர் (heads of the executive) (3) ஏன்செற்றுவர் (officers of the treasury), (4) ஏட்டக்கெட்டார் (palace-guards), (5) கெமாச்சரி, (citizens of the capital), (6) பக்தத்தீவர் (leaders of army divisions), (7) பாலீசீரர், (elephant men), (8) இயிமீதவர், (mounted warriors).³ The *Tamil Lexicon* renders 'கல்வெளுப்பாரி' on the authority of *Divakaram*, watchman at a gate.⁴ In our opinion this term may be identified with the Sanskrit *Kṣatry* meaning 'chamberlain'. The other

¹ *Śilappadikāram*, 3. 126; 5. 157; 26. 38; *Maṇimekhalaī*, 1. 17; *Perumkathai*, ii. 5. 6; *Ibid.*, 13. 3; iv. 9. 5; v. 6. 37.

² *Supra*, p. 125.

³ See *Divakaram*. Also *Tamil Lexicon*, vol. i, part. iii, p. 520.

⁴ Vol. ii, part. i, p. 677.

interpretation though interesting is loose. It is “*ஈர்தாபுக்காச் சமூதபார்வை எஞ்செவாய்ந்த விவரங்களாகும்.*” These are those who adorned the king with a *tilaka* in his forehead, who decorated him with flowers, who presented to him undergarments and other clothings, who offered him betels and betel leaves, who attended to his upper dress and who offered him ghee. This interpretation bears no political interest except the fact that the commentator's outlook of the state was too narrow. From references to the texts where these occur, we are led to infer that the *ஈடுபெற்றுக்கூடு* were those people of royal *entourage* who followed the king in public tours, processions, festivals and so forth. The *ஈண்டபாரங்கம்* refers to the machinery of government, and on special occasions their representatives also joined the *atmperumkuu*.

CHAPTER IV

FISCAL ADMINISTRATION

Sec. i. SOURCES OF REVENUE

Revenue in ancient India was derived partly from taxation and partly from sources other than taxation. An appreciable proportion of revenue came from the land, the principle governing this being that a fixed share of the produce of the land should be given to the state either in cash or in kind, preferably the latter. It was generally one-sixth of the produce. This seems to have been a *fixed* legal tax for the same rate is repeated in the epics, in law-books, the *Arthaśāstras* and even in miscellaneous literature including *kāvya* and the dramatic works.¹ On this account one of the king's names was the sixth-taker (*śadbhāgabhad*). In later times he was called *śadamśavytti*, one who depended for this living on the sixth part.² The classical Tamil work *Kural* mentions the same rate.³

But this rate was but the maximum allowable; for Gautama speaks of three different rates, one-tenth, one-eighth, and one-sixth, to be taken from the land. Manu's rates are one-twelfth, one-eighth, and one-sixth.⁴ Sukra shows himself a sound economist and practical statesman when he recommends one-half from one-third

¹ *Santi Parvan*, xxiv. 16; lxviii. 27; *Viṣṇu*, iii. 10.

² See *History of India*, part I, p. 27, by P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, (Third Edition.)

³ “*ஓய்வுவத்தை ஒத்துக் கட்டுக்கொடுக்கும் சூதாக்காரர்களைப் பற்று.*” 43.

This indicates how tradition has been a potent force in India from very early times.

⁴ *Manu*, vii. 130

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YAKṢAS

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY
(WITH TWENTY-THREE PLATES)

I. INTRODUCTION

In centuries preceding the Christian era, when the fusion of races in India had already far advanced, the religion of India passed through its greatest crises and underwent the most profound changes. Vedic ritual, indeed, has survived in part up to the present day; but the religious outlook of medieval and modern India is so profoundly different from that of the Vedic period, as known to us from the extant literature, that we cannot apply to both a common designation; medieval and modern Hinduism is one thing, Vedic Brahmanism another. The change is twofold, at once inward and spiritual, and outward and formal.

No doubt we are sufficiently aware of the spiritual revolution indicated in the *Upaniṣads* and Buddhism, whereby the emphasis was shifted from the outer world to the inner life, salvation became the highest goal, and knowledge the means of attainment. But while this philosophic development and spiritual coming of age have gradually perfumed (to use a characteristically Indian phrase) the whole of Indian civilization, there are here a background and ultimate significance given to the social order, rather than the means of its actual integration; the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads*, the psychology of Buddhism, indeed, were originally means only for those who had left behind them the life of a householder, and thus in their immediate application anti-social. But few in any generation are ripe for the attainment of spiritual emancipation, and were it otherwise the social order could not survive. The immediate purpose of Indian civilization is not Nirvāṇa or Mokṣa, but Dharma; not a desertion of the household life, but the fulfillment of function. And here, in Karma-yoga, the spiritual support is found, not in pure knowledge, but in devotion to higher powers, personally conceived, and directly approached by appropriate offices (*pūjā*) and means (*śādhanā*). In the words of the *Bhagavad Gītā*: "He who on earth doth not follow the wheel (of activity) thus revolving, liveth in vain. . . . He that doeth that which should be done, he is the true Monk, the true Yogi.

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not the recluse who refrains from actions. . . . Whatsoever thou doest, do thou that as an offering to Me; thus shalt thou be liberated. . . . He who offereth to Me with devotion a leaf, a flower, a fruit, or water, that I accept. . . . Howsoever men approach Me, even so do I welcome them, for the path men take from every side is Mine."

In the earlier Vedic books there is a total absence of many of these most fundamental features of Hinduism properly so called; it is only in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads (and afterwards, much more definitely in the Epics) that the ideas of *Samsāra* (the cycle of birth and rebirth), *Karma* (causality), religious asceticism and *Yoga*, and *Bhakti* (devotion to a personal deity) begin to appear, and the same applies to the cults of Śiva, Krishna, Yakṣas, Nāgas, innumerable goddesses, and localized deities generally. It is natural and reasonable to assume that these ideas and deities derive, not from the Vedic Aryan tradition, but, as De la Vallée-Poussin expresses it, from "un certain fond commun, très riche, et que nous ne connaissons pas parfaitement."¹

There is much to be said for Fergusson's view (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 244) that "Tree and Serpent worship," i. e., the worship of Yakṣas and Nāgas, powers of fertility and rainfall, "was the primitive faith of the aboriginal casteless Dasyus who inhabited northern India before the advent of the Aryans." But in using language of this kind, a certain degree of caution is necessary; for, in the nature of things, it is only the popular and devotional aspect of these "primitive faiths" of which we are able to recover the traces, and there may well have existed esoteric and more philosophical phases of the same beliefs. We do not know how much of Indian philosophy should really be traced to Āgamic rather than Vedic origins. Indians themselves have always believed in the existence of theistic scriptures, the Āgamas, coeval in antiquity with the Vedas; and if the existence of

¹ For these groups of ideas as foreign to the Vedas, and for their indigenous source, see De la Vallée-Poussin, *Indo-Européens et Indo-Iranians; L'Inde jusque vers 300 av. J. C.*, Paris, 1924, pp. 303, 315-6, 320, etc.; Senart, E., *Castes*, pp. xvi-xvii; Jacobi, H., *The Gaina Sutras*, S. B. E., XXII, p. xxi; Keith, A. B., *Religion and philosophy of the Veda*, Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 31, 32, pp. 132, 193, 258; Macdonell, A., *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 153, 154; Vogel, J. Ph., *Indian Serpent Lore*, 1926; Charpentier, J., *Über den Begriff und die Etymologie von pāṇa*, Festgabe Hermann Jacobi, 1926.

It is to be noticed that all the clans particularly associated (so far as the materials here relied upon are concerned) with Yakṣa worship, are by no means completely Brahmanised, and probably are not of Aryan origin (De la Vallée-Poussin, *L'Inde* . . . , p. 182).

such scriptures is beyond proof, it is at least certain that religious traditions, which must be spoken of as Āgamic in contradistinction to Vedic, are abundant and must reach far back into the past. This past, moreover, has been proved by recent archeological discoveries to have been much more ancient and to have been characterized by a much higher culture than had been formerly recognized. And we know so well the continuity of Indian racial psychology during the historical period, that we cannot but believe that long before this period begins the Indians had been, as they are today, essentially worshippers of personal deities.

In the beginning, when Aryans and non-Aryans were at war, in the period of military conquest and greatest social exclusiveness, and before the two elements had learned to live together, or had evolved a conception of life covering and justifying all its phases, a divergence between the two types of religious consciousness had been profound; in those days the despised worshippers of the *śisna* (phallus) might not approach the Aryan sacrifice. As time passed the dividing lines grew fainter, and in the end there was evolved a faith so tolerant and so broad that it could embrace in a common theological scheme all grades of religious practise, from that of the pure monist to that of savages living in the forests and practising human sacrifice.

Now, regarding the accomplished fact, it is not always easy to distinguish the separate elements that made so great a creative achievement possible. We are apt both to over- and underestimate the significance of what we describe as primitive animism.

Hinduism, quantitatively regarded, is a worship of one deity under various aspects, and of genii and saints and demons, whose aid may be invoked either for spiritual or for altogether material ends. This Hinduism, in the period we have referred to, broadly speaking, that of the last three centuries before Christ, was not so much coming into existence for the first time, as coming into consciousness and prominence.

Dr. Vogel, in *Indian Serpent Lore*, has very recently and very admirably studied the old Indian (or perhaps we ought rather to say, the Indian aspect of the widespread Asiatic) cult of Nāgas or Dragons, guardian spirits of the Waters.

In the following pages I have attempted to bring together, from literary and monumental sources, material sufficient to present a fairly clear picture of an even more important phase of non- and pre-Aryan Indian "animism," the worship of Yakṣas and Yakṣis, and to indicate its significance in religious history and iconographic evolution.

mitra, where Mālavikā, a mortal woman, is to perform the ceremony, the scene takes place beside a "slab of rock" under the asoka-tree, and this shows that the tree itself was a sacred tree haunted by a spirit.¹

The word *dohada* means a pregnancy longing, and the tree is represented as feeling, like a woman, such a longing, nor can its flowers open until it is satisfied. Thus the whole conception, even in its latest form as a mere piece of rhetoric, preserves the old connection between trees and tree spirits, and human life.

3. The River-goddesses.² The dryad types with *makara* vehicles (pl. 6, figs. 1 and 2, pl. 14, fig. 2, and pl. 19, figs. 1 and 2) bear an intimate relation, not amounting to identity, with the figures of river-goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā, with *makara* and tortoise vehicles placed at the doorways of many northern medieval temples. I propose to discuss this subject more fully elsewhere.

CONCLUSION

The observations collected in the foregoing pages may be summarized as follows:

Kuvera and other Yakṣas are indigenous non-Aryan deities or genii, usually beneficent powers of wealth and fertility. Before Buddhism and Jainism, they with a corresponding cosmology of the Four or Eight Quarters of the Universe, had been accepted as orthodox in Brahmanical theology. Their worship long survived, but in purely sectarian literature they appear only to serve the ends of edification, either as guardians and defenders of the faith, or to be pointed to as horrible examples of depravity.

Yakṣa worship was a Bhakti cult, with images, temples, altars, and offerings, and as the greater deities could all, from a popular point of view, be regarded as Yakṣas, we may safely recognize in the worship of the latter (together with Nāgas and goddesses) the natural source of the Bhakti elements common to the whole sectarian development which was taking place before the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa period. The designation Yakṣa was originally practically synonymous with Deva or Devatā, and no essential distinction can be made between Yakṣas and Devas; every Hindu deity, and even the Buddha, is spoken

¹ *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act. III; cf. *Raghuvainasa*, VIII, 62.

² River-goddesses: Smith, V. A., *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 160, 161 and figs. 111, 112; Maitra, A. K., *The river-goddess Gaṅgā*, Rūpam, 6, 1921; Vogel, *Gaṅgā et Yamunā dans l'iconographie bouddhique*, Études asiatiques, 1925 (the best discussion); Diez, E., *Zwei unbekannte Werke der indischen Plastik* in *Ethnographisch Museum, Wien*, Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst und Kultur Asiens, I, 1926.

of, upon occasion, as a Yakṣa. "Yakṣa" may have been a non-Aryan, at any rate a popular designation equivalent to Deva, and only at a later date restricted to genii of lower rank than that of the greater gods. Certainly the Yakṣa concept has played an important part in the development of Indian mythology, and even more certainly, the early Yakṣa iconography has formed the foundation of later Hindu and Buddhist iconography. It is by no means without significance that the conception of Yakṣattva is so closely bound up with the idea of reincarnation.

Thus the history of Yakṣas, like that of other aspects of non-Aryan Indian animism, is of significance not only in itself and for its own sake, but as throwing light upon the origins of cult and iconography, as well as dogma, in fully evolved sectarian Hinduism and Buddhism. And beyond India, if, as is believed by many, characteristic elements of the Christian cult, such as the use of rosaries, incense, bells and lights, together with many phases of monastic organization, are ultimately of Buddhist origin,³ we can here, too, push back their history to more ultimate sources in non- and pre-Aryan Indian *pūjās*.

Adherents of some "higher faiths" may be inclined to deprecate or to resent a tracing of their cults, still more of dogmas, to sources associated with the worship of "rude deities and demons" (Jacobi) and "mysterious aboriginal creatures" (Mrs. Rhys Davids). But if the Brāhmans in fact took over and accepted from popular sources the concept of devotion to personal deities, and all that this implied, do we not sufficiently honor these thinkers and organizers of theological systems in recognizing that they knew how to utilize in the service of more intellectual faiths, and to embody in the structure of civilization, not only their own abstract philosophies, but also the "forces brutes mystiques" (De la Vallée-Poussin) of pre-Hindu Hinduism? And if some elements of ancient Hindu cult, perhaps of millennial antiquity, are still preserved in the Christian office, this is no more than evidence of the broad unity that underlies religious tendencies and acts everywhere and always; pagan survivals in all current faiths are signs of fulfillment, rather than of failure. And in India it becomes more than ever clear that thought and culture are due at least in equal measure both to Aryan and indigenous genius.

³ See Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*; Berstl, *Indo-koptische Kunst*, Jahrb. as. Kunst, I, 1924.

Nagnabhopatigraha, I.
Narasimhābhūpalacaritra, I.
Nalacaritra, I, II.
Naīṣadīacaritra, II.
Pañcendriyāṇi, I.
Parśvatīrthakaracaritra, II.
Purvakadambik, II.
Prabhuvanīśa, II.
Bilhanacaritra (Bilhantra), I, II.
Brhatkathāmūjari, II.
Brhatkathāvivaraṇa, I.
Brhatkathāsurasangraha, II.
Bhāṣāmahājati, II.
Bhōjacaritra, I, II.
Mānāvēndiyacaritra, I.
Māṇasasuratīrthacaritra, II.
Muḍrārākṣasakathāsaṅgraha, I.
Muḍrārākṣasakathāsāra, I.
Rājatarāṅgiṇi, I.
Rāmakathāsaṅgraha, I.
Rāmanujacaritra (Rāmanujādvīyacaritra), I, II.
Vanikāśīmkatha, II.
Varasavītrīcaritra, I.
Vahakicaritra, I.
Vīśavadatta, I, II.
Vīśavadattāvyākhyā, I.
Vikramārakacaritra, I, II.
Vetalapāscavīṁśati, I, II.
Vetālāvīṁśati, I.
Vaibhavaprakāśīka, I.
Śāṅkarāryacaritra, I.
Śāthavairāvībhādipika, I.
Śukabhartīkatha, I.
Śravaṇodīyapānakatha, II.
Śaṅkatahāracaturthikatha, II.
Satyanārāyaṇakatha, II.
Siddhārthaearitra, I.
Haradattacaritra, I.

E. DRAMATIC POETRY.

(Nāṭaka, Prakarana, Bhāṣa, Vyādyoga,
Prasasana, &c.)

I. Sanskrit Dramas.

Anāgusāñjīvanabhbhāpa, II.
Anārgharāghava, I, II.
Anārgharāghavātīkā, I, II.
Anārgharāghavapāñcīka, I.
Anārgharāghavavyākhyā, I, II.
Anārgharāghavavyākhyā (Pāñcīka), I.
Anārgharāghavavyākhyā (Vikramīya), I.
Arjunātākā, II.
Ahalayāsūkrandama, I.
Ānandatilakabhāpa, I.
Indirāparīṇaya, I.
Indumati-parīṇaya, II.
Uttarārāmacaritra, I, II.
Uttarārāmacaritratīkā, I.
Uttarārāmacaritrvyākhyā, I, II.
Unmattākā, II.
Unmattarāghavīya, I, II.
Ūṣāparīṇaya, I, II.
Kanakavallīparīṇaya, I.
Kanyāmādhava, I.
Kamalinīkalahadeva, I, II.
Karpārāmañjari, I.
Karpūrāmañjari-vyākhyā, I.

Kalāyatikāmarūpa, I.
Kalyāṇipariṇaya, I.
Kañdasaprasasana, I.
Kañdasaprasasana, I.
Kumāragirirājtyākhyā, I.
Kusumabāṇavīlāsa, I.
Gödāparīṇaya, I, II.
Caṇḍakānsīka, I, II.
Cidambaranātākā, I.
Cidāmaninātākā, II.
Caitanyacandrōdaya, I.
Janakīparīṇaya, I, II.
Jñānamudrāparīṇaya, I.
Tripurāri (Tripurāriyyavyākhyā), I, II.
Drupadīsvayavīvara, I.
Dhūnañjayavījaya, I, II.
Narakasuravījaya (Narakasuravyāyoga), I, II.
Nalacaritra, I, II.
Nalabhūmipalarūpaka, II.
Nagananda (Naganandīya), I, II.
Naganātākā, I.
Pañcābānavījaya, I, II.
Pañcābānavīlāsa, I.
Pañcasuravījaya, I, II.
Pañcayudhprapāñca, II.
Parvatīparīṇaya, I, II.
Parvatisvayavīvara, I.
Pradyumnañāndīya, I.
Prabōdhacandrōdaya, I, II.
Prabōdhacandrōdayatīkā, I.
Prabōdhacandrōdayavyākhyā, II.
Prasannarāghava, I, II.
Prasunnarāghavavyākhyā, II.
Prahasana, II.
Priyadarśīka, I, II.
Prañjhaprakāśīka (Prabōdhacandrōdayavyākhyā), I.
Balaramayana, I, II.
Bṛhamātākā, I.
Bharatājanātākā, II.
Bhānumati-parīṇaya, II.
Bhāminīvīlāsa, I.
Bhikṣātānātākā, I.
Bhaimipariṇaya, I, II.
Bhaimipariṇayavyākhyā, I.
Madanaparijāta, II.
Mantrāgūnātākā, I.
Mantrāgūnātākāprayoga, I.
Maratākavallīparīṇaya, I.
Mallikāmārūpa, I.
Mahānātākā, I, II.
Mahāvīracaritra, I, II.
Mahāvīracaritrvyākhyā, I, II.
Mālatimādhava, I, II.
Mālatimādhavavyākhyā, I, II.
Mālāmāgulabhbhāpa, I.
Malavikāgnimitra, I, II.
Mālavikāgnimitrvyākhyā, I, II.
Mukundānandabhbhāpa, I, II.
Mudrārakṣasa, I, II.
Mudrārakṣasatīkā, I.
Mudrārakṣasavyākhyā, I, II.
Murāriatākā See Anārgharāghava.
Murāriatākāvīkhyā, I.
Murārivyākhyāpāñcīka, I.
Murārivyākhyāpūrṇasarasatt, I.
Mṛcchakatī (-īka), II.
Mṛcchakatīvīkhyā, II.

ACCORDING TO SUBJECT-MATTER.

Mēghesvaranātākā, II.
Maithiliparīṇaya, II.
Raṅganātākā, II.
Ratnakētūdaya, II.
Ratnāvali, I, II.
Raghavābhvīdaya, II.
Rāmanātākā, I.
Rāmāyananātākā, I.
Rukmīnīkalyāṇa, I, II.
Rukmīnīkalyāṇavyākhyā, I, II.
Rukmīnīparīṇaya, I.
Rukmīnīsrayavīvara, I.
Vakulamālīparīṇaya, I.
Vajramukti-vīlāsa, II.
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¹ Two works by Kundakunda and Amṛtacandra respectively.² Three different works by Brahmaśöri, Sakalakunti and Vasunanda respectively.³ Two different works by Kundakunda and Jinamuni respectively.

III.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF AUTHORS WITH THE NAMES
OF THEIR WORKS MENTIONED IN VOLUMES I AND II.

Akhandanandamuni : Lakṣmīstötra, Vivaraputtadvipana.

Agastya : Agastyasamihita, Lalitasahasranama.

Agastypañita : Balabhranta.

Agnihotrabhaja : Agnihotrabbhättya.

Āṅgiras : Āṅgirassmṛti (Āṅgirassmṛti), Ātura-

sānyasavidhi, Upāngirassmṛti.

Acyutakṛṣṇa (-dkṣita) : Acyutakṛṣṇodakikṣitya.

Acyutarghunatha : Rāmāyañastasäṅgraha,

Saṅgraharāmāyaṇa.

Ajatasatru : Puspasatrabhäsya, Phullasatrabhäsya.

Appadikṣita : Appadikṣitya, Caturmasya.

Atri : Atriśatra, Atrismṛti (-Ācarakanda).

Advaitananda : Brahmatvidyabharaṇa.

Anantadeva : Tīthikauñubha.

Anantamāryāja : Anandavallistötra.

Anantapañdita : Daitakauñubha, Saptasatiyavyakhyā.

Anantabhatta : Kundamandañöhavidhi, Campanphara (Bharatacampu), Paramattvaprasäka, Śrīmatkalpadruma.

Anantacarya (Manḍayam) : Akāśadhiñkarmavāda,

Önkāravāda, Nyāyabhäsakara, Brahmaśabdā-

säktivāda, Vādārtha, Viśayavāda (Viśayat-

vāda), Satakötikauñubha, Śrīrāvāda, Samas-

vāda, Śākhyavāda.

Anantamandagiri : Aitarēyopaniṣadbhäsyaṭip-

paul (-tka), Sankaravijaya.

Anandalāvār. See Rāmananda.

Aniruddha : Aniruddhasamihita.

Anujan Rāja (His Highness the) of Pañjñare :

Kṛṣṇavatāñcariya.

Anubhutivarapra : Samsvatapräkriya.

Anubhutisvaraçarya : Sārasvatayākaraṇa.

Anumabbhata : Anumabbhättya, Tattvabodhini-

tika, Tarkadipika, Tarkasäṅgraha (Saṅgraha),

Dipika (Saṅgrahadipika), Dipikavyakhyä,

Ranakojjivini.

Apakavi : Appakavi.

Appayadikṣita : Advaitanirnaya, Amaravyakhyä,

Ātmārāpapastuti, Upakramaparakrama, Kapō-

lcapati, Kalpataruñparimala (Parimala,

Vedāntaparimala), Kuvalayānanda, Caturma-

tātparyasäṅgraha, Caturvedatātparyasäṅ-

graha, Citrāñmatiha, Tajdarundrāñkauñubha-

dama, Tībantashasubhagra, Nakṣatramala (Nakṣatramalikā), Nakṣatrawadali, Nay-

ayamūñjali, Nayamayukhamalika, Nyāya-

rakṣamāni, Pañcagranthi, Pañcavratasāva-

ra, Prabölhicandrodayavyakhyä, Brahmutterkasta-

va, Bharatatātparyasäṅgraha, Madhvatantra-

mukhamardana (Madhvamatatkhanḍana, Madh-
vamatañvidhavisana, Madhvamukhamardana),

Yādavabhyudayatika, Ratnatrayaparikṣa, Ra-

manujumatkhanḍana, Rāmāyañatātparyanir-

naya, Rāmāyañatātparyasäṅgraha, Rāmāyañ-

tātparyasarasasäṅgraha, Rāmāyañabhratasa-

sāṅgraha, Varadarajustava, Vādanakṣatramā-

līka (Vādarthamakatramāla), Vidiñrasayana,

Vidhiśayayanasukhō-

pajivin, Viṣṇutattvahasya, Santistava, Sāri-

rakanyayarakṣamāni, Śivakarṇamṛta, Śiva-

tattvaviveka, Sivapurāñatamasvñkhanḍana,

Sivānandalaharcandrika, Śivākamāñipti, Śiv-

ārancandrika, Śivottkarañamāñjari, Śiddhantasäṅgraha.

Appayadikṣita (Gīna) : Dōṣajīkāra.

Appādikṣita : Appādikṣitya, Ācārañavanita,

Kaumudiprakāśa.

Appāvajjepī : Nitisumavali.

Appāstṛtri : Appāstṛtrivādartha.

Abhayacēvara : Viñmoryaśvavyakhyä.

Abhinavakalidasu : Bhagavatacampu.

Abhinavagupta : Lōcayayākhyä.

Abhinavatarkatandava : Pratyakṣānumānaśab-

dakhaṇa.

Abhilasasñikaracarya : Rudrabhäsya.

Abhimavasukracarya : Rudrabhäsya.

Abhirama : Abhirāmya, Saṅgandhikaharapa-

vyakhyä.

Abhiramabhatta : Śākuntalavyakhyä.

Amaracandra : Balabhrata.

Amarasenī : Amarakośa (Trikāṇḍa, or Nāma-

liṅgānuśasana).

Amareśvarasūstri : Candabhaskara.

Amālānanda. See Rāmananda.

Amṛtacandra : Divyasaṅgraha, Devagamastotra,

Pafcästhikaya, Sarvathersiddhi.

Amṛtananda : Amṛtanandīya.

Arupa (Arupa) : Aruṇaśikṣa.

Arupadatta : Manusyalyacandrika, Sarvāga-

sundari (Sundari).

Arhadasa : Muñcasuvratatirthacaritra.

Allajanītha : Nirayāmṛta.

Avadhānaśravasti : Vedāntasātaśloki (Śatasloki).

Avadhūta : Avadhūtagīta.

Āśvatthanārayaṇasāstri : Āśadhyayivṛtti.

Āśavakra : Āśavakragīta, Āśavakrasamihita.

Ahribudhnyayasamihita.

Ahobilāna : Rudrabhäsya.

Ahobilanātha : Ahobilanāthasiddhānta, Ahobilā-

nāthīya.

| Name of District or State. | Number of MSS. contained in Volume I. | Number of MSS. contained in Volume II. | Total number of MSS. |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|----------------------|
| North Arcot | 14 | 432 | 446 |
| South Arcot | .. | 148 | 148 |
| Bellary | .. | 95 | 95 |
| Chingleput | 1,758 | 1,000 | 2,358 |
| Kadapa | .. | 529 | 529 |
| Karnul | .. | 30 | 30 |
| Kochin | 358 | .. | 358 |
| Robintore | 291 | 554 | 1,445 |
| Krishna | .. | 330 | 330 |
| Madras | 235 | 188 | 423 |
| Madura | 49 | 109 | 218 |
| Malabar | 193 | .. | 193 |
| Mysore | 151 | 1,623 | 1,774 |
| Salem | .. | 49 | 49 |
| Tanjore | 1,707 | 4,029 | 6,336 |
| Tinnevelly | 918 | 26 | 943 |
| Travancore | 423 | .. | 423 |
| Trichinopoly | 194 | 620 | 814 |
| Vizagapatam | 1,885 | .. | 1,885 |
| Total .. | 8,376 | 10,421 | 18,797 |

No lists have as yet been printed from the districts of Ganjam, Godaveri, Nellore and South Kanara.

GUSTAV OPPERT.

MADRAS, 24th March 1885.

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PREFACE.

The Second Volume of the "Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of Southern India" contains the names of 10,421 Manuscripts. To these is added an Appendix containing three Indexes.

The first is an "Alphabetical Index to the MSS. of Volume II;" the second an "Alphabetical Index of the MSS. in Volumes I and II according to Subject-matter," and the third an "Alphabetical Index of Authors with the names of their works mentioned in Volumes I and II."

These three Indexes refer to about 45,000 different items. Though I have tried to arrange them as carefully as possible, I know that the great number of references and insufficient information must have caused some inaccuracies to appear, especially in the two last parts of the Appendix. For such unavoidable deficiencies I appeal to the forbearance of the experienced critic.

The lists found in this volume have been obtained by me in the same manner as those in Volume I. In a few cases I have been supplied with catalogues by Government officials, the most important among these being that of the library of the Jaghirdar of Arnee forwarded to me by Mr. Whiteside when Collector of North Arcot.

Since I commenced printing this second volume, various districts of this Presidency have been visited by me, and, during my absence in 1883, by Mr. M. Seshgiri Sastriyer. Our search has been as yet mainly confined to the districts of Salem, North Arcot, Chingleput and the state of Mysore. In order to prove how rich Southern India is in Sanskrit Manuscripts, and how necessary it is that a search for such literary remains should be methodically conducted, I may point out that we succeeded in cataloguing in North Arcot and Salem about 3,500 and 8,300 MSS., while through the lists forwarded to me I was able to obtain the names of only 446 and 49 MSS. In Mysore alone, I have catalogued up to date 18,300 MSS. against 1,784 contained in these two volumes.

For the sake of information and comparison, I give in a table below the names of the districts and states, and the number of MSS. supplied by each.