

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA

(CIVILAPPELLATE JURISDICTION)

CIVIL APPEAL NO. 4768-4771 OF 2011

IN THE MATTER OF:

**BHAGWAN SRI RAMA VIRAJMAN
AND OTHERS.**

...APPELLANTS

VERSUS

SRI RAJENDRA SINGH & ORS.

...RESPONDENTS

EXHIBITS FILED BY THE PLAINTIFF IN SUIT NO.5

VOLUME-III

(PAGES 545 TO 797)

PAPER-BOOK

(For Index Kindly See Inside)

ADVOCATE FOR THE APPELLANT: : MR. P. V. YOGESWARAN

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INDEX
VOLUME-III
(PAGES 545 TO 797)

Sr. No.	Exh. No.	Description of Paper	Page No.
45.	Ex. 57	Photograph of introduction Ayodhya by Hans Baker Vol. I page XV to XVIII	545-552
46.	Ex. 58	Photocopy of "Religious development in Saket" book bearing page no. 43	553-554
47.	Ex. 59	"The eleventh and twelfth century" page no. 49-59, first chapter 3	555-571
48.	Ex. 60	The origin of devotion to Rama within Vaishnavism	572-585
49.	Ex. 61	The development of Ayodhya to Ayodhya Mahatmya	586-591
50.	Ex. 62	Part I Chapter VIII, page No. 141, 143, 150 and 151	592-599
51.	Ex. 63	Part II, Chapter 23, "Ramanavami Mahatmya" (Featuring Janam Sthan and Yamasthala)	600-655
52.	Ex. 64	Part II, chapter 25, "Kaikaiee Bhawan and Sumitra Bhawan" page no. 176 to 177	656-659
53.	Ex. 65	Part II, Chapter 26, "Sita Koop" page no. 178	660-661
54.	Ex. 66	Maps of Ayodhya-Faizabad illustration-II	662
55.	Ex. 67	Maps of Ayodhya-Faizabad illustration-III	663
56.	Ex. 68	Photocopy of the extracts Indian Architecture (Islamic Period) by Percy Brown	664-679

57.	Ex. 69	Photocopy of "Aine-Akbari" by Abul Fazl Vol II Subaye Awadh, Nawal Kishore Press Lucknow 1881, copy made by B.R. Grover in his own handwriting of page 78	680-685
58.	Ex. 70	Photocopy of page 427 on the book "Hadeeqa-E-Shohada" by Mirza Jaan, published in 1956, Lucknow with frontispiece containing Nasbihat-I-Bist-O-Panjum Az Chahal Nisaih Bahadur Shahi daughter of Bahadur Shah Alam Gir	686-706
59.	Ex. 71	Extract from the book "The Disputed Mosque" A Historical Enquiry by Susheel Srivastava, Chapter V, "Did Babar build the Masjid"	707-726
60.	Ex. 92	Archaeological Survey report: N.W. Provinces and Oudh (Ayodhya, Bhulia Tal, Sahet and Mahet)	727-731
61.	Ex. 103	Newspaper report page 10 of Amar Ujala Kanpur dt. 12.10.1995, proved by OPW 2 at page 57 of his evidence	732-734
62.	Ex. 114	Presidential Address by S.P. Gupta on 22.12.1989 in Guntoor (A.P.) on the subject "Sri Ram Janam Bhumi Controversy- Passion apart what history and archaeology have to say on this Issue"	735-786
63.	Ex. 115	Article written by Dr. S.P. Gupta "Ram Janam Bhumi Babri Masjid- Revisited"	787-791
64.	Ex. 116	Description of Ram Janam Bhumi in Ayodhya Mahatmya edited by Sri Krishna Das, Khem Raj Srashi	792-797
		Continued in Volume-IV	

(Exh. 57)

545

INTRODUCTION

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6

The aim of this study is to examine the history and significance of the North Indian town of Ayodhya, giving due attention to socio-religious factors that led to the development of this ancient centre of trade into a contemporaneous centre of pilgrimages. The work is divided into three parts, the first dealing with the history of the town in general, the religious movements that governed its development, the local manifestations in which this took concrete shape, and the manner in which it is reflected in the *Ayodhya-mahatmya* (AM). The second part consists of a critical edition of the AM with a commentary in which details passed over in Pt. I are discussed. The third part provides appendices, concordances, a bibliography, and index. Maps of Ayodhya and its surroundings are separately enclosed.

Methodological considerations underlie this division. In order to avoid a *petitio principii*, the text-critical analysis of the AM and the evaluation of its contents have been kept strictly apart. The textual tradition of the AM comprises three different but interrelated text-groups, the relative chronological order of which is established on text-critical grounds in the Introduction to Pt. II. The historical and religious assessment of each of these text-groups in Pt. I starts on the premise of this relative chronology. It appears that the nature and contents of the three versions fit in well with historico-religious and literary developments in North India during the second millennium AD, in which they shed considerable new light, in particular with regard to the emergence of the cult of Rāma. The concordance with the general historico-religious context provides the framework of an absolute chronology. A further circumscription of the date of the various text-groups is attained by comparing their topographical information with the development of the sacred centre of Ayodhya as known from other independent textual and archaeological evidence, the latter being chiefly provided by fieldwork in Ayodhya and environs. The procedure of Pt. I is hence on the one hand concerned with the establishing of an absolute chronology of the AM texts, and on the other hand with the interpretation and appraisal of the existing historical and religious fabric. The results of Pt. I are again the starting-point of the commentary on the text in Pt. II, which aims at disclosing the historical development of the local (local holy places (*īṣṭhān*)) that feature in the AM.

The procedure outlined above makes it clear that this study is the result of research in the present investigation. Additionally, fieldwork in Ayodhya has been carried out in order to collect extra-textual evidence, notably topographical, archaeological, and chronological data along with oral traditions regarding the historical sites, with a view to providing a more solid historical foundation. The tripartite design of this study requires frequent reference from Pt. I to Pt. II and Pt. III, and vice versa, with a certain amount of unavoidable repetition.

While pursuing the scheme sketched above, two matters of great consequence became evident. First that the religious development of Ayodhya into a centre of pilgrimages took place in the second millennium AD and consequently that the *Ayodhya-mahatmya* in all its various redactions is the product of a period when the growth of the religious significance of the town was linked up with the rise of the worship of Rāma as the original manifestation of Viṣṇu. These two issues largely

546

Introduction

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by govern the structure of Pt.I.

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The first two chapters of Pt.I are concerned with the history and religious development of Śāseta/Ayodhyā up to the close of the first millennium of our era. It appears that the origin of a number of religious institutions within the town may be traced back to this early period. Some of them continued to exist in the second millennium, often in modified, mostly Vaiṣṇava form. The evidence of the AM and other later texts are relevant in so far as they testify to the continuance of the earlier strata of religious life in Ayodhyā, occasionally providing most welcome evidence to supplement the meagre historical sources relating to this early period. On the other hand links detected between the *śīrṣṇa* described in the AM and earlier religious stratifications often shed light on their nature. The third chapter deals with the eleventh and twelfth centuries which saw a transition from the older period to the epoch of Viṣṇuīta devotion that fundamentally changed the religious significance of Ayodhyā.

In order to explain these developments and to elaborate their import within the context of the evolving religious environment of North India in the second millennium, chapters 4 to 7 deal with the origin and growth of Rāma devotion in general. It appears that the so-called apocryphal Pāncarātra text *Agastyaśāstrīkā* (AgS.) (datable to the twelfth century) is of central importance in the history of the Rāma cult. If we leave aside a recent study of F. Wheling (1960), which turned out to be of little use for our purpose, and Bh.P. Sinha's excellent book on the *Rasika Saṃpradāya*, which, however, is mainly concerned with a later development, we have to ascertain that this cult has never been the subject of systematic investigation. Therefore, and especially because the AgS. is quoted in the AM on the subject of the celebration of Rāma's birthday, an analysis is given of its content as far as it is concerned with the general theology of the Rāma-its form of Viṣṇuism (chapter 5) and the ritual of the daily worship (chapter 6). Chapter 7 deals with the further development of devotion to Rāma, especially its close relation with the cult of the name.

Both subjects, the local historical one of chapters 1-3, and the general religious one of chapters 4-7, are integrated in the last two chapters of Pt.I. Chapter 8 deals with the religious history of Ayodhyā from the thirteenth up to the middle of the sixteenth century for this period the AM is one of our main sources. The religious and literary milieu that brought forth and sustained this text-tradition is examined in combination with a historian-religious appraisal of its content. The history of devotion to Rāma is elaborated in its concrete manifestations within Ayodhyā and environs. Chapter 9 is concerned with the pilgrimage rituals that are to be performed in the sacred centre according to the AM. In this context a description is given of the ritual of the birthday celebration by Rāmanavara based on the AgS.

As has been noted above the second part of this work presents the textual sources that were used and evaluated in Pt.I. As such the critical edition of the AM occupies a central position. The three versions in which the *Māhātmya* is known to us and their mutual relationship are the subject of text-critical analysis in the Introduction to Pt.II which yields the basic criteria for their editing. It was decided to present the three editions which emanated from the local *Māhātmya* tradition and which each have their own significance for the historiography of Ayodhyā in parallel columns. For reasons that are explained in the Introduction to Pt.II the text is divi-

Introduction

Part II, includes appendices which contain textual passages of the *AM* that are regarded as interpolations. They are provided with short introductions to point out their secondary nature as well as the historical milieu that conferred significance on their content and prompted their insertion. A Hindu festival calendar of Ayaz, a list of sources of the *AM* and testimonies, a list of hymns occurring in the *Māhātmya*, and a specified list of *śrīdhā* are also given. The synoptical edition of the three text-groups, each with its own sequence of verses, makes detailed concordances indispensable. They are found after the appendices. Part II is concluded by a bibliography and index.

A few words need to be said about the main preoccupation of the present study, viz. the analysis and evaluation of a *mandala* text. The value of this sort of text is often underestimated and this may account for the scant attention they attract from Indologists working on the history of Hinduism and its literature. However, the appraisal is given by Gombrich in his history of Medieval Religious Literature (London 1977, 276-281), who remarks: "This genre of literature is not only very useful for deepening our knowledge of the cultural and religious history of India in general but also most valuable for those who want to reconstruct the development of regional history and local cults or to gain a deeper insight into various religious institutions—for instance, the recommendation of pilgrimages to poor people as a substitute for expensive sacrifices—, into beliefs and practices—e.g., 'those who bathe here go to heaven, and those who die here are not born again', and in connexion with this conviction, religious suicide and worship of the deceased—and into the significance of holy places, local variants of myth and legends and so on." (ibid., 276). Besides, if we bear in mind that "the literature of holy places, especially places of pilgrimage (firihāl, and pilgrimages to places which enjoy a certain sanctity is in all probability far more extensive than any other single topic of Bhakti-māhātā" (ibid., 276), it is evident that we are concerned with an as yet largely unexplored mine of information about local history and daily practice within Hinduism.

Among the scientific literature dealing with the history of Bali, placed on the basis of *Widyatungga* C. JACARUA 1952 (Bogor), W. Dossigano et al. 1954 (Klaten), R. Geth 1964 (Purwokerto), S. Santosa 1967, and S. Soera 1977 (Prayaga), K. Kusch 1973 (Napoli) and H. Kuike's researches in the history of Gianbaran (Kuiké 1968, 1976) are to be mentioned, although of them only Kuike and Uebach include an edition of a manuscript text, whereas, on our knowledge H. Kuike had been the only scholar to far who has systematically seen different versions of a manuscript to discern the political and religious development that goes back to their origin—unfortunately without publishing his textual sources.

With respect to the last point it should be explained that the content of information that can be retrieved from a database that indexes identification data and/or other versions of name files are collected. The following passages give some information on other source, variations of

548

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Introduction

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... words that, when compared, confer unexpected significance on the text of different versions. Admittedly, the Mahatma presents a haphazard process, sterile clichés, and stereotyped conceptions devoid of any literary merit and often seem to describe just a timeless mythological or universal—epistemological dimension of reality that, as it were, is a kind of overlay spreading over the physical world only to be experienced by the believer and imperceptible to the sceptic or scientific observer. However, in our view the best approach is to consider this type of text as a code into which empirical reality has been translated. Within the Indian context this code is indispensable, first in order that the fabricated text may be recognized as a product of divine revelation, secondly in order that it may serve as advertisement, i.e. that it may impress the people for whom it was composed and prompt them to resort to particular holy sites. It is the task of the investigator to demythologize in order to recover the underlying historical and geographical reality and to gain an insight into the religious and social milieu that gave rise to the text. The present work is intended as a contribution to this undertaking.

AT HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT ALLAHABAD
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The aim of this study is to examine the history and significance of the North Indian town of Ayodhyā, giving due attention to socio-religious factors that led to the development of this ancient centre of trade into a contemporaneous centre of pilgrimage. The work is divided into three parts, the first dealing with the history of the town in general, the religious movements that governed its development, the local ramifications in which this took concrete shape, and the manner in which it is reflected in the *Ayodhyāmahātmya* (AM). The second part consists of a critical edition of the AM with a commentary in which details passed over in Pt.I are discussed. The third part provides appendices, concordances, a bibliography, and index. Maps of Ayodhyā and its surroundings are separately enclosed.

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The procedure outlined above makes it clear that philology is the basic method of approach in the present investigation. Additionally, fieldwork in Ayodhyā has been carried out in order to collect extra-textual evidence, notably topographical, iconographic, and archaeological data along with oral traditions regarding the historical sites, with a view to providing a more solid historical foundation. The tripartite design of this study requires frequent reference from Pt.I to Pt.II and Pt.III, and vice versa, with a certain amount of unavoidable repetition.

While pursuing the scheme sketched above, two matters of great consequence became evident. First that the religious development of Ayodhyā into a centre of pilgrimage took place in the second millennium AD and consequently that the *Ayodhyāmahātmya* in all its versions belongs to this period; secondly that the growth of the religious significance of the town was linked up with the rise of the worship of Rāma as the principal manifestation of Viṣṇu. These two issues large-

ly govern the structure of Pt.I.

The first two chapters of Pt.I are concerned with the history and religious development of Sāketa/Ayodhyā up to the close of the first millennium of our era. It appears that the origin of a number of religious institutions within the town may be traced back to this early period. Some of them continued to exist in the second millennium, often in modified, mostly Vaiṣṇava form. The evidence of the AM and other later texts are relevant in so far as they testify to the continuance of the earlier strata of religious life in Ayodhyā, occasionally providing most welcome evidence to supplement the meagre historical sources relating to this early period. On the other hand links detected between the *tīrthas* described in the AM and earlier religious stratifications often shed light on their nature. The third chapter deals with the eleventh and twelfth centuries which saw a transition from the older period to the epoch of Viṣṇuite devotion that fundamentally changed the religious significance of Ayodhyā.

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Both subjects, the local historical one of chapters 1-3, and the general religious one of chapters 4-7, are integrated in the last two chapters of Pt.I. Chapter 8 deals with the religious history of Ayodhyā from the thirteenth up to the middle of the eighteenth century. For this period the AM is one of our main sources. The religious and literary milieu that brought forth and sustained this text-tradition is examined in combination with an historico-religious appraisal of its content. The history of devotion to Rāma is elaborated in its concrete manifestations within Ayodhyā and environs. Chapter 9 is concerned with the pilgrimage rituals that are to be performed in the sacred centre according to the AM. In this context a description is given of the ritual of the birthday celebration on Rāmanavamī based on the AgS.

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ded into 83 chapters. In short introductions to each of these chapters other texts that bear on the subject are given and evaluated. These introductions, supplemented by the commentary on the text, aim at giving an assessment of the history, nature, and meaning of the individual *tīrthas* glorified in the AM.

Part III includes appendices which contain textual passages of the AM that are regarded as interpolations. They are provided with short introductions to point out their secondary nature as well as the historical milieu that conferred significance on their content and prompted their insertion. A Hindu festival calendar of Ayodhyā, lists of sources of the AM and testimonia, a list of hymns occurring in the *Māhātmya*, and a specified list of *tīrthas* are also given. The synoptical edition of the three text-groups, each with its own sequence of verses, makes detailed concordances indispensable. They are found after the appendices. Pt. III is concluded by a bibliography and index.

Five Maps of Ayodhyā and surroundings are separately enclosed at the end. They present the modern sacred topography of Ayodhyākṣetra.

A few words need to be said about the main preoccupation of the present study, viz. the edition and evaluation of a *māhātmya* text. The value of this sort of text is often underestimated and this may account for the scant attention they attract from Indologists working on the history of Hinduism and its literature. However, due appraisal is given by Gonda, in his *History of Medieval Religious Literature* (Gonda 1977, 276-281), who remarks: "This genre of literature is not only very useful for deepening our knowledge of the cultural and religious history of India in general but also most valuable for those who want to reconstruct the development of regional history and local cults or to gain a deeper insight into various religious institutions—for instance, the recommendation of pilgrimages to poor people as a substitute for expensive sacrifices—, into beliefs and practices—e.g. 'those who bathe here go to heaven and those who die here are not born again', and in connexion with this conviction, religious suicide and worship of the deceased—, and into the significance of holy places, local variants of myths and legends and so on." (op.cit. 278). Besides, if we bear in mind that "the literature on holy places, especially places of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*), and pilgrimages to places which enjoy a certain sanctity is in all probability far more extensive than any other single topic of *Dharmaśāstra*" (op.cit. 276), it is evident that we are concerned with an as yet largely unexplored mine of information about local history and daily practice within Hinduism.

Among the scientific literature dealing with the history of holy places on the basis of *māhātmyas* C. Jacques 1962 (Gayā), R. Dessigane et.al. 1964 (Kāñcīpuram), R. Geib 1965 (Puruṣottama), G. Kantawala 1967 and G. Spera 1977 (Prayāga), H. Uebach 1970 (Nepal) and H. Kulke's researches in the history of Cidambaram (Kulke 1969, 1970) are to be mentioned, although of them only Jacques and Uebach include an edition of a *māhātmya* text, whereas to our knowledge H. Kulke has been the only scholar so far who has systematically used different versions of a *māhātmya* to disclose the political and religious background that gave rise to their origin—unfortunately without publishing his textual sources.

With respect to the last point it should be emphasized that the quantity of information that can be retrieved from a *māhātmya* text increases significantly when two or more versions or recensions are collated. The following passages give ample instances of, often minute, variations in

phrasing or words that, when compared, confer unexpected significance on the text of different versions. Admittedly, the Māhātmya abounds in hackneyed phrases, sterile clichés, and stereotyped conceptions devoid of any literary merit and often seems to describe just a timeless mythological universe—a theological dimension of reality that, as it were, is a kind of overlay spreading over the physical world only to be experienced by the believer and imperceptible to the sceptic scientific observer. However, in our view the best approach is to consider this type of text as a code into which empirical reality has been translated. Within the Indian context this code is indispensable, first in order that the fabricated text may be recognized as a product of divine revelation, secondly in order that it may serve as advertisement, i.e. that it may impress the people for whom it was composed and prompt them to resort to particular holy sites. It is the task of the investigator to demythologize in order to recover the underlying historical and geographical reality and to gain an insight into the religious and social milieu that gave rise to the text. The present work is intended as a contribution to this undertaking.

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(Exh. 58)

553

— Brahmins, holding from Ayodhya participated in a procession of a *līṅga* in Mithorā in AD 436.¹

— An image of Skanda dating from the 10th or 11th century² is kept in Bilvatirtha (Bilvabari), a holy place on the bank of the Sarayū to the east of site AK.³ The neut-relief stone image was found against a tree that stands before a (new) temple. Local oral tradition knows this place as the coronation ground of Deśaratha. The image shows a four-armed Skanda standing in *tribhāṅga* pose. The lower right hand touches the ground that stands behind him. His upper right hand is broken off. The upper left hand holds something indicating dishabli (perhaps a book or arrow shaft). The lower left hand holds a spear, the square base of stone in which the image is carved is about 30cm high. In the right upper corner is a small figure. Against the wall of the Bilvabari temple in the same compound stands a beautiful stone sculpture (80x80cm) representing Śiva and Pārvatī (Utmahesvaranāthī, see Map II, 1970). The heads of both deities have been cut off. The image may date from about AD 1030.⁴

— A small Śiva-Pārvatī medallion (20x30cm) is found in the wall of a little *līṅga* shrine in front of the Guptaeshwari temple in the Vopratāra compound.⁵ The medallion may date from the 11th-12th century. It is made of yellow sandstone and is very much eroded. It shows Śiva sitting with Pārvatī on his lap (Utmahesvaranāthī). Next to this medallion is another one of Guṇa (Bhakti), which may be of the same period if the two originally belonged together. It shows a sitting Guṇa with four arms. His trunk to the right. Both medallions are found in the wall of a *līṅga* temple (Gupteshwari/Laxmanāthī) and it seems probable that they have always belonged to a Vaiṣṇava sanctuary (see under 4.2 Vaiṣṇavism).

— Tour II in the 3. revision of AM mentions the Śaiva sanctuaries of Bāṭika,⁶ Bhairava,⁷ and Vighnāśa.⁸ The first two places are not traced elsewhere in the *Māhātmya*, whereas Vighnāśa is incorporated among the guards of the Rākot. The inclusion of these places in tour II on the one hand, and their obscurity in the rest of AM as well as its modern Pandita of Ayodhya on the other hand, seems to testify to their antiquity, possibly reaching back into the first millennium.

4.2 Vaiṣṇavism.

— Vaiṣṇavism no doubt received some impetus when Sāketa/Ayodhya became one of the foremost cities of the Gupta empire. The ascendancy of Sāketa, its identification with Ayodhya, the place of Viṣṇu's incarnation, the evidence of special reference to the Rāma *avatāra* in inscriptions closely connected with the Gupta court at the beginning of the fifth century, the fact that the Gupta emperors from Candragupta II onwards styled themselves *paramahāyasyas* and that Skandagupta even compares himself with Rāma,⁹ the recording of the foundation of temples, notably of a *līṅga* temple dedicated to the 'lord with the disc' (Śaṅkara) by Skandagupta¹⁰ — all strongly in-

¹ Ep. Ind. (1909-10), 72. See I, 26.

² Cf. a picture of a similar image in S.B. Singh 1975, fig. 17.

³ Intr. AM 62.

⁴ Intr. AM 58.

⁵ AM 60:5d. TP p. 501 reads Kungavī instead of Bāṭika (see I, 46).

⁶ AM 60:6d. Another Bhairava, the southernmost guard of the Ayodhyāśāstra, is situated in AM 57. There are indications that point to a sanctuary of Bhairava on the site of the present Hanuman temple in the centre of Ayodhya (see Intr. AM 17 and of AM 17:2d).

⁷ AM 60:6. Cf. AM 17:10.

⁸ See I, 30.

⁹ Cf. III, 64.

- Brahmins hailing from Ayodhyā participated in a procession of a *līṅga* in Bhārādī in AD 436.¹
- An image of Skanda dating from the 10th or 11th century² is kept in Bilvatīrtha (Bilvahari), a holy place on the bank of the Sarayū to the east of site AY.³ The haut-relief stone image was found against a tree that stands before a (new) temple. Local oral tradition knows this place as the cremation ground of Daśarathā. The image shows a four-armed Skanda standing in *tribhanga* pose. The lower right hand touches the peacock that stands behind him. His upper right hand is broken off. The upper left hand holds something indistinguishable (perhaps a book or arrow shaft). The lower left hand holds a spear. The square slab of stone in which the image is carved is about 30cm high. In the right upper corner is a small figure. Against the wall of the Bilvahari temple in the same compound stands a beautiful stone sculpture (80x80cm) representing Śiva and Pārvatī (*Umāmaheśvaramūrti*, see Rao II, 132ff.). The heads of both deities have been cut off. The image may date from about AD 1000.
- A small Śiva-Pārvatī medallion (20x30cm) is found in the wall of a little *līṅga* shrine in front of the Guptahari temple in the Gopratāra compound.⁴ The medallion may date from the 10th-12th century. It is made of yellow sandstone and is very much eroded. It shows Śiva sitting with Pārvatī on his lap (*Umāmaheśvaramūrti*). Next to this medallion is another one of Gaṇeśa (16x17cm), which may be of the same period if the two originally belonged together. It shows a sitting Gaṇeśa with four arms, his trunk to the right. Both medallions are found in the wall of a Viṣṇu temple (Guptahari/Cakrahari) and it seems probable that they have always belonged to a Vaiṣṇava sanctuary (see under 4.2 Vaiṣṇavism).
- Tour II in the S recension of AM mentions the Śaiva sanctuaries of Baṭuka⁵, Bhairava⁶, and Vighneśa⁷. The first two places are not treated elsewhere in the *Māhātmya*, whereas Vighneśa is incorporated among the guards of the Rāmkoṭ. The inclusion of these places in tour II on the one hand, and their obscurity in the rest of AM as well as to modern Pandits of Ayodhyā on the other hand, seems to testify to their antiquity, possibly reaching back into the first millennium.

4.2 Vaiṣṇavism.

- Vaiṣṇavism no doubt received some impetus when Sāketa/Ayodhyā became one of the foremost cities of the Gupta empire. The ascendancy of Sāketa, its identification with Ayodhyā, the place of Viṣṇu's incarnation, the evidence of special reference to the Rāma *avatāra* in circles closely connected with the Gupta court at the beginning of the fifth century, the fact that the Gupta emperors from Candragupta II onwards styled themselves *paramabhāgavatas* and that Skandagupta even compares himself with Rāma⁸, the recording of the foundation of temples, notably of a Viṣṇu temple dedicated to the 'God with the Bow' (Sārṅgin) by Skandagupta⁹ - all strongly en-

¹ EI X (1909-10), 72. See I, 28.

² Cp. a picture of a similar image in S.B. Singh 1979, fig. 17.

³ Intr. AM 62.

⁴ Intr. AM 58.

⁵ AM 80.5d. TP p. 501 reads Kuṇḍavī instead of Baṭuka (see I, 46).

⁶ AM 80.6d. Another Bhairava, the southernmost guard of the Ayodhyāksetra, is treated in AM 67. There are indications that point to a sanctuary of Bhairava on the site of the present Hanumān temple in the centre of Ayodhyā (see Intr. AM 17 and ad OA 17.2c).

⁷ AM 80.8. Cp. AM 17.10.

⁸ See I, 30.

⁹ CII III, 54.

The obscurity that shrouds Ayodhya from the seventh century onwards starts to lift in the eleventh century. The most portentous events of this period were the raids of the Muslim rulers from Ghazni, who penetrated into India, causing havoc among the ranks of the Hindus.

Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni sacked Kanauj in AD 1019, and two years after the provisional headquarters at Delhi. It seems that Mahmud did not penetrate further than the line Barā-Kālanjora, and that Ayodhya at the time had not yet made the acquaintance of Muhammadan arms and the iconoclasm that invariably ensued.

In the confusion and anarchy that resulted in the twelfth and thirteenth of the fifth century adventures in the Muslim forces might have seized the opportunity of embarking on individual marauding expeditions. A late tradition¹ ascribes the first Muslim expedition against Ajodhya to Sayid Salār Mas'ūd Ghāzi. As to this the *Fyz.Gaz.* records: "All along the old Lucknow road there are numerous tombs which the Muhammadans designate to be of the followers of Sayid Salār."²

Later attested to the raid of Ahmad Niyāltigin, the Ghaznavid governor of the province of the Punjab, who in AD 1034³ proceeded as far as Benares and had it plundered. Either he or one of his army chiefs is likely to have passed through Ayodhya on this occasion.

After the first onslaught by the forces of Isfār, Hindu kingdoms rose from their ashes. Members of the Śastryakūṭa clan seem to have ruled again from Kanauj in the middle of the eleventh century.⁴ When the imperial city was sacked for the second time by a Ghaznavid governor from the Punjab, Ghāzī Shāh, between AD 1086 and AD 1090, a rival Rajput clan of the Cōṭhadvālas headed by Candradeva, seemingly a quailing, usurped the throne of Kanauj. Thereupon the Rājasthān king Gopāla still seemed to have ruled for a while from Vadānagiri, but soon lost sway over Ayodhya to the Cōṭhadvāla ruler.⁵ In AD 1090 Candradeva claimed to have protected the holy places of Kāśī (Kanauj), Kāśī, Uttarakāśī (Ayodhya), and Indrasthāna.⁶ Although he was presumably set in the saddle by a Muslim conqueror,⁷ Candradeva soon turned out to be a staunch defender of the Hindu cause. He and his successors succeeded in keeping the Muslim forces at

¹ *His'at-i-Husnā* by 'Abdur Rahmān Chishtī (†AD 1687). 'Abdur Rahmān claims to draw from an earlier work by Mullā Muḥammad Ghāznavī, a servant of Sultan Mahmud. EHI II, 530f. "After the rains (AD 1131), Mas'ūd led his army against Ajodha. Although, in those days, that place and its vicinity was thickly peopled, it was subdued without a struggle. Mas'ūd was delighted with the climate of Ajodha, and as, moreover, it was a good sporting country, he remained there till the end of the following rains, when he set off for Delhi." Cp. *Fyz.Gaz.* 148f. and Carnegy, 1870, 8.

² *Fyz.Gaz.* 150. See also Irwin 1890, 73ff.

³ *Chahār-i-Bahār* by Abul Fazl Bahadur. EHI II, 123f. *Chahār-i-Bahār* of Muḥammad-ud-dīn Sijā, EHI II, 270.

⁴ HCI V, 81.

⁵ HCI V, 81.

⁶ *Irīgāhī* 1537, 331f. HCI V, 50f.

⁷ EI IV (1907/6), 304. The case is reported in an inscription of Jayachandra (Kielhorn 1896, 7 vs. 51). Cp. HCI V, 51f. *Irīgāhī* 1537 Vol. II, 211.

⁸ HCI V, 51. *Chahār-i-Bahār* by Khwājeh Mas'ūd bin Sa'īd bin Salām, EHI IV, 524.

12021
12

boy for almost a century, presumably at the cost of heavy tributes and extra levies on the population (*suruskadavda*).¹

The last hundred years before the final Hindu subjugation seem to have been most profitable for Ayodhya. The Gahadavālas not only practised a policy of protecting holy places, but even endeavoured to reinforce them with a view of promoting their own authority in the Hindu world in the last attempt to avert the Turkish threat. This would explain why Candradēva first took a bath and performed *pūja* in Ayodhya before making a grant of land to a community of Brahmins in the district of Benares.² It is noteworthy in this context that the third Gahadavāla king Govindasena let himself be called 'an incarnation of Hari (at the request of Hari) for guarding Vārāṇas against the wicked Tughla warrior'.³

It is quite conceivable that this endeavour involved a kind of deliberate population policy, favouring the settlement of Rajput clans in the Ganges basin simultaneously with the population of sacred orthodox centres with Brahmins, to whom important portions of land were granted in order to provide them a living.⁴

Along with the arrival of the Rajput rulers of Kannauj, and afterwards with the Muslim armies in which Rajputs are known to have served, many of them may have come to settle in the region of Kāśī (Oudh).⁵ Local tradition states that for centuries Ayodhya was a wilderness, and this is borne out by the frequent references in the Muslim historians to the hunting to be obtained in its vicinity. Universal tradition, too, assigns the whole district to *Min Chars*, a mysterious race who owned the greater part of Oudh and were considered as natural enemies of both Hindus and Muslims alike. They dwelt in brick-built villages, traces of which are to be found in the shape of deserted mounds, (*dhūl*), "all over the district."⁶ Nevill continues: "what happened to the Chars no one knows. It would seem that they were driven southwards by the Rajput colonists... the common story of the Rajput taking service with a Char chief and then ousting his master is frequent in Fyzabad as elsewhere..."⁷ More plausibly, however, local (Hindu?) traditions would have tried to set themselves up as pious Rajput rulers alongside colonists. Whatever might precisely have taken place during the 12th and 13th centuries, both local oral tradition as well as the many grants of the Gahadavāla kings recording numerous bestowals of land, gifts and other privileges on the Brahmins in holy centres (especially Benares) seem to point to important shifts among the population.

¹ EI XII/1807/31, 305. EI XIV/1827/181, 185, 186. Cp. XII V, 51.

² Mutatis mutandis the observations Kuhs made with respect to regional Hindu kingdoms in the period between 1000 and 1200 AD, may apply to the situation in the Gahadavāla realm: "By virtue investing more and more into their ever increasing army the Hindu Rājas of these loosely structured regional kingdoms, in the absence of a centralized bureaucracy, tried with their traditional patrimonial power to counterbalance those dangerous feudal forces by ritual means. This aim was achieved mainly through three measures: 1) Royal patronage of places of pilgrimage of regional and all-Indian importance within their respective kingdoms. 2) a systematic and large-scale settlement of Brahmins, and 3) construction of new imperial temples." (Kuhs in GJ, 122).

³ EI XII/1807/31, 305. Govindasena styled himself in an inscription as an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa who descended to protect the earth (after 1192, in his 1233 and 1234).

⁴ Kuhs in GJ 123ff.

⁵ Cf. Fyz.Gaz. 147-149; Carnegie 1870, 2; Crooke 1890, IV, 217-223 (s.v. Rajput) and 1, 118-126 (s.v. Chars).

⁶ Fyz.Gaz. 147. Cp. Führer 1891, 303-307; Crooke 1896, II, 1-11; S.K. Singh 1962.

⁷ Fyz.Gaz. 147-149.

of the *Irutavaga* (i.e. Ramanendra), but the Sanskrit name is not attested in any written source.

The AM does not mention another Vishnu temple at this place (on top of the *Svargadvāra ghāṭa*), unless formerly a Dharmaharī temple (at present there is a temple of that name c.500m to the south-east of the ruins of the mosque stand on this site). The *Mahātmya* states that Dharmaharī lies to the south-east of Candreharī, and is, like Candreharī, to be visited after a bath in *Svargadvāra svargadvāra nārāṇa nārāṇa dvāra dharmaharī vibhāṇa*.¹

The legend accounting for the origin of Dharmaharī is a replica of that of Candreharī. The only significant difference is that the visiting person is Dharmo. This Dharmo, after propitiating Vishnu, installed an idol of Hari with his own name prefixed.² The uniformity of the legends of origin along with the perfect symmetry of the two mosques built by Aurangzeb, which in their turn replaced two Vishnu temples both established by Ghaṇadevāli king, strongly suggests that the temple erected by Jayacandra was known to the *Mahātmya* under the name of Dharmaharī. Just as the two mosques on both ends of the *Svargadvāra ghāṭa* seem to have been a reflection of each other, so both Ghaṇadevāli Vishnu temples might originally have been counterparts.³ It seems possible that a king who was to become the last Hindu ruler of this part of India to defend his realm against the Muslims styled himself as an incarnation of Dharmo.

There are two more ancient (Vaiṣṇava) 'Hari-temples' mentioned in the AM. One of these, the Hariharī temple with the image of Candreharī, has already been noted above. The other one is Viṣṇuharī. The legend of this idol relates that in former days a Brahmin named Viṣṇuśarṇa came to Ayodhyā. Once there, he wished that Viṣṇu would also reside in the town: *ayodhyāyāgato viṣṇuḥ viṣṇuḥ adakṣaṇaṁ itī/ chintayān nārāṇaṁ vīras tūcāḥ karṇaḥ samudatāḥ*.⁴ Having thus

¹ AM 14.30. Cp. the identical phrase with respect to Candreharī (AM 10.44), quoted above.

² AM 14.22-23, 28: *etam uktaḥ tato dharmo devalevānā eadarān/ sthāpayamāna viḍitvā nāmā dharmaharīm vibhāṇa/ eanayastilāṇaṁ enavaḥ sūnā tadgatamānāḥ/ deṇam dharmaharīm paśyet ecarā-papāṭhā pramāṇatā/ ... atra sukāt suvāṇaḥ deḥ viṣṇuḥ mātāḥ sādaraḥ*.

³ The modern (insignificant) temple of Dharmaharī is a Vaiṣṇava sanctuary, but the main idol installed is that of Dharmarāja (Yama) and his scribe Citraguṇṭha. According to Carnegie 1870, p. VI, the temple was founded in c. AD 1645. The AM only speaks of Viṣṇu and Dharmo. AM does not contain any allusion to the identity of the latter with Dharmarāja. The Fyz. Gov. 174 reports the local tradition concerning the *Irutā ke Thākūr*: "it marked the place where Rāma performed a great sacrifice and set up images of himself and Sītā." This tradition is unknown to the AM and is evidently a later fabrication in view of the rest of the story. The '*Irutā ke Thākūr*' was reproduced (i.e. after the destruction by Aurangzeb), near the old ruin by the rāṇa of Kālu, whose estate is said to be in the Punjab, more than two centuries ago (that means before AD 1670, in the reign of Aurangzeb himself); "and it was improved upon afterwards by Hilla Bāt, Marāṭhī, who also built the adjoining ghat AD 1784. She was the widow of Jawant Rāj, Mulker, of Indora, from which family Rs. 231 are still annually received at this shrine." (Carnegie 1870:21). Nevill, in the Fyz. Gov., adds to this: "The ancient images were said to have been recovered from the river where they had been thrown by Aurangzeb, and were placed in the new *Irutā ke Mandir*." The same legend was already reported by Meritt in 1858 II, 357. Today several temples claim to possess ancient idols miraculously recovered from the river into which they were thrown by iconoclastic Muslims, but none of the examples I have seen deserve any serious attention. The whole legend of the so-called *Irutā ke Thākūr* speaks of the common trivial *pīṭhā* type.

⁴ In another (copper-plate) inscription of Jayacandra found near Faizābād this king styles himself an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa: *etam adbhutavīramād aṇṇa jayacandrabhīḍānāḥ pāṭhā bhāṣāṇa dvāṭīṇa eḥa bhūvāṇādhīpāṇa nārāyaṇaḥ* (Kielhorn 1886:11 (vs. 13)).

⁵ S 47, 50a-b. The OA reception has significantly changed the reading of S. Instead of *dharmāḥ sādakāḥ vādā itī* it reads: *dharmāḥ sādakāḥ sūvāṇaḥ* and it adds to this *tāpāṇaḥ tūcāḥ*. *dharmāḥ sādakāḥ sūvāṇaḥ sādakāḥ itī* (OA 47.5). The meaning of this alteration is obvious: according to the authors of OA Viṣṇu has lived in Ayodhyā from times immemorial. Besides, the Viṣṇuharī temple had no longer the same importance. This can also be seen from the structure of both resolutions: 2 places Viṣṇuharī as the very first *tīrthā* treated in the *Mahātmya*. In OA Viṣṇuharī is just one among others.

Of the original image only the upper part remains showing Viṣṇu with *kṛitaparashuta*, his upper right hand holding the club, and the upper left hand holding the discus. The fragment is about 30cm high and is very much eroded.

A fourth idol is kept in the Rāmaṣaṭṭha temple⁴ on the north side of the Gaṇṭadhāvanatūṇḍa.⁵ The image is in excellent condition notwithstanding the fact that it is said to have been found when one of the mounds along the *Śaṭṭasagarakṛpṇa*⁶ was levelled in c. AD 1935. This mound would have been about 550m due south of ruins of the western 'Aurangzeb mosque' (Candraheri). The idol represents one of the twenty-four forms of Viṣṇu, viz. Viṣṇu Trivikrama.⁷ It resembles the idol found in the Śitalā temple.

The fifth idol is kept in the Rāmaṣaṭṭha temple⁸, a new building in the centre of Ayodhyā to the north of the Gaṇṭadhāvanatūṇḍa. It is a short and stout image of 40cm high and 25cm broad, representing one of the twenty-four forms of Viṣṇu, viz. Viṣṇu Trivikrama.⁹

It would be unjustified to attribute any of these idols to one of the Vaiṣṇava sanctuaries mentioned above. Together with the evidence of these five sanctuaries, however, these archaeological data prove conclusively that Vaiṣṇavism had begun to establish itself in Ayodhyā in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It will have been noted that neither the literary evidence, with the possible exception of the temple on the Janmānādi, nor the archaeological evidence show traces of veneration of the Rāma cult of Viṣṇu in particular.

Not only in Ayodhyā but also in the surrounding countryside, the *Āgāras*, testimonies of new religious activity are found. At the Jagākūṇḍa¹⁰ near the village Bhāderwa, in the midst of the fields, a pedestal of a Śūrya image (75x60cm) was found. The central idol of Śūrya himself is missing but traces of his 'boots' (*padmāṣṭ*) still betray his original identity. This fragment dates from the close of the eleventh century. On both sides of the empty pedestal rise four fine but headless images of the attendants Gaṇḍa, Pīṇḍala, Uśā, and Pratyūṣā. This piece is among the finest sculpture found in Ayodhyākṣetrā. It presumably comes from the nearest Śūrya

¹ Besides this image fragment the temple preserves a fragment of the staly of a Viṣṇu idol (50x30cm). The fragment contains an elaborately sculptured *akṣa*, which was obviously held in the upper left hand of the original idol. Above the *akṣa* the staly shows a seated deity, possibly Brahmā. Two other figures in bas-relief are seated above him. Next to his (Brahmā's) head is a figure of a bird, perhaps representing the *garuḍa*. The style and material of both fragments lead one to assume that they have a common origin.

² AM 10.

³ See *id.* OAS 17, 193.

⁴ The image is 75cm high, of black granite, in haut-relief. The lower right hand of Viṣṇu shows the *paradandā*, the upper right hand holds the club, the upper left hand holds the *akṣa*, and the lower left hand the conch. Viṣṇu stands in *śambhāṅga* posture, his two attendants, Śrī and Satevati, both in *tribhāṅga*. On both sides of his head two reliefs are faintly discernible. Viṣṇu wears a *mukuta* and *prabhavālī*.

⁵ AM 15.

⁶ The style of this idol is somewhat different from that of the others. The lower right hand shows the *paradandā*, the upper right hand holds the club, the upper left hand the discus, and the lower left hand the conch. Viṣṇu is depicted in *śambhāṅga* pose, wearing *mukamāla* and *kṛitaparashuta*. On both sides of his head two male figures are seated, presumably Śiva and Brahmā. On both sides of his legs Śrī and Satevati (?) are standing. Behind these two female deities are two male figures in bas-relief, possibly the donors of the idol. The image is no longer worshipped. It was brought outside the temple to be photographed.

⁷ A pond 350m west of Varuṇagrāma and the Gaṇṭadhāvanatūṇḍa (cf. 14). See Map IV.

561

1202
18

sanctuary, the Ghosarkunda¹ in Garshan Nagar 14km north-east. The legend of this holy place in the S. recension of the AM tells the story of a king Ghosa who suffered from skin disease. After a wholesome bath in this pond and prayer of thanks to Śrīva, the god allowed the king to install his image bearing his name, Ghosarka: *raja bhaskaradevatham pavimartin smuttavān/ tatra samsthāpaya/ tatra puṣyamasa as svayam/ ghosarkakundam tāmāma tatra khyātām jagāma ha/*² The legend may be based on a historical event although a king or chieftain named Ghosa is not attested in other sources.

In Nandigrāma³ near the Jstākunda a temple architrave was found which had been driven into the ground. It possibly dates from the same period (11th/12th century).⁴ Excavations of B.B. Lal⁵ at and around Nandigrāma⁶ have shown that this site was possibly occupied from the early historical period onwards.⁷

A collection of idols and fragments of which two may date from the 11th or 12th century was found near the ruined Dugdhavara temple⁸ at Sītākunda 8km south of Nandigrāma. The two old pieces are a beautiful male torso of c.20cm and a female torso of black basalt of 20cm.⁹

Finally it may be noted that at least half of the archaeological pieces contained in the collection of the former Faizabad Museum (see I,34) date from the 11th and 12th centuries. Among them are an image of Viṣṇu (Trivikrama type) of grey stone and a black Jaina *tirthankara* (Sumatīnātha?) which contains an inscription on the pedestal featuring the date VS 1186.

We may now conclude our survey of archaeological material. The evidence shows that Ayachyā counted various holy places and sanctuaries at the eve of the Muslim rule, among which the Vaiṣṇava places held a prominent position and were beginning to outnumber the others. For the sake of convenience we may present our findings in a list of sanctuaries that existed before or during the 12th century. Pieces that possibly reach back to the tenth century or earlier are marked with an asterisk.

¹ AM 55.

² S 55.28-30a. Again the OA recension has made a significant change to the effect that the king is no longer explicitly credited with the installation of an idol. The name Ghosarkunda is replaced by Suryakunda.

³ AM 64.

⁴ The date was suggested with reservations by Professor van Lohuizen on the basis of a slide. The architrave protrudes 110cm above the ground. The sculpture on one of the sides shows several figures. It is found near the north-western corner of the Ghosarkunda, on the south side of the hermitage called Nandigrāma. According to the legend in the S recension a *mūrti* of Rāma was installed in this place by his brother Bharata (S 51.61). Today there is no specifically Rāmite temple at this place (cp. Intr. AM 84).

⁵ IAR 1976-77, 58: "The result of limited digging revealed a *cave* of antiquity, by and large, with Ayachyā. The site yielding such an evidence was especially the mound at Rāmti, on the south bank of the Tamasa, while the present day Nandigrāma is located on the northern bank." (cp. Intr. AM 84).

⁶ AM 86. See also I, 45.

⁷ The female torso must have had four arms. Both pieces were found amidst a heap of stones mixed with small fragments of sculpture on a kind of platform called the *ṭinga*. The temple of the *ṭinga* is completely ruined by the growth of a tree. Both fragments were very different from the other images found at this site, some of which date from the 13-17th centuries. A few pieces opposite of the ruined *ṭinga* temple are the ruins of the setting in which the old Viṣṇu idol was found (see I, 45).

Buddhist sanctuaries.

- A stupa at the site of the *Mani-Pargat* called *Mahāratha*, possibly erected in the Maurya period. Restored in the 5th century AD (see I, 15-18, 31).
- A stupa at the site of the *Kubertila* called *Nevaratha*. Possibly built in the 5th century AD (see I, 31-32).

Jaina sanctuaries.

- A temple dedicated to the saint *Muni Svratasvāmin*. Location not known (see I, 38).
- A temple dedicated to *Ādinātha* at the site of the *Shāh Jūrān* (115). Destroyed in AD 1104 (see I, 40, 50).

Bathing places on the Gomti River.

- *Isapretāra* in Faizābād Cantonment. Attested in 3rd-4th century AD (Māh. and Rām.) (see I, 41).
- *Svargadvāra* in the north of Ayodhyā. Attested in an inscription of AD 1098 (see I, 51).
- *Cakretīrtha*. The bathing place adjacent to the Vishnu temple (see I, 53f.).

Yoga shrines.

- *Surāṣa*. (Surāṣya attested in the Jaina canon on the north side of the Rāmūt, possibly standing on the old city wall. Location no longer known (see I, 47f.).
- *Mattagajendra*. Attested in the beginning of the 14th century in the *Śiṣhakaṇḍa*. Standing on the old city wall (see I, 48).
- *Pinḍāraka*. Standing next to *Mattagajendra* on the old city wall (see I, 48).
- *Pāṇmīya*. Attested in the Jaina canon. Located in a park *Uttarakūṭa* in the west of *Sāketa* (see I, 47).

Naga sanctuaries.

- *Naga* temple in the north of *Sāketa*, presumably at the site of the *tīrtha* *Sahasraśārā*. Attested in the Jaina canon (see I, 46f.).
- Two images of *Naga* deities found in Punnad (i.e. the *tīrtha* *Puṇyāhari*) dating from the 8th-10th century (see I, 47).

Sacred trees.

- The toothbrush-tree reported by Fa Hsien (AD 418). Possibly located in the vicinity of the *Dantadhāvanakūṇḍa* (see I, 37, 48).

Sāketa sanctuaries.

- *Manāvidyā*. On the southern outskirts of Ayodhyā (see I, 46).
- *Śitalā*. In Faizābād (see I, 46).
- *Bandī*. On the road between Ayodhyā and Faizābād (see I, 46).
- *Kuṇḍevī*. Location unknown. Only mentioned in TP (see I, 48).

Solar sanctuary.

- Temple at the *Śaṣṭhākūṇḍa*. Archaeological evidence from the ruins of the 11th century. In the village *Harshan Nager* (see I, 46f.).

Śaiva sanctuaries.

- *Bilvatīrtha*. Archaeological evidence from the 14th-15th century. On the bank of the *Gomati* near the village *Pura Barar* (formerly *Jalaluddinagar*) (see I, 43).
- *Śaivara*. Near *Pinḍāraka* in the centre of Ayodhyā. Present location unknown (see I, 43).

563

120 E 1
20

1. *Deity*. Location uncertain. Date uncertain. See 1.43.
2. *Vishnu*. Located at Srikandha, possibly standing on the old city wall. See 1.43.
3. *Uggesvara*. At the Srikandha near Beringali. Archaeological evidence (11th-12th century). See 1.53f.
- Vaishnava Sanctuaries:
4. *Temple on the Jambhachumi*. Archaeological evidence from the 10th-11th century. See 1.43-44.
5. *Temple at Srikandha opposite of the Uggesvara Linga shrine*. Vishnu Linga dating from c. AD 1000. See 1.45.
6. *Harishchandra temple with 1001 Gopichari*. In the Gopichandra compound. Archaeological evidence from the 10th-12th century. See 1.45.
7. *Vishnuhari temple at the bathing place Chakratirtha*. See 1.53f.
8. *Chandrabati temple at the west end of the Svargesvara phata*. Possibly attested in an inscription of AD 1093. Replaced by a mosque in the time of Aurangzeb. See 1.51f.
9. *Vaishnava temple, possibly Chakrabati*, at the east end of the Svargesvara phata. Erected in AD 1185 by Jayachandra (inscription). Replaced by a mosque in the time of Aurangzeb. See 1.52f.
10. *Hermitage*. Hermitage annex to Chakratirtha near the village of Bhudaria. Archaeological evidence perhaps dating from the 11th-12th centuries. See 1.53f.

The last Hindu king ruling independently over Ayodhya, Jayachandra, had to face increasingly Muslim power. The first vehement attacks on Muhammad Ghori were suffered by his nephew Prithviraj of Ajmer, but when the latter lost the decisive battle of Tarain (AD 1192) Jayachandra was doomed to become the next victim. In AD 1193 Muhammad bin Tughlaq with fifty thousand cavalry, against the Chahavans, and was met by Jayachandra near Chanderwar on the Yamuna, between Etah and Kanauj. A hard contest followed, and Jayachandra was well-nigh killed a victim, when he received a deadly wound from an arrow and fell. His forces were broken into confusion and the lucky invader turned it into a rout. An orgy of extensive and ruthless massacre, rapine and pillage followed. Temples and shrines were razed to the ground and the ill-gotten treasures, treasures and the fort of Kanauj which contained the treasury of the Chahavans were the first to be looted. One thousand temples are said to have been destroyed at Benares alone, and mosques raised in their place. This victory added extensive territory in Aligarh, as far east as Benares and Chanderwar, to the dominions of the conqueror. It was presumably on this occasion that an officer of the army of Muhammad Ghori, Qasim Khan, came to Ayodhya and destroyed the Jalina temple of Adishakti. There are no positive indications that other Hindu sanctuaries were devastated at the time then. As we have seen, the three most important Vaishnava sanctuaries like the temples at the Svargesvara phata and the Chandrabati temple were replaced by mosques only later in the time of the Great Mogul.

The victory of Chanderwar did not immediately lend it firm and undisputed authority of Muslim power over the region around Ayodhya. Local resistance was being organized and some to the town at times very strong. We are informed about this period by the chronicle of Minhaj-us-Sala.

564

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The Alvars and Nambis, continued

54

the *Alvandar-Padma*. Only in AD 1226 when Nelli Nelli Lakshmi, son of the third Nambis, ruler of Nellore, was appointed governor of Ayath, made residence at Ayath. The governor succeeded in overthrowing "the usurper Nambis" (1) about whose name and sword were then one hundred and twenty thousand "Ayath" and received his throne. He overthrew the rebel infidels of Ayath and brought a host of them into submission. Before, the governors of Ayath seem to have retained only nominal allegiance to the local Hindu Rajas. They were Ayath's "as a base for the extension of their territory, further east".

With the definite establishment of Muslim rule over the area we have arrived at a new historical period. The political history of this age is mainly to be learned from Arabic, Persian and Turkish sources. Since I have no command over any of these three languages, I have to wait for a detailed investigation of these centuries. An outline of the political history will be found in the *New Encyclopaedia Britannica* pp. 42-44. We shall confine ourselves mainly to the religious history of Ayath, and refer only to political circumstances when these are significant or informative with regard to developments in the religious sphere. In order to understand the developments in Ayath it is necessary to pay attention to a preliminary historical background which applies to the whole of southern India for the whole of the 13th and 14th centuries. We have to go back to the early and middle part of the 13th century of the Islamic era.

Alvandar-Padma, B.M. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

of the Tretāyuga' (i.e. Rāmacandra), but the Sanskrit name is not attested in any written source.

The AM does not mention another Viṣṇu temple at this place (on top of the Svargadvāra *ghāṭa*), unless formerly a Dharmaharī temple (at present there is a temple of that name c.500m to the south-east of the ruins of the mosque) stood on this site. The Māhātmya states that Dharmaharī lies to the south-east of Candrahari, and is, like Candrahari, to be visited after a bath in Svargadvāra: *svargadvāre narah snātvā dr̥ṣṭvā dharmaharim vibhūm*.¹

The legend accounting for the origin of Dharmaharī is a replica of that of Candrahari. The only significant difference is that the visiting person is Dharma. This Dharma, after propitiating Viṣṇu, installed an idol of Hari with his own name prefixed.² The uniformity of the legends of origin along with the perfect symmetry of the two mosques built by Aurangzeb, which in their turn replaced two Viṣṇu temples both established by Gāhaḍavāla kings, strongly suggests that the temple erected by Jayacandra was known to the Māhātmya under the name of Dharmaharī. Just as the two mosques on both ends of the Svargadvāra *ghāṭa* seem to have been a reflection of each other, so both Gāhaḍavāla Viṣṇu temples might originally have been counterparts.³ It seems possible that a king who was to become the last Hindu ruler of this part of India to defend his realm against the *mlecchas* styled himself as an incarnation of Dharma.⁴

There are two more ancient (Vaiṣṇava) 'Hari-temples' mentioned in the AM. One of these, the Harismṛti temple with the image of Guptaharī, has already been noted above. The other one is Viṣṇuharī. The legend of this idol relates that in former days a Brahmin named Viṣṇuśarma came to Ayodhyā. Once there, he wished that Viṣṇu would also reside in the town: *ayodhyām āgato viṣṇur viṣṇuḥ sākṣād vased iti/ cintayan manasā vīras tapah kartum samudyatah*.⁵ Having thus

¹ AM 14.30. Cp. the identical phrase with respect to Candrahari (AM 10.44), quoted above.

² AM 14.22-23.28ab: *evam uktas tato dharmo devadevena sādaram/ ethāpayānāsa viḍhivan nāmā dharmaharim vibhūm/ sarayusalile snātvā śucis tadgatamānasah/ devam dharmaharim paśyet sarva-pāpāḥ pramucyate/ ... atra sākṣāt svayam devo viṣṇur vasati sādarah*.

³ The modern (insignificant) temple of Dharmaharī is a Vaiṣṇava sanctuary, but the main idol installed is that of Dharmarāja (Yama) and his scribe Citragupta. According to Carnegie 1870, p.VI the temple was founded in c.AD 1845. The AM only speaks of Viṣṇu and Dharma and does not contain any allusion to the identity of the latter with Dharmarāja. The Fyz.Gaz.174 reports the local tradition concerning the Tretā ke Thākūr: "it marked the place where Rāma performed a great sacrifice and set up images of himself and Sītā." This tradition is unknown to the AM and is evidently a later fabrication in view of the rest of the story: "The 'Tretā-ke-Thākūr' was reproduced" (i.e. after the destruction by Aurangzeb) "near the old ruin by the rāja of Kālu, whose estate is said to be in the Punjab, more than two centuries ago" (that means before AD 1670, in the reign of Aurangzeb himself); "and it was improved upon afterwards by Hillā Bāi, Marathin, who also built the adjoining ghat AD 1784. She was the widow of Jaswant Rai, Holkar, of Indore, from which family Rs. 231 are still annually received at this shrine." (Carnegie 1870, 21). Nevill, in the Fyz.Gaz., adds to this: "The ancient images were said to have been recovered from the river where they had been thrown by Aurangzeb, and were placed in the new Tretā-ke-Mandir." The same legend was already reported by Martin 1836 II, 337. Today several temples claim to possess ancient idols miraculously recovered from the river into which they were thrown by iconoclastic Muslims, but none of the examples I have seen deserve any serious attention. The whole legend of the so-called Tretā ke Thākūr smacks of the common trivial *pīa fraus*.

⁴ In another (copper-plate) inscription of Jayacandra found near Faizābād this king styles himself an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa: *taśmād adbhutavikramād atha jayacandrābhīdhānaḥ patir bhū-pānām avatīrma eṣa bhuvanoddhārāya nārāyaṇaḥ* (Kielhorn 1886, 11 (vs.13)).

⁵ S 47.5cd-6ab. The OA recension has significantly changed the reading of S. Instead of *viṣṇuḥ sākṣād vased iti* it reads: *viṣṇum dr̥ṣṭvāmanah svayam/* and it adds to this: *tapasā toṣi/ viṣṇuḥ sākṣād dr̥ṣṭvā bhaved iti* (OA 47.5). The meaning of this alteration is obvious: according to the authors of OA Viṣṇu has lived in Ayodhyā from times immemorial. Besides, the Viṣṇuharī temple had no longer the same importance. This can also be seen from the structure of both recensions: S places Viṣṇuharī as the very first *tīrtha* treated in the Māhātmya. In OA Viṣṇuharī is just one among others.

propitiated Viṣṇu the latter allowed an idol of himself to be installed by Viṣṇuśarmaṇ with the latter's forename prefixed to his own: *iti śrutvā vaco vipro vāsudevasya buddhimān/ svanāma-pūrvikāṃ mūrtīm athāpayāṇāśa cakrīṇaḥ// tataḥprabhṛti vipreṣa śaikhacakragadādharaḥ/ pīṭavāsāś caturbāhur nāmā viṣṇuhamiḥ sthitaḥ//*¹ This legend might have been the archetype of the legends of Candrahari and Dharmahari. According to the S recension of the AM Viṣṇuhari is the first Viṣṇu idol installed in Ayodhyā. The Māhātmya locates the temple on the bank of the Sarayū adjacent to the bathing place called Cakratīrtha. Today no trace of this temple is to be found. Local tradition has it that it was completely destroyed by a flood of the Sarayū river. A house c.350m from the site that is today recognized as Cakratīrtha, contains a four-armed Viṣṇu idol that dates from the eleventh or twelfth century (see below).

In conclusion we may say that there is evidence for the existence of five Viṣṇu temples in Ayodhyā in the twelfth century: 1) Harismṛti (Guptahari) at the Gopratāra *ghāt*, 2) Viṣṇuhari at the Cakratīrtha *ghāt*, 3) Candrahari on the west side of the Svargadvāra *ghāts*, 4) Dharmahari on the east side of the Svargadvāra *ghāts*, 5) a Viṣṇu temple on the Janmabhūmi. Three of these temples have been replaced by mosques and one was swept away by the Sarayū. The fate of the fifth is unknown but the site is occupied today by a new Gupta-hari/Cakra-hari temple.

During fieldwork in Ayodhyā I found 5 Viṣṇu idols that belong to the eleventh or twelfth century.

One of these idols is kept in the new Śitalā temple complex in Faizābād², c.6km south-east of the Gopratāra *ghāt*. It stands in one of the side niches outside the *garbhagrha* and is, along with the idol preserved in the *math* near the Dantadhāvanakuṇḍa (see below), the most elegant and best preserved of the five. It represents one of the 'twenty-four forms' (*caturvīṃśatīmūrtayaḥ*) of Viṣṇu, viz. Viṣṇu Adhokṣaja.³

The second idol is kept in a house situated at the holy place of Vāmadeva⁴, c.350m north of Cakratīrtha. The image is a rectangular relief in a dark stone c.75cm high. The two upper arms are broken off.⁵

The third idol is kept in a new and insignificant building which styles itself as Vidyādevī Mandir. It stands on the south side of the Vidyākuṇḍa⁶, on the southern outskirts of Ayodhyā.

¹ S. 47.33-34.

² AM 58.

³ This and the following classifications are according to a survey given in *Agnīpurāṇa* and *Rāpamandana* (see Desai 1973, 151). The idol in the Śitalā temple is 74cm high, of dark or black stone, standing in a *stele*. The lower right hand holds a lotus (?), the upper right hand the club, the upper left hand the conch, and the lower left hand the discus. Viṣṇu stands in *śambhāṅga* posture, his two acolytes, Śrī and Sarasvatī, on both sides have *tribhāṅga* pose. On both sides of his head are two celestials. Viṣṇu wears *dhōṭī*, *vanamālā*, and *kīrīṭamakuta*, around which is a *prabhāvalī*. The idol is still an object of *pūjā*. The forehead is marked with a red *tīlaka*. The image is similar to the one found in the Dantadhāvana *math* (see below). How and from where this beautiful image arrived here is not known. The Śitalā temple is well endowed.

⁴ AM 48. This *tīrtha* seems to have been always of secondary importance.

⁵ The lower right hand shows the *varadamudrā*, the lower left hand holds the conch. Viṣṇu stands in *tribhāṅga* posture. He wears a *dhōṭī*, *vanamālā*, and *kīrīṭamakuta*. The *stele* does not contain celestials, *prabhāvalī*, or other ornamentations, but shows a devotee (Garuda ?) in the left lower corner. Next to this Viṣṇu idol is placed a free standing 19th century idol of a goddess, by some said to represent Śītā. Both idols are still objects of *pūjā* but no pilgrims or devotees seem to visit the place.

⁶ AM 33.

Of the original image only the upper part remains showing Viṣṇu with *kirīṭamakuta*, his upper right hand holding the club, and the upper left hand holding the discus. The fragment is about 30cm high and is very much eroded.¹

A fourth idol is kept in the Rāmānujī *math* on the north side of the Dantadhāvanakūṇḍa.² The image is in excellent condition notwithstanding the fact that it is said to have been found when one of the mounds along the Saptasāgarakūṇḍa³ was levelled in c.AD 1935. This mound would have been about 550m due south of ruins of the western 'Aurangzeb mosque' (Candrahari). The idol represents one of the twenty-four forms of Viṣṇu, viz. Viṣṇu Trivikrama.⁴ It resembles the idol found in the Śitālā temple.

The fifth idol is kept in the Rēmasaphā temple⁵, a new building in the centre of Ayodhyā the north of the Dantadhāvanā *math*. It is a short and stout image of 40cm high and 25cm broad representing one of the twenty-four forms of Viṣṇu, viz. Viṣṇu Trivikrama.⁶

It would be unjustified to attribute any of these idols to one of the Vaiṣṇava sanctuaries mentioned above. Together with the evidence of these five sanctuaries, however, these archaeological data prove conclusively that Vaiṣṇavism had begun to establish itself in Ayodhyā in eleventh and twelfth centuries. It will have been noted that neither the literary evidence, with the possible exception of the temple on the Janmabhūmi, nor the archaeological evidence show traces of veneration of the Rāma *avatāra* of Viṣṇu in particular.

Not only in Ayodhyā but also in the surrounding countryside, the *kṣetra*, testimonies of religious activity are found. At the Jātākūṇḍa⁷ near the village Bhadarse, in the midst of the fields, a pedestal of a Sūrya image (70x80cm) was found. The central idol of Sūrya himself is missing but traces of his 'boots' (*upānat*) still betray his original identity. This fragment dates from the close of the eleventh century. On both sides of the empty pedestal rise four fine but headless images of the attendants Daṇḍa, Piṅgala, Ūṣā, and Pratyūṣā. This place is among the finest sculpture found in Ayodhyākṣetra. It presumably comes from the nearest Sūry

¹ Besides this image fragment the temple preserves a fragment of the stele of a Viṣṇu idol (60x30cm). The fragment contains an elaborately sculptured *cakra*, which was obviously held in the upper left hand of the original idol. Above the *cakra* the stele shows a seated deity, possibly Brahmā. Two other figures in bas-relief are seated above him. Next to his (Brahmā's) head is a figure of a bird, perhaps representing the *hansa*. The style and material of both fragments lead one to assume that they have a common origin.

² AM 16.

³ See *ad* OAS 17.15c.

⁴ The image is 75cm high, of black granite, in haut-relief. The lower right hand of Viṣṇu shows the *varadamudrā*, the upper right hand holds the club, the upper left hand holds the discus and the lower left hand the conch. Viṣṇu stands in *śamabhaṅga* posture, his two attendants, Śrī and Sarasvatī, both in *tribhaṅga*. On both sides of his head two celestials are faintly discernible. Viṣṇu wears a *mukuta* and *prabhāvalī*.

⁵ AM 15.

⁶ The style of this idol is somewhat different from that of the others. The lower right hand shows the *varadamudrā*, the upper right hand holds the club, the upper left hand the discus, the lower left hand the conch. Viṣṇu is depicted in *śamabhaṅga* pose, wearing: *vanamālā* and *kirīṭamakuta*. On both sides of his head two male figures are seated, presumably Śiva and Brahmā. On both sides of his legs Śrī and Sarasvatī (?) are standing. Behind these two female deities are two male figures in bas-relief, possibly the donors of the idol. The image is no longer worshipped. It was brought outside the temple to be photographed.

⁷ A pond 350m west of Nandigrāma and the Bharatekūṇḍa (AM 64). See Map IV.

sanctuary, the Ghosārkakūṇḍa¹ in Darshan Nagar 14km north-east. The legend of this holy place in the S-recension of the AM tells the story of a king Ghosā who suffered from skin-disease. After a wholesome bath in this pond and a prayer of thanks to Sūryā, the god allowed the king to install his image bearing his name, Ghosārka: *rāja bhāskaradehotthām ravimūrtim anuttamāṃ tatra samsthāpayāmāsa pūjayāmāsa ca evaṃam// ghosārkakūṇḍam tannānā tatra khyātim jagāna ha*. The legend may be based on a historical event although a king or chieftain named Ghosā is not attested in other sources.

In Nandigrāma² near the Jātākūṇḍa a temple architrave was found which had been driven into the ground. It possibly dates from the same period (11th-12th century).³ Excavations of B.B. Lal 'at and around Nandigrāma' have shown that this site was possibly occupied from the early historical period onwards.⁴

A collection of idols and fragments of which two may date from the 11th or 12th century was found near the ruined Dugdhēśvara temple⁵ at Sītākūṇḍa 8km south of Nandigrāma. The two old pieces are a beautiful male torso of c.20cm and a female torso of black basalt of 20cm.⁶

Finally it may be noted that at least half of the archaeological pieces contained in the collection of the former Faizābād Museum (see I, 34) date from the 11th and 12th centuries. Among them are an image of Viṣṇu (Trivikrama type) of grey stone and a black Jaina *tīrthāṅkara* (Sumatinātha?) which contains an inscription on the pedestal featuring the date VS 1168.

We may now conclude our survey of archaeological material. The evidence shows that Ayodhyā counted various holy places and sanctuaries at the eve of the Muslim rule among which the Vaiṣṇava places held a prominent position and were beginning to outnumber the others. For the sake of convenience we may present our findings in a list of sanctuaries that existed before or during the 12th century. Places that possibly reach back to the tenth century or earlier are marked with an asterisk.

¹ AM 55.

² S 55.29-30ab. Again the OA recension has made a significant change to the effect that the king is no longer explicitly credited with the installation of an idol. The name Ghosārkakūṇḍa is replaced by Sūryakūṇḍa.

³ AM 64.

⁴ The date was suggested with reservations by Professor van Lohuizen on the basis of a stela. The architrave protrudes 110cm above the ground. The sculpture on one of the sides shows seven figures. It is found near the north-western corner of the Bharatakūṇḍa, on the south side of the hermitage called Nandigrāma. According to the legend in the S-recension a *mūrti* of Rāma installed in this place by his brother Bharata (S 64.6). Today there is no specifically Rāma temple at this place (cp. Intr. AM 64).

⁵ IAR 1976-77, 53: "The result of limited digging revealed a coeval antiquity, by and large with Ayodhyā. The site yielding such an evidence was especially the mound at Rahet, on the south bank of the Yamunā, while the present-day Nandigram is located on the northern bank." (cp. Intr. AM 64).

⁶ AM 68. See also I, 45.

⁷ The female torso must have had four arms. Both pieces were found amidst a heap of stone mixed with small fragments of sculpture on a kind of platform before the *līṅga*. The temple of the *līṅga* is completely ruined by the growth of a tree. Both fragments were very different from the other images found at this site, some of which date from the 16-17th centuries. A few paces opposite of the ruined *līṅga* temple are the ruins of the shrine in which the old Viṣṇu idol was found (see I, 45).

Buddhist sanctuaries.

- *-- A *stūpa* at the site of the *Mani-Parbat* called *Mahāratna*, possibly erected in the Maurya period. Restored in the 5th century AD (see I, 15-18, 31).
- *-- A *stūpa* at the site of the *Kubertīlā* called *Navarātna*. Possibly built in the 5th century AD (see I, 31-32).

Jaina sanctuaries.

- *-- A temple dedicated to the saint *Muni Suvratasvāmin*. Location not known (see I, 36).
- *-- A temple dedicated to *Ādinātha* at the site of the *Shāh Jurān Tīlā*. Destroyed in AD 1194 (see I, 40, 58).

Bathing ghāts on the Sarayū river.

- *-- *Gopratāra* in *Faizābād* Cantonment. Attested in 3rd-4th century AD (*Mbh.* and *Rām.*) (see I, 41).
- *-- *Svargadvāra* in the north of *Ayodhyā*. Attested in an inscription of AD 1093 (see I, 51).
- *Dakṣatīrtha*. The bathing place adjacent to the *Viṣṇuhari* temple (see I, 53f.).

Yaksa shrines.

- *-- *Surāpā*. (*Surappiya* attested in the Jaina canon) on the north side of the *Rāmkoṭ*, possibly standing on the old city wall. Location no longer known (see I, 47f.).
- *-- *Mattagajendra*. Attested in the beginning of the 14th century in the *Tīrthakalpa*. Standing on the old city wall (see I, 48).
- *-- *Pinḍāraka*. Standing next to *Mattagajendra* on the old city wall (see I, 48).
- *-- *Pāsamiya*. Attested in the Jaina canon. Located in a park *Uttarakuru* in the east of *Sāketa* (see I, 47).

Nāga sanctuaries.

- *-- *Nāga* temple in the north of *Sāketa*, presumably at the site of the *tīrtha* *Sahasradhārī*. Attested in the Jaina canon (see I, 48f.).
- *-- Two images of *nāga* deities found in *Punhad* (i.e. the *tīrtha* *Puṇyahari*) dating from the 9th-10th century (see I, 47).

Sacred Tree.

- *-- The toothbrush-tree reported by *Fahsien* (AD 410). Possibly located in the vicinity of the *Dantadhāvanakunḍa* (see I, 37, 48).

Śākta sanctuaries.

- *Mahāvidyā*. On the southern outskirts of *Ayodhyā* (see I, 48).
- *Śītālā*. In *Faizābād* (see I, 48).
- *Bandī*. On the road between *Ayodhyā* and *Faizābād* (see I, 48).
- *Kunḍavī*. Location unknown. Only mentioned in *TP* (see I, 46).

Solar sanctuary.

- Temple at the *Ghoṣārkekunḍa*. Archaeological evidence from the close of the 11th century. In the village *Darshan Nagar* (see I, 55f.).

Śaiva sanctuaries.

- *-- *Bilvatīrtha*. Archaeological evidence from the 10th-11th century. On the bank of the *Sarayū* near the village *Pura Bazar* (formerly *Jalaluddinagar*) (see I, 43).
- *Bhairava*. Near *Pinḍāraka* in the centre of *Ayodhyā*. Present location unknown (see I, 47).



- Batuka. Location unknown. Varie lectio in S for Kuṇḍavī (see I, 43).
- Viṅṇeśa. Next to Piṇḍāraka, possibly standing on the old city wall (see I, 43).
- Dugdhāśvara at the Sitākūṇḍa near Darābgañj. Archaeological evidence (11th-12th century) (see I, 56).

Vaiṣṇava sanctuaries.

- *-- Temple on the Janmabhūmi. Archaeological evidence from the 10th-11th century (see I, 43-44).
- *-- Temple at Sitākūṇḍa opposite of the Dugdhāśvara *linga* shrine. Viṣṇu idol dating from c.AD 1000 (see I, 45).
- *-- Herismṛti temple with idol Guptaharī. In the Gopratāra compound. Archaeological evidence from the 10th-12th century (see I, 45).
- Viṣṇuharī temple at the bathing place Cakretīrtha (see I, 53f.).
- Candrahārī temple at the west end of the Svargadvāra *ghāṭa*. Possibly attested in an inscription of AD 1093. Replaced by a mosque in the time of Aurangzeb (see I, 51f.).
- Vaiṣṇava temple, possibly Dharmahārī, at the east end of the Svargadvāra *ghāṭa*. Erected in AD 1184 by Jayacandra (inscription). Replaced by a mosque in the time of Aurangzeb (see I, 52f.).
- Nandigrāma. Hermitage annexe tank (Bharatakūṇḍa) near the village of Bhadarsa. Archaeological evidence perhaps dating from the 11th-12th centuries (see I, 56).

The last Hindu king ruling independently over Ayodhyā, Jayacandra, had to face increasing Muslim power. The first vehement attacks of Mu^cizz-ud-dīn Muhammad Ghūrī were suffered by his enemy Prthvīrāja of Ajmer, but when the latter lost the decisive battle of Tarain (AD 1192) Jayacandra was doomed to become the next victim: "In AD 1193 Mu^cizz-ud-dīn marched with fifty thousand cavalry against the Gāhadvālas, and was met by Jayachandra near Chandawar on the Yamunā, between Etawah and Kanauj. A hard contest followed, and Jayachandra had well nigh scored a victory, when he received a deadly wound from an arrow and fell. His force was thrown into confusion and the lucky invader turned it into a rout. An orgy of extensive and ruthless massacre, rapine and pillage followed. Temples and shrines were razed to the ground and relieved of their fabulous treasures. Banaras and the fort of Asni which contained the treasury of the Gāhadvālas were the first to be occupied. One thousand temples are said to have been destroyed at Banaras alone, and mosques raised in their place. This victory added extensive territory in Hindustān, as far east as Banaras and Chandrāvati, to the dominions of the conqueror."¹ It was presumably on this occasion that an officer of the army of Muhammad Ghūrī, Makhdūm Shāh Jurān Ghūrī, came to Ayodhyā and destroyed the Jaina temple of Ādinātha. There are no positive indications that other Hindu sanctuaries were devastated at the same time. As we have seen, the three most important Vaiṣṇava sanctuaries (the two temples at the Svargadvāra *ghāṭa*, and the Janmabhūmi temple) were replaced by mosques much later in the time of the Great Moguls.

The victory of Chandawar did not immediately lead to firm and undisputed authority of Muslim power over the region around Ayodhyā. Local resistance was being organized and seems to have been at times very strong. We are informed about this period by the chronicle of Minhāj-ud-dīn,

¹ HCI V, 119.

the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*. Only in AD 1226 when Malik Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, son of the third Mamlūk Sultan of Delhi Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish, was appointed governor of Avadh, Hindu resistance suffered a severe blow. The governor succeeded in overthrowing "the accursed Bartuh (?) under whose hands and sword more than one hundred and twenty thousand Muslims had received martyrdom. He overthrew the rebel infidels of Oudh and brought a body of them into submission."¹ Before, the governors of Avadh seem to have obtained only nominal allegiance of the local Hindu Rajas. They used Ayodhyā "as a base for the extension of their territory further east".²

With the definite establishment of Muslim rule over the town we have arrived at a new historical period. The political history of this age is mainly to be learned from Arabic, Persian and Turkish sources. Since I have no command over any of these three languages, I have to desist from a detailed investigation of these centuries. An outline of the political history will be found in the New Faizābād Gazetteer pp. 42-64. We shall confine ourselves mainly to the religious history of Ayodhyā, and refer only to political circumstances when these are significant or informative with regard to developments in the religious sphere. In order to understand these developments in Ayodhyā it is necessary to pay attention to a phenomenon within Hinduism that would appear to become of paramount importance for the history of the town as a holy place. For this we have to go back in time again and conceive of the rise of the cult of Rāma within the Vaiṣṇava faith.

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, EHI II, 328f.

² Faiz. Gaz. 42.

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Even before the conception of Lord Viṣṇu's avatāra was fully consolidated, that is in the period when his manifestations were still commonly designated by the verb *pradurbhū* and its nominal derivative *pradurbhāva*, Rāma too of Dāśaratha was reckoned among these *āvatārāṇaṃ*.¹ Gradually the new terminology derived from the verb *avatāra* came to be used to refer to the act of god descending to earth. From the outset, this choice of expression implied not only the loss of putative historicity, but also of omniscience for mankind, namely to free the world from a terrible threat.² Thus the Mbh.³ says of Kṛṣṇa that "for the sake of the destruction of the wicked and to protect the Dharma he" (Kṛṣṇa) descended to earth (*advaita*) and was born as a human being in the house of Yāu." *4*

In the period AD 200 to 400 this concept came to be applied to another mythical figure, viz. Rāma, Prince of Ayodhyā. The RV. version of the story of Rāma, the *Rāmopākhyāna*, says of his divine origin: "for that reason (scil. the destruction of Rāvaṇa) four-armed Viṣṇu has descended (*avatāra*) to earth at my (Dāśaratha's) behest. This greatest of slayers shall carry out this deed."⁵ The same idea is expressed in the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as Viṣṇu is urged to assume human shape: "Incarnate in the form of man (*anupūjya* *manuṣya* *ādhīya*) and kill Rāvaṇa in combat!"⁶ In response Viṣṇu appears (*pradurbhū*)⁷ in the form of Dāśaratha's sacrifice and offers his son (historically extracted at a golden vessel filled with rice-milk, *pāyasa*) to Dāśaratha in order to transmit it to his consort and so beget a divine son by Kausalyā.⁸ That in the 4th century AD, at least, the identity of Rāma with Hārīyaśa (and of Sītā with Lakṣmī) had found acceptance is evident from a play of the Sanskrit poet Bhaṭṭa which dramatises an episode of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Abhaya-kṛmāṇḍa* 4.72-14, 5.27-31).

The recurrence of the verb *avatāra* in the *Rāmopākhyāna* and its absence in the *Bālakāṇḍa* leave Hacker to believe that the Mbh. version of the story is later than the first book of the Rām.⁹ The absence of the word *avatāra* in the *Rāmāyaṇa* might, however, be mere coincidence, especially since the problem of Viṣṇu's incarnation is worked out in more detail and along different lines. Several arguments in favour of an earlier date of the *Rāmopākhyāna* have been advanced by Brockington.¹⁰ Leaving aside the vexed problem of which originated first, we can safely assume that both versions of the story, the *Bālakāṇḍa* and the *Rāmopākhyāna*, were composed in about the same period.¹¹ Throughout this period the other verb *pradurbhū* was in use when

¹ See Hacker 1960.
² Mbh. 12.326.75-81 (*Varaṇasīyapāraṇa*). Pp. 62-64.
³ Hacker 1960, 537.
⁴ Mbh. (Bose) 3.272.71 (Crit. ed. vol. IV pp. 1.27.1.634). A similar idea is already expressed in the *Bhāgavadgītā* 4.7-8, although the verb *avatāra* is not yet used.
⁵ Mbh. 3.280.5.
⁶ Mbh. 3.15.2.
⁷ Mbh. 3.15.5.
⁸ Mbh. 4.17.61 *kausalīyāyamaṇḍaṁ rāmaṁ dīpālakṣaṇaṁ pāyasaṁ dāśarathya mahatāṅgaṁ putraṁ* *śaśāṇḍaṁ*.
⁹ Hacker 1960, 57.
¹⁰ Brockington 1976, Co. Introduction of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the Rām. pp. 70-71.
¹¹ Besides other arguments that make his earlier date very unlikely, it may be noted that the *Bālakāṇḍa* 11.6, a substantial section of the Devanāgarī MS, the complete Southern recension, and all the commentaries contain the herescope of Rāma's birth, which corresponds exactly with 15th of March AD 200 (see Farver's *Upaniṣads* 1679). A remembrance of whom seems to be Kāśīnāth's

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The origin of devotion to Rāma in the Vaidya

the various manifestations of Viṣṇu, including Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, were referred to. The more specific terminology using the word *devatā* could be employed for a hierarchical designation of god and goddess, especially in ritual form, who descended for the sake of the devotee in the world of man. The nominal derivative *devatā* gradually replaced the term *pratyakṣa* from the time of Kālidāsa onwards.

As has been noted above the deification of Rāma runs parallel with a sanctification of the city of Mysore. In the first half of the fifth century the identity of Śrīrāma and Viṣṇu was an established fact: Kālidāsa uses both names synonymously and regards Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.¹

The same period provides us with archaeological data that bear testimony to the existence of a cult of veneration of the Rāma incarnation of Viṣṇu. A charter of the Vāṇikāśaka (Prabhavāṭigopā) was issued "from the feet of the Lord of Rāmagiri".² In another inscription this modern princeling bestowed the patronage of some villages to a Vaiṣṇava teacher (śāstrī).³ After these had been offered (ritually) to the "feet of the Lord".⁴ Both inscriptions endorse the view that a sanctuary dedicated to Rāma was situated on top of the Rāmagiri hill, possibly comprising the footprints (*padā*) of the Lord (Śāstrī). Specifically under the Rāma (Śāstrī) these footprints of the action of the Rāma (Śāstrī) are referred to as *Rāmagiri*.⁵ The same author also mentions a kind of tank in the neighbourhood of the Rāmagiri that was dedicated to Śrī. The allegiance of the poet to the court of Prabhavāṭi Gupta's brother and nephew (Kumāravarman I and Śaṅkhaśekhara) makes an identification of the Rāmagiri of the Vāṇikāśaka with the Rāmagiri near the Vāṇikāśaka (Vaidya) in the Mysore district about 30 km. N.E. of Mysore, from where those charters were issued, all the more likely.⁶ This hill is known today as Rāmagiri and contains several old Vaiṣṇava sanctuaries, including a temple dedicated to Rāmacandra.⁷

The son of Prabhavāṭigopā, Prabhavāṭi II, is credited with the authorship of the *Pravṛtta Rāma Setubandha*.⁸ In this work, which relates the story of Rāma, the latter is portrayed identical with Viṣṇu rather than merely one of his incarnations.⁹ The name *Pravṛtta Rāma* had a temple built that was possibly dedicated to Rāma-Viṣṇu in his newly-founded capital Prabhavāṭi (probably modern Palenah 10 km. S.W. of Mysore).¹⁰ The installation of the royal court in a temple of Rāma in the 5th century, which presupposes the widespread acceptance of the doctrine of Rāma's Viṣṇu nature.

Besides the above-quoted passages, see, e.g., *Mon.* 1.58.51, 1.59.1-4.

The tenth canto of the *Rāghavavamsa*, the colophon of which features the term *devatā*.

Rāghavavamsa 10.11, CII 9.35.1.11.

Rāghavavamsa 10.11, CII 9.7.11.161.

Rāghavavamsa 9.

Rāghavavamsa 1.

Co. Miranah 1954 (p. 136): "The position of Rāmacandra still continues to survive at Rāmagiri." *Sircar* in *CC* 111.422.

Wagner *Op.* 3227. *CC* Vol. 21, 195. *Miranah* in *CC* 111.422. *Miranah* in *CC* 111.422. *Miranah* in *CC* 111.422.

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Wagner *Op.* 3227. *CC* Vol. 21, 195. *Miranah* in *CC* 111.422. *Miranah* in *CC* 111.422. *Miranah* in *CC* 111.422.

two centuries, as we have a contemporary record, in the shift of the Gupta court to Ayodhya, from its previous home at Pataliputra.

In contrast to the Gupta emperors, the Vakatakas were generally more affiliated to Brahminism, the special reverence of Rama and whose devotion to Vishnu of Prabhavatsingha, who styled himself an *Aravindabhinidhata*, and who took such a pride in her Gupta descent, might well have had a political motivation. At least her religious inclinations did not prevent the emperor from pursuing political aims and wielding power over her sons, for whom she ruled as a regent for an exceptionally long period.

However, even if it is admitted that Rama was the object of a cult during the reign of the Vakatakas in the fifth century AD, it should be noted that the evidence is restricted to a limited area around Mandvardhana and a short historical episode (c. AD 400-450). No other Rama temples are known to have existed in the first millennium of our era. But what is proved beyond doubt by this evidence is that, at the close of the fourth century political as well as religious conditions were conducive to the official recognition of Saketa as the ancient capital of an incarnation (avatara) of the lord.

The panels dating from the middle of the 5th century which were found in Pauri are among the earliest pieces of archaeological evidence testifying to the iconographic representation of Rama. Better known, but later, are the panels of the Dasavathara temple at Deogarh. The depiction of the story of the *Ramayana* in stone in the fifth and sixth centuries runs parallel with the widespread popularity of this theme in the literature of the same period. Apart from the aforementioned *Ramayana* and other epics in the older Puranas (e.g. *Vishnu Purana* and *Skandha Purana*) as well as in the Prakrit work *Vanadashak* of Sankhadatta, the story becomes the principal theme of several literary texts, both in Sanskrit and in Prakrit. As such may be mentioned the *Ramayana* of Visuddhisa, a Jaina author of the fourth century, Bhadrabahu's *Pratishakti* and *Abhaya* (4th century), Kalidasa's *Raghavastaka* (middle of the 5th century), the *Agony* of Pravarasena II (middle of the 5th century), and Chetia's *Ramayana*.

dedicated to Rama by Pravarasena II at his new capital Pravarapura, which was built by the general Varaha. The panels were based only on the evidence of these panels" (described on p. 11, 12). And was not substantiated by any inscription. That evidence has now become available, however. Recently, while digging in the courtyard of Vinodaji's temple, the image of a female deity, about 4 ft. in height, was discovered. The identification is placed beyond doubt by the inscription carved on the breast plate of her legs. It reads: *Pravarasena II*. The characters of the inscription closely resemble those of the Gupta script of Pravarasena II and leave no doubt that the image is of the 5th century AD. (p. 11, 12). The site where the panels with scenes of the *Ramayana* and this image were found is modern Pauri near Mandard in the Mandard district. The panels are on the left bank of the river Ghaghara. (p. 11, 12). The panels were probably built into the walls of the temple as in the case of the Gupta temple at Deogarh. As shown above, Pauri is probably identical with Pravarapura, which Pravarasena II founded and made the seat of his government some time after the eleventh regnal year. (p. 11, 12). This shift of capital probably took place between AD 431-432 (p. 11, 12). It is, however, clear that the panels depicting scenes of the *Ramayana* found in the walls of the Gupta temple at Deogarh indicate that this temple was dedicated to Rama at the panels and figure of Deogarh or Pauri leave that we have to do with a Rama temple.

1. *Ep. Ind.* 1, p. 11.

2. *Ep. Ind.* 1, p. 11.

3. *Ep. Ind.* 1, p. 11.

4. *Ep. Ind.* 1, p. 11.

5. *Ep. Ind.* 1, p. 11.

6. *Ep. Ind.* 1, p. 11.

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(probably 6th century). All this makes it abundantly clear that the myth of Viṣṇu's incarnation as Rāma became very popular in the Gupta age, that it continued to be so in the following centuries is attested by many more literary works dealing with the same theme, and several other temples that depicted the Rāma legend on their walls.¹

A second stage in the rise of the cult seems to have been reached when Rāma became depicted in his own right as a full form of Viṣṇu. The oldest specimens testifying to this development date from the tenth century. The Jaina temple of Pārsvanatha in Khejuri (c. AD 950-970) has two images of Rāma on the outer wall. The first one represents Rāma holding the bow and arrow and the other shows him with four arms, holding the arrow (or quiver?) in his upper right and lower left hand, with his lower right hand blessing Hanumat and his upper left hand embracing Sītā.² From the eleventh century dates a temple at Geṣin (near Jodhpur) that represents Rāma and Sītā as Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.³

Literary directions for the making of Rāma images are not exactly congruous with the archaeological evidence. These prescriptions are found in several works dealing with iconography from the sixth century onwards. The *Śphaṭasāhita* of Varāhamihira (760-587) does not describe Rāma as a particular form of Viṣṇu but simply lists him together with Bell.⁴ Later Vaiṣṇava texts like the *Viśvakarmasāra* (ascribed to Rāṇa), the *Pāṇḍurāghaṭī* and *Viśvākarmasāhita* (both quoted by Smith 1969:7), and the *Viṣṇuśaṭṭasāhita*,⁵ which may all date from before AD 1000, give various iconographic descriptions of Rāma and his attendants. According to the *Viśvākarmasāra* and *Viśvākarmasāhita* Rāma should be depicted with only two arms, but the *Pāṇḍurāghaṭī* allows the alternative of a four-armed image. This text declares that when an idol (*mūrti*) of Rāma is installed by itself (*svayam*) in the sanctum (*garbhagṛha*) it should have four arms. A group-image of Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmāna is placed near it to be used in (special) ritual proceedings.⁶

In view of the fact that only very few idols for the worship (*ārādhana*) of Rāma from before the 12th century have come to light it may be suggested that these iconographical prescriptions, if not relating to ornamental sculptures on temple walls, were included in Vaiṣṇava texts chiefly for theoretical reasons and for the sake of *śāstric* consistency. These directions

¹ For a survey of these works see Bulke 1971:74-276.
² For a survey of these temple panels see Daniel 1973:15-118.
³ Daniel 1973:119 and Fig. 84.
⁴ Daniel 1973:119: "In a niche on the wall of Arca Māta temple at Geṣin, devoted to the 11th century AD, there is a standing image of Rāma and Sītā. It is completely like the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa images. Rāma holds the four emblems of Viṣṇu and with one arm he embraces Sītā. The only interesting part is the figure of Hanumat standing to the right of Rāma. He has the face of a monkey and a human body." (see also Fig. 85).
⁵ *Śphaṭasāhita* 97. *Śāstraśāstrasāra* Rāma-bhāṣa or *Viṣṇuśaṭṭasāhita* (Rāma-bhāṣa).
⁶ *Pāṇḍurāghaṭī* 1.1.109-111. The *Śāstra* text is given in Rāṇa I p.112 App. C c.43:
atā rāghavarman saṁskṛtāśāstrasāhitaḥ
śāstrasāhitaḥ saṁskṛtāśāstrasāhitaḥ
śāstrasāhitaḥ saṁskṛtāśāstrasāhitaḥ
śāstrasāhitaḥ saṁskṛtāśāstrasāhitaḥ
 a red dress is noteworthy.
⁷ Smith 1969:147-152. *Viśvākarmasāhita* 11, 74-85.
⁸ *Śphaṭasāhita* 2.55.20: *rāma śāstrasāhita kṛpā rāghavarmanasāhitaḥ*.
⁹ *Viśvākarmasāhita* 11, 75.
¹⁰ *Pāṇḍurāghaṭī* 1.1.109-111. Text given in Smith 1969:149.
¹¹ *Viśvākarmasāhita* 11, 75.
¹² *Viśvākarmasāhita* 11, 75.
¹³ *Viśvākarmasāhita* 11, 75.
¹⁴ *Viśvākarmasāhita* 11, 75.
¹⁵ *Viśvākarmasāhita* 11, 75.

usually of a single form. In all the incarnations of Vishnu are systematically arranged in a certain order, which may have involved minor but necessarily have reflected actual processes.

A subsequent phase in the evolution of a similar form of Vaishnavism is the foundation of temples, especially dedicated to Rama. Only a few instances are known in the 12th century. In the earlier part of the century, a temple of Rama would have been little more than a subsidiary shrine, subordinate to the main sanctum, which in 1000 of one of the twenty-four temples of Vishnu at Srirangam was installed. One of the oldest Rama temples may have been the one in Srirangam in the latter part of the century.

An inscription of AD 1145 in the Rajivallabha temple at Rajin is a place at the confluence of the Mahanadi and the Patli river in the Raipur district bears testimony to another temple dedicated to the son of Jagera. This site had grown into an important centre of Vaishnavism by the time it was included in the Vakataka realm (5th-6th centuries). The first Rajivallabha temple was built during the reign of the later dynasty of the Kalas (7th century), possibly by King Adisatya. Parts of this temple, notably a massive entrance in which Vishnu was depicted in his Anantashayana form, seem to have been preserved in the later reconstruction.

According to an inscription in the left wall of the mandapa of the present temple it was built (rebuilt) by Jagadala a minister of the Kalasuri King Prativallabha II of Rajivallabha (Rajivallabha). On this occasion (10th January AD 1145) the temple was dedicated to Rama. "Bearing the splendour of Rama in the absence of Ramadeva (translation uncertain) (ho)" (i.e. Jagadala) established Jagadala in the new country... Reading all works, such as the Ramayana, (being) the support of living beings, self-respecting, conferring gifts on Brahmins families for their learning, such is Jagadala. He has caused this beautiful temple to be constructed for maintaining the splendour of Rama. He has granted a village named Samalaya to provide for offerings of food (to the ancestral duty). The expense of this project was Jaganada belonging to a family that hailed from Ayodhya, certainly not the best Sanskrit scholar this town produced."

A third recorded Rama temple was constructed by King Adisatya, a feudatory of Vijayaditya of the Tripartite branch of the Kalasuri at the end of the 12th century. This is attested in an inscription dating from AD 1145. "In (i.e. Kalasuri) erected a perfect temple of Rama."

सुविशालं विष्णुं ब्रह्मं कर्माचारं प्रकल्पयन्
अथवा लोकोत्तमं रामं लोकोत्तमं लोकोत्तमं
सुविशालं सुविशालं सुविशालं सुविशालं

For e.g. Smith 1875/216 (Panchajanya) and 400 (Vishnuvaradha).

For 1, 2, 3: The shrine of Rama is required to be built in the southeast corner in a Vishnu temple.

For 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

For 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

For 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 30

Even before the conception of lord Viṣṇu's *avatāras* was fully consolidated, that is in the period when his manifestations were still commonly designated by the verb *prādurbhū-* and its nominal derivative *prādurbhāva*¹, Rāma son of Daśaratha was reckoned among these appearances.² Gradually the new terminology derived from the verb *avatṛ-* came to be used to refer to the act of god descending to earth. From the outset this choice of expression implied not only the idea of putative historicity, but also of a mission for mankind, namely to free the world from a terrible threat.³ Thus the Mbh.⁴ says of Kṛṣṇa that "for the sake of the destruction of the wicked and to protect the Dharma he (Kṛṣṇa) descended to earth (*avatīrmo*) and was born as a human being in the House of Yadu."

In the period AD 200 to 400 this concept came to be applied to another mythical figure, viz. Rāma, Prince of Ayodhyā. The Mbh. version of the story of Rāma, the *Rāmopākhyāna*, says of his divine origin: "For that reason (scil. the destruction of Rāvaṇa) four-armed Viṣṇu has descended (*avatīrmo*) to earth at my (Brāhmā's) behest. This greatest of slayers shall carry out this deed."⁵ The same idea is expressed in the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyana* as Viṣṇu is urged to assume human shape: "Incarnate in the form of man (*mānuṣīm tanum āsthāya*) and kill Rāvaṇa in combat!"⁶ In response Viṣṇu appears (*prādurbhū-*)⁷ in the fire of Daśaratha's sacrifice and offers his seed (metaphorically expressed as a golden vessel filled with rice-milk, *pāyasa*) to Daśaratha in order to transmit it to his consorts and so beget a divine son by Kausalyā.⁸ That in the 4th century AD, at least, the identity of Rāma with Nārāyaṇa (and of Sītā with Lakṣmī) had found acceptance is evident from a play of the Sanskrit poet Bhāsa which dramatizes an episode of the *Rāmāyana* (*Abhiṣekanātaka* 4.12-14, 6.27-30).

The occurrence of the verb *avatṛ-* in the *Rāmopākhyāna* and its absence in the *Bālakāṇḍa* leads Hacker to believe that the Mbh. version of the story is later than the first book of the Rām.⁹ The absence of the *avatṛ-* terminology in the *Rāmāyana* might, however, be mere coincidence, especially since the process of Viṣṇu's incarnation is worked out in more detail and along different lines. Several arguments in favour of an earlier date of the *Rāmopākhyāna* have been advanced by Brockington.¹⁰ Leaving aside the vexed problem of which originated first, we may safely assume that both versions of the story, the *Bālakāṇḍa* and the *Rāmopākhyāna*, were composed in about the same period.¹¹ Throughout this period the older term *prādurbhāva* was in use when

¹ See Hacker 1960.

² Mbh. 12.326.76-81 (*Nārāyaṇīyaparvan*). PPañc. p. 514f.

³ Hacker 1960, 50ff.

⁴ Mbh. (Bombay) 3.272.71 (Crit. Ed. Vol. IV App. 1.27.1.83f.). A similar idea is already expressed in the *Bhagavadgītā* 4.7-8, although the verb *avatṛ-* is not yet used.

⁵ Mbh. 3.260.5.

⁶ Rām. 1.15.3.

⁷ Rām. 1.15.9.

⁸ Rām. 1.17.6: *kausalyājanayad rāmaṁ divyalakṣaṇasamyutam/ viṣṇor ardham mahābhāgaṁ putram iksvākunandanam//*.

⁹ Hacker 1960, 57.

¹⁰ Brockington 1978. Cp. Introduction of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the Rām. (pp. 29-31).

¹¹ Besides other arguments that make an earlier date very unlikely, it may be noted that the *Bālakāṇḍa* (i.e. a substantial section of the Devanāgarī MSS, the complete Southern recension, and all the commentaries) contains the horoscope of Rāma's birth, which corresponds best with 11th of March AD 200 (see Ferrāri d'Occhieppo 1979). A *terminus ad quem* seems to be Kālidāsa's

the various manifestations of Viṣṇu, including Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, were referred to. The more specific terminology using the verb *avatṛ-* could be employed for a personal incarnation of god (or gods), especially in human form, who descends for the sake of the *dharma* in the world of man.¹ The nominal derivative *avatāra* gradually replaced the term *prādurbhāva* from the time of Kālidāsa onwards.

As has been noted above the deification of Rāma runs parallel with a reification of the city of Ayodhyā. In the first half of the fifth century the identity of Sāketa and Ayodhyā was an established fact: Kālidāsa uses both names synonymously and regards Rāma as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.²

The same period provides us with archaeological data that bear testimony to the existence of some form of veneration of the Rāma incarnation of Viṣṇu. A charter of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatīguptā was issued "from the feet of the Lord of Rāmagiri".³ In another inscription this queen proclaimed the bestowal of some villages to a Vaiṣṇava teacher Caṇālasvāmin, after these had first been offered (ritually) to the "feet of the Lord".⁴ Both inscriptions endorse the view that a sanctuary dedicated to Rāma was situated on top of the Rāmagiri hill, possibly enshrining the footprints (*paḍa*) of the Lord (*bhagavat*), specifically those of his Rāma incarnation. These footprints of the scion of the Raghu Race (*raghupatipada*) are referred to by Kālidāsa.⁵ The same author also mentions a pond or tank in the neighbourhood of the hermitage of the Rāmagiri that was dedicated to Sītā.⁶ The allegiance of the poet to the court of Prabhāvatīguptā's brother and nephew (Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta) makes an identification of the Rāmagiri of the *Meghadūta* with the Rāmagiri near the Vākāṭaka capital Nandīvardhana (modern Nandardhan about 30km NE of Nagpur), from where these charters were issued, all the more likely.⁷ This hill is known today as Ramtek and contains several old Vaiṣṇava sanctuaries besides a temple dedicated to Rāmacandra.⁸

The son of Prabhāvatīguptā, Pravaraṣena II, is credited with the authorship of the Prakrit *Kāvya Setubandha*.⁹ In this work, which relates the story of Rāma, the latter is considered identical with Viṣṇu rather than merely one of his incarnations.¹⁰ The same Vākāṭaka king had a temple built that was possibly dedicated to Rāma-Viṣṇu in his newly-founded capital Pravara-pura (probably modern Paunar 90km SW of Nandardhan).¹¹ The installation of the royal court in a

Raghuvamśa (middle of the 5th century), which presupposes the widespread acceptance of the doctrine of Rāma's Viṣṇu-nature.

¹ Besides the above-quoted passages, cp. Mbh. 4.58.51, 1.59.1-4.

² The tenth Canto of the *Raghuvamśa*, the colophon of which features the term *avatāra*.

³ *rāmagirisvāminpādamūlād*, CII V, 35 (1.1).

⁴ *bhagavatpādamūle nivedya*, CII V, 7 (1.14).

⁵ *Meghadūta* 9.

⁶ *Meghadūta* 1.

⁷ Cp. Mirashi 1964(p.138): "The *pādukās* of Rāmacandra still continue in worship at Ramtek." Sircar in HCI III, 422.

⁸ Nagpur Gaz. 322f. IGN Vol.21, 195. Mirashi in CII V, p.XL. Mirashi and Kulkarni in EI XXV, 7-20. Bakker-Entwistle 1981, 126ff.

⁹ Handiqui 1976, 24. Cp. Sircar in HCI III, 182-184. Mirashi in CII V, p.XXIV n.7: "According to Rāmadāsa, a commentator of the *Setubandha*, the *kāvya* was composed by Kālidāsa for the sake of Pravaraṣena by the order of *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramāditya. It is not, however, likely that Kālidāsa actually composed the *kāvya*, though he may have revised it."

¹⁰ *Setubandha* 6.8-17, 11.89, 96.

¹¹ CII V, pp.XXV, XLI, LXIf. Mirashi remarks: "The conjecture about the erection of a temple

new capital had, as we saw, a contemporary parallel in the shift of the Gupta court to Ayodhyā, either by Pravarasena's uncle or his cousin.

In contrast to the Gupta emperors the Vākāṭaka rulers were generally more affiliated to Śaivism.¹ The special reverence of Rāma and zealous devotion to Viṣṇu of Prabhāvatīguptā, who styled herself an *atyantabhagavadbhaktā*², and who took such a pride in her Gupta descent³, might well have had a political motivation. At least her religious inclinations did not prevent the dowager queen from pursuing political aims and wielding power over her sons, for whom she ruled as a regent for an exceptionally long period.⁴

However, even if it is admitted that Rāma was the object of a cult during the reign of the Vākāṭakas in the fifth century AD, it should be noted that the evidence is restricted to a limited area around Nandivardhana and a short historical episode (c.AD 400-465). No other Rāmaite sanctuaries are known to have existed in the first millennium of our era. Yet what is proven beyond doubt by this evidence is that at the close of the fourth century political as well as religious conditions were conducive to the official recognition of Sāketa as the ancient capital of an incarnation (*avatāra*) of the lord.

The panels dating from the middle of the 5th century which were found in Paunar are among the oldest pieces of archaeological evidence testifying to the iconographic representation of Rāma. Better known, but later, are the panels of the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh. The depiction of the story of the *Rāmāyana* in stone in the fifth and sixth centuries runs parallel with the widespread popularity of this theme in the literature of the same period. Apart from the aforementioned *Rāmopākhyāna* and other epitomes in the older Purāṇas (e.g. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*⁵ and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*⁶) as well as in the Prakrit work *Vasudevahindī* of Saṅghadeva, the story becomes the principal theme of several literary texts, both in Sanskrit and in Prakrit. As such may be mentioned the *Paumacariya* of Vimalasūri, a Jaina author of the fourth century, Bhāsa's *Pratimānāṭaka* and *Abhiṣekanāṭaka* (4th century), Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (middle of the 5th century), the *Kāvya Setubandha* of Pravarasena II (middle of the 5th century), and Bhaṭṭi's *Rāvaṇavadha*

dedicated to Rāma by Pravarasena II at his new capital Pravarapura, which was made by me several years ago, was based only on the evidence of these panels" (described on pp.LV-LXII) "and was not substantiated by any inscription. That evidence has now become available, unexpectedly. Recently, while digging in the courtyard of Vinobhājī's *āśrama*, the image of a female deity, about 8ft. in height, was discovered"... "The identification is placed beyond doubt by the inscription carved to the proper right side of her legs, viz. *gaṅgā bhagavatī* (i.e. Goddess Gaṅgā). The characters of the inscription closely resemble those of the Paṭṭan plates of Pravarasena II and leave no doubt that the image is of the Vākāṭaka age." (op.cit.p.LXII). "The site where the panels with scenes of the *Rāmāyana* and this image were found is modern Pavnār near Wardā in the fields round Śrī Vinobhājī's *āśrama* on the left bank of the river Dhām." (op.cit.p.LX). (= Paunar 20°-41' N, 76°-30' E, 8km NE of Wardha). "The panels were probably built into the walls of the temple as is the case of the Gupta temple at Devagadh. As shown above, Pavnār is probably identical with Pravarapura, which Pravarasena II founded and made the seat of his government some time after the eleventh regnal year." (op.cit.p.XLI). This shift of capital probably took place between AD 431-439 (cp. op.cit.p.XXIV and p.V). No more, however, than that the panels depicting scenes of the *Rāmāyana* found in the walls of the Viṣṇu temple at Deogarh indicate that this temple was dedicated to Rāma do the panels and figure of Gaṅgā of Paunar prove that we have to do with a Rāmaite temple.

¹ CII V,p.XL.

² CII V,7 (1.8).

³ CII V,34.

⁴ CII V,p.V; HCI III,180f.

⁵ Vipur.4.4.87-103.

⁶ Bdpur.3.8.54, 3.63.184-200 (hardly more than a genealogy).

(probably 6th century). All this makes it abundantly clear that the myth of Viṣṇu's incarnation as Rāma became very popular in the Gupta age. That it continued to be so in the following centuries is attested by many more literary works dealing with the same theme¹, and several other temples that depicted the Rāma legend on their walls.²

A second stage in the rise of the cult seems to have been reached when Rāma became depicted in his own right as a full form of Viṣṇu. The oldest specimens testifying to this development may date from the tenth century. The Jaina temple of Pārśvanātha in Khajuraho (c.AD 950-970) shows two images of Rāma on the outer wall. The first one represents Rāma holding the bow and arrow and the other shows him with four arms, holding the arrow (or quiver?) in his upper right and lower left hand, with his lower right hand blessing Hanumat and his upper left hand embracing Sītā.³ From the eleventh century dates a temple at Osian (near Jodhpur) that represents Rāma and Sītā as Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.⁴

Literary directions for the making of Rāma images are not exactly congruous with the archaeological evidence. These prescriptions are found in several works dealing with iconography from the sixth century onwards. The *Brhatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira (†AD 587) does not describe Rāma as a particular form of Viṣṇu but simply lists him together with Bali.⁵ Later Vaiṣṇava texts like the *Vaikhāṇasāgama* (paraphrased by Rao⁶), the *Pāḍmasamhitā* and *Viṣvakṣenasamhitā* (both quoted in Smith 1969⁷), and the *Viṣṇuśarmottarapurāṇa*⁸, which may all date from before AD 1000, give various iconographic descriptions of Rāma and his attendants. According to the *Vaikhāṇasāgama* and *Viṣvakṣenasamhitā*⁹ Rāma should be depicted with only two arms, but the *Pāḍmasamhitā* allows the alternative of a four-armed image. This text declares that when an idol (*bimba*) of Rāma is installed by itself (*svatantra*) in the sanctum (*garbhagrha*) it should have four arms. A group-image of Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa is placed near it to be used in (special) ritual proceedings.¹

In view of the fact that only very few idols for the worship (*arāḍhā*, *bimba*) of Rāma from before the 12th century have come to light it may be suggested that these iconographical descriptions, if not relating to ornamental sculptures on temple walls, were included in these texts chiefly for theoretical reasons and for the sake of completeness. These descriptions

¹ For a survey of these works see Bulke 1971, 79-279.

² For a survey of these temple panels see Desai 1973, 115-118.

³ Desai 1973, 119 and Fig. 84.

⁴ Desai 1973, 119: "In a niche on the wall of Amba Mata temple at Osian, datable to the 11th century AD, there is a standing image of Rāma and Sītā. It is completely like the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa images. Rāma holds the four emblems of Viṣṇu and with one arm he embraces Sītā. The only identifying mark is the figure of Hanumān standing to the right of Rāma. He has the face of a monkey on a human body." (op.cit. Fig. 85).

⁵ *Brhatsamhitā* 57.30cd: *daśarathanāyo rāmo baliś ca vairocanaś śaṭam viṃśam* //.

⁶ Rao I, 189ff. The Skt. text is given in Rao I pt. 2 App. C p. 40:

*atha rāghavarāmaṁ savimśatīśatāṅgulamitam/
dvibhujam tribhāṅgasthitam daksinena hastena//
śaradharam vāmena cāpadharam śyāmabham/
raktāmbaradharam kīrtitādyābharanānvitam* //.

The red dress is noteworthy.

⁷ Smith 1969, 147-152 (*Viṣvakṣenasamhitā* 11.75-85).

⁸ Viḍhpur. 3. 85. 26: *rāmo daśarathīḥ kāryo rājālakṣaṇalakṣitaḥ* //.

⁹ *Viṣvakṣenasamhitā* 11.77-78.

¹⁰ *Pāḍmasamhitā* (corrupt) text given in Smith 1969, 149:

*svātantryam pātantryam ca rāghavasyobhayaṁ bhavet/
divye bhāge 'thavā brāhṁe garbhagehe sthito yadi//
svātantrya-rāghavaḥ proktaḥ pade pūrvodite yadi/
caturbhujā (sic!) garbhagehe kalpitāḥ kamalāsana (sic!) //
paścād vimānaśobhārtham kalpitāḥ paravān ayaṁ*

usually form part of passages in which all the incarnations of Viṣṇu are systematically treated¹, and at the time they were conceived might not necessarily have reflected actual practice.

The subsequent phase in the evolution of a Rāmaite form of Vaiṣṇavism is the foundation of temples exclusively dedicated to Rāma. Only a few instances are known in the 12th century. In the majority of cases a shrine of Rāma would have been little more than a subsidiary cella adjacent to the main sanctum in which an idol of one of the twenty four *mūrtis* of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa was installed.² One of the oldest Rāma temples may have been the one in Ayodhyā on the Janma-bhūmi (see above).

An inscription of AD 1145 in the Rājīvalocana temple at Rajim (a holy place at the confluence of the Mahānadī and the Pairī river in the Raipur district) bears testimony to another temple dedicated to the son of Daśaratha. This site had grown into an important centre of Vaiṣṇavism by the time it was included in the Vākāṭaka realm (5th-6th centuries). The first Rājīvalocana temple was built during the reign of the later dynasty of the Nalas (7th century), possibly by king Vilāsatunga.³ Parts of this temple, notably a massive entrance in which Viṣṇu was depicted in his Anantaśāyīn form, seem to have been preserved in the later reconstruction.⁴ According to an inscription in the left wall of the *mandapa* of the present temple it was built (rebuilt) by Jagapāla a minister of the Kalacuri king Prthvīdeva II of Ratnapura (Ratanpur).⁵ On this occasion (3rd Januari AD 1145) the temple was dedicated to Rāma: "Bearing the splendour of Rāma in the absence of Rāmadeva (translation uncertain) (he)" (i.e. Jagapāla) "established Jagapālapura in the new country... Reading*all (works) such as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, (being) the support of living beings, self-respecting, conferring gifts on Brāhmaṇa families for their learning; such is Jagapāla. He has caused this beautiful temple to be constructed for manifesting the splendour of Rāma. He has granted a village named Śālmaliya to provide for offerings of food (to the enshrined deity)."⁶ The composer of this *prāśasti* was Jasānanda belonging to a family that hailed from Ayodhyā, certainly not the best Sanskrit scholar this town produced.⁷

A third recorded Rāma temple was constructed by Malayasiṃha, a feudatory of Vijayasiṃha of the Tripurī branch of the Kalacuris at the end of the twelfth century. This is attested in an inscription dating from AD 1193:⁸ "He (i.e. Malayasiṃha) erected a marvellous row of mansions

*svatantrē rāghave bimbān karmādyartham prakalpayet//
anyāms tatsadrśam rāman lakṣmaṇam janakajaṭmajam/
śiṃhāsane sahāikāsmiṇ prabhayā ca pariśkr̥tān//*

¹ Cp. e.g. Smith 1975, 216 (*Pāṇinasamhitā*) and 400 (*Viśvakṣenasamhitā*).

² Rao I, 191: "The shrine of Rāma is required to be built in the south-east corner in a Viṣṇu temple."

³ EI XXVI, 49ff.; CII IV, 2, 455. Cp. HCI III, 190.

⁴ Arch. Survey XVII, 11f.; EI XXVI, 54; COJ 14.

⁵ CII IV Pt. 2, 450-457.

⁶ op.cit. 457. The relevant text-passage runs: ... *ca bhavet puṃso jagapālo'pi suṇḍa[ra]m (ra rāmasobhah sa (pra)kaśā[ya] prāśadam kārītam rīmam//* (correctly according to Mirashi (Ed.): *rāmasobhāprākāśāya prāśadam kārītavān imam*) (op.cit. 455 vs. 22). A metrically correct emendation could be: ... *prāśadam kārītam tv imam*. The Rājīvalocana temple is described by Cunningham (Ar. S. XVII 7). This temple "is visited by thousands of pilgrims on their way to Jagannāth in Orissa. They come to pay their devotions to Rāmachandra whose statue is said to be enshrined inside. But the figure is actually one of the common four-armed representations of Viṣṇu himself with the usual symbols of the club, the discus, the shell, and the lotus." (op.cit. 332).

⁷ Cp. CII IV Pt. 2, 450.

⁸ CII IV Pt. 1, 346-358.

touching the sky for gods and brāhmanas, through fear of obstruction from which, as it were, the sun's chariot goes obliquely with speed. Having performed fierce and painful penance, the Siddhas go to high heaven, (while) those, who worship (?) at the temple of Rāma (built) by him, generally go to the abode of Vishnu."¹ This temple may have been situated at the "Kastarā tank", perhaps identical with a tank in Kaṭṭara near Makundpur (15km S of Rewa town where the inscription was found, 24°-24'N, 81°-20'E).²

We conclude this survey of archaeological evidence (ante AD 1200) by mentioning the oldest idol of Rāma known to us. It is an early Chola bronze image (c.AD 950) belonging to the Sri Kalyana Varadareja Perumal temple in Paruthiyur (Thanjavur district) which was on display in the exhibition of 'Masterpieces of early South Indian Bronzes' (National Museum, New Delhi, spring 1983).³

It is again the twelfth century that witnessed an invigorating renewal of orthodox religious activity. The existence of three temples exclusively dedicated to Rāma is documented, and there might have been considerably more of which all traces have been lost due to ravages committed by later rulers.⁴ One puzzle remains: neither from the twelfth century, nor from the following centuries, are there more than a few rare pieces of evidence that bear testimony to the installation of Rāma idols in Rāmaite temples. Consequently the conclusion has been drawn that a Hinduistic temple cult of Rāma did not appear before the 16th or 17th century.⁵ This theory is untenable in view of the evidence for the existence of Rāmaite temples from the 12th century onwards, and secondly in view of the origin of a class of Sanskrit texts that are exclusively devoted to the (temple) cult of Rāma, who is considered to be the highest dimension of Viṣṇu. The earliest texts which belong to this class, dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries (and perhaps even earlier), will be dealt with below. The existence of detailed manuals of Rāmaite ritual and festive ceremonies presupposes a cult in which they could be applied. The solution of the puzzle may be found in the description of one of the oldest known temples dedicated

¹ op.cit. 356. The text runs:

prāsādamālā dvijadevatānām srstā vicitrā gaganam vilagnā/
yenāpi yābhyas tv avarodhabhityā yātivā bhāno rātha āśu tiya(rya)k//26//
tīvram tapo duḥkhakaram prakṛtyā siddhā vrajanto divam ūrdha(rāhva)m uccaiḥ/
yad rāmadevālayavādhitā ye prāyena [te] viśvapadam (viṣṇupadam ?) prayātāḥ//27//

The text would improve if we could read ⁰rādhitā instead of ⁰vādhitā.

² CII IV Pt.1, 346. Cp. EI XIX, 295. Rewa State Gaz. 97f. s.v. Makundpur.

³ Cp. Pal, 120f. (11th century bronze image of Rāma); Rao I, 192f. (12th-13th century bronze image of Rāma); Philadelphia Museum of Arts (USA) (W 1982-106-1) (11th century Chola bronze Rām image of Rāma).

⁴ This might be the case for instance in an ancient temple in Soron dedicated to Sītā-Rāma. The temple was rebuilt after its destruction by Aurangzeb but the old pillars and pilgrims' records are preserved. The earliest of these records "bear the date in Samvat 1226, or AD 1169, so that the erection of the temple cannot be placed later than AD 1000." (Führer 1891, 89).

⁵ This subject has been a matter of controversy in the correspondence I have conducted with Professor Vaudeville. According to her the older form of Rāma bhakti is "an essentially nirguṇa form of bhakti: it is a worship of the Name - not of the Form of Rāma, Rāma being the perfect japa-mantra opening way to muktī and at the same time constituting the very state of immersion into the Supreme Reality known as layayoga (identical to the sahaja state in the Gorakhnāthī tradition). Basically therefore, the "Rāma-cult" in the Agastyasamhitā is neither Vaiṣṇava nor Śaiva (though much nearer to the latter): it is essentially a Yogic cult in which the Name (Rāma) is both sādhanā and the siddhi and itself expresses the Supreme Reality or stage which is achieved through its practice." (from a letter to the author dated 18-5-'81). We shall deal below with this "Cult of the Name", which is indeed an important aspect of the Rāma cult.

to Rāma, the Rājivalocana temple.

From the inscription mentioned above we know that this temple was dedicated to Rāma in AD 1145, and today it is still dedicated to the same god and as such attracts thousands of pilgrims. Despite its indubitable association with the worship of Rāma, and despite the precepts for the making of Rāma idols in the *Pāñcarātrasamhitās* and later Rāmāite ritualistic texts, the idol installed in this temple is one of Viṣṇu, without any specific Rāmāite attribute.¹ This leads us to ascertain that it was evidently a common practice of the Rāma *bhakta* to address his worship to a temple idol that was looked upon as being an embodiment of Rāma (i.e. of his *arcāvatāra*), although formally, according to the canons of classical iconography, this idol had to be considered as a personification of Viṣṇu. Practice and theology of this Rāmāitized form of Viṣṇuism will be treated in the next chapter.

If we now summarize the extant evidence and draw our conclusions, we can reasonably claim that the cult in which Rāma was worshipped as the supreme form and main manifestation (*avatāra*) of Viṣṇu did not rise into prominence before the eleventh and twelfth centuries AD. This is to say that it began to emerge in the latest period of independent Hindu rule in North India and before Muslim power was firmly established.

Whereas Rāma may have initially had no more than just a minor shrine in a Viṣṇu temple, the main deity himself eventually became recognized as Rāma-Viṣṇu. In the early days priests who were responsible for the liturgy of this new worship would have formed no more than a small minority of the Vaiṣṇava Brahmin community. Nevertheless, it was probably in this circle of Rāma devotees that the first doctrinal Rāmāite cult texts originated.

The reasons why the cult of some of Viṣṇu's *avatāras* preceded that of Rāma, such as Varāha worship and the Kṛṣṇa and Naraśiṃha cults², may be sought in the fact that these cults were based on regional, popular and not specifically Vaiṣṇava traditions, which were eventually incorporated into the Vaiṣṇava religion, whereas the Rāma cult could not rest on any such local or popular form of worship in spite of the immense popularity of the story of the *Rāmāyana*. As to its expansion, it had to wait until historical circumstances would favour such a development. This seems to have occurred when the Hindus were driven into a defensive position by Muslim power, but this factor alone would never have led to a cult of such dimensions, impact and importance, had not a wave of emotional devotion (*bhakti*) of a popular kind completely transformed the outlook and character of Hindu religion, in particular of Vaiṣṇavism.³ Consequently the Rāma cult eventually eclipsed such older cults as that of Naraśiṃha, simply because a personal and emotional approach to god was more appropriate for an anthropomorphic god than for a hybrid of man and animal. This also explains why the cult of Kṛṣṇa has survived and flourished coexistently with that of Rāma up to the present day.

¹ See I, 64 n.6.

² The worship of Naraśiṃha is treated in one of the oldest *Pāñcarātra* texts, viz. the *Sāttvatasamhitā* Ch. XVII (see Smith 1975, 527). Next, it is described in the *Naraśiṃhatāpanīya Upaniṣad* (6th-7th century). It is noteworthy that the oldest Rāmāite cult text, the *Rāmātāpanīya Upaniṣad* is fully modelled upon this Upaniṣad dedicated to the Man-lion. The RPTUp. gives a synoptic account of Rāmāite theology and of the particular features in which this Rāmāitized form of Viṣṇuism differs from other Vaiṣṇava cults, namely the *uddhāra* of the six syllable and other *mantras*, the meditation (*dhyāna*), and the construction of the *rāma-yantra*. We shall further refer to this text in connection with the treatment of the content of the *Agastyasamhitā*.

³ Cp. Kulke in COJ 132.

...to provide our re-writing of the sacred topography of Ayodhya and its surroundings. We shall turn to the main source of information, the oldest version of the Ayodhya-
...in 1871/72 that the oldest transmitted texts of the AM tradition
...found in the region of the Mithila that was included in the Yajñavalkya Smṛiti
...additional collection of legends is preserved in a MS. henceforth
...it will be seen that a chronological differentiation between S and B is not
...textual grounds. S as well as B appear to go back to a "floating"
...tradition which will be designated by the phrase "a-type-of-text". The trans-
...of the local tradition composed and collected the legends of the holy centres which
...in the eleventh and following centuries. Accordingly the a-type-of-text is
...not to be considered as a fixed body of sacred literature nor was it necessarily homogeneous,
...as is shown by differences between S and B and within S itself. It would have been a kind of
...of sacred information about the holy places and their traditions which gradually
...a more definite form in a tradition transmitted by local Pandits and priests, until it
...the first literary redaction and was included by the compiler of the *Valmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*
...in the body of *śāstra* literature. Consequently the S redaction is only an instance of a process
...that has begun long before and would continue afterwards.

A survey of the sacred topography of the holy *kaṭhā* as rendered in the a-type-of-text at
...stage of the redaction in the S redaction is presented in table I. We observe that specific
...places are still in a minority, notably within the town itself. From the twenty-
...seven Hindu places described in chapters 2-5 (i.e. before AD 1200) only three (11%) could be
...positively related to Rāmāyaṇa mythology. Taking together all places presented in table I we
...note that 34% of them are somehow connected with Rāmāyaṇa. We should treat these figures with
...caution, however, because the absence of literary evidence from before AD 1200 may seriously
...distort our view of that period.

In *śāstra* literature within *śāstra* itself that were not directly supposed to exist in the 12th
...century are mentioned in B and S. The *Varāṇasī* mentioned in S might refer to a temple dedi-
...ed to the river and the confluence of the Ganges and Yamuna. The two *Śivalī* pillars, *Śivalī*
...and *Śivalī* *śivalī*, may refer to subsidiary shrines within the *Varāṇasī* complex or
...to the *Śivalī* in either case of it rather than implying the existence of separate temples.
...Both sites are today still without a temple of any significance. Besides the *Varāṇasī*,
...places within the precincts of the town that are explicitly connected with Rāmāyaṇa mythology,
...by legends of their origin are the *Varāṇasī* *Varāṇasī* (where Lakṣmī reunited with
...Rāma), the golden shrine of *Varāṇasī*, the river *Varāṇasī* and the two tanks *Varāṇasī* and *Varāṇasī*.
...In addition S mentions seven ponds or tanks within the town of a general Hindu conception and of
...unknown origin.

...as being a factor in the sacred topography, the general identification of *Varāṇasī* in
...Ayodhya may be gleaned from the legend in the S redaction. It would be noted before
...that this is predominantly a non-*śāstra* *śāstra* text which conceives of the

¹ See II, 22-23.
² See 47-48.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AYODHYĀ AS A SACRED CENTRE FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE MIDDLE OF
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE AYODHYĀMĀHĀTMYA

The appointment of Malik Nāṣir-ud-dīn Mahmūd governor of Avadh in AD 1226 initiated a period of Islamization of official life in the provincial capital. Although it did not mean, as will soon be seen, that developments in the Hindu fold were totally repressed or that an effective check was put upon its activities, it did preclude the building of Hindu temples of any significance and permanence until the 18th century. This is proven by the existence of a gap in archaeological evidence with respect to Hindu artefacts, images and temples alike, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. The few idols found that could belong to the seventeenth century might equally be assigned to the eighteenth century.¹ In the latter century great building activity was initiated again under the liberal rule of the Nawwābs of Oudh. The oldest temples in Ayodhyā date from this time, and the majority of 'old' images found today likewise belong to this period at the earliest.

It would seem that under Muslim supremacy it was possible for Hindu religious life to continue on a modest scale in old temples which were built before Muslim rule, until they were eventually demolished. The first Hindu temple that is known to have succumbed to this fate was the temple on the Janmabhūmi, which was replaced by a mosque by order of Bābur. Yet, besides in temples, congregations could be held at the bathing *ghāṭs* on the river and at holy places, mostly tanks or *kunḍas*, in the town and its surroundings. On the occasion of festivals temporary structures like *mandapas* (awnings) could be raised to serve for worship.²

The oldest versions of the AM, as well as independent evidence, seem to endorse the view that the religious structure of Ayodhyā as far as Hinduism is concerned was not essentially different in the 13th and 14th centuries from that in the 12th. Jinaprabhasūri, writing in AD 1332³ mentions mainly *tīrthas* that have been shown to exist in the 12th century: the *ghāṭs* on the Sarayū river, Svargadvāra and Gopratāra, the *nāga* sanctuary in the north of Ayodhyā, now under the name of Sahesradhārā, the confluence of the Sarayū and Gherghara, and the shrine of the *yakṣa* Mattagajendre said to be situated on top of the city wall (*prākāra*).⁴ Further the Jain author mentions the Śītākunḍa among the several other Hindu *tīrthas* (*anegāni loiatitthāni*).⁵ The ban on building new temples may have left open the possibility of resorting to new holy bathing places in the river and in ponds. In default of archaeological remains of bathing places it is generally difficult to ascertain whether and how many of the *kunḍas* described in later texts were existent in the 12th or earlier centuries.

¹ The images belonging to the 17th or 18th century that I have seen are: 1) a much eroded little stone image of Gaṇeśa in the wall of the cella of the Śītālā temple (Faizābād); 2) a headless stone image of Pārvatī in front of the ruined Dugdhēśvara temple (near Bīkapur). The goddess is seated above two animal figures, possibly a lion and a buffalo; 3) a stone image of Gaṇeśa in bas-relief. The god has his trunk placed in a dish of sweets. His upper left hand holds a piece of the Himālaya mountain. The image is placed opposite that of Pārvatī in front of the Dugdhēśvara temple; 4) an eroded stone image of Nandin, also found at the Dugdhēśvara temple.

² The erection of a *mandapa* on the occasion of Rāmanavamī is prescribed in the AgS., see RNV

³ Jain 1964, 220.

⁴ IK p. 28f. See *ad* OAS 17, 15c.

⁵ TK p. 79.

In order to complete our understanding of the sacred topography of Ayodhyā and its surroundings we shall turn to the main source of information, the oldest version of the *Ayodhyā-māhātmya*. It will be shown in Intr.Pt.II that the oldest transmitted texts of the AM tradition are not only found in the recension of the Māhātmya that was included in the *Vaiṣṇavakhanda* of the *Skandapurāṇa* (siglum S). An additional collection of legends is preserved in a MS henceforth referred to as B. It will be shown that a chronological differentiation between S and B is not warranted on textual critical grounds. S as well as B appear to go back to a 'floating', possibly oral, tradition which will be designated by the phrase 'α-type-of-text'.¹ The transmitters of the (oral) tradition composed and collected the legends of the holy centres which had begun to emerge in the eleventh and following centuries. Accordingly the α-type-of-text is not to be considered as a fixed body of sacred literature nor was it necessarily homogeneous, as is shown by differences between S and B and within S itself. It would have been a kind of compendium of sacred information about the holy places and their traditions which gradually assumed a more definite form in a tradition transmitted by local Pandits and priests, until it underwent the first literary redaction and was included by the composer of the *Vaiṣṇavakhanda* in the body of *smṛti* literature. Consequently the S recension is only an instance of a process that had begun long before and would continue afterwards.

A survey of the sacred topography of the holy *kṣetra* as rendered in the α-type-of-text at the stage of its redaction in the S recension is presented in table I. We observe that specific Rāmāite holy places are still in a minority, notably within the town itself. From the twenty-seven Hindu places described in chapters 2-3 (i.e. before AD 1200) only three (11%) could be positively related to Rāmāite mythology. Taking together all places presented in table I we note that 31% of them are somehow connected with Rāma lore. We should treat these figures with caution, however, because the absence of literary evidence from before AD 1200 may seriously distort our view of that period.

No sanctuaries within Ayodhyā itself that were not already supposed to exist in the 12th century are described in B and S. The *Vārāhasabhā* mentioned in B might refer to a temple dedicated to *Vārāha* near the confluence of the *Sarayū* and *Gharghara*. The two Rāmāite palaces, *Kaikey bhavana* and *Sumitrābhavana*, may refer to subsidiary shrines within the *Janmasthāna* compound, to the bare sites on either side of it rather than implying the existence of separate temple. Both sites are today still without a temple of any significance.² Besides the *Janmasthāna*, places within the precincts of the town that are explicitly connected with Rāmāite mythology by legends of their origin are the *nāga* sanctuary *Sahasradhārā* (where *Lakṣmaṇa* reunited with *Śeṣa*), the *yakṣa* shrine of *Surasā*, the river *Ilodakī* and the two tanks *Kṣīrodaka* and *Sītākū*. MS B adds to this the *ghāt* on the river on the eastern side of the city called *Rāmakuṇḍa*. In addition S mentions seven ponds or tanks within the town of a general Hindu connotation and unknown antiquity.

Besides being reflected in the sacred topography, the gradual Rāmāization of Viṣṇuism in Ayodhyā may be gleaned from theological remarks in the S recension. It should be noted beforehand, however, that S is predominantly a non-sectarian Vaiṣṇava text which conceives of the

¹ See II, xxvi.

² See AM 25.

PLACES IN AYODHYAKṢETRA (names in italics: within Ayodhyā town)

TABLE I
TIRTHAS IN RECENSION S (marked with †: also in MS B)

GHĀT	VISNU SANCTUARY	RĀMAIIE SANCTUARY	GENERAL KUNDA/TIRTHA	RĀMAIIE KUNDA/TIRTHA	SAIVA KUNDA/TIRTHA	ŚAKIA KUNDA/TIRTHA	YAKṢA ETC. KUNDA/TIRTHA	RIVER/ CONFLUENCE	SŪRYA KUNDA/TIRTHA
1 Cakra-tīrtha	7 Viṣṇuhari	12 Śaḥasra- dhara	14 Svarnā- khani	27 Sītā- kunda I	35 Bhairava(?)	43 Bandī	50 Dhanayakṣa	55 Sarayu	59 Ghosārka- kunda
2 Brāhmakunda	8 Candirahari		15 Bṛhaspati- kunda	28 Kṣīrodaka	36 Viḥṇesa	44 Cūdakī	51 Matta- gajendra	56 Tilodakī	
3 Pāṇamocana	9 Dharmahari	13 Jannā- sthana	16 Fukmīnī- kunda	29 Sītā- kunda II (Kṣīrakunda)	37 Bhairava	45 Mahāvīdyā	52 Surasā	57 Janasā (āsramas)	
4 Pāṇamocana	10 Guptaheri (Harisnīti)		17 Vasiṣṭha- kunda	30 Sugrīva- tīrtha	38 Mantresvā- ra (Līṅga)	46 Siddhapīṭha	53 Pīṇḍaraka	58 Gharghara	
5 Svargadvāra	11 Cakrahari		18 Vamadeva kunda	31 Hanumat- kunda II	39 Durbhara	47 Yoginī- kunda	54 Ajita (?)		
6 Georātāra			19 Sāgara- kunda	32 Vibhīṣaṇa- saras	40 Mahābhara	48 Sītālā			
			20 Urvastī- kunda	33 Bharata- kunda (Nandī- grāma)	41 Dugdhesvā- ra (Līṅga)	49 Kundavī(?)			
			21 Mahārātna kunda	34 Jātākunda (Gopratāra 6)					
			22 Rātīkunda	35 (Tilodakī 56)					
			23 Kusumāyu- dhakunda	(Dugdhesvāra 41)					
			24 Gayākūpa	(Mantresvāra 38)					
			25 Piśāca- mocana	(Surasā 52)					
			26 Mānasa- tīrtha						

TIRTHAS IN MS B (ADDITIONAL TO S)

50 Rāmākunda (Jambūtīrtha 67)	61 Vārāha- tīrtha (Vārāhasabha)	62 Kaikeyī- bhavana	64 Śrītācī- tīrtha	68 Bīlva- tīrtha	70 Kubjā
51 Vīratīrtha (68)	63 Sumitrā- bhavana		65 Tundilakē- śrama	69 Valmīka- tīrtha	
52 Vīratīrtha (68)			66 Āgas- śr	(Rāmākunda 60)	
53 Vīratīrtha				(Sarasā 55)	

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On the basis of the religious situation at the close of the 17th century and the holy places in-
cluded in the vicinity of Ayodhya, the holy places can be gathered from the 3A reference of the 1A.
The list of the holy places is preserved in the 1A. This table shows that in comparison with the
situation given in the 3A reference Ayodhya witnessed an increase of 100% in the number of holy places, which by
now amounts to almost half (41) of all holy places mentioned. With respect to the 3A reference, the
table is an extension of the 3A reference, which according to 3A is enclosed by 12 guards. Like the
3A reference, the seven 'Hari' sanctuaries within the Ayodhya-Setra (Sapta Hariyatra). Ancient
holy places like Suresh, Gajika, and Supdevi have disappeared and the 3A reference
lost in a way likewise omitted. Significant for the situation as it evolved in the 17th century
are, besides the 3A reference, the palaces of Rama and Sita situated in the centre of the holy town
(Ramabadi to the east of the 3A reference, Ramabadi, Ramabadi and Sita's Kitchen within the
3A reference). The congregation of these places is denoted as Ayodhya-Sitra. The Sarayu, who relates
her own origin to the youthful 'Sita' Rama when he came to play on her banks together with his
brothers, is styled Ramabadi. A bathing place on its bank, in a still of subordinate importance
and designated as Ramabadi, developed into one of the main places under the name Ramabadi.
The new place of Nagesvara adjacent to the Svargadvara gate deserves special attention. The
legend of the origin of this place is connected with Rama mythology as it is said to have
been founded by his son Kush after his reinstatement in Ayodhya (the legend relates the romance
of Kush and the Naga princess Kumbhdevi). This sanctuary had attained great prestige, as is
evident from the fact that Nagesvara is considered the presiding deity of Ayodhya. A visit to
this holy place is obligatory for every pilgrim in order to obtain the full benefit of his
pilgrimage.¹ On his way one can still observe a queue of pilgrims hundreds of meters long
waiting at the entrance gate of the temple. He may conjecture that the rise to prominence of
the Nagesvara shrine was partly due to the fact that both adjacent ancient Vishnu temples were
destroyed in the time of Aurangzeb. The present temple, which is among the oldest in Ayodhya,
was built by Nizam Ali (see below) in the second quarter of the 18th century.²

Haridwar is entitled as the greatest of festivals. The ritual to be performed by the pilgrim
at Haridwar is described by 3A, borrowing from the 3A reference. The story is told to enquire the merits of the festival, which leads
one to assume that the road to Ayodhya was far from safe in the period of the composition and
that robbery of pilgrims was a common phenomenon.³ The robbery killing from the country of
Haridwar (Haridwar) and intended to plunder a group of pilgrims on their way from Haridwar
priests to the Nagesvara temple in Ayodhya are eventually uncovered by a personification of Ayodhya.
Owing to the vow of Nagesvara and the goddess of Nagesvara, which is described as a kind of
personification (personification), the robbers are liberated from their vow.

Insecurity and chaos lessened considerably with the establishment of a virtually independent
state of Oudh. In September 1722 Mir Asaf-ud-Din, endowed with the title Sa'adat Khan Bahadur,

¹ See Introduction 7 (pp. 1, 148 n. 2).
² 3A 13 33.
³ Sitara 1935:11, Ep. Sitara 1932:191, and 1:160 n. 7.
⁴ See 3A 22.
⁵ See 3A 23.

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interpolation within the OA recension of AM.¹

The Bhuśrām. is important in so far as it sheds some light on the religious situation in Ayodhyā at the close of the sixteenth century. It attests to the consolidation of the idea of the Rāmadurga and its guards.² In addition the concept of the 'Seven Hari sanctuaries' appears to be known by that time, albeit that the name of the seventh 'Hari', Bharatahari, in the Bhuśrām.³ is unknown to the AM tradition. We shall find the same concept in the OA recension of the AM.⁴

The Rasika branch of Rāma bhakti remained an important factor in the religious life of Ayodhyā in the 17th and following centuries. The Śrīmahārājacaritra, a hagiography of Rāmaprasāda (AD 1703-1804), the alleged founder of the Barā Sthān, written in the Avadhī dialect by his *celā* Raghunāthaprasāda in AD 1804/5, reports that in the second half of the 18th century the Kanakabhavana and the Ratnasimhāsana were flourishing centres of the Rasika-sampradāya⁵, as they still are today. The Kanakabhavana is thought to be the terrestrial representation of the divine palace of Sītā⁶, and the Ratnasimhāsana represents Rāma's throne-room⁷. Both holy places are still absent in the *Bhusundirāmāyana*, in which one would have expected them to occur if they were already to be found in the period in which this text was written, since these *tīrthas* appear to be so intimately related to the history of the Rasika school in Ayodhyā. They are, on the other hand, described in the OA recension of the AM, which makes plausible the posteriority of the OA recension of the AM with respect to the Bhuśrām. In view of the above considerations we conclude that this *Rāmāyana* was presumably written in the second half of the 16th century.

Once a start was made with the rediscovery of the ancient places of the Tretāyuga this paradigm could in principle be employed without limit, and the present situation in Ayodhyā bears witness to its prolificacy. The rediscovery was guided by the conception of a celestial city of Ayodhyā that is forever established in Viṣṇu's heaven, and of which the terrestrial town is thought to be a replica.⁸ MS B as well as the OA recension relate that this divine city was bestowed upon Manu through the agency of Brahmā as a place on earth in which to live.⁹

¹ See III, App. 1 No. 2: *rāmātīrthāt paścime tu pramodavanam uttamam/ yatra śrīrāmacandro hi ramate sasuhṛjjanāh//*.

² Bhuśrām. I. 102.118f. See above.

³ Bhuśrām. I. 101.43: *ayodhyāyām saptaharītīrthāny āhur manīṣināh/*. After the description of Gupteharī Bhuśrām. I. 102.46 reads: *tato bhratapurvaḥ oḥ harir yatrātīpāvana/ bharato nama rā; vah pūrvajāḥ siddhim āptavān//*. The AM has Puṇyāharī instead of Bharataharī, see Intr. AM 11; OA 11.7-8.

⁴ OA 11.7-9.

⁵ See Intr. AM 19 (Ratnamandapa); Intr. AM 20 (Kanakamandapa). The colophon of the SMC runs: *iti śrī 108 paramācārya 'dīnabāndhu' svāmī śrī rāmaprasādajīmahārāja kā śubha jīvanacaritra tatkrpāpātra śrīraghunāthaprasāda kṛta sampūrnām śubham/ sam. 1862*. Rāmaprasāda is credited with the foundation of the *math* named Barā Sthān (an important centre of the Rāmānandī sect) in the centre of the Rāmkoṭ about the middle of the 18th century (Simha 1957.415f.; cp. Ghurye 1953, 190f.).

⁶ Intr. AM 20. Cp. Simha 1957.274 where a ground-plan of the *divya kanaka bhavana* is given.

⁷ See Intr. AM 19.

⁸ OAB 2.19. See Intr. AM 2: *ad* OAB 2.12ab; *ad* OAB 2.14cd-16.

⁹ OAB 2.17-20. The interpolation at the end of the edition of the AM (A) expresses the same idea: *yāyodhyā jagatītale tu manunā vaikunthato hy anītā yācitvā nijasrstipālanaparam vaikuntham prabhum/ yā vai bhūmitale nidhaya vimalā cekṣvākave cārpitā sayōdhyā paramātmāno vijc dhāmnam parā muktidā//* (See III, App. 1 No. 6). The influence of the Rasika school on the Rāma *bhā* in Ayodhyā becomes explicit in the same interpolation when it is said about Ayodhyā: *yasyām vaiṣṇavasajjanāḥ surasikāḥ svācāranisthās sadā līlādhāmasunāmarūpadayitāḥ śrīrāmacandre ratā*. Simha 1957.273 expounds the ideas held by the Rasika school of Rāma bhakti in more detail.

An idea of the religious situation at the close of the 17th century and the holy places involved in the animosity between the Hindu sects can be gathered from the OA recension of the AM. The *tīrthas* described are presented in table IV. This table shows that in comparison with the situation given in the S recension Ayodhyā witnessed an increase of Rāmāite *tīrthas*, which by now came to form almost half (46%) of all holy places mentioned. With respect to the Bhuśrām, we note an expansion of the Rāmadurga, which according to OA is encircled by 19 guards. Like the Bhuśrām, OA knows seven 'Hari' sanctuaries within the Ayodhyākṣetra (*sapta harayah*). Ancient non-Vaiṣṇava *tīrthas* like Suresā, Batuka, and Kuṇḍavī have disappeared and the Śaiva pilgrimage tour in S was likewise omitted. Significant for the situation as it evolved in the 17th century are, besides the Rāmadurga, the palaces of Rāma and Sītā situated in the centre of the holy town (Rāmasebhā to the east of the Rāmkot, Ratnamandapa, Kanakamandapa and Sītā's Kitchen within the Rāmkot). The conglomeration of these *tīrthas* is denoted as Ayodhyāpīṭha. The Sarayū, who relates her own origin to the youthful (*bāla*) Rāma when he came to play on her banks together with his brothers, is styled Rāmagāṅgā. A bathing place on its bank, in B still of subordinate importance and designated as Rāmakuṇḍa, developed into one of the main *ghāts* under the name Rāmātīrtha.¹ The new *tīrtha* of Nāgeśvara adjacent to the Svargadvāra *ghāt* deserves special attention. The legend of the origin of this Śaiva place is connected with Rāma mythology as it is said to have been founded by his son Kuśa after his reinstallation in Ayodhyā (the legend relates the romance of Kuśa and the *nāga* princess Kumudvatī). This sanctuary had attained great prestige, as is apparent from the fact that Nāgeśvara is considered the presiding deity of Ayodhyā. A visit to this holy place is obligatory for every pilgrim in order to obtain the full benefit of his pilgrimage.² On *meḷā* days one can still observe a queue of pilgrims hundreds of meters long waiting at the entrance gate of the temple. We may conjecture that the rise to prominence of the Nāgeśvara shrine was partly due to the fact that both adjacent ancient Viṣṇu temples were destroyed in the time of Aurangzeb. The present temple, which is among the oldest in Ayodhyā, was built by Naval Rāy (see below) in the second quarter of the 18th century.³

Rāmanavamī is extolled as the greatest of festivals. The ritual to be performed by the pilgrim who visits Janmabhūmī on this occasion is described by OA, borrowing from the *Agastyasāhita*.⁴ A lengthy story is told to eulogize the purity and merits of the Navamī festival, which leads one to assume that the roads to Ayodhyā were far from safe in the period of the composition and that robbery of pilgrims was a common phenomenon.⁵ Five robbers hailing from the country of Marukāntāra (Marwar) who intended to plunder a group of pious pilgrims on their way from Indra-prastha to the Navamī *meḷā* in Ayodhyā are eventually unmasked by a personification of Ayodhyā. Owing to the vow of Navamī and the darshan of Janmabhūmī, which is described as a kind of *prāyaścitta* (atonement), the robbers are liberated from their sins.

Insecurity and chaos lessened considerably with the establishment of a virtually independent state of Oudh. In September 1722 Mīr Muḥammad Amīn, endowed with the title Sa'ādāt Khān Bahādur,

¹ See Intr. AM 77 (cp. I, 148 n.2).

² OA 13.32.

³ Sītārām 1933, 11. Cp. Sītārām 1932, 156f. and I, 152 n.7.

⁴ See AM 22.

⁵ See AM 23.

PLACES IN AYODHYĀKṢETRA (names in italics: within Ayodhyā town)

TABLE IV
TĪRTHAS IN REDENSION DA

CHĀṬ	VISNU SANCTUARY	RĀMAITE SANCTUARY	GENERAL KUNDA / TĪRTHA	RĀMAITE KUNDA / TĪRTHA	SAIVA KUNDA/TĪRTHA	SĀKIA KUNDA/TĪRTHA	YAKSA ETC. KUNDA/TĪRTHA
1 Cakratīrtha	21 Viṣṇuhari	27 Sahasradhārā	35 Svamākhari	67 Sītākunda I	111 Viḡṇeśa	121 Bandī	133 Dhanayakṣa
2 Brahmakunda	22 Candrahari	28 Janmas thāna	36 Brhaspatikunda	68 Kṣirodaka	112 Bhairava	122 Cudakī	134 Mattagajendra
3 Rāmacana	23 Dharmahari	29 Kaikeyī- bhavana	37 Rūkmīnīkunda	69 Sītākunda II	113 Mantrēśvara (līṅga)	123 Mahāvīdyā	135 Pindāraka
4 Pāpamocana	24 Guptahari	30 Sumitīr- bhavana	38 Vasīsthakunda	70 Sugrīvātīrtha	114 Durbhara	124 Siddhapīṭha	
5 Svargadvāra	25 Cakrahari	31 Rāmasabhā	39 Vamadeva	71 Hanumatkunda II	115 Mahābhara	125 Yoginīkunda	
6 Gopratāra	26 Vārāhatīrtha (Vārāhasabhā)	32 Ratnamandapa	40 Sāgarakunda	72 Vibhīṣaṇasara	116 Dugheśvara (līṅga)	126 Sītālā	
7 Rāmātīrtha		33 Kanakamandapa	41 Urvāṣṭakunda	73 Bharatēkunda (Nandigrāma)			
8 Yamasthala (Sahasradhārā- 27)		34 Sītāpākā- sthāna	42 Ratikunda	74 Jātākunda			
(Jambūtīrtha 50)		(Nāgeśvara 117)	43 Kusumayūtha- kunda	75 Bilvehari	117 Nāgeśvara (līṅga)	127 Vidyākunda	SOLAR SANCTUARY
(Valmīkatīrtha 75)			44 Gayākunda	76 Valmīkatīrtha	118 Durgēśvara (līṅga)	128 Durgākunda	136 Sūryakunda (Ghoṣārkekunda)
(Silvahari 75)			45 Pīṣacamocana		119 Kṣitrēśvara (līṅga)	129 Kālīkā	
(Nirmalīkunda 57)			46 Mānasatīrtha	77 Dantadhāvana- kunda	120 Tripurārī	130 Sūkunda	
RIVER/ CONFLUENCE			47 Chitrācītīrtha	78 Rāmādurga		131 Mahālekṣmī (pīṭha)	
9 Sarayū			48 Tundilakṣarāma	79/97: 19 Guards		132 Svapneśvari (130/132 in Bokulā)	
10 Tīlodakī			49 Āgastyasara	98 Hanumatkunda I			
11 Janasā			50 Jambūtīrtha	99 Sugrīvākunda			
12/16: 5 āśramas			51 Navaratna	100 Vibhīṣanākunda			
17 Gharghara			52 Agnikunda	101 Sītākūpa			
18 Kuṭīlā			53 Ganeśakunda	102 Yaṣṭhāvedī			
19 Manoramā			54 Kharjukunda	103 Āśokavatīkā			
20 Rāmarekhā			55 Vaiterāṇī	104 Manīparvata			
20a Verasrotas			56 Satakrātukunda	105 Dāśarathakunda			
			57 Nirmalīkunda	106 Kausalyākunda			
			58 Narakunda	107 Sumitrākunda			
			59 Nārāyaṇatīrtha	108 Rāmākunda			
			60 Ryaśīṅgāśrama	109 Mekhas thāna			
			61 Puṇyehari	110 Satrughnakunda			
			62 Ajita	110a Kaikeyīkunda			
			63 Astīkasthanā	(Gopratāra 6)			
			64 Rāmanakasthanā	(Tīlodakī 10)			
			65 Pramodavane	(Dugheśvara 116)			
			66 Parāśares thala	(Mantrēśvara 113)			
				(Rāmātīrtha 7)			
				(Sarayū 9)			
				(Yamasthala 8)			
				(Kṣitrēśvara 119)			
				(Rāmarekhā 20)			

The vertical arrangement of the places agrees with their occurrence in earlier versions of AM (S and B) separated by ---.

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(Ex-63)

120/36

CHAPTER 23: RA'NAVAMAPATNYA (FEATURING JANMASTHANA AND YAMASTHANA)

Introduction

Actual evidence.

AM 1035: 0.1a-16a-8.59cd, 0.1ab-8.59ab, 10.1ab-22cd, 0.1.10a-8.59cd, 9.1ab-9.52cd, 10.1ab-10.24cd, A 4.18a-6.9cd, 9.1ab-9.52cd, 10.1ab-25cd, C 5.24cd-27cd, 7.1ab-2cd (Yamasthana); K 2.24cd-28cd, 7.1ab-2cd (Yamasthana); gm.BM.

Note to the textual evidence.

This lengthy story is peculiar to the OA version of the M. It forms an integral part of this version as it refers to and quotes earlier parts of the Māhātmya (OA 23.35 = OA 7.3cd-4cd, OA 23.89 = OA 5.2cd-3cd, OA 23.45a and 96a refer to OA 5.4c, OA 23.48a refers to OA 5.1ab, OA 23.93cd-94cd refers to OA 5.d; references are made to Sargolwara, Janmasthana (Janma-
sthan), Tamasā river, and Gopratāra). It falls into two sections, the first telling the story of a group of dacoits who were liberated from their sins by a visit to Ayodhyā on Nāvari (OA 23.1-55cd), the second relating the pilgrimage of Yama and the foundation of his tirtha, Yama-
sthan, on a sandbank of the Sarayū (OA 23.56cd-120). Both sections have been recorded in one
and two stanzas respectively in CK and are disconnected from each other. A reference to the
robbery is made in CK in connection with the Janmasthana while Yamasthana is mentioned in
the context of the nearby Gopratāra tirtha. In OA 23.114-117 an interesting statement is made
regarding the transmission of this Māhātmya or Rāmāyana. It is said to have been extolled
first by Agastya to Sūrikapa and then by Sūrikapa to five, we are inclined to associate of this
with a tacit reference to the Agastyaśikṣāśāstra, i.e., the Agastyaśikṣā, from which part
of the Nāvari eulogy had been borrowed (see OA 22). The story of the five robbers, however, is
not found in the AgS.

Excerpt of the content.

The origin of the tirtha Yamasthana (c.1,250m east of Gopratāra in Faizabad) is told in part
of the glorification of Rāmāyana. Details of this holy place are given in OA 23.110.

The contents of the Māhātmya are briefly as follows:

Section 1.

Five untouchables (an oilman, a weaver, an editor, a fisherman, and a potter) living in the
country of Maruśāntara (Marwar) had slipped into sinfulness. Summoned by officials, they were
brought before the king of Maruśāntara who, since he was a sage, refused to order
them from his country rather than put them to death. In this emergency, he decided to
become a dacoit. Once they joined a group of pilgrims who were on their way from Maruśāntara
to Ayodhyā on the occasion of Nāvari with a view to seeking their.

When they arrived at the gate of Ayodhyā their entrance was barred by the ten thousand
guards of the holy town. However, a man named Asita informed them of the way to the town. He
advised them to perform the pilgrimage rite and to observe the fast. He also told them that
they should not sleep, but, after performing the rite, they should go to the town.

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and take the opportunity to do so. He then went to the city.

In entering the city, the five robbers had a vision of the goddess Ayodhya, who approached them as a personification of justice (Satya or Vimala) and mercilessly beat the sins out of them. The sins, which are represented in bodily form (rāga-rasā), took refuge under a pipal tree outside the city. The robbers, now liberated from their sins, performed the pilgrimage and obtained for paradise (Santānāloka).

Section 2.

Yama instructed Citraguṇa to plot out the sins of the five robbers. Citraguṇa concluded that no sinner would be left if they were all to go to Sāroka on the day of Navamī.

In the meantime the messengers of Death (Yamadūtas) had caught sight of the personified sins under the pipal, and when they were told of their fate they reproached Ayodhya with her inhumanity and promised to intercede with Yama on their behalf in order that they (i.e. the sins) would be reunited with their 'sinners'. Yama felt embarrassed by the scurrilous behaviour of his servants and decided to take them on a pilgrimage to Ayodhya in order to atone for their misdeeds.

On his way to Ayodhya Yama encountered Viśvakarma who, after a pilgrimage to the holy town on the occasion of Navamī, hurried back to paradise in order to build accommodation for the many pilgrims who would resort to heaven soon after accomplishing the vow of Navamī. When Yama reached the southern border of the Akṣara, the river Jambū, he made a reverential salutation to the holy town uttering the *śloka* (DA 73.52-53). Then he went on to the 'head' of the Akṣara, Gopatāra, and extolled the merits of Ayodhya (Satya) in a hymn of praise (Ayodhyāstava, DA 23.95-102). Ayodhya appeared before him and allowed him to found his new holy place on a sandbank (pāṇī) of the river, which was called (Santānāloka). By order of Ayodhya the sins were destroyed and Yama's messengers were pardoned.

Finally the transmission of this *pāṇī* is explained (at the end), and the benefits of reciting or listening to it are enquired.

No positive historical facts can be deduced from this legend (but see 1.150 and DA 23.102).

Text

(1.150)

māhātmyaṃ kathyasyāṃ ketināreṇa nṛtānāṃ/
marukāntāreṇa ca bahuvāṇa pāṇa pāṇīṇāṃ///
ekas tu tallexāra hi lūpāketi ca kathyate/
tantorāṇa dvitīyas tu nānā bhāṣa itī śaṅkaḥ///
dvitīyas tu nānā bhāṣa lūpāketi ca kathyate/
tantorāṇa dvitīyas tu nānā bhāṣa itī śaṅkaḥ///

marukāntāreṇa pāṇaṃ dātāṃ ca pāṇīṇāṃ dvitīyas
lokaṃ (K. lokaḥ) kathyate pāṇīṇāṃ pāṇīṇāṃ dvitīyas
28.104, 73.52-53. 1a. By māhātmyaṃ. b. c. kathyate. 1a. 1b. 1c. 1d. 1e. 1f. 1g. 1h. 1i. 1j. 1k. 1l. 1m. 1n. 1o. 1p. 1q. 1r. 1s. 1t. 1u. 1v. 1w. 1x. 1y. 1z. 1aa. 1ab. 1ac. 1ad. 1ae. 1af. 1ag. 1ah. 1ai. 1aj. 1ak. 1al. 1am. 1an. 1ao. 1ap. 1aq. 1ar. 1as. 1at. 1au. 1av. 1aw. 1ax. 1ay. 1az. 1ba. 1bb. 1bc. 1bd. 1be. 1bf. 1bg. 1bh. 1bi. 1bj. 1bk. 1bl. 1bm. 1bn. 1bo. 1bp. 1bq. 1br. 1bs. 1bt. 1bu. 1bv. 1bw. 1bx. 1by. 1bz. 1ca. 1cb. 1cc. 1cd. 1ce. 1cf. 1cg. 1ch. 1ci. 1cj. 1ck. 1cl. 1cm. 1cn. 1co. 1cp. 1cq. 1cr. 1cs. 1ct. 1cu. 1cv. 1cw. 1cx. 1cy. 1cz. 1da. 1db. 1dc. 1dd. 1de. 1df. 1dg. 1dh. 1di. 1dj. 1dk. 1dl. 1dm. 1dn. 1do. 1dp. 1dq. 1dr. 1ds. 1dt. 1du. 1dv. 1dw. 1dx. 1dy. 1dz. 1ea. 1eb. 1ec. 1ed. 1ee. 1ef. 1eg. 1eh. 1ei. 1ej. 1ek. 1el. 1em. 1en. 1eo. 1ep. 1eq. 1er. 1es. 1et. 1eu. 1ev. 1ew. 1ex. 1ey. 1ez. 1fa. 1fb. 1fc. 1fd. 1fe. 1ff. 1fg. 1fh. 1fi. 1fj. 1fk. 1fl. 1fm. 1fn. 1fo. 1fp. 1fq. 1fr. 1fs. 1ft. 1fu. 1fv. 1fw. 1fx. 1fy. 1fz. 1ga. 1gb. 1gc. 1gd. 1ge. 1gf. 1gg. 1gh. 1gi. 1gj. 1gk. 1gl. 1gm. 1gn. 1go. 1gp. 1gq. 1gr. 1gs. 1gt. 1gu. 1gv. 1gw. 1gx. 1gy. 1gz. 1ha. 1hb. 1hc. 1hd. 1he. 1hf. 1hg. 1hi. 1hj. 1hk. 1hl. 1hm. 1hn. 1ho. 1hp. 1hq. 1hr. 1hs. 1ht. 1hu. 1hv. 1hw. 1hx. 1hy. 1hz. 1ia. 1ib. 1ic. 1id. 1ie. 1if. 1ig. 1ih. 1ii. 1ij. 1ik. 1il. 1im. 1in. 1io. 1ip. 1iq. 1ir. 1is. 1it. 1iu. 1iv. 1iw. 1ix. 1iy. 1iz. 1ja. 1jb. 1jc. 1jd. 1je. 1jf. 1jg. 1jh. 1ji. 1jj. 1jk. 1jl. 1jm. 1jn. 1jo. 1jp. 1jq. 1jr. 1js. 1jt. 1ju. 1jv. 1jw. 1jx. 1jy. 1jz. 1ka. 1kb. 1kc. 1kd. 1ke. 1kf. 1kg. 1kh. 1ki. 1kj. 1kk. 1kl. 1km. 1kn. 1ko. 1kp. 1kq. 1kr. 1ks. 1kt. 1ku. 1kv. 1kw. 1kx. 1ky. 1kz. 1la. 1lb. 1lc. 1ld. 1le. 1lf. 1lg. 1lh. 1li. 1lj. 1lk. 1ll. 1lm. 1ln. 1lo. 1lp. 1lq. 1lr. 1ls. 1lt. 1lu. 1lv. 1lw. 1lx. 1ly. 1lz. 1ma. 1mb. 1mc. 1md. 1me. 1mf. 1mg. 1mh. 1mi. 1mj. 1mk. 1ml. 1mm. 1mn. 1mo. 1mp. 1mq. 1mr. 1ms. 1mt. 1mu. 1mv. 1mw. 1mx. 1my. 1mz. 1na. 1nb. 1nc. 1nd. 1ne. 1nf. 1ng. 1nh. 1ni. 1nj. 1nk. 1nl. 1nm. 1nn. 1no. 1np. 1nq. 1nr. 1ns. 1nt. 1nu. 1nv. 1nw. 1nx. 1ny. 1nz. 1oa. 1ob. 1oc. 1od. 1oe. 1of. 1og. 1oh. 1oi. 1oj. 1ok. 1ol. 1om. 1on. 1oo. 1op. 1oq. 1or. 1os. 1ot. 1ou. 1ov. 1ow. 1ox. 1oy. 1oz. 1pa. 1pb. 1pc. 1pd. 1pe. 1pf. 1pg. 1ph. 1pi. 1pj. 1pk. 1pl. 1pm. 1pn. 1po. 1pp. 1pq. 1pr. 1ps. 1pt. 1pu. 1pv. 1pw. 1px. 1py. 1pz. 1qa. 1qb. 1qc. 1qd. 1qe. 1qf. 1qg. 1qh. 1qi. 1qj. 1qk. 1ql. 1qm. 1qn. 1qo. 1qp. 1qq. 1qr. 1qs. 1qt. 1qu. 1qv. 1qw. 1qx. 1qy. 1qz. 1ra. 1rb. 1rc. 1rd. 1re. 1rf. 1rg. 1rh. 1ri. 1rj. 1rk. 1rl. 1rm. 1rn. 1ro. 1rp. 1rq. 1rr. 1rs. 1rt. 1ru. 1rv. 1rw. 1rx. 1ry. 1rz. 1sa. 1sb. 1sc. 1sd. 1se. 1sf. 1sg. 1sh. 1si. 1sj. 1sk. 1sl. 1sm. 1sn. 1so. 1sp. 1sq. 1sr. 1ss. 1st. 1su. 1sv. 1sw. 1sx. 1sy. 1sz. 1ta. 1tb. 1tc. 1td. 1te. 1tf. 1tg. 1th. 1ti. 1tj. 1tk. 1tl. 1tm. 1tn. 1to. 1tp. 1tq. 1tr. 1ts. 1tt. 1tu. 1tv. 1tw. 1tx. 1ty. 1tz. 1ua. 1ub. 1uc. 1ud. 1ue. 1uf. 1ug. 1uh. 1ui. 1uj. 1uk. 1ul. 1um. 1un. 1uo. 1up. 1uq. 1ur. 1us. 1ut. 1uu. 1uv. 1uw. 1ux. 1uy. 1uz. 1va. 1vb. 1vc. 1vd. 1ve. 1vf. 1vg. 1vh. 1vi. 1vj. 1vk. 1vl. 1vm. 1vn. 1vo. 1vp. 1vq. 1vr. 1vs. 1vt. 1vu. 1vv. 1vw. 1vx. 1vy. 1vz. 1wa. 1wb. 1wc. 1wd. 1we. 1wf. 1wg. 1wh. 1wi. 1wj. 1wk. 1wl. 1wm. 1wn. 1wo. 1wp. 1wq. 1wr. 1ws. 1wt. 1wu. 1wv. 1ww. 1wx. 1wy. 1wz. 1xa. 1xb. 1xc. 1xd. 1xe. 1xf. 1xg. 1xh. 1xi. 1xj. 1xk. 1xl. 1xm. 1xn. 1xo. 1xp. 1xq. 1xr. 1xs. 1xt. 1xu. 1xv. 1xw. 1xx. 1xy. 1xz. 1ya. 1yb. 1yc. 1yd. 1ye. 1yf. 1yg. 1yh. 1yi. 1yj. 1yk. 1yl. 1ym. 1yn. 1yo. 1yp. 1yq. 1yr. 1ys. 1yt. 1yu. 1yv. 1yw. 1yx. 1yy. 1yz. 1za. 1zb. 1zc. 1zd. 1ze. 1zf. 1zg. 1zh. 1zi. 1zj. 1zk. 1zl. 1zm. 1zn. 1zo. 1zp. 1zq. 1zr. 1zs. 1zt. 1zu. 1zv. 1zw. 1zx. 1zy. 1zz.

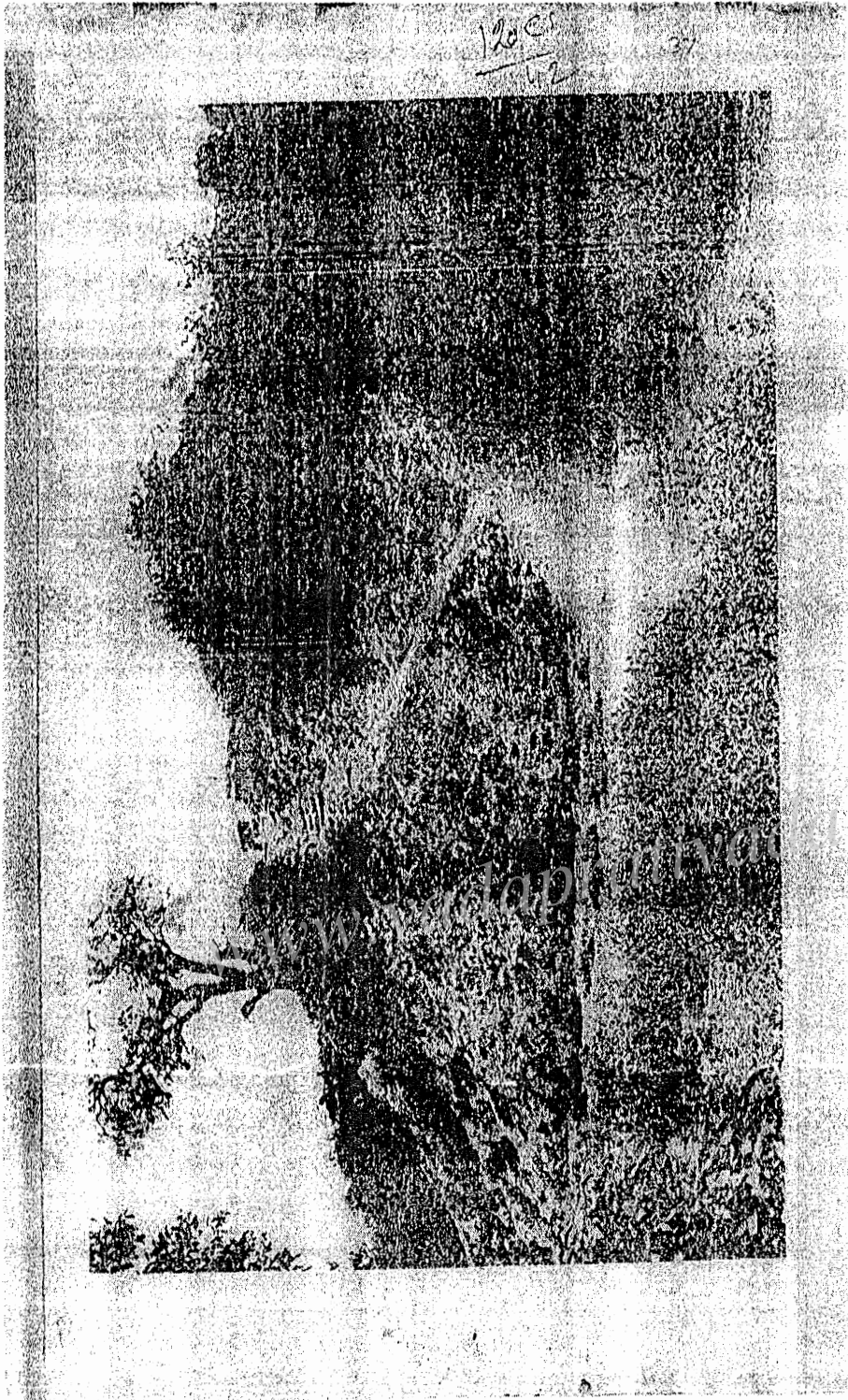
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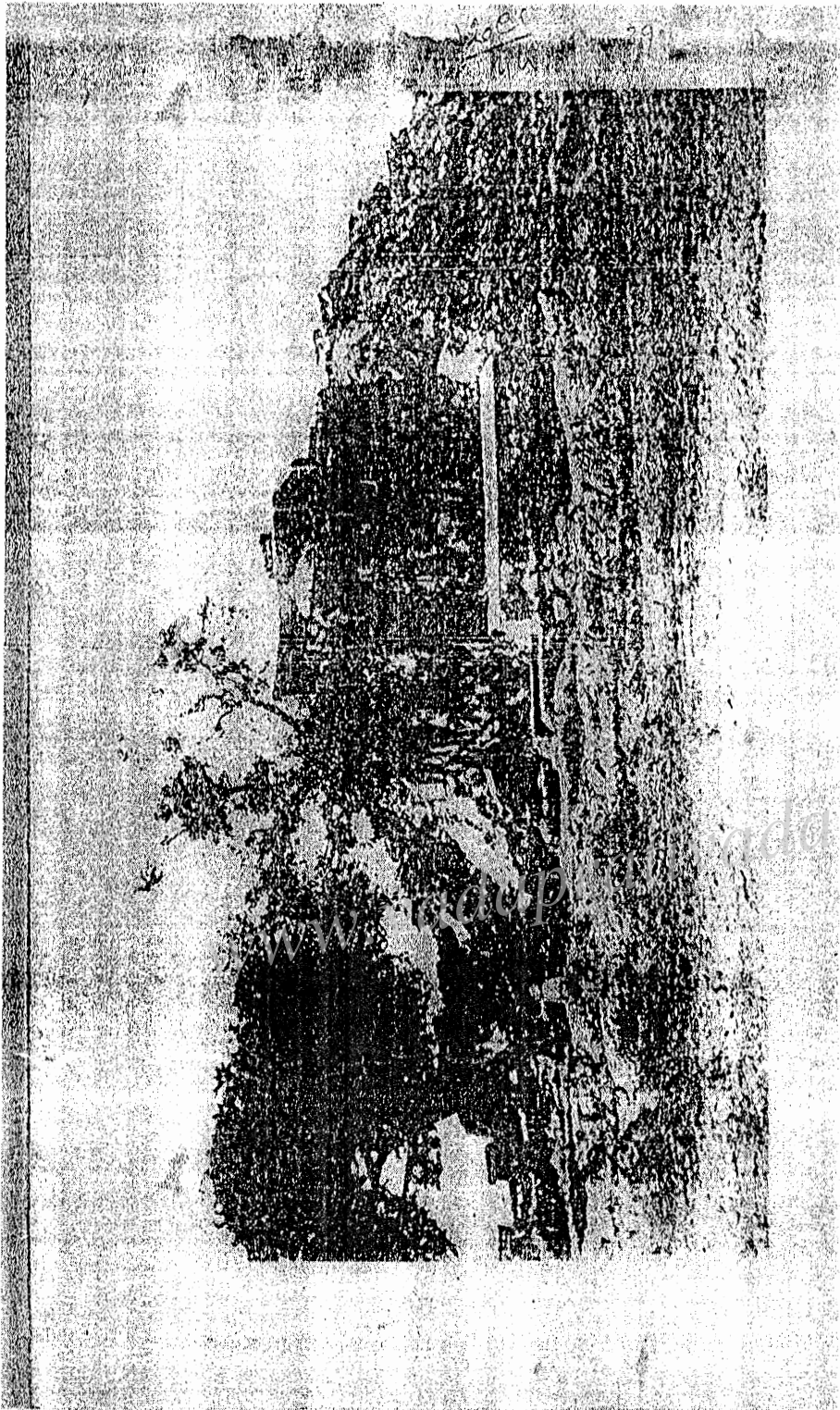


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THE WESTERN SIDE OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN

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609



SHRI KODAN (K.A. 10th) APPLING KOTWADA TEMPLE IN SILESA

610



PLATE

COLUMN IN THE JANNARAYANA TEMPLE IN SICHIM, THE GROUP OF MONUMENTS OF 1942

611



PLATE 6

IMAGE OF DEVIETY AT THE BASE OF A DOOR-JAMB FROM THE JAMNABHAI TEMPLE
KEPT IN THE COURT-YARD OF THE NEW JAMNABHAI TEMPLE (AYUR 1972)

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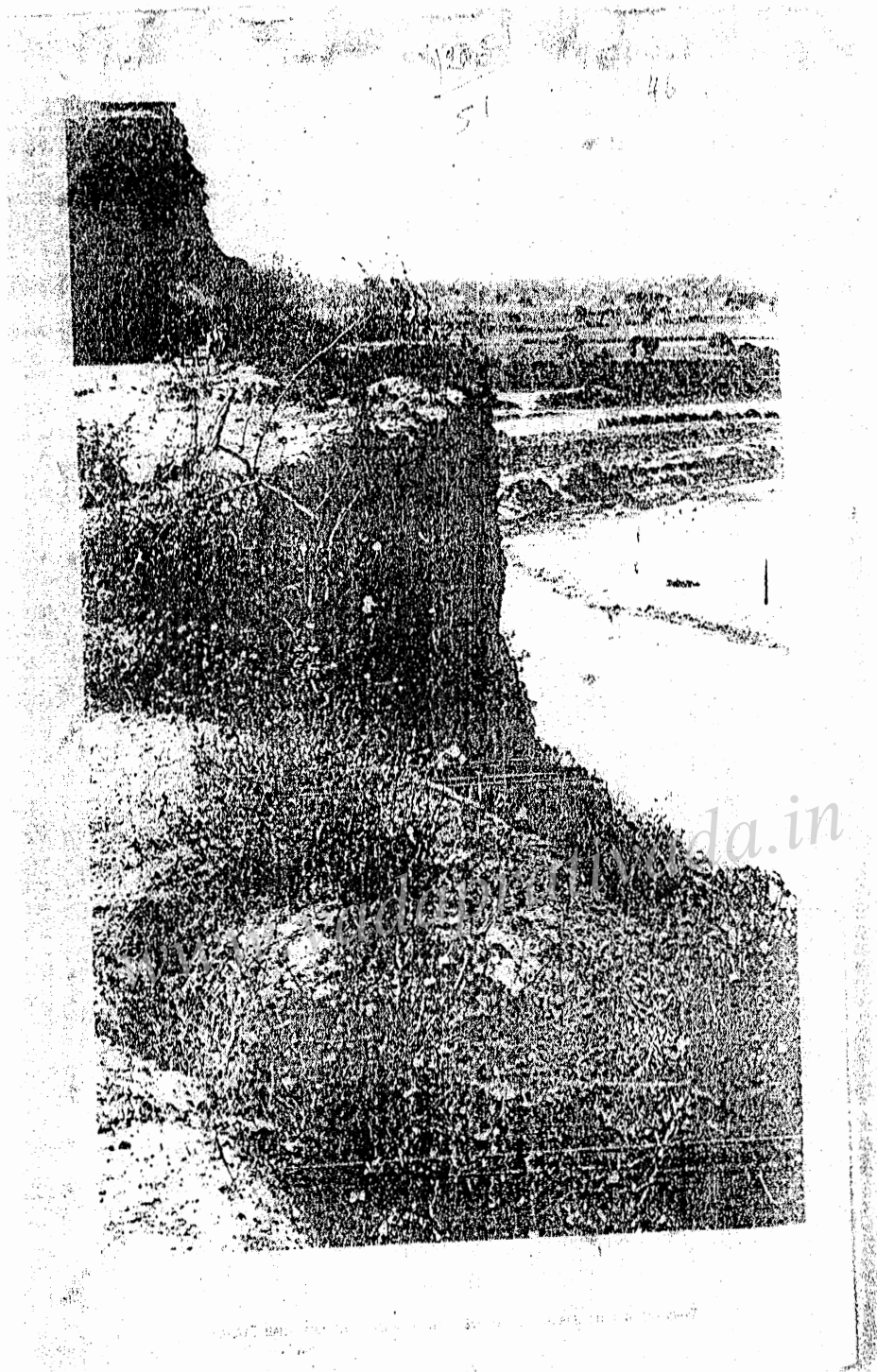
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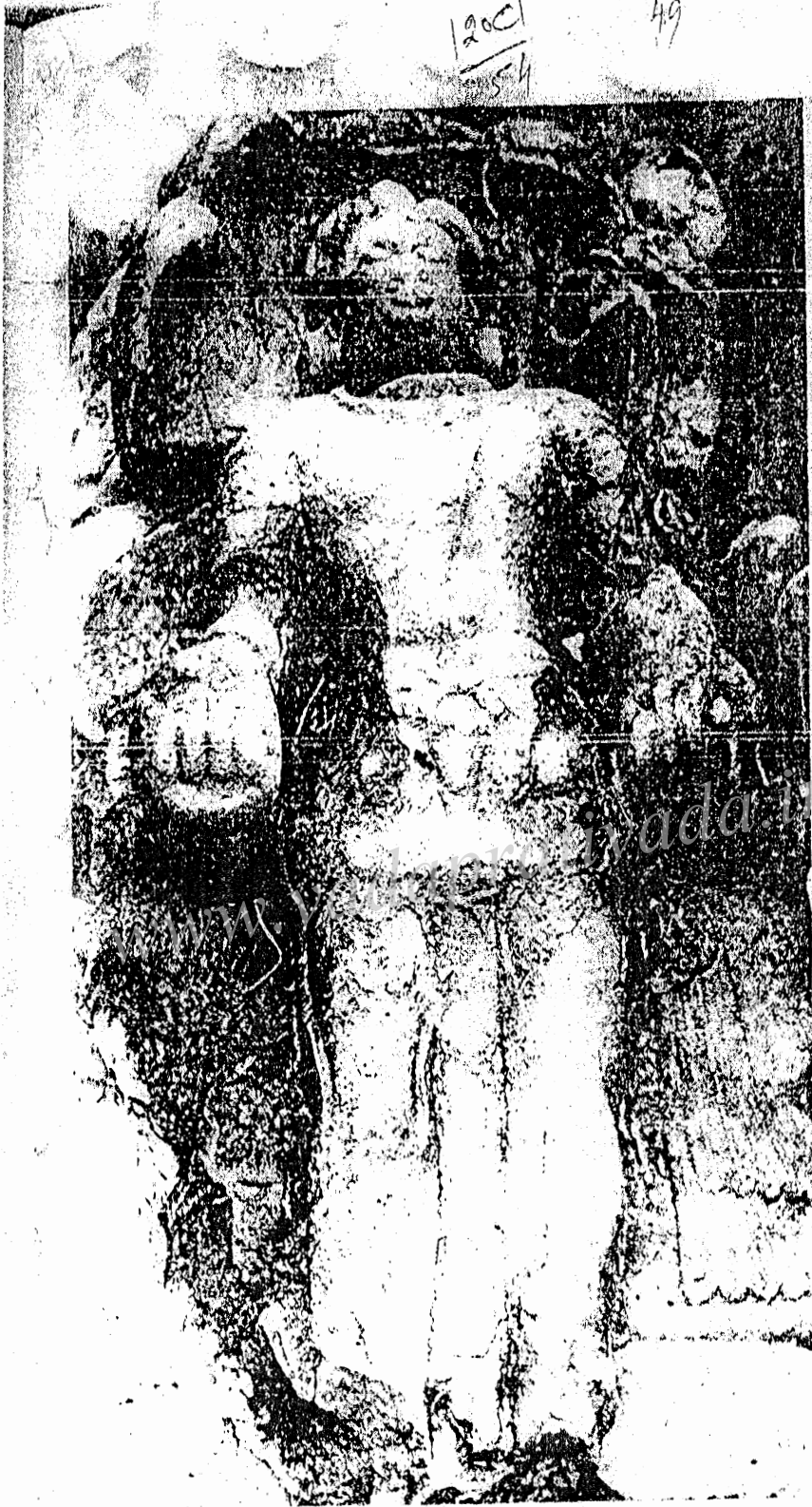
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CHAPTER 23. RĀMANAVAMIMĀHĀTMYA (FEATURING JANMASTHĀNA AND YAMASTHALA).

Introduction

Textual evidence.

AM MSS: O₁ 8.18ab-8.59cd, 9.1ab-9.53ab, 10.1ab-25cd; O₂ 8.18ab-8.58cd, 9.1ab-9.53ab, 10.1ab-10.24cd; A 8.18ab-59cd, 9.1ab-9.52cd, 10.1ab-25cd; C 5.24cd-25ab, 7.1ab-2cd (Yamasthala); K 5.24cd-25ab, 7.1ab-2cd (Yamasthala); om.BPS.

Note to the textual evidence.

This lengthy story is peculiar to the OA recension of the AM. It forms an integral part of this recension as it refers to and quotes earlier parts of the Māhātmya (OA 23.35 = OA 7.3cd-4ab, OA 23.99 = OA 5.2cd-3ab, OA 23.45a and 96a refer to OA 5.4c, OA 23.48ab refers to OA 5.4ab, OA 23.93cd-94ab refers to OA 5.9; reference is made to Svargadvāra, Janmasthāna (Janma-ghūmi), Yamasā river, and Gopratāra). It falls into two sections, the first telling the story of a gang of dacoits who were liberated from their sins by a visit to Ayodhyā on Navamī (OA 23.1-59ab), the second relating the pilgrimage of Yama and the foundation of his tīrtha, Yamasthala, on a sandbank of the Sarayū (OA 23.59cd-120). Both sections have been reduced to one and two ślokas respectively in CK and are disconnected from each other. A reference to the five robbers is made in CK in connection with the Janmasthāna while Yamasthala is mentioned in the context of the nearby Gopratāra tīrtha. In OA 23.114-117 an interesting statement is made regarding the transmission of this māhātmya of Rāmanavamī. It is said to have been expounded first by Agastya to Sutikṣṇa and then by Sutikṣṇa to Śiva. We are inclined to conceive of this as a tacit reference to the Agastyasutikṣṇasamvāda, i.e. the Agastyasamhitā, from which part of the Navamī eulogy had been borrowed (see OA 22). The story of the five robbers, however, is not found in the AgS.

Assessment of the content.

The origin of the tīrtha Yamasthala (c.1,250m east of Gōpratāra in Faizābād) is told as part of the glorification of Rāmanavamī. Details of this holy place are given at OA 23.107c.

The contents of the māhātmya are briefly as follows.

- Section 1.

Five untouchables (an oilman, a weaver, an actor, a fisherman, and a potter) living in the country of Marukāntāra (Marwar) had lapsed into sinfulness. Apprehended by officials, they were brought before the king of Marukāntāra who, since he was a sage (rājarsi), decided to banish them from his country rather than put them to death. The five sinners met in the jungle and became dacoits. Once they joined a group of pilgrims who were on their way from Indraprastha to Ayodhyā on the occasion of Navamī with a view to robbing them.

When they arrived at the gate of Ayodhyā their entrance was obstructed by the ten impediments (vighna: desire, anger, greed, etc.) which, in bodily form (i.e. as images, murtimat), serve as guards of the holy town. However, a muni named Asita intervened on behalf of the robbers and advised them to perform the pilgrimage rite and to undertake the vow of Navamī in order to be absolved from sins. They were recommended to go to Svargadvāra to bathe (snāna), have their

heads shaven (*vapana*), and take the vow, then to go to Janmasthanā for darshan.

On entering Ayodhyā, the five dacoits had a vision of the goddess Ayodhyā, who approached them as a personification of justice (*Satyā* or *Vimalā*) and mercilessly beat the sins out of them. The sins, which are represented in bodily form (*pāpavighraha*), took refuge under a pipal tree outside the city. The robbers, now liberated from their sins, performed the pilgrimage and departed for paradise (*Santānakaloka*).

— Section 2.

Yama instructed Citragupta to blot out the sins of the five robbers. Citragupta complained that no sinner would be left if they were all to go to Śāketa on the day of Navamī.

In the mean time the messengers of Death (*yamadūtas*) had caught sight of the personified sins under the pipal, and when they were told of their fate they reproached Ayodhyā with her impudicity and promised to intercede with Yama on their behalf in order that they (i.e. the sins) would be reunited with their 'sinners'. Yama felt embarrassed by the sacrilegious behaviour of his servants and decided to take them on a pilgrimage to Ayodhyā in order to atone for their misdeeds.

On his way to Ayodhyā Yama encountered Viśvakarman who, after a pilgrimage to the holy town on the occasion of Navamī, hurried back to paradise in order to build accommodation for the many pilgrims who would resort to heaven soon after accomplishing the vow of Navamī in Ayodhyā. When Yama reached the southern border of the *kṣetra*, the river *Yamasā*, he made a reverential salutation to the holy town, uttering: *om vimalāyai namaḥ* (OA 23.92-93). Then he went on to the 'head' of the *kṣetra*, *Gopratāra*, and extolled the merits of Ayodhyā (*Satyā*) in a hymn of praise (*Ayodhyāṣṭaka*, OA 23.95-102). Ayodhyā appeared before him and allowed him to found his own holy place on a sandbank (*pulina*) of the river, henceforth called *Yamasthala*. By order of Ayodhyā the sins were destroyed and Yama's messengers were pardoned.

Finally the transmission of this *māhātmya* is explained (see above), and the benefits of reciting or listening to it are eulogized.

No positive historical facts can be deduced from this legend (but see I, 150 and OA 23.107c).

Text

OA

(+ p.158)

māhātmyam kathayisyāmi setihāsam purāṇanam/
marukāntāradese ca babhūvuh pañca pāpinah//1//
ekas tu tailakāro hi lumpaketi ca kathyate/
tantukāro dvitīyas tu nāmnā śaṅkar iti smṛtaḥ//2//
tṛtīyas tu naṭo nāmnā luṇṭhako 'sāv udāhṛtaḥ/
caturtho dhīvaro duṣṭo nāmnā loke ca jantuhā//3//

marukāntārasambhūtāḥ pañca caurāś ca pāpinah/ navamyām darśanāo caiva
lokam (K loka^o) santānakam gatāḥ// pro 1ab-107ab substituit CK (cf. OA
23.1cd, 73cd-74ab). 1a. O₂ māhātmyam. b-c. śaṅkara uvāca ins. O₂. 2d.
O₂ nāmnā; O₁ smṛtam. 3a. O₁A nāmnā; O₂ jñeyah. b. O₂ ahvānasya tu lanta-
kah. c. O₂ dhīvaro. d. A lokesu; O₂ jantuhāḥ.

OA

pañcemaḥ kumbhakāras tu dharmaheti prathām agāt/
 pañcagrāme tu pañcānām ekasya sthitit anvabhūt//4//
 tailakārasya godoso babhūva tailapīḍane/
 itidoṣeṃ carair jñātvā rājñā grāmād bahihkṛtāḥ//5//
 tantukāras tu bhāryāyām anujesyaiva saṅgakṛt/
 naṭeś ca pethikēn sarvān sadā lunthati kōnane//6//
 dhanurbāṇadheraḥ pāpī tantukāregrhe sthitaḥ/
 nrpatī tau grhītvā ca yaṣṭighātān akārayat//7//
 dhīvaraḥ kumbhakāraś ca sadā cauryaparāyaṇau/
 rājalokeir grhītau ca kadāciḥ cauryakarmaṇi//8//
 baddhānītau nrpaśyāgre pāpītau paratāpītau/
 vimalātmeti rājarsir dehabhaṅgaṃ na cākarot//9//
 eṣa rājñāṃ paro dharmāś caurāṇāṃ māraṇaṃ tu yat/
 jñānināṃ ca mataṃ naiva tasmād rājñā vimocitau//10//
 dehābhedeṇa yo dandāḥ kartavyo viduṣā nare/
 vāpanaṃ draviṇādānaṃ deśān niryāpanaṃ tathā//11//
 eṣo hi sarvadusṭānāṃ vadho nānyo 'sti daihikāḥ/
 tailakāras tantukāro naṭeś ca kumbhakāraḥ//12//
 dhīvaro 'pi mahāpāpī pañcānām melanaṃ vane/
 babhūva pāpīnāṃ daivād dhimsrānāṃ paratāpīnāṃ//13//
 grāmān āgatya pañcalite cauryaṃ kurvanti nityaśaḥ/
 muṣṭivā dravyabahulaṃ palāyanti vanaṃ punaḥ//14//
 grāmāntaraṃ punar gatvā tatra cauryaṃ ca cakrire/
 tasmīn deśe ca ye grāmā lunthitāś caiva pāpibhiḥ//15//
 muṣṭivā tatra bahulaṃ veśyābhogaparāyaṇāḥ/
 mādyapānaratāś caiva mēṣsāhāropajīvināḥ//16//
 goviprāsurasādhūnāṃ sadā nindāparāyaṇāḥ/
 evaṃ te pāpīno rājñā svadeśāc ca nirākṛtāḥ//17//
 rājñā nirākṛtāḥ sarve duḥkhitāś te tadābhavaṃ/
 deśād deśāntaraṃ gatvā na punaḥ śarma lebhire//18//
 kiṃ kurmo 'tha kva gaḥchāmo jalpantaś ca muhur muhuh/
 bhramaṇta eva te sarve nānādeśeṣu pāmarāḥ//19//

4b. O₂ prthāgamāt. c. A ⁰grāmesu. d. O₂ ekasthitirabhūta. A ekatra.
 5a. O₂ tailakāras tu. c. O₂ ⁰doṣanarair. A doṣaś. d. O₂ drāmād. 6d. O₂
 lanthati. 7c. O₁A ca: O₂ tu. d. O₁₂ akārayet. 8d. O₂ corakarmani.
 9c. O₂ ⁰rsi. 10b. O₂ maraṇāṃ. c. O₁ jñānināṃ; A mate. 11a. O₂ dehā-
 bhedeṇa: O₁A dehābhedeṇa. b. O₁₂ nare: A na hi. c. O₂ pavanadravinādanāṃ.
 d. O₂ deśā. 12cd. O₂ tailakāro nataś caiva kumbhakāraḥ kuvindukāḥ.
 13d. O₂ dhimsānāṃ; O₁ ⁰tāpīnāṃ. 14c. A dravyaṃ uru ca. d. O₁ palāyanti,
 O₂ palāyati; O₁₂ vanaṃ: A punaḥ. 15c. O₂ grāmā. d. O₁ lunthatāś, O₂
 lunthitā; O₁A caiva: O₂ taiś ca. 16a. O₁₂ tatra bahulaṃ: A bahulaṃ dra-
 vyaṃ. b. O₂ ⁰parāyanāṃ. 17b. O₂ ⁰parāyanāṃ. c. O₁A té: O₂ sa. d. O₂
 svāradeśāc. 18b. O₂ duḥsitas te sadābhavaṃ. c. O₂ deśānta. 19ab. O₂
 ki karmo 'tha vyaṃ ceti babhruvanto niśaṃ muhuh/. c. O₂ bhramantaṃ. d.
 A ⁰deśe ca.

QA

cakrur enāṃsi te sarve loke nānāvidhāni ca/
 pāpena duḥkhitāḥ sarve muhur glāniṃ ca lebhire//20//
 madhumāse mahāpuṇye navamyaṃ rāmājanmani/
 snāhārtham tu janāḥ sarve cendraprasthāt pracelire//21//
 teṣāṃ saṅgas tu teṣāṃ vai caurāṇāṃ ebhilumpatām/
 evaṃ vicārya te caurāḥ kariṣyāmo 'tre cauryatām//22//
 prstās ca pathikair pañca hy ātmānam tu bruvantu naḥ/
 caurā ūcuḥ/
 vayaṃ vai yātrīṇaḥ sarve marukāntāravāsinaḥ//23//
 tīrthayātrāṃ kariṣyāmo bhavatām saṅgāme vayaṃ/
 teṣāṃ itīritam vākyam kiṃcin nocuṣ ca te janāḥ//24//
 ayodhyāṃ cāgatās te tu narāḥ sukṛtīṇaḥ priye/
 cauryasyāvāsaras teṣu nābhavat pāpakarmaṇām//25//
 upasālyam ayodhyāyāḥ puryā dvāre samāyayuh/
 ayodhyāyāṃ tu ye vighnā mūrtimantas tu te sadā//26//
 kāmāḥ krodhas ca lobhas ca dambhaḥ stambho 'tha matsarah/
 nidrā tandrā tathālasyaṃ paśunyaṃ iti te uśaḥ//27//
 haste daṇḍam grhītvā tu mūrtimanto vidudruvuh/
 bādhyamānāṃs ca tān drṣtvā dayāyukto 'bravīn munih//28//
 asito nāma medhāvī niśīdadhātha cāgatān/
 bhaviṣyati mahāpuṇyam yuṣmākaṃ pāpatārane//29//
 iti śrutvā munir vākyam no vighnam te ca cakrire/
 tasmīnn avasare caurā asitam vākyam abruvan//30//
 caurā ūcuḥ/
 bhagavan ke niśiddhās te ye 'smākaṃ rodhane ratāḥ/
 samśayaṃ chindhi no brahman tubhyaṃ vipra namo namaḥ//31//
 asitā uvāca/
 śabhāgyaś ca bhavanto hi yeṣāṃ āgamanam tv iha/
 ete vighnā ayodhyāyāṃ bādhante hi narādhāmān//32//
 mayā nivāritāḥ sarve tyaktā yuṣmān punargetāḥ/
 vidhipūrvam ayodhyāyāṃ yātrāṃ kuruta sattamāḥ//33//
 tīrthayātrāprabhāveṇa pāparāśir vinasīyati/

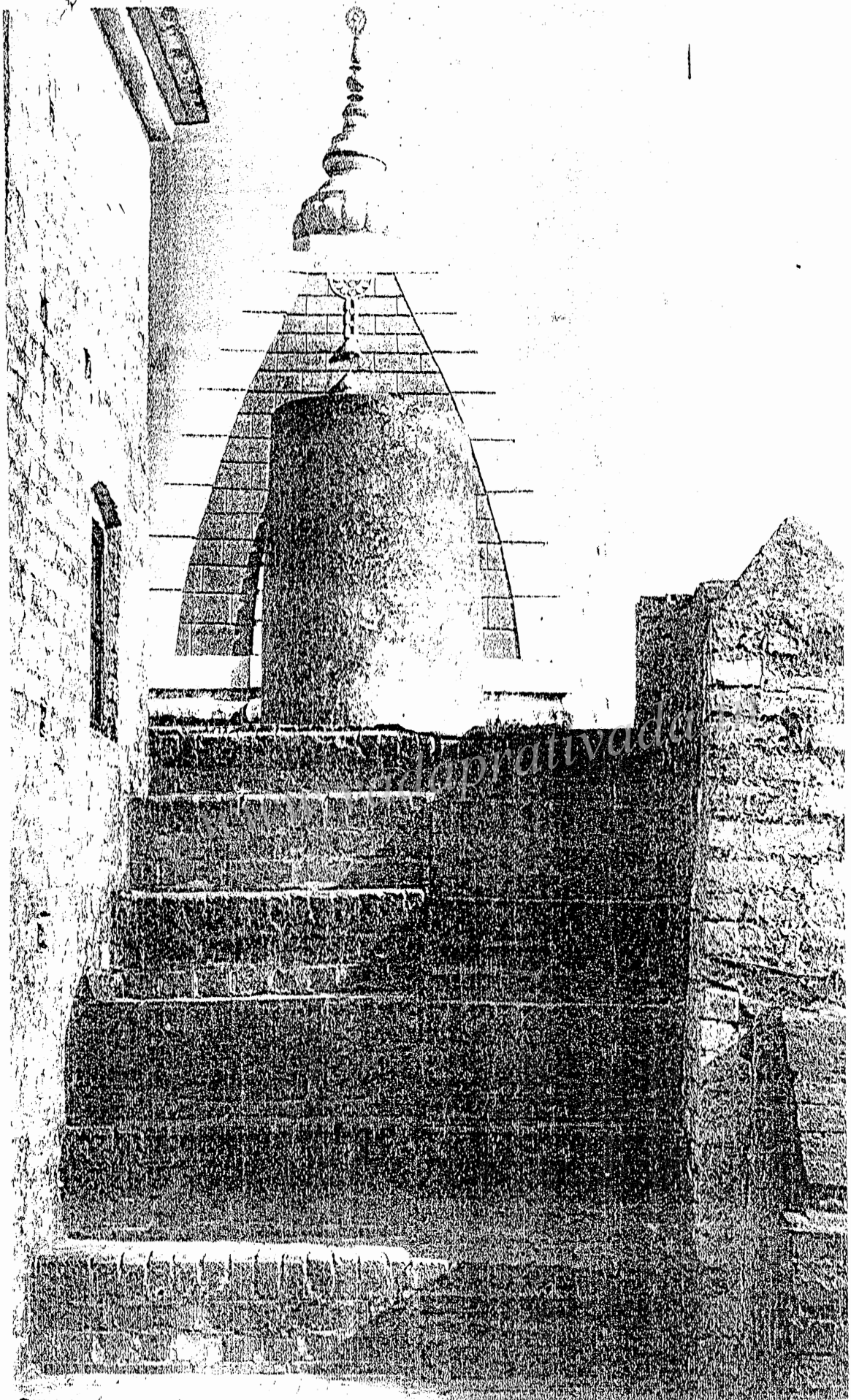
20a. O₂ vidhānitāḥ. c. O₂ duḥkhitāṃ, A duḥkhitā. 21c. O₁A tu: O₂ ca.
 22d. A coratām. 23a. O₁A ca: O₂ te. b. O₂ ātmanam. c. O₁₂ vai: A ca.
 d. O₂ sarva. 24d. O₂A kiṃcin (O₂ kiṃcin): O₁ cin. 25a. O₁ ca gatās;
 O₂ testu. c. O₂ cauryasyavāsaras. 26a. O₂ upasahyam, A upalabhya tv.
 b. O₁₂ puryā: A pūrva. 27a. A lobhas tu. b. A dambha. c. A tandā;
 O₂ tathālasyaṃ. 28a. O₂ dadagrhitvā. c. O₂ vadhyamānām ca. d. O₂ dayā-
 yukte. 29a. O₁ asito. b. O₂ mānisedhatha. d. A pāpatārane. 30a. O₂
 munir. c. O₂ tasmīnn. d. O₁ asitam; O₂ vākyam. 31c. A brahmans.
 31d-32a. O₁ asita. 32a. O₂ śabhāgyaś. d. O₂ bādhaḥ, A vāryante. 33b.
 A tyaktvā; O₂ punargetāḥ. d. O₁ ayodhyāyā; O₂ yātrā.

632

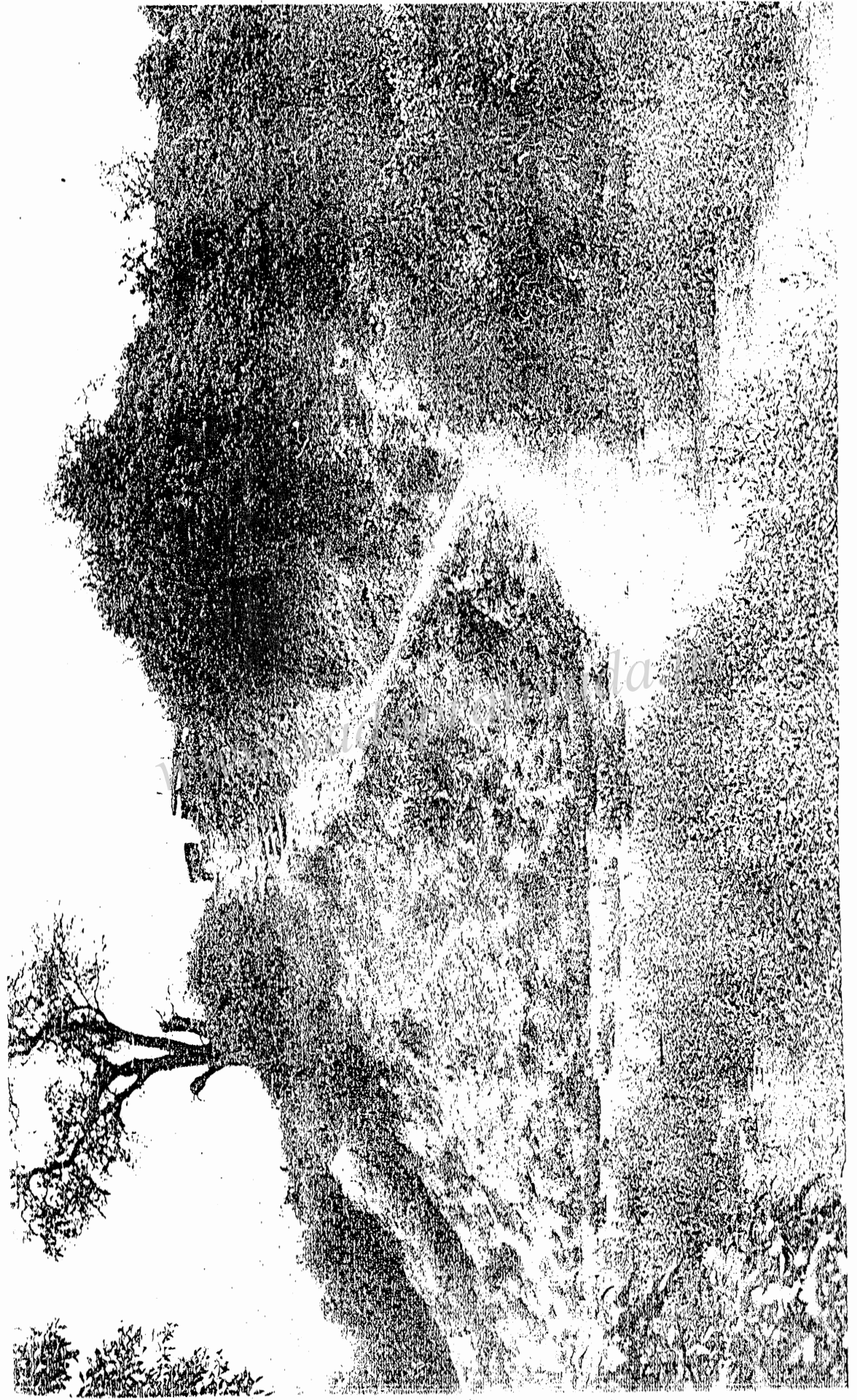


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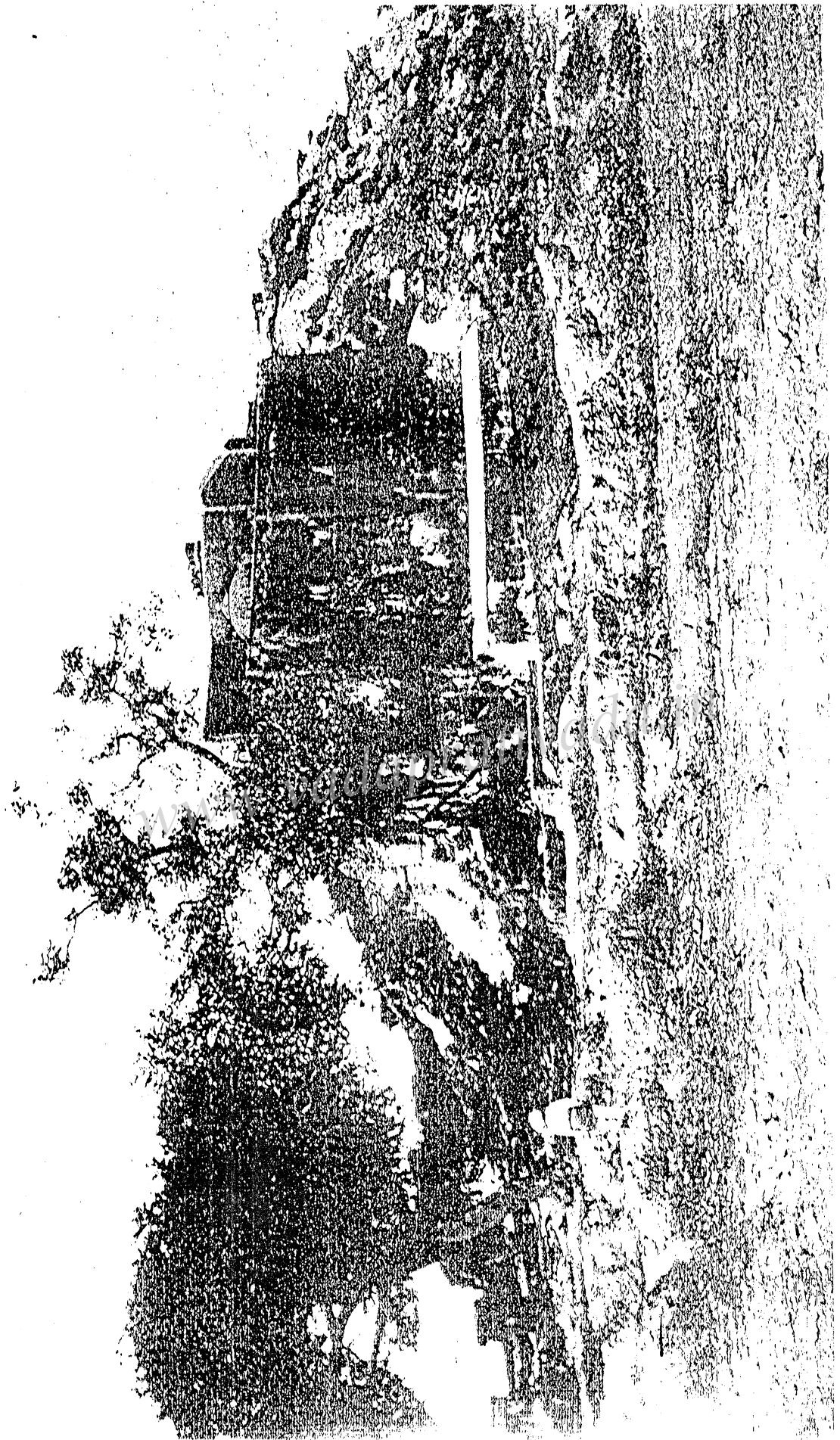
634



635



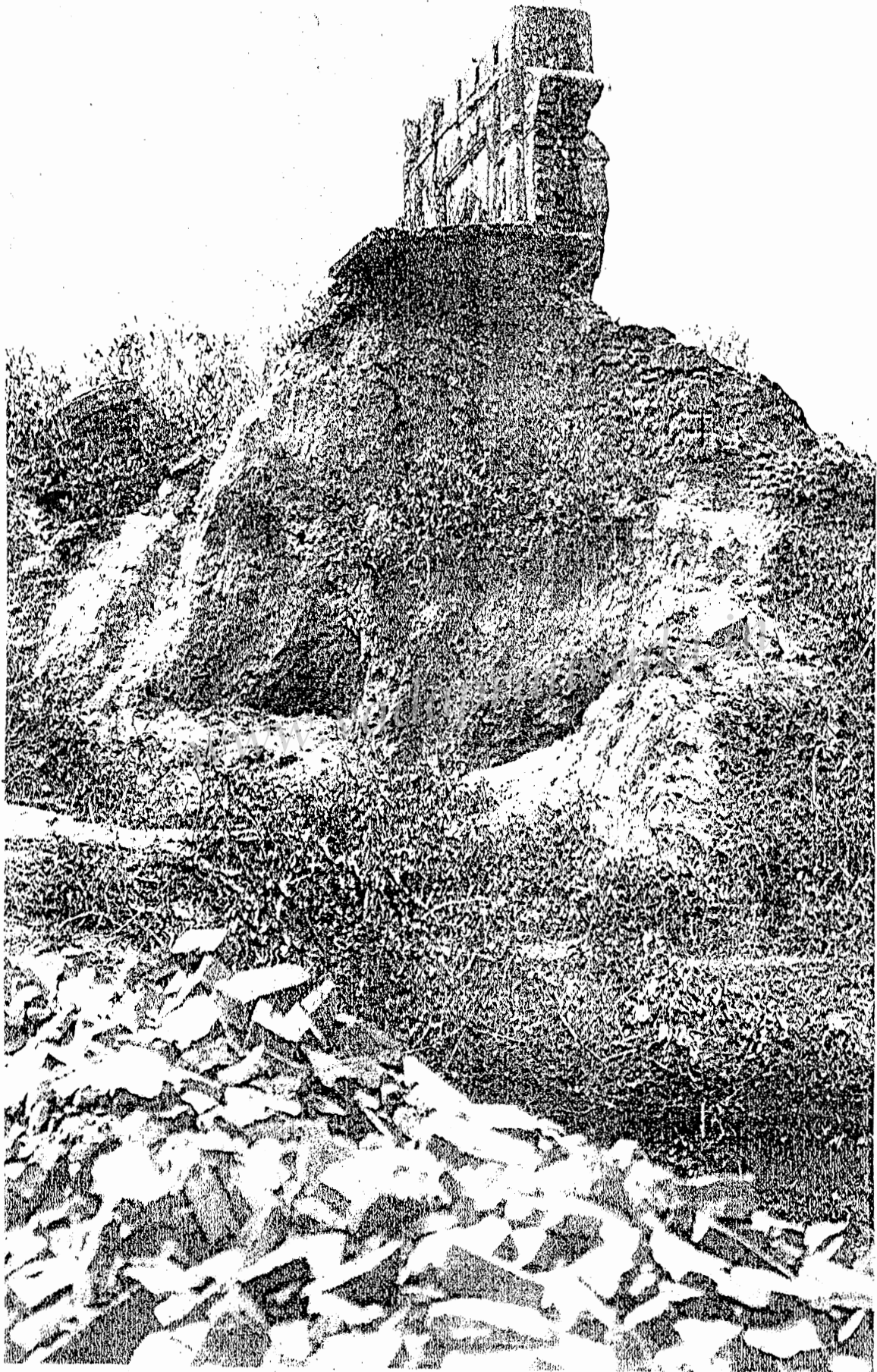
636



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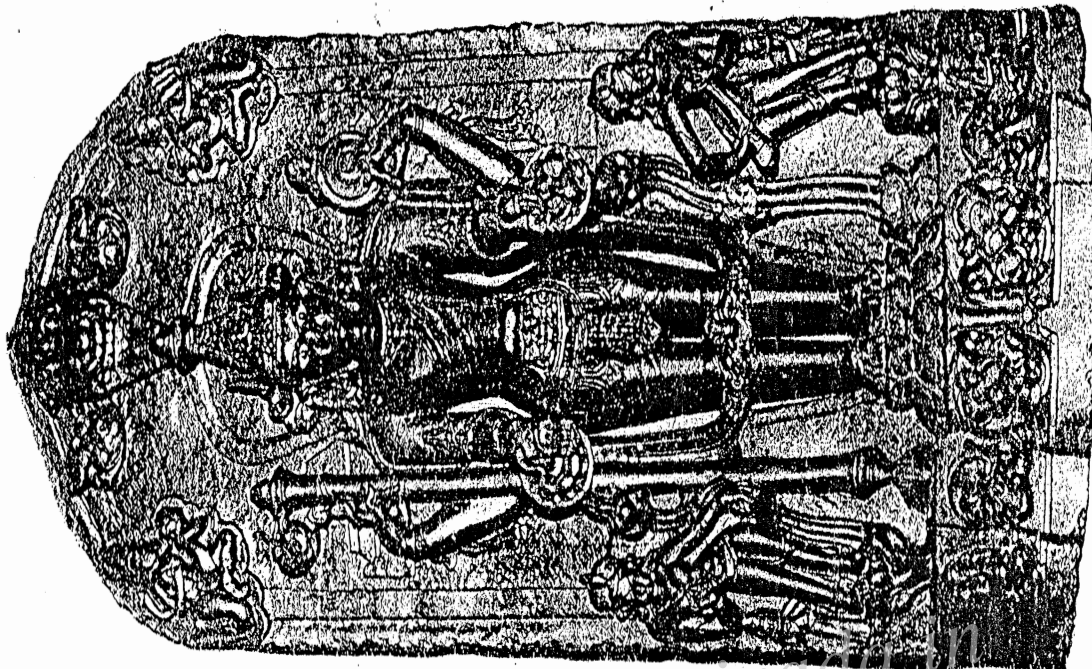
637



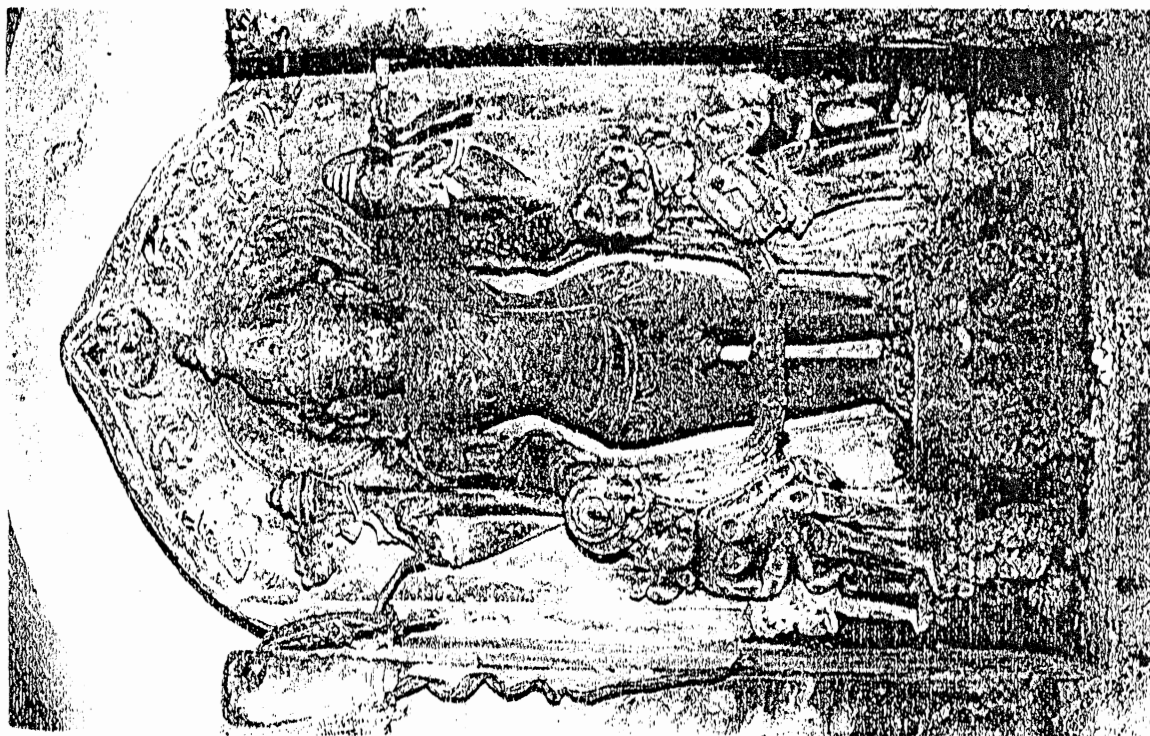




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11

PLATE 9

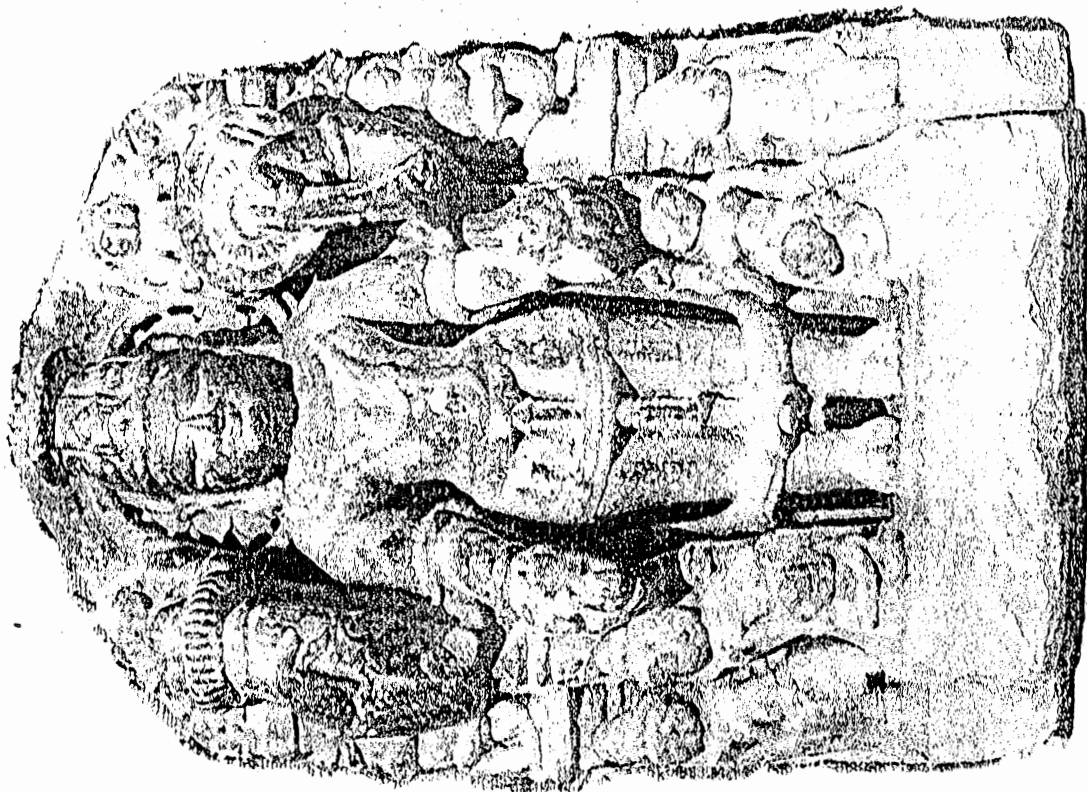
PLATE 10

VEDA-MURUGA-IMAGE KEPT IN THE
STONED-TEMPLE IN LAIVARAI

VEDA-MURUGA-IMAGE KEPT IN THE
STONED-TEMPLE IN LAIVARAI

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64)



12

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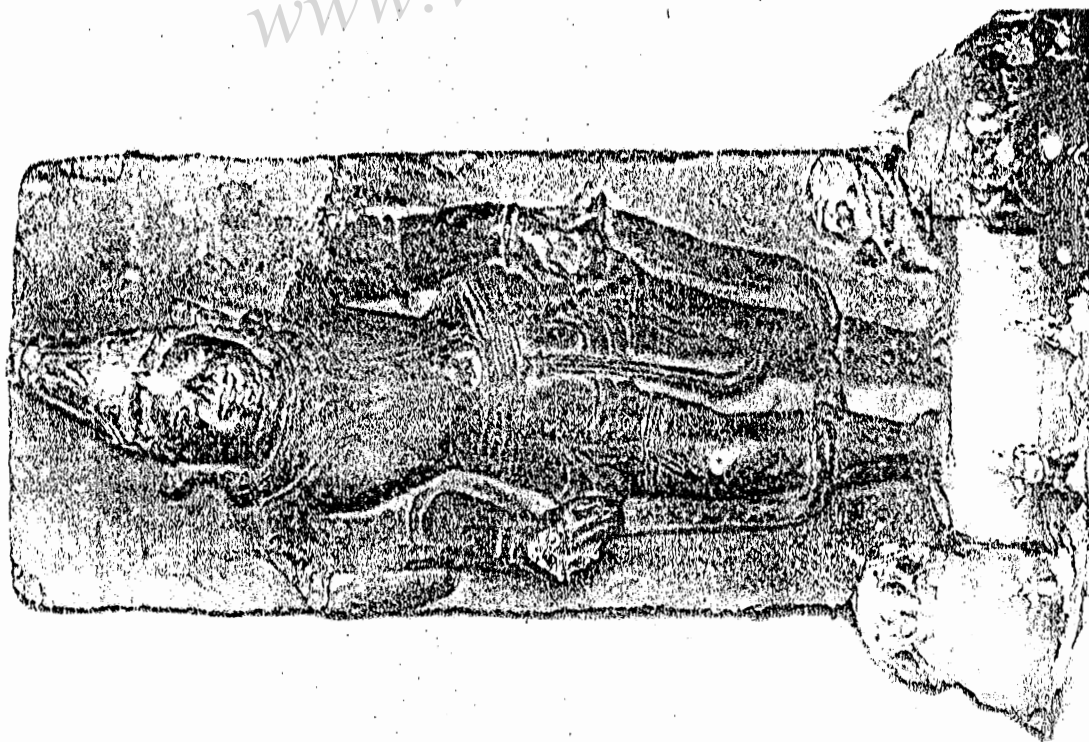


PLATE 31

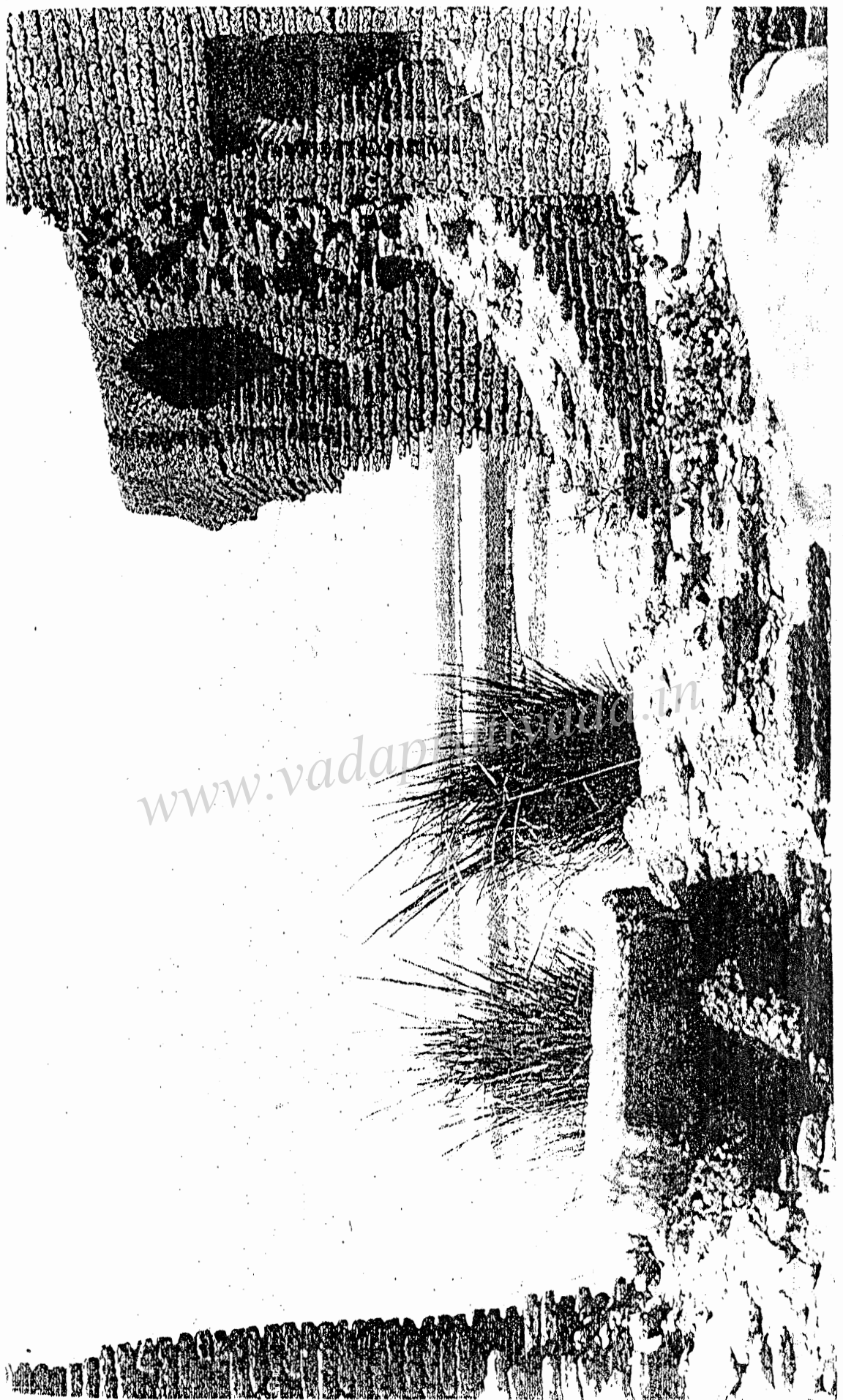
PLATE 32

VENKATESWARA SEATED IN A HORSE AT THE
HOLY PLACE OF VARADEVA LAYARHYA

VENKATESWARA SEATED IN A HORSE
LAYARHYA TEMPLE IN AYLOH

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642



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643



644

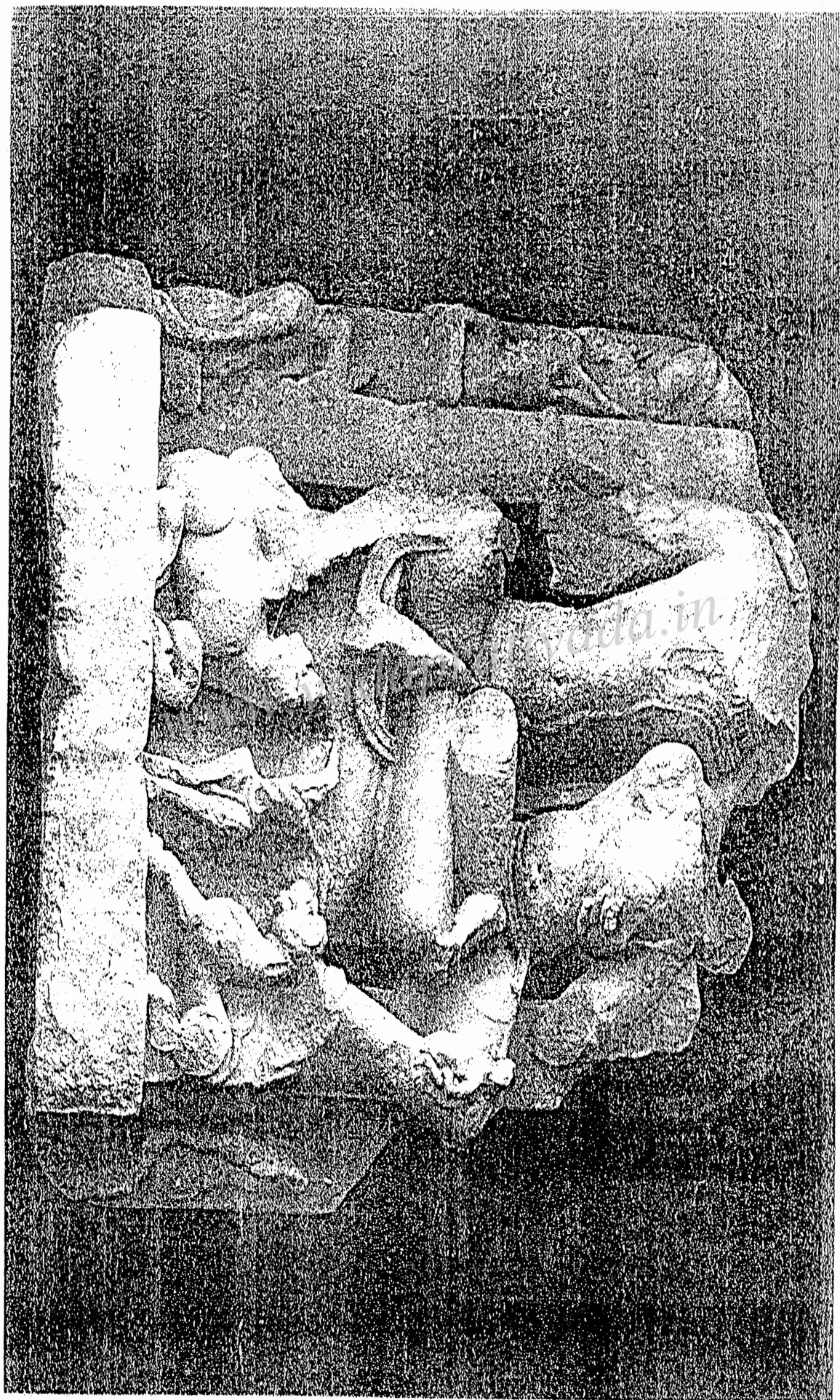


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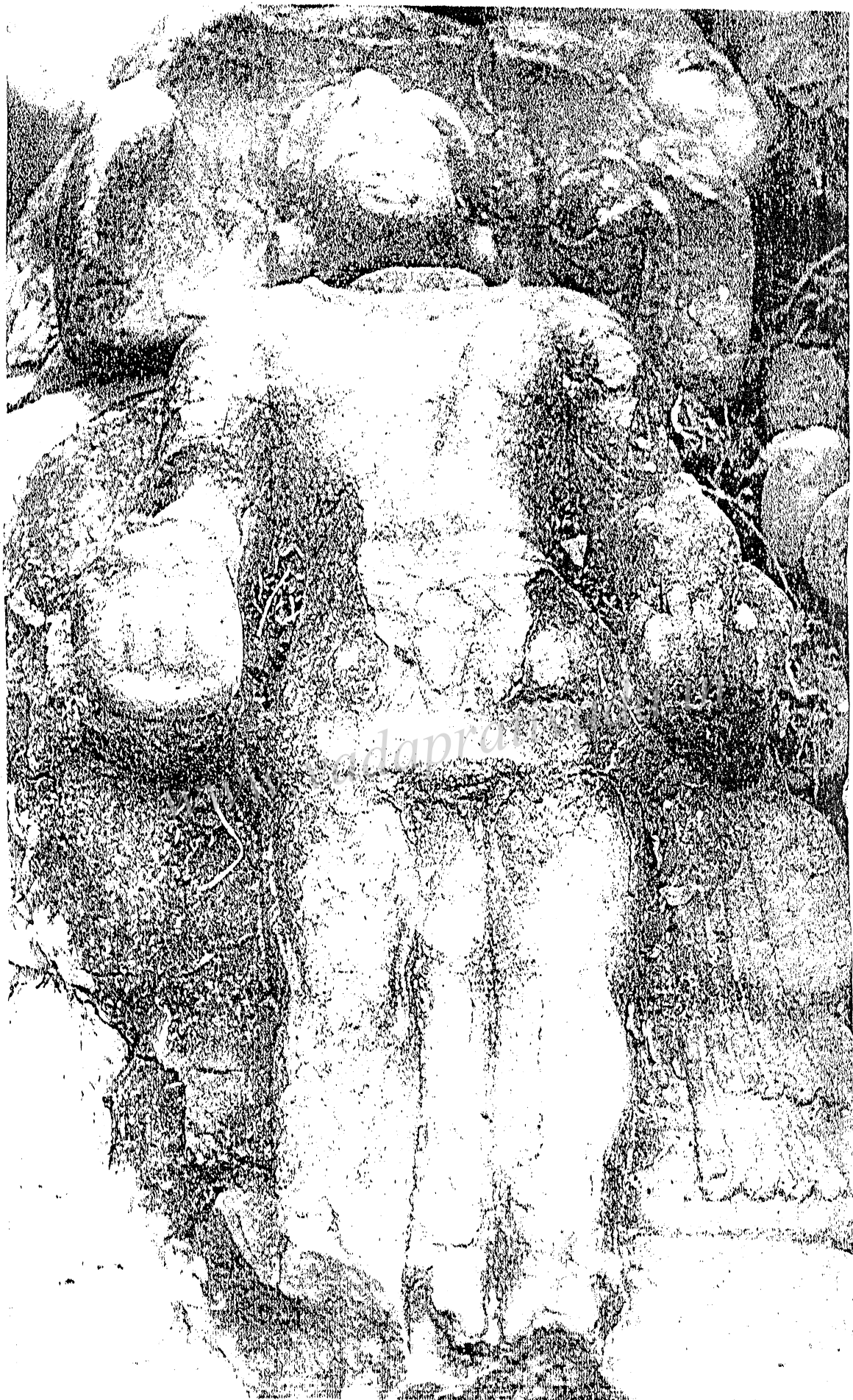
(AV. GHYĀ)

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645



646



647



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OA

caurā ūcuh/
 kena vai vidhinā brahman tīrthayātrām cāremahi//34//
 yena pāpā vayan sarve vrajiṣyāmo 'marāvatīm/
 asita uvāca/
 yasya hastau ca pādau ca manas caiva susamyatam//35//
 vidyā tapaś ca kīrtiś ca sa tīrthaphalam aśnute/
 pāpam na kurute yas tu vāñmanobhyām jitendriyah//36//
 yathāśaktyā ca dānena sa tīrthaphalam aśnute/
 svargadvāraṁ samāsādyā vapenaṁ kārayed vratī//37//
 snātvā vrajet tu rāmasya janmastrāṇaṁ viśeṣataḥ/
 gohatyā brahmahatyā ca gurustrīgamaṇaṁ tathā//38//
 doṣair etais tathāpy anyair nirmukto jāyate kṣaṇāt/
 madhumāse site pakṣe navamyām rāmajanmaṇi//39//
 samāgatā narāḥ sarve devagandharvadānavāḥ/
 janmastrāṇaṁ hi paśyanti snātvā śrīsarayūjale//40//
 bhavadbhiḥ kriyatām yātrā pāpanirāśahetave/
 agre gacchantu paśyantu hy ācāryaṁ paramādbhutam//41//
 śaṅkera uvāca/
 ity uktvāntardadhe yogī nāmnāsito mahāmuniḥ/
 nagaraṁ vivīśus te ca pañca caurāś ca haṁsitāḥ//42//
 śaṅkera uvāca/
 ayodhyā tu tadā mūrtā dadṛśe cāgrataś ca taiḥ/
 śuklāmbaradharaḥ devī sekhibhiḥ parivāritā//43//
 divyamālāṁ ca sā kaṇṭhe bibhratī sumanoherā/
 śaṅkhacakraḥ dharaḥ devī divyacandanabhūṣitā//44//
 rāmapriyā purī cādyā vibudheḥ sevītā ca sā/
 vaśiṣṭhavēmedevādyair munivṛndair upēsitā//45//
 idṛśī vimalā drṣṭā cauraiś ca naganandini/
 yathā pāpaiḥ purī drṣṭā tathā nānyaiś ca yātribhiḥ//46//
 asitasya muneḥ saṅgāt tathā tasya vareṇa ca/
 ayodhyādarśanaṁ cakrur lebhire paramām mudam//47//
 pāpaiḥ na yodhyate yasmāt tenāyodhyeti kathyate/
 yāthārthyam tasya śabdasya kathayīṣyāmi pārvatī//48//

34c. O₂ kenaiva; A brahmaṁs. 35a. O₂ pāpam ayam. b. O₂ marāvatī.
 b-c. O₁ asita. d. O₂ susamyatam. 36d. O₁ yatendriyah, O₂ jitendriyah.
 37a. O₂ saktā. d. O₁₂ vapanaṁ; A gamanaṁ. 38a. O₂ vratem. 39b. A
 vimukto. d. O₂ navamī rāmajanma ca. 40a. O₁ samāgatāḥ. b. O₁₂ dānavāḥ;
 A kimmarāḥ. 41b. O₁ A hetave; O₂ muktaye. d. O₂ ācāryam. 41d-42a.
 A śrīśaṅkara. 42a. O₂ ukta⁰. b. A nāmnāsav asito muniḥ. d. O₂ modataḥ.
 42d-43a. A śrīśaṅkara. 43ab. A ayodhyāyās tadā mūrtim dadṛśuś cāgrataś
 tu te; O₁ dadṛśe; O₂ daśe. d. O₂ divyacandanabhūṣitāḥ. 44b. O₂ sā ma-
 noherā. d. O₂ sekhibhiḥ parivāritāḥ. 45d. A vṛndaiś ca śobhitā.
 46b. O₂ nandini. 47a. O₁ asitasya. 48c. O₁₂ yāthārthyam.

QA

dr̥ṣṭvā pāpāni caurāṇām gadām udyamya sā purī/
 dudrāva paśyatām teṣām caurāṇām sammukhe tathā//49//
 bhayaṃ tu lebhire cāurā asmān kiṃ tu haniṣyati/
 cauradehād viniḥsṛtya pāpānām pāpavigrāhāḥ//50//
 nīlavestrāḥ karālā yās tathā vai nimnānāsikāḥ/
 lohahūṣaṇasarvāṅgās tathā raktaśiroruhāḥ//51//
 hastena rahitāḥ kecit padbhyām kecana varjitāḥ/
 hetrahīnās tathā kecit kubjāḥ kāṇās tathāpare//52//
 bhāyamarās tathā cānye kuṣṭhīnās ca tathāpare/
 nānāveśadharās cānye pāpānām pāpavigrāhāḥ//53//
 udyatāyudhadandāḥ satyāyāḥ sammukham gatāḥ/
 ayodhyāpī mahāvīryā yathānāmni tathāguṇāḥ//54//
 tāditāḥ satyayā sarve gadayā bhīmavegayā/
 palāyanaparāḥ sarve puras tasyā na tasthire//55//
 tasthur bahiś ca satyāyāḥ sametyāśvatthavṛkṣake/
 rudanto bhairavam nādam yena lokā visismire//56//
 puryā cākāritās caurāḥ svargadvāraṃ samāyāyuh/
 yasmin dīne gatās caurā navamī madhumāsikī//57//
 snātva ca sarayūṃ divyām janmesthānam tu te gatāḥ/
 vratīno rāmacandrasya janmabhūmeḥ pradārśanāt//58//
 pāpamuktās tadā sarve babhūvuh pañca pāpīnāḥ/
 tasmin kāle tu cāhūtās citragupto yamena vai//59//
 kerna provāca guhyam ca caurāṇām sukhahetave/
 yama uvāca/
 kṣamyatām aparādhās tu yaṃ mayā procyate 'dhunā//60//
 kriyatām bhavatā cādya caurāṇām pāpamārjanam/
 lekhanam pāpapañktes tu satyayā ca pramārjitam//61//
 viṣṇor ādyā purī satyā tasyā mātmyam īdr̥śam/
 pāpamuktās tu te sarve pañca caurās tathāpare//62//
 mumukṣavas tu ye kecid ayodhyām samupāsate/
 śaṅkara uvāca/
 kṛtāntasya vacaḥ śrutvā malīnās ca babhūva ha//63//
 gateḥ pariśramo 'smākam bahukālakṛto lipau/

49d. O₂ sammukhes tathā, O₁ sammukhe tadā. 50b. O₂ asmāt kimeid bha-
 viśyasi. d. A pāpānām; O₂ vigrāhe. 51b. O₁₂ nāsikāḥ. d. O₂ raktathā-
 rūhā. 52b. A kecid vivarjitāḥ. 53b. O₂ kuṣṭhīno apare tathā. d. O₁
 vigrāhā, O₂ vigrāha. 54a. O₂ udyatāyuddhayor dandāḥ. c. O₂ ayodhyā-
 yāpī. d. O₂ yathānām tathāguṇāḥ. 55a. O₁ satyayā; O₂ tāditāyodhyayā.
 b. O₂ vyegayā. d. O₂ pustasya. 56abcd. om.O₂. 56d. O₁ loko. 57a. O₂
 cakāritā. c. O₂ yasyam tithau gatā caurāḥ. 58a. A tu sarayūvārī, O₂ ca
 sayūdivyām. d. O₂ janmabhūme. 59b. O₂ babhūvaḥ. c. O₂ cāhutaḥ. d. O₁ A
 yamena vai; O₂ cyate 'dhunā. 60a. O₂ covāca. 61d. A ca pramārjitam; O₁₂
 sāpamārjitā. 63b-c. A śrīśaṅkara. 63d. O₂ manilās; O₁ babhūvaśah.
 64a. O₁ A 'smākam; O₂ t(?)āvan.

0A

citragupta uvāca/
 evaṃ bhavatu bho kāla lekhanād uparatā vāyam//64//
 janmabhūmes tu rāmasya yaḍi pāpāni yānti vai/
 pāpines tu gamiṣyanti sāketaṃ rāmajanmaṇi//65//
 gatapāpā bhāviṣyanti kalikāle tu pāmarāḥ/
 evaṃ viśrāvya teṣyāgre vivarnaḥavadanaś ca saḥ//66//
 mamārja ca lipiṃ śighraṃ caurāṇāṃ pāpasambhavaṃ/
 śaṅkara uvāca/
 yameṇa preṣitā dūtāḥ paryatanti sadā kṣitau//67//
 puryāḥ parisare te tu dadṛśuḥ pāpavigrahaṇ/
 yamadūtā ūcuḥ/
 ke yūyaṃ pippale hy asmiṇ duḥkhaśokaparāyaṇāḥ//68//
 kiṃ kartum āśritā yūyaṃ pippale kutra vāsiṇaḥ/
 pāpavigrahaṇ/ūcuḥ/
 marukāntāre cotpannāḥ pāpibhiḥ pratipālitaḥ//69//
 māteram pīteram tyaktā maryādāṃ vedasambhavaṃ/
 asmāsu prītisamyuktā<e> tair vāyam pratipālitaḥ//70//
 te vāyam yātrisaṅgena sāketaṃ praṭi cāgetāḥ/
 tādītās ca vāyam sarve puryā tu vimalākhyayā//71//
 dehaṃ tyaktvā tu teṣāṃ vai duḥkhitās ca vasesaṇi/
 navamī caitramāsasya śuklā cāḍya pravartate//72//
 tasyā vrataprabhāveṇa sarayūśnānataḥ punaḥ/
 darśanād rāmadevasya janmabhūmer vilokaṇāt//73//
 nāmnā santānakam lokam vimānais tatra te gatāḥ/
 teṣāṃ viyogaduḥkhena mitrāṇāṃ gamanena ca//74//
 yair vāyam pālitaḥ mitreir dharmaṃ tyaktvā mahātmabhiḥ/
 parityaktvā ca te 'smān vai lokam santānakam gatāḥ//75//
 mitrasaṅgaviyogena duḥkhitās cātra samsthitaḥ/
 śaṅkara uvāca/
 mano vai karuṇāyāṃ tu dūtāṇāṃ ca babhūva ha//76//
 abruvan vecanaṃ krūraṃ pāparūpāṇ asāntvayan/

64b-c. O₁ citraguptovāca. d. O₁₂ lekhanād: A lekhaḍ. 65b. O₂ yāti.
 66a. O₂ gatapāpāṃ bhāviṣyati. b. O₂ kalakāle. d. O₂ vadanau tu tau.
 67abcd. om.O₂. 67b-c. A śrīśaṅkara. 68a. O₁₂ puryā. c. O₁A hy asmiṇ:
 O₂ sthitvā. d. O₂ purāṇāḥ. 69c. O₂ marukāntāra; A marukāntāra utpa-
 nnāḥ. 70a. A tyaktvā. b. O₂ sambhavaṇ. c. O₂ asmāsu; scr. samyuktās:
 O₁₂ samyuktā, A yuktāis. d. O₂ pratipālita, A sampratipālitaḥ. 71d.
 O₁ tu mālākhyayā, O₂ vimalasakhyayā. 72a. O₂ dehatyaktās. 73d. O₂ ja-
 nmabhūme pradarśanāt. 75a. O₂ ahampālitaḥmitre. d. O₁A vai lokam: O₂
 kam. 76b. O₂ samsthitaḥ. b-c. A śrīśaṅkara. d. O₁A ca: O₂ sa. 77b. O₂
 asāntyayam.

OA

yamadūtā ūcuh/
 sahāyam tu kariṣyāmo yuṣmākaṃ mitramelane//77//
 kāryaṃ tu vidyate 'smākaṃ hata ājñā yamasya vai/
 idrṣī vimalā dhrṣṭā pāpīnāṃ ca gatipradā//78//
 bhavadbhiḥ sthīyatām cātra yāvad yāmo yamaṃ prati/
 śaṅkara uvāca/
 ity uktvā saṃyamanīm jagmur yamadūtās tvarānvitāḥ//79//
 yamaṃ nivedayāmasuḥ pāpānāṃ duḥkham eva ca/
 yama uvāca/
 vimalāyās ca mātmyamāṃ nāvamyās ca madhos tathā//80//
 na jñāyate tathā dūtā devasya cakrapāṇināḥ/
 janmabhūmes tu mātmyamāṃ vaktum śakto na padmajāḥ//81//
 pāpakotisamāyuktaś caitre navamike tithau/
 pāpakotiṃ naraś tyaktvā janmabhūmeḥ praderśanāt//82//
 prāphoṭi paramam lokam yatra gatvā na śocate/
 prasannā yasya satyā cet tasya kiṃ kurute yamaḥ//83//
 bhavatām duṣṭabuddhis tu jātā vai vimalāṃ prati/
 kṣāmanārtham vayan tasyā gamiṣyāmo 'dya māciram//84//
 śaṅkara uvāca/
 ity uktvā yamarājo 'pi bhūtapretegaṇair vṛtaḥ/
 āruhya mahiṣaṃ vegāt satyāṃ prati jagāma ha//85//
 sāketanikate drṣṭo viśvakarmā ca śilpīrāt/
 yamarājena samprstāḥ kva tvayā gamyate 'dhunā//86//
 navamī vidyate cādya tām tyaktvā kutra yāsyasi/
 viśvakarmovāca/
 āgamyate tu sāketāt snātvā śrīsarayūjale//87//
 darśanam janmabhūmes tu devaiḥ sārddham kṛtam mayā/
 brahmaṇā tatra cājñepto gamiṣye tatpadam dhruvam//88//
 tatra gatvā ca veśmāni kariṣye yātrīnāṃ api/
 navamīvratīnāṃ tatra sarayūsnāyīnāṃ punaḥ//89//
 jagāma cātivegena yamaṃ viśrāvya kāraṇam/
 nīṣamya tanmukhodgītāṃ yamaḥkṛtyā visisimire//90//

77c. O₂ sahāyam; O₁ kariṣyāmi. 78a. A ca. b. O₂ hata ājñā, A hata
 cājñā. d. O₂ pāpīnāṃ. 79a. O₂ bhavadbhiḥsthiyatām. b. O₁A yāmo; O₂ dru-
 mo. b-c. A śrīśaṅkara. c. O₁₂ ity uktvā; A uktvā; O₂ jagmu. 80b. O₁A
 eva ca; O₂ elanam. d. O₂ śuklanavamyamādhos tathā, śuklanavamyam madhos
 tathā conī. 81a. O₂ mahimā na jñāyate dūtā. b. O₁A devasya; O₂ ajodhyās;
 O₁ panināḥ. 82a. O₂ kadī. b. O₁ navamike, A ca navamī. c. O₁A tyā-
 ktvā; O₂ tyam. d. O₂ janmabhūme. 83b. A śocati. c. O₂ prasanna; O₁₂
 cet; A ca. 84c. O₂ kṣāmanārtham; A kṣamāpanārtham ca vayan. d. O₁A
 'dya māciram; O₂ ciram. 84d-85a. A śrīśaṅkara. 85a. O₂ uktā. d. O₂
 satyam. 86a. O₂ nikete prhyā; A drṣtvā. c. O₁ samprstāḥ, O₂ samprstā.
 d. A kutas te. 87b. O₂ yāsyati. b-c. O₁ viśvakarmā uvāca. 88b. O₂A
 devai. 89b. O₂ kari. 90b. O₂ viśramtakānam. c. O₂ sanmukhodgītāṃ.

OA

jagāma yamarājo 'pi sāketanagarodbhavam/
māhātmyam śrāvayan bhrtyān temasām tu dadarśa ha//91//
mahisam ca parityajya nanāma vidhrtāñjalih/
ādau prañavam uccārya vimalāyai tu madhyatah//92//
namas cānte tu samy(u)jya mantrō 'yam samudāhrtah/
so 'nvadhāvac ca vegena yatra puryā mukham sthitam//93//
gopratāram śiras tasyās tatah pūrvam tu kaṇṭhakam/
tate sthitvā sarayvās tu satyāyās ca stūtim muhuh//94//
abravīt parayā vānyā meghanādagebhīrayā/
yamarāja uvāca/
ayodhyāyai namas te 'stu rāmamūrtyai namo namaḥ//95//
ādyāyai ca namas tubhyam satyāyai tu namo namaḥ/
sarayvāvestitāyai ca namo mātas tu te sadā//96//
brahmādivandite mātēr ṛṣibhiḥ paryupāsate/
rāmabhaktipriye devi sarvadā tu namo namaḥ//97//
ye dhyāyanti mahātmāno manasā tvām hi pūjite/
teṣām naśyanti pāpāni hy ājanmopārjitāni ca//98//
akāro vāsudevaḥ syād yekāras tu prajāpatiḥ/
ukāro rudrarūpas tu tān dhyāyanti munīśvarāḥ//99//
sūryavamsodbhavanām tu rājñām paramadharmīnām/
teṣām sāmānyadhātrī tvam tathā sukṛtīnām api//100//
mahīmānam na jānanti tava devi munīśvarāḥ/
katham tu jñāyate dūtair maṇḍair buddhivivarjitaiḥ//101//
namas te 'stu sadā devi sadā devi namo namaḥ/
namo 'yodhye namo 'yodhye pāpaṁ nas tvam apākuru//102//
śaṅkara uvāca/
stutvaivaṁ virarāmātha sūryaputro mahāmanāḥ/
ayodhyā darśayāmāsa tenum svām tasya prītaye//103//
vanditā yamarājena satyā prāha yamam tv idam/
satyovāca/
varam brūhi mahābuddhe prītāham te na samśayaḥ//104//
yadartham cōgato 'si tvam tan māmāgre ca kathyatām/

91c. O₂ bhrtyā. A bhrtyāms. 93a. scr. samyujya: O₁₂ samyujya. A sam-
yujya. c. ca om.O₂. 94a. O₂ tasyā. c. O₂ sarayvayah. d. O₂ cā. 95a.
O₂ vānyā. b-c. O₂ yama uvāca. c. O₁₂ stu: A tu. d. A ramuparyai. 96a.
O₂ ādyāyastu. b. O₂ satyāyastu. c. O₂ āvestitāyais ca. d. O₂ namo mā-
tustu. te in. margine. 97a. O₂ bho sadā brahmādivandite mātā. b. O₂
paryupāsate. c. A °bhakta°. 98b. O₂ tvam him. d. O₂ śvajanmopārjjitāni
ca. 99b. O₁ °rūpās ca. 100a. O₂ °vamsodbhavatānām. b. O₂ rājño. O₂
°dhārmikah. c. O₁ °dhātrī. O₁A tvam: O₂ ca. 101a. O₂ na jānanti mahimno-
ttam. c. O₁ katham. O₁₂ dūtair (O₂ dūtai): A devi. d. O₂ budhai. 102a).
om.O₂. c. namo 'yodhye om.O₂. 102d-103a. A śriśaṅkara. 103a. O₂ virā-
mātha. b. O₂ mahatmanāḥ. 104b. O₂ satya. 105b. O₂ bhanyatām.

yama uvāca/
 prasannā mama mātāś ced dehi sthānam akantakam//105//
 caurebhyas tu gatā ye vai pāparūpās ca pippale/
 tesām mokṣavidhānam ca kathyatām devi me purah//106//
 mama dūtāparādhas tu kṣamyatām haripūjite/
 ayodhyovāca/
 yamasthaletivikhyatām sthānam te sarayūtata//107//
 ūrje māsī aite pakṣe dvitīyāyām tu ye yama/
 snāsyanti ca narāḥ sarve tesām tava bhayaṁ na hi//108//
 yāni tiṣṭhanti pāpāni caurāṇām cāpi pippale/
 vilayaṁ yāntu bho deva mama vākyāt tavāpi ca//109//
 mamedam astakam puṇyaṁ tvayā bhaktyā tu yat kṛtam/
 yeh paṭhet prātar utthāya pāpam tasya prañasyati//110//
 prāpnoti sakalān arthān mayā dattān naraḥ sadā/
 śaṅkara uvāca/
 viśrāvya vacaṁ satyā yamāyāntardadhe svayam//111//
 tena sthitim sadā cakre vāsisthyāḥ puliṇe śubhe/
 citraguptas ca te dūtā lajjitās cābhavan muhuḥ//112//
 vighrās tu gatā nāsam pāpānām ca kṣaṇāt tadā/
 bhrātāpi yamunāyās tu sthānam kṛtvā puram gatāḥ//113//
 mātmyam vimalāyās tu dūtebhyah śrāvayan muhuḥ/
 śaṅkara uvāca/
 mātmyam idṛśam tubhyaṁ mayā te bahu varṇitam//114//
 jāmabhūmer ayodhyāyā navamyās caiva pārvati/
 ya idam śṛṇuyān nityam yeś cāpi parikīrtayet//115//
 bhuktā ca vipulān bhogān ante cāpi getim labhet/
 agastyena purā proktaṁ sutikṣṇāya ca pārvati//116//
 aṇam śrutvā sutikṣṇāc ca rāmabhaktyā tu te 'bruvan/

105b-c. A yamarāja uvāca. d. A ca kantakam. 106a. O₁A vai: O₂ tu.
 c. O₁A ca: O₂ ma. d. O₂ purā. 107a. O₂A tu: O₁ ca. b. O₂ paripūjite.
 107cd-108cd. cf. CK gopratārāt pūrvabhāge yamasthalam (K^osthala) itī-
 ryate/ tatra snānena dānena yamalokam na paśyati// dvitīyāyām karttika-
 sya śuklāyām tu mahēśvari/ tasya yātrā prakartavyā narair narakabhīrubhiḥ//
 107c. A yamasthātām tu. d. O₁₂ te: A ca. 108a. O₂ ūrje. c. O₂ snāsyā-
 ntī: ca om. O₂. O₂ narāḥ sarve: O₁ narā ye vai. A narās tesām. d. O₁₂ te-
 sām: A tadā. 109-120. om. CK. 109c. O₁ yātu. 110a. A puṇyam: O₁₂ yas
 tu. b. O₁A tu: O₂ ca. 111b. O₁A sadā: O₂ śubhām. b-c. A śrīśaṅkara.
 112a. A sthitīś tadā: O₂ cakri. b. O₂ śucāu. c. O₂ citraguptau: O₂ dūtāḥ.
 d. O₂ lajjitā: O₁ cābhavan. O₂ cābhaven. 113b. O₁A ca: O₂ tu. d. O₁ ga-
 tā, O₂ gatāḥ. 114b-c. śaṅkara uvāca om. A. 115b. O₂ namyās. c. O₂ yā-
 idam. 116a. O₂ bhuktām. b. O₂A cāpi: O₁ cāti. c. O₂ agastyena. d. O₂
 pārvati. 117a. O₂ sutikṣṇāya. b. O₂A^o bhaktyā: O₁^o bhaktāt: O₁A tu te
 O₂ cave.

QA

na śāthāya pravaktavyam nātapaskāya pāpine//117//
 nindakāya gurūnām ca vedānām ca tathaiva hi/
 nindakāya ca puṇyānām teṣām na kathayet kvacit//118//
 brūyāc chraddhāyate caiva bhaktiś cec chūdrayositām/
 viṣṇubhaktāya premṇā vai svayaṁ brūyād vicakṣaṇaḥ//119//
 paṭhanam śravaṇam cāśya pāpāpervatadāraṇam//120//
 (+ p.174)

117c. O₂ nataskarāya. 118b. O₁₂ ca tathaiva hi: A nindakāya ca. d. A
 na teṣām; O₂ kathayate. 119a. O₂ chraddhāyate. b. O_{1A} cec: O₂ ca; O₂
 chudra⁰. 120b. O₂ ⁰pavata⁰; A ⁰dāraṇam.

Commentary

- OA 23.1c. marukāntarādese. Presumably the country of Marwar (Rajasthan).
 OA 23.2b. lumpaketi. The name Lumpaka from √lup-, 'to break', 'to break into' → 'to rob' – a pun referring to the oilman's profession and character.
 OA 23.2d. śaṅkur. Śaṅku-, 'peg', 'rod', 'penis' – a pun referring to the weaver's profession and his adulterous behaviour (OA 23.6ab).
 OA 23.3b. lunthako. Lunthaka, the name of the dancer/actor derives from √lunth- x runth-, 1) 'to be lame', 2) 'to rob'. (Cp. OA 23.6cd).
 OA 23.5b. godoso. The cow-slaughter might have been caused by over-exertion of the cow that operated the oil press (*tailapidane*).
 OA 23.11cd. For short notes on non-corporeal (*dehābhedena*) punishment like shaving the head (*vapaṇa*), confiscation of all property (*dravinādāna*), and banishment (*niryaṇa*) see Kane III.403f. These punishments are recommended to a kingly sage (*rājarsi*) since they comply with the principle of *ahimsā*.
 OA 23.21a. madhuvāse. In the month Caitra (Vedic name Madhu).
 OA 23.21d. cendraprasthāt. Indraprastha, the ancient (Hindu) city on the west-bank of the Yamuna, now absorbed into the Delhi conurbation (Purāṇa Qilā, cp. Schlingloff 1969,21).
 OA 23.26d. mūrtimantas. The ten vices enumerated in OA 23.27 are obviously conceived of as deterrent deities embodied in images (*mūrtimat*) guarding the entrance of the holy town (*purā dvāre*). Their exemplariness is based, it would seem, upon the principle that like deters like (cp. e.g. Maṭṭagajendra, OAS 17.15c).
 OA 23.27. The AS 1.6.1 enumerates six vices (*ariṣadvarga*): *kāma*, *krodha*, *lobha*, *māna*, *mada*, *harsa*. Cp. Kane III.52ff.
 OA 23.29a. asito. Name of i.a. a Vedic ṛṣi. A special connection of a sage Asita with Ayodhya is unknown.
 OA 23.35cd-36ab. Cp. OAB 7.3cd-4ab (= Mbh. 3.8.30).
 OA 23.37d. vapaṇam. Tonsure after a bath in Svargadvāra is prescribed in OAS 10.44 (see I.159).
 OA 23.45a. Cp. OAS 5.4c.
 OA 23.45c. Cp. OA 19.18cd-19ab.
 OA 23.46a. vimalā. 'The Pure one', 'the Stainless one'. Vimalā serves as proper-name of Ayodhya (see e.g. OA 23.80c), a personification of purifying power.
 OA 23.48ab. Cp. OAS 5.4ab.
 OA 23.54b. satyāyāh. Satyā used as another proper-name of Ayodhya (cp. OA 23.62ab) signifies her embodiment of justice (Justitia).
 OA 23.56b. sametyāśvatthavṛksake. This *āśvattha* tree (pipal tree) features prominently in the legend (see OA 23.68c, 69b, 106b, 109b). It is obviously thought to be situated nearby the (later) holy place of Yama (Yamasthala). This element of the story might bear witness to the existence of a sacred tree at Yamasthala (see ad OA 23.107c).
 OA 23.74a. santānakam lokam. See ad OA 13.11d.
 OA 23.79c. samyamanim. Samyamani, capital of Yama's realm.
 OA 23.84c. ksamanāntham. Both MSS, O₁ and O₂, read *ksamanāntham* instead of *ksamāpanāntham* in A. The former reading is lexicographically not attested but seems to be used synonymously with the latter.

655

OA 23.91d. tamasām. The river Tamasā is considered to constitute the southern border of the holy ksetra (see OAS 5.7). Yama, whose realm is located in the south, naturally enters the holy field from the south.

OA 23.92cd-93ab. The salutation mantra runs: *om vimalāyai namaḥ*.

OA 23.94a. gopratāraṁ śiras tasyās. The ksetra of Ayodhyā is conceived of as a fish. The head of this fish was said to lie near Gopratāra (see OAS 5.9ab).

OA 23.94b. tataḥ pūrvam tu kānthakam. Yama's holy site (Yamasthala, see ad OA 23.107c) lies on the bank of the Sarayū (tate sarayvās) c.1,250m to the east (pūrvam) of Gopratāra (tataḥ). It is conceived of as the 'neck' (kānthaka) of the fish.

OA 23.95cd-102cd. Stotra, Ayodhyāstaka.

OA 23.99. = OAS 5.2cd-3ab.

OA 23.107c. yamasthaleti. The holy place on the bank of the Sarayū dedicated to Yama is called Yamasthala. The place is unknown to BP and S.

Its location is said to be east of Gopratāra (see OA 23.94b and CK: OA 23.107cd-108cd v.1.). Today the sanctuary of Yama lies c.1,250m east of Gopratāra on the bank of the Sarayū at the foot of the ruins of Fort Calcutta.

This tīrtha is especially visited on Yamadvitīyā (Kārttika, śuk., 2), the second day after Dīvālī. On this day a melā is held on the sandbank (pulina, see OA 23.112b) in the Sarayū in front of the sanctuary (see OA 23.108). Thousands of votaries come to take a bath in the river and many of the women in particular visit the shrine of Yama to perform pūjā. The all-India festival of Yamadvitīyā is described in Kane V, 207ff.; von Stietencron 1972, 72f.; Meyer 1937 II, 208ff.

Yamasthala is included in the pradaksinā of 14 koś that is held on Kārttika, śuk., 9 (VII(A)).

The site for Yama worship bears more resemblance to a simple shrine of a folk cult than to a sophisticated sanctuary. Today no priests perform the worship, but the offerings are placed before the icon by the devotees themselves. As in the case of most folk cults it is impossible to give an estimate of the antiquity of this holy site. The omission of Yamasthala in BP and S points to a relatively recent origin, yet the place might have been the site of tree worship that was ignored by the earlier Sanskrit tradition (BP and S). As has been noted above (ad OA 23.56b), the pipal tree plays an important part in the legend and was obviously thought to be situated in the vicinity of the site where Yama was said to have built his sanctuary (OA 23.112). A malevolent yakṣa that resided in this tree that was associated with the spirits of the deceased might easily have become connected with the personified sins, and by linking this numinous place with Yama the site became affiliated with the Sanskrit tradition while still preserving its original ominous character (note OA 23.105d akantaka). Yakṣas associated with pipal trees are for instance noted in KSS 3.20.32-38 and KSS 12.94.68-72 describes a malevolent demon (rākṣasa) living in an aśvattha tree (cp. Meyer 1937 II, 68). Meyer II, 133 remarks: "Schon seine (i.e. pipal tree) Heiligkeit lässt vermuten, dass man ihn fürchtete, und wir dürfen annehmen, dass er zuerst die unheimliche Wohnung oder Verkörperung von Totenseelen und Geister-spuck war, wie der Udumbara (Ficus glomerata) die des Totengottes Yama und der Vata (Ficus indica) der Totenseelen genius Īiva." (cp. Crooke 1926 II, 99f.; Agrawala 1970, 117).

Today the main object of pūjā besides the shrine of Yama is a big pipal tree standing in the middle of the compound. This compound consists of several small shrines next to each other. They are situated on the bank of the river and are provided with ghāṭe on both sides (east and west). The compound comprises (from east to west) an altar with Viṣṇupāda, a well, a shrine of Hanumat, a large tree. The tree stands before a small shrine of Viśvānātha (containing a liṅga). At the foot of the tree lie several stones and a triśūla which are objects of pūjā. Lamps are lit and placed in front of the tree together with flowers and other offerings. The shrine of Yama, standing behind the pipal (west side), is a small square construction facing the river. A bas-relief painted black, representing a two-armed Yama riding on his buffalo, stands against the back-wall of the shrine. His right hand holds a sword (khadga), his left a shield (khetaka). The icon can be classified as folk-art and seems to be no older than the 19th century.

On Yamadvitīyā, when I visited the sanctuary, many votaries (90% of whom were women) thronged before the shrine, casting flowers at the icon and lighting lamps in front of it (cp. Kane V, 207f.). According to some texts like the *Vratarāja* (see Kane V, 208) women worship the image of Yama on the occasion of Yamadvitīyā in order that longevity may be bestowed upon their brothers (bhrātūr ayusyaṁ viddhyartham) (cp. Meyer 1937 II, 208ff.).

OA 23.108. See ad OA 23.107c.

OA 23.110a. astakam. The *Ayodhyāstaka*, OA 23.95cd-102cd.

OA 23.112b. vāsisthyah puline. The present sanctuary of Yama is situated on the bank of the river, but the melā takes place on a sandbank (pulina) in front of the shrine (see ad OA 23.107c).

OA 23.116cd. Possibly a reference to the *Agastyasutikṣṇasamvāda*, i.e. the AgS.

656
(Ex-64)

120/64
59

Introduction

Actual description.

THE SITE IS LOCATED 10.3 km. S.W. of the Jambhasthane temple. It is situated in a small grove of trees. The site is situated in a small grove of trees. The site is situated in a small grove of trees.

Note to the local distance.

The description of the Jambhasthane temple, which is restricted to the Jambhasthane temple. The site is situated in a small grove of trees. The site is situated in a small grove of trees. The site is situated in a small grove of trees.

Location.

For a description of the location of both sites with respect to Jambhasthane temple. The site is situated in a small grove of trees. The site is situated in a small grove of trees. The site is situated in a small grove of trees.

Special feature.

The distance of these two holy sites is said to be a cure for diseases.

Festival.

Not specified.

Apparent of the content.

As has already been observed it would be wrong if we thought of both sites as two separate temples. The distances of both sites from the Jambhasthane temple are said to be rather to imply that we are here concerned with two shrines within the original Jambhasthane compound. This tallies with the local tradition which says that both shrines were destroyed by Babur together with the Jambhasthane temple (Sarna 1973, 61).

The site that is nowadays indicated as Sunitrabhavana is without doubt a very ancient one. It is a prominent mound within 100m of Babur's mosque with steep slopes on the southern and western sides, which form the edge of the mound. The excavation referred to in I, 16, which exposed archaeological layers datable to the 7th century BC and a massive wall of brick (12th century BC), was carried out at the foot of this mound.

Modern situation.

The Sunitrabhavana temple is located on the edge of the mound and is a very ancient one. The site is situated in a small grove of trees. The site is situated in a small grove of trees. The site is situated in a small grove of trees.

Enkephalins and Dynorphins

part remain of former population. On the platform is a small shrine of wood containing a fragment of a stone image said to represent Anantani.

Nothing remains of the original site of the Khakey (Khavara). The place is nowadays indicated as a building c. 75m north of Bazar's mosque. It can hardly be called a holy place since it consists of a private garden enclosed by a wall which is not visited by any pilgrim.

 $(+0.476)$ [illegible][illegible]

20

(p. 157)

[illegible]

14. On Page 12, (A)

History

0-1225, re. distance measurements. A distance of 72 inches
0-1226, re. distance measurements. A distance of 30 inches.

Introduction

Textual evidence.

AM MSS: O₁ 10.34ab-37cd; O₂ 10.33ab-36cd; A 10.35ab-39cd; C 5.29ab-31cd; K 5.29ab-31cd; B 7.24cd-28ab; P hiatus (*truti*); om.S.
Mod.Lit.: Sītārām 1933,39; Śarmā 1973,60f.

Note to the textual evidence.

The description of the Janmasthanā compound, which is restricted to the Janmasthanā temple in S, is extended in B by four ślokaś describing the palaces of Kaikeyī and Sumitrā. The OA recension has added to this the Kitchen of Sītā (OA 24) and Sītā's well (Sītākūpa OA 26). An interpolation found only in A connects the three palaces with three bathing ghāṭś on the bank of the Sarayū (see OA 24.8cd v.1., OA 25.2cd v.1. and OA 25.4cd v.1.; III, App.1 No.4).

Location.

For a discussion of the location of both palaces with respect to Janmasthanā see Intr.AM 21. Today the tīrtha Kaikeyībhavana lies 250m north of the Janmasthanā (Bābur's mosque) instead of the said 36m (20 dhanus), and Sumitrābhavana is believed to lie 100m south of Bābur's mosque instead of 55m (30 dhanus).

Special feature.

The darshan of these two holy sites is said to be a cure for diseases.

Festival.

Not specified.

Assessment of the content.

As has already been observed it would be wrong if we thought of both tīrthas as two separate temples. The distances of both sites from the Janmasthanā (36m and 55m) seem rather to imply that we are here concerned with two shrines within the original Janmasthanā compound. This tallies with the local tradition which says that both shrines were destroyed by Bābur together with the Janmasthanā temple (Śarmā 1973,61).

The site that is nowadays indicated as Sumitrābhavana is without doubt a very ancient one. It is a prominent mound within 100m of Bābur's mosque with steep slopes on the southern and western sides, which form the edge of the Rāmkot plateau. The excavation referred to in I.1f., which exposed archaeological layers datable to the 7th century BC and a massive wall of bricks (3rd century BC), was carried out at the foot of this mound.

Modern situation.

The Sumitrābhavana tīrtha is located on top of the mound described above. The mound does not contain buildings of any significance. A stone platform and a ruined brick wall are all

that remain of former occupation. On the platform is a small shrine of mud containing a fragment of a stone image said to represent Hanumat;

Nothing remains of the original site of the Kaikeyibhavana. The place is nowadays indicated as such lies c.250m north of Bābur's mosque. It can hardly be called a holy place since it consists of a private garden enclosed by a wall which is not visited by any pilgrim.

Text

OA

(+ p.174)

janmasthānād uttare tu
 vartate bhavanam śrṇu/
 dhanurvīmśatpramāṇam ca
 sthānam vai lokapāvanam//1//
 kaikeyyā bhavanam divyam
 yatra jāto raghūdvaḥah/
 bharato nāma dharmātmā
 gurudevārcane rataḥ//2//
 tasmād dakṣiṇadigbhāge
 vartate paramam mahat/
 sumitrābhavanam ramyam
 dhanustrimśac ca bhāmini//3//
 yatra jātau mahābhāgau
 tathā śatrughnalekṣmanau/
 sthānānām darśanād devi
 mucyate vyādhibandhanāt//4//
 (+ p.17A)

1-2. CK uttare janmabhūmyās tu kai-
 keyibhavanam mahat/ bharato nāma dha-
 rmatmā yatra jāto raghūdvaḥah//. 1a.
 O₁A tu: O₂ bhāge. b. O₁A śrṇu: O₂ mahat.
 c. O₁₂ dhanur⁰: A catur⁰, O₁ vīmśa⁰, O₂
 dhanurvīmśatpramāṇam. post 2cd tat-
 paścime tu kaikeyyās tīrtham cātimano-
 haram/ ins.A (vid. III, App.1 No.4).
 3a. O₂ tasminandakṣiṇadigbhāge. ab. CK
 dakṣiṇe janmabhūmyās tu ramasya parama-
 tmanah. d. O₁₂ bhāmini; CK darśanāt pa-
 panāśanam. 4a. ACK mahātmanau. d. CK
 janmasaṃkatāt. post 4cd tadbhavanāt
 paścime ca sumitrātīrtham uttamam/ ins.A
 (vid. III, App.1 No.4).

IB

(+ p.151)

tasmād uttaradigbhāge
 vartate devi tac chrṇu/
 dhanurvīmśatpramāṇam ca
 sthānam vai lokapāvanam//1//
 kaikeyyā bhavanam divyam
 yatra jāto raghūdvaḥah/
 bharato nāma dharmātmā
 gurudevārcane rataḥ//2//
 tasmād dakṣiṇadigbhāge
 vartate paramam mahat/
 sumitrābhavanam ramyam
 dhanustrimśac ca bhāmini//3//
 yatra jātau mahābhāgau
 tathā śatrughnalekṣmanau/
 sthānānām darśanād devi
 mucyate vyādhibandhanāt//4//
 (+ p.294 (ad S 53.3))

1-4. om.P (truti).

Commentary

OAB 25.1c. dhanurvīmśatpramāṇam. A distance of 20 dhanus = 36m.
 OAB 25.3d. dhanustrimśac. A distance of 30 dhanus = 55m.

120.01
66

1

66

100

is also
other

1000

Since it

Or.

[illegible]

30. A dacha krasn. od. U. nashim zhivotnim izmenet. nasho vishivaniy gornoy
nasho 17.04.2011.

[illegible]

(Ex-65)
661
1

Introduction

Textual evidence.

AM MSS: O₁ 10.38ab-40cd; O₂ 10.38ab-39cd; A 10.40ab-42cd; C 5.32ab-33cd; K 5.32ab-33cd; om.
BPS.

Mod.Lit.: Sītārām 1933,37; Śarmā 1973,61f.

Location.

The well is situated to the south-east of the Janmasthāna. Nowadays this well is about 50m SE of the mosque of Bābur.

Special feature.

The water from the well is said to grant knowledge, hence it is also called Jñānakūpa. According to modern tradition its water also has medicinal properties (Sītārām 1933,37).

Festival.

Not specified.

Modern situation.

The well bearing the name Sītākūpa is a modern lined well. Since it is close to the mosque it is not allowed to be photographed.

Text

(+ p.177)

janmasthānāt tu bho devi agnikoṇe virājate/
sītākūpa iti khyāto jñānakūpeti viśrutam//1//
jalapānam kṛtam yena tasya kūpasya pārvati/
sa jñānavān bhavel loke vibudhānām gurur yathā//2//
vasiṣṭhavāmadevābhyām jalapānam kṛtam śubhe/
mahaj jñānabalam prāpya tadā loke prakāśitam//3//

(+ p.180)

1a. O₁A tu: O₂ ca. b. A cāgni⁰, CK hyagni⁰. c. CK khyātam. d. A jñāna-
kūpa iti śrutam, CK jñānakūpa iti śrutam. 2abcd. om.O₂. 3abcd. om.CK.
3b. A śubhe kṛtam. cd. O₂ mahaj jñānavān bhavel loke vibudhānām gurur
yathā (= OA 26.2cd).

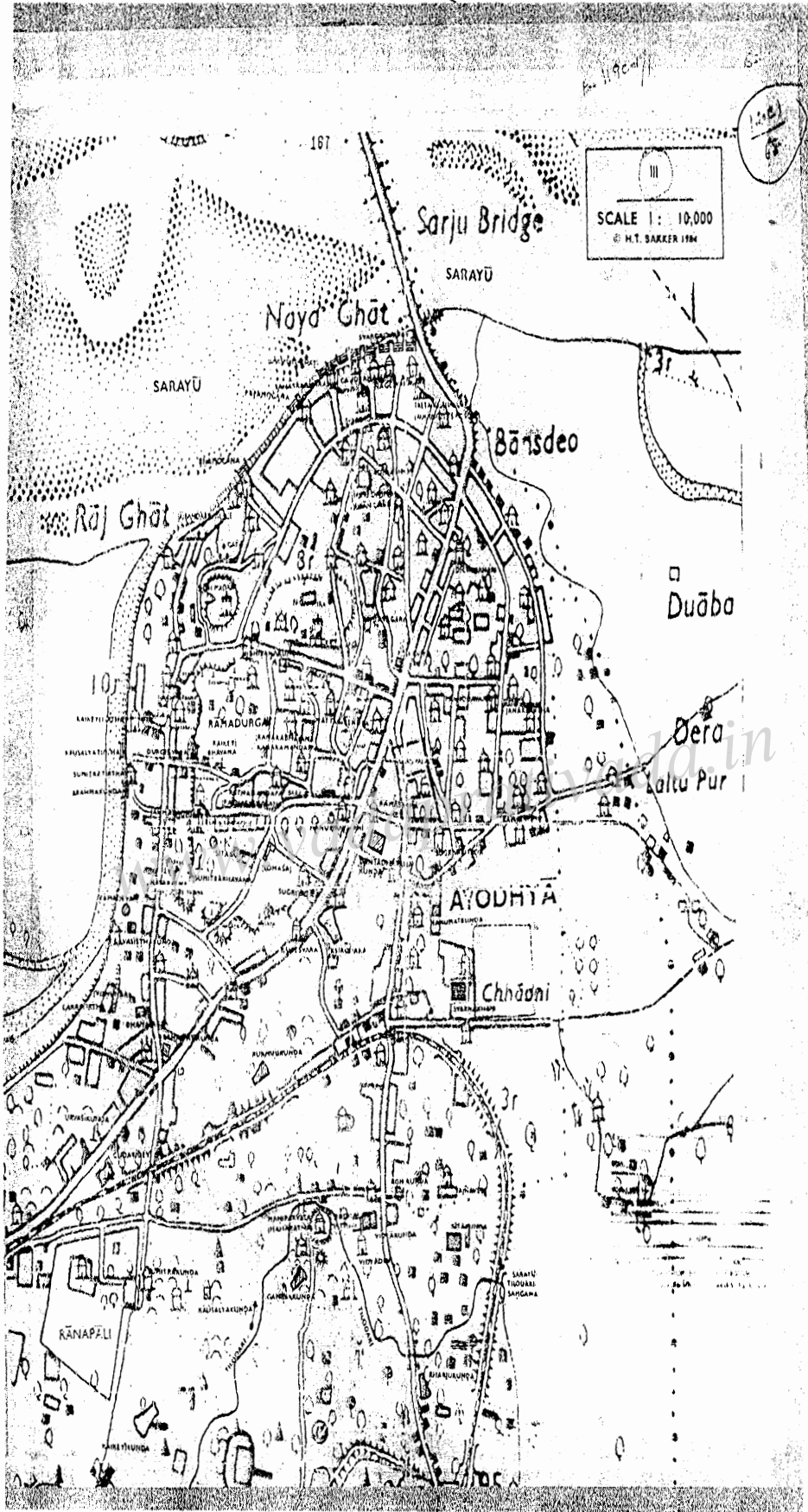
Commentary

OA 26.2d. vibudhānām gurur. I.e. Brhaspati.

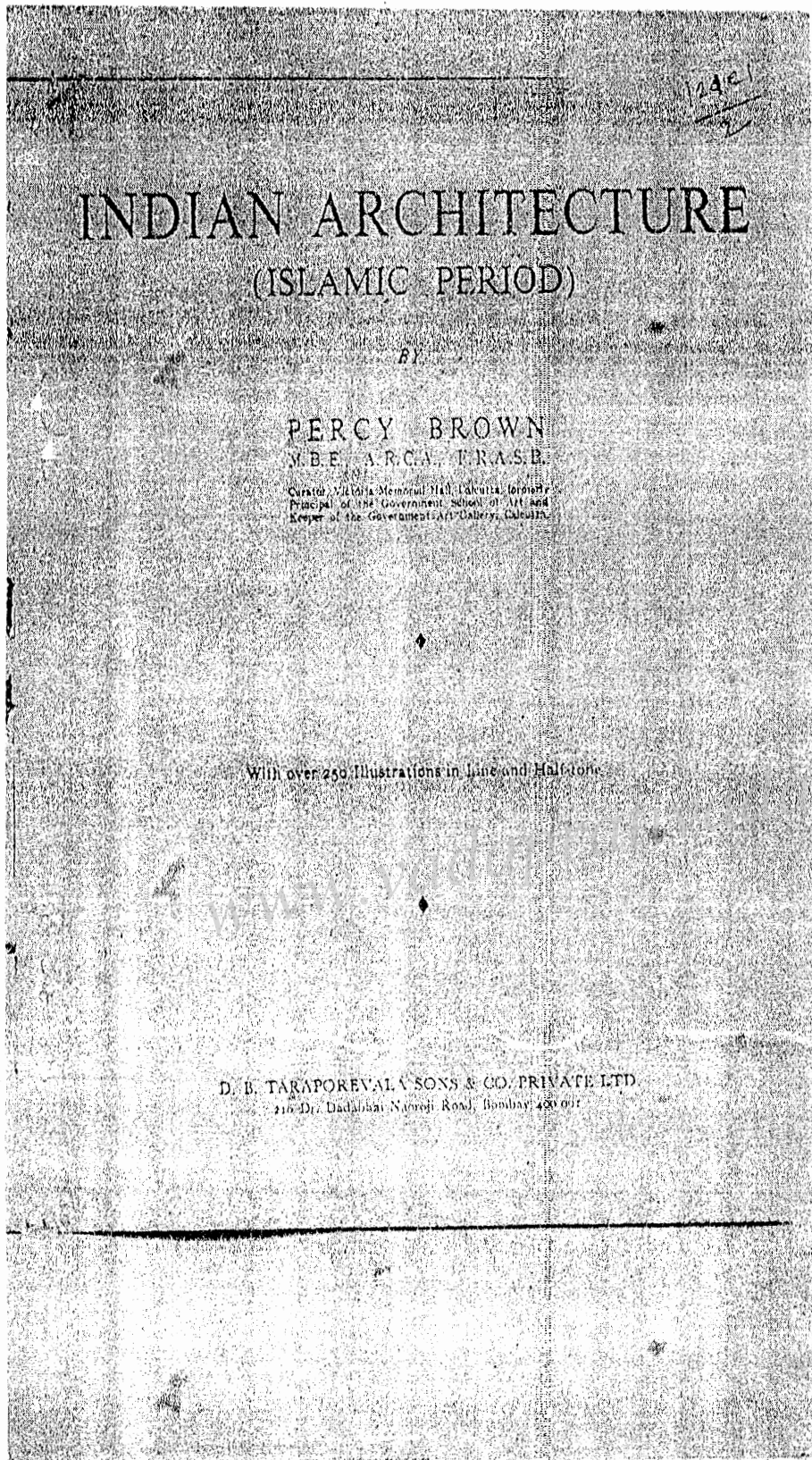
[illegible]

663

(B-67)



664
(Ex-68)



665

121/51
3

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

IN Book I the historical survey of Indian Architecture has been confined to that phase of the subject associated with the age-old and inherent creeds of the country and its indigenous inhabitants. The present work, Book II, is concerned with the building art of India as visualised and put into effect by a forceful people who, beginning towards the twelfth century brought with them conceptions and beliefs from an exterior source and in marked contrast with those that had hitherto prevailed. While there was no decisive break in the continuity of thought in India, there gradually emerged a change or broadening of vision extending over a considerable transitional period, which eventually had a far-reaching effect on all the human activities of the country. In the sphere of building construction it has been found convenient to refer to that style of architecture which evolved at this time, and which was due to the spread of Islam throughout India, as Indo-Islamic. The following chapters deal with the various forms that this style of the building art assumed under the different conditions that presented themselves during the course of history.

With the advent of the Mohammedans in India an era ends—the old order passes. And in no country was the movement of Islamisation more epoch-making. For of the various civilisations with which the Mohammedans came into contact in the course of their world-conquest, none could have been more diametrically opposed to their ideals than that of the people of India. Apart from the fact that the Islamic movement was of relatively recent growth, forming itself on the ancient and firmly established social and religious structure of India, it also postulated a clashing of fundamental convictions, a conflict of realism with idealism, of the material with the visionary, of the concrete with the abstract. Nothing could illustrate more graphically the religious and racial diversity, or emphasize more decisively the principles underlying the consciousness of each community, than the contrast between their respective places of worship, as represented by the mosque on the one hand, and the temple on the other. These structures not only provide the touchstone of the two creeds, but symbolize the innermost perceptions of the followers of each. Compared with the clarity of the mosque, the temple is an abode of mystery; the courts of the former are open to light and air, with many doorways inviting publicity, the latter encloses "a phantasm of massive darkness" having sombre passages leading to dim cells, jealously guarded and remote. The mosque has no need of a central dome, it is sufficient for the devotee to turn in the direction of Mecca; but the focal point of the temple is a sacred chamber often deep within the labyrinth of its endless corridors. Architecturally the mosque is wholly visible and intelligible, while the temple is not infrequently introspective, complex, and indeterminate. The repre-

sentation of natural forms is prohibited by Islamic usage, whereas the walls of the temples pulgave with imagery, and their interiors are the dwelling places of the gods; decorative lettering attained its highest form in the sculptured texts on the Moslem places of worship, but on the temples inscriptional art is rare, the Hindus conveying their meaning by iconography and carved figure compositions. By means of a multitude of these figured forms, the Hindus gave to the temple an effect vivid and colourful, but all of it in the natural tint and texture of the stone; conversely, the Mohammedans broke up their wall surfaces in patterns of different coloured marble, and also applied schemes of painted plaster and brilliantly glazed tiles.

In view of such an antithesis of spiritual and aesthetic concepts as are embodied in these typical structures, it will be clear that any syncretism between the two communities would present almost insurmountable difficulties, and that, even after the first antagonism had subsided, they could rarely meet on the same intellectual plane. On the one hand was the rhythmic mind of the Hindu, on the other the formal mind of the Muslim. Yet in spite of these inconsistencies, in the course of time, a method of approach became manifest, and ground common to both was gradually formed. In the sphere of the building art, specifically, some communion of ideas was generated, as architecture, of all the visual arts depends most on co-operation and of collectivism, besides being a form of expression which encourages intercourse owing to one of its objects being that of producing something of permanence, the realisation of which makes a universal appeal. Moreover the production of any monumental building provides a matter of general interest, it deflects men's minds from the internal to the external, in which religious and other barriers are broken down, all differences become merged in a unified effort of craftsmanship, so that humanity becomes one. Added to which in this instance each community was so circumstanced as to be enabled to make a notable contribution to the general stock of knowledge on the subject, the one, in this matter of materials, the other, in that of construction. For the Indian masons had, for many centuries been engaged on the erection of great stone temples of exquisite design, and to their artistic ability the conquerors gave undoubted credit. But the indigenous workmen during this long period had neither invented improved methods nor acquired any scientific building procedure, their technique having remained static through persistent isolation. And as with the mental type, inbreeding brings in its train undue uniformity and deterioration, so art under parallel conditions becomes monotonous and assumes a progressive inferiority. On the other hand the conquerors not only brought with them an infusion of new blood, but also innovations gained from other lands, fresh principles

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

and practices which had proved effective under all conditions.

Furthermore, each community had been accustomed to different systems underlying their method of building production: the Hindus being bound by a code of hereditary and conventional rules, while the Moslems built up around an academic tradition. Then in the matter of architectural procedure, each had adopted a different constructional principle, the basis of the building art of the one being trabeate, and the other arcuate. The indigenous architecture of India was of the trabeate order, as all spaces were spanned by means of beams laid horizontally; as distinct from this the Mohammedan builders had adopted the arch as a method of bridging a space, so that their style was arcuate. The appearance of the arch in the building construction of Islam may be traced to the contact of the early Moham-medans with the architectural development of the post-Roman period, as they were quick to see the scientific advantages of this feature, and appropriated it accordingly, although in a different form. But the displacement in Indian architecture of the beam by the arch evolved under Mohammedan influence, was however only made possible by the introduction of another material hitherto little known to the indigenous masons. This was a cementing agent in the form of mortar, and so we find for the first time mortar-masonry figuring freely in Indian building construction. Instead, therefore, of the simple and primitive method of placing one stone on the other, in such a position that the only pressure was vertical and directly downwards, involving no structural problems, as seen in all Hindu buildings, the Mohammedans brought into use certain scientific and mechanical formulae derived from their own experiences or those of other civilizations. Such formulae, when put into practice, were applied to counteract the effects of oblique or lateral thrust, and to resist the forces of stress and strain, by means of which greater strength and stability were obtained; materials were economised, and a wider range and flexibility given to the builder's art. Finally, there was the effect of appearance over the face of the country as a whole. Hitherto the "sky-line" of the buildings took the form of flat or low-pointed roofs, and the spire or *sikhara*. With the Mohammedans came an entirely new shape, the dome, so that there was a change from the pyramidal to the ovoid, and before long the characteristic architectural feature of many of the cities and towns and even the villages was the white bulbous dome.

The style of architecture thus developed has long been known as *Saracenic*, a designation which is now being discarded. Such buildings were not the production of any particular people, as the Saracens, but were an expression of the religion of Islam as this manifested itself in India. They will therefore be usually referred to by the more apposite title of Indo-Islamic. The importance of this Indian phase of Islamic architecture will be appreciated when it is realized that India produced more notable buildings than all the other countries that came under the influence of Islam. Two factors were largely responsible for this brilliant expansion of

the style in India, firstly its relatively late development, and secondly the remarkable genius of the indigenous craftsmen. As regards the former, before its introduction into India, the style had already passed through its experimental stages in other countries, many of the more pronounced structural difficulties had been overcome, and the suitable disposition of the various parts of the buildings according to the needs of each, had been finally established. The great mosques of Cairo, Baghdad, Cordova, and Damascus, to mention only a few of these historical conceptions, had been in existence some considerable time before the first Mohammedan building arose in Delhi, so that India was in a position to reproduce structures of this character after the style had arrived at a fairly mature state.

But the real excellence of Indo-Islamic architecture was due to the second of these factors—the living knowledge and skill possessed by the Indian craftsmen, particularly in the art of working stone, in which they were unequalled. This perfection had been achieved through centuries of experience in temple-building, the manipulation of stone in all parts of the country having been practised on a scale which raised it to the status of a national industry. These workmen played grandly and magnificently with their material, but treated their temples rather in the light of backgrounds on which to express their plastic genius, than as efforts of building construction, so that they present an appearance more sculptural than architectural. How this manipulative skill was adapted and directed to the production of scientific as well as artistic architecture is seen in the monuments that arose in India under Islamic rule.

That most of the Islamic architecture in India is composed of masonry formed of dressed stone is significant, as Mohammedan buildings in other countries, with certain exceptions, were largely constructed of brick, plaster, and rubble. The employment of the latter and less permanent materials was resorted to in the nature of an expedient, owing to a demand for speed on the part of the earlier Moslems in the finalisation of their plans. Much of this need for haste and immediate attainment, had ceased by the time the movement reached India, and the invaders were accordingly able to take advantage of the more deliberate methods of the indigenous workmen. There was however another important and also external influence which might have affected the technique of the Indian style at this juncture. Beyond the western frontiers of the country, in those territories through which the Mohammedans in the course of centuries had made their way to India, was a very large region including Persia and Arabia, where for a long period it had been the custom to use brick and rubble for building purposes. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the profound effect the employment of these materials had on the shape and powers of the architectural style in the lands where they found favour. It was to such countries however that the Indian workmen under Islamic dictation had to look for guidance in their building schemes, as there lay the main sources of inspiration, but it is remarkable

INTRODUCTION

how very moderately the Indo-Islamic style was influenced by the architecture of those realms situated much nearer to the fountain-head. Some of the general principles of the religious edifices within this large brick-building area were accepted, together with certain constructive measures that were essential to them, but few, if any, of the technical processes. The fact is that the Indian masons, in addition to their inherent conservatism, possessed sufficient experience and independence to enable them to work out, in their own manner and with their own materials, those structures that were required to meet the needs of the new rulers. The result was that, regarding Mohammedan architecture as a whole, some of the earliest examples built in the Islamic style in dressed stone were those produced in India. And this method of construction was maintained for the most part throughout its entire course.

Unlike the architecture of the Hindus, which, as may be seen, was confined almost entirely to temples, Mohammedan architecture in India is represented by many different types of building, which however may be referred to the two conventional divisions of (a) Religious and (b) Secular. Those of a religious nature consist of two kinds only—the mosque and the tomb. On the other hand the secular buildings are of a miscellaneous order, as among them may be included those intended for public and civic purposes, such as houses, pavilions, town-gates, wells, gardens, etc., besides the large imperial schemes of palace-forts and even entire cities.

Taking the religious structures first, the mosque, or *Masjid*, literally, the place of prostration, as already shown, is not only the all-important building of the Faith, but it is also the keynote of the style. Derived originally from the somewhat humble dwelling of the founder of the creed at Medina in Arabia, traces of the shape of this domestic habitation are still to be detected in the developed mosque-scheme, as it is basically an open courtyard surrounded by a pillared verandah, in a word, an elaboration and enlargement of an Arab's house. With the early followers of the religion everything was done according to *sunna* or practice, tradition being regarded as sacred, sometimes carrying more force than the guiding light of reason. The original intention was to provide no specific structure for devotional purposes, its prayer could be performed in the open air with nothing between the devotee and his God. But those concerned had not calculated on the natural craving of mankind for an enclosed building in which worship could be conducted in an appropriate environment, away from the distractions of everyday life, and it was not long before a house of prayer came into being. This began with a rectangular open space or *sahn*, the four sides being enclosed by pillared cloisters or *iwans*, with a fountain or tank in the centre for ablutions, a ceremony described as "the bath of faith and the key of prayer." To meet the demand for some focal point in the scheme, the cloisters on the Mecca side (in India on the west) of the courtyard were expanded and elaborated into a pillared hall or sanctuary, with

a wall at the back containing a recess or alcove called a *mihrab* indicating the *qibla* or direction for prayer. On the right side of the *mihrab* stands the *minbar* or pulpit, while a portion of the sanctuary is walled off into a compartment for women. An elevated platform from which the *imam* summons the faithful to prayer is also a necessity, and usually takes the form of a high tower or minaret. (Plate I.) In almost every city and large town, there is one mosque known as the *Jamia Masjid* (Al-Basjid al-Jami, i.e., the Collecting Mosque). This designation is given to the principal or congregational mosque in which the Faithful assemble for the Friday (*Jum'ah*) prayer.

Above are the main elements comprising the mosque structure, and it was soon found that to combine these traditional requirements into a well-balanced whole was not to be readily accomplished. Porticos and similar entrance halls could be added to the exterior, but the treatment of the interior with its outstanding essential of a large open space, remained a problem. Obviously the sanctuary where was enshrined the *mihrab*, or symbol of "direction" of the Faith was the most significant portion, and this was eventually developed into the principal architectural feature, with the courtyard and its cloisters leading up to it. To produce the necessary structural effect of a house of prayer two important elements were imposed on to the exterior of the sanctuary, on the one hand a screen was thrown across its front to form a facade, and on the other, above the central space or nave corresponding to the "high place" of the Christian church, a dome was raised. It was in the task of co-ordinating these two dominating features, the facade and the dome, so as to form a unified architectural composition, that difficulties were encountered, and in fact were never entirely overcome by the Indian builders. For nearly every phase of mosque architecture in India illustrates in the front elevation a conflict between these two essential constituents of the conception, and the efforts made to bring about an agreement. As a rule, the view of the central dome over the nave is obstructed by the parapet crowning the facade which rises up in front, although this combination is sometimes not unpleasant as seen from the sides or back of the building. The cause of this lack of coherence in the elevational aspect of the Indian mosque has been attributed to the immature design of the earliest examples, such as the Quthb at Delhi, and the Arhal-din-ka-jhompra at Ajmir, the defects of which, owing to the force of tradition, were repeated, although in a lesser degree, in many of the subsequent buildings. In the mosques of Gujrat and of the south-west the design of the Ahar frontage undoubtedly shows its influence, but the inconsistency here referred to appears to have an older origin, as it is inherent in the eastern type of mosque, beginning as early as in that raised by the Arabs at Samarra near Baghdad in the first half of the ninth century.

The other class of building of a religious order, the tomb, introduced into the country an entirely new kind of structure, as hitherto it had been the custom of the people of India to raise no sepulchre to mark the resting

668

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INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

place of the dead, their ashes being carried away on the broad bosom of the sacred rivers. Even with the Mohammedans the tomb-structure in the initial stages of the creed evolved slowly owing to all such memorials being prohibited. It is of no little psychological significance that a movement which began with restrictions against all forms of monumental art should eventually produce some of the most superb examples. Only the pyramids of the Pharaohs, and a few other funerary monuments, such as that raised in memory of King Mausolus at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, have excelled in size and architectural splendour the Islamic tombs of India. Many of these noble piles consist of an imposing composition of vaulted halls and towering domes, and enclosed within a spacious garden, all on a grand scale, yet enshrining in the centre a mere handful of dust laid in a plain mound of earth to be seen in the mortuary chamber below. (Plate LII). In the course of time, the tomb-building, especially in northern India, introduced itself into the landscape, much of the finest Indo-Islamic architecture being expressed in these structures. The tomb (qubba), usually consists of a single compartment or tomb-chamber, known as *hauzah* or *estana*, in the centre of which is the cenotaph or *zarih*, the whole structure being roofed over by a dome. In the ground underneath this building, resembling a crypt, is the mortuary chamber called the *maqbara* or *lakhana*, with the grave or gable in the middle. In the western wall of the tomb-chamber there is generally a *mihrab*, but some of the larger mausoleums also include a mosque as a separate building, the whole being contained within one enclosure, called a *raua*, after the garden (or *raua*) at Medina in which is enshrined the Prophet's Tomb. Occasionally important tombs are designated *dar-gah*, a word of Persian extraction signifying a court or palace.

In contrast to the religious architecture these buildings of a secular character, as already indicated, comprise a large series of a kind so varied that no definite classification is possible, and they will therefore be dealt with either individually or in groups according to their position or purpose.

During the rule of the Mohammedans, architecture in India passed through three different and more or less successive experiences. The first of these prevailed for only a brief period, but it was one of destruction and destruction itself, by the first white-hot of fanatical zeal. "It was the custom," relates a contemporary chronicler, "after the conquest of every fort and strong-hold, to ground its battlements and pillars to powder under the feet of fierce and gigantic elephants." In a like manner a large number of fortified towns were demolished, while temples and similar structures were included in the spoliation. This purely destructive phase was followed by a second one, in which the buildings were not ruthlessly shattered, but were purposely dismantled and the parts removed to supply ready-made material for the mosques and tombs of the

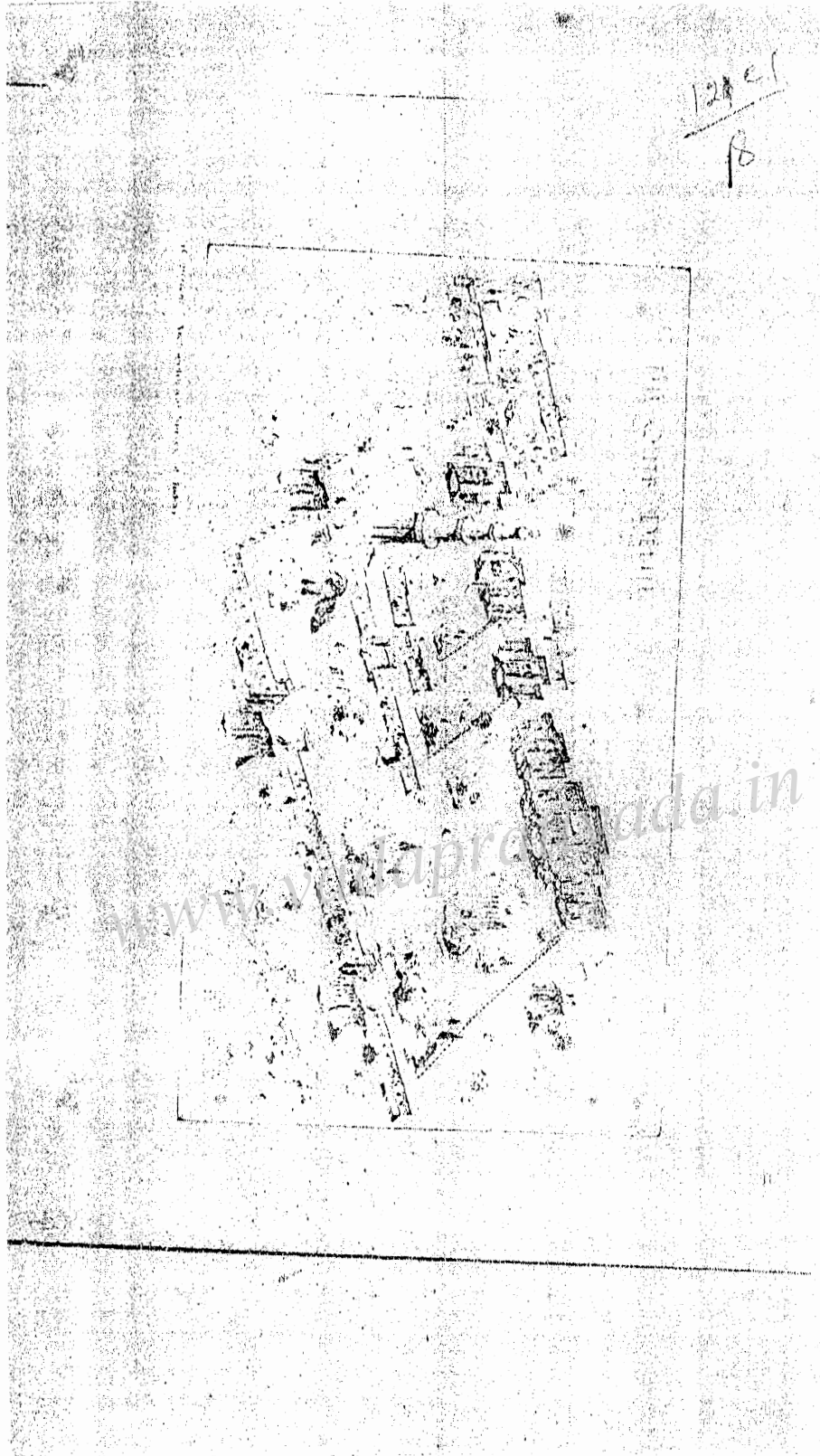
conquerors. The historian quoted above mentions that much of the demolition was effected by elephant power, these animals being employed to push the beams and pillars out of position, gather them up, and carry them to their new situation, much as they now stack timber, or haul teak wood logs for commercial purposes. It was during this phase that the temple buildings suffered most, as whenever any fresh territory was annexed, and the founding of a capital city contemplated, these structures became the quarries from which supplies of cut stone were extracted. This accounts for considerable areas in Upper India being almost entirely denuded of any records of Hindu architecture, notably around such early Islamic centres as Delhi and Ajmer. The spoils of these temples, however, had to be supplemented in places by a certain amount of new and original masonry, as may be seen in mosques of the early type, so that the materials were obtained from two sources and, as tersely described by the chronicler—"the stones were dug out from the hills, and the temples of the infidels were demolished to furnish a supply." Finally, there was the third phase, when the Moslems having become firmly established in various parts of the country, found themselves in a position to plan and create building compositions constructed of masonry, not re-conditioned, but each stone prepared specially for its purpose. It was in these latter circumstances that Islamic architecture in India arrived at its true character and achieved its greatest splendour.

For the purposes of study, the architecture thus produced may be resolved into three main divisions: (1) the Delhi or Imperial, (2) the Provincial, and (3) the Mughal. The first of these divisions has hitherto generally been known as "Pathan," but not all those dynasties under which this type of architecture prevailed, can be so designated. Two of them were of Turkish extraction, one was Khalji, and one was of Arab descent. The architecture evolved under these dynasties was that associated mainly with their rule at Delhi, the capital city and centre of the imperial power. For, just as Rome had a "classic" art of the capital city, differing greatly from that of the provinces, so the seat of the administration in Moslem India had its own form of architectural expression, which, although subject to variations and developments, never really lost its distinctive and imperial character. Beginning at the close of the twelfth century, on the establishment of Islamic rule at Delhi, this imperial style continued for nearly four centuries, when, in the middle of the sixteenth century it was succeeded by that of the Mughals. The second of these styles, the Provincial, refers to those modes of building practised in some of the more self-contained portions of the country, usually after their governors had thrown off the allegiance to Delhi, when they proceeded to develop a form of architecture in accordance with their own individual ideals. What may be termed the "provincial" of this movement was A.D. 1400, when the central power at Delhi had

¹ *Mishat*, Book V, Chap. VI, Part I.

² *Two Histories of the Muslim Rule in India* by Elliot, Vol. II.

670



671

24/9

INTRODUCTION

been written by the invasion of Timur (Tamerlane) and his general, Prasad, declined from the 21st. It will be observed that these provincial manifestations of the building art in most instances prevailed for a period partly contemporary with that maintained by the central power at Delhi and partly with that of the Mughals, until the latter brought the whole of India

under their rule. The third style, the Mughal, was the latest and ripest form of Indian Islamic architecture, which emerged about the middle of the sixteenth century, continued to flourish until the eighteenth century, by which time the empire founded by the descendants of the Timurids, the "Great Moghuls," had begun to approach its end.

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672

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RELEVANT TEXT RETYPED

"Unlike the architecture of the Hindus, which, as may be seen was confined almost entirely to temples, Mohammedan architecture in India is represented by many different types of building, which however may be referred to the two conventional divisions of (a) Religious and (b) Secular. Those of a religious nature consist of two kinds only-- the mosque and the tomb. On the other hand the secular buildings are of a miscellaneous order, as among them may be include those intended for public and civic purposes, such as houses, pavilions, town-gates, wells, gardens, etc., besides the large imperial schemes of palace-forts and even entire cities.

Taking the religious structures first, the mosque, or Masjid, literally "the place of prostration" as already shown, is not only the all-important building of the Faith, but it is also the key-note of the style. Derived originally from the somewhat humble dwelling of the founder of the creed at Medina in Arabia, traces of the shape of this domestic habitation are still to be detected in the developed mosque-scheme, as it is basically an open courtyard surrounded by a pillared verandah, in a work an elaboration and enlargement of an Arab's house. With the early followers of the religion everything was done according to suna or practice, tradition being regarded as sacred, sometimes carrying more force than the guiding light of reason. The original intention was to provide no specific structure for devotional purposes, as prayer could

be performed in the open air with nothing between the devotee and his God. But those concerned had not calculated on the natural craving of mankind for an enclosed building in which worship could be conducted in an appropriate environment, away from the distractions of everyday life, and it was not long before a house of prayer came into being. This began with a rectangular open space or sahn, the four sides being enclosed by pillared cloisters or liwans, with a fountain or tank in the centre for ablutions, a ceremony described as "the half of faith and the key of prayer." To meet the demand for some focal point in the scheme, the cloisters on the Mecca side (in India on the west) of the courtyard were expanded and elaborated into a pillared hall or sanctuary, with a wall at the back containing a recess or alcove called a mihrab indicating the qibla or direction for prayer. On the right side of the mihrab stands the mimbar or pulpit, while a portion of the sanctuary is screened off into a compartment for women. An elevated platform from which the muezzin summons the faithful to prayer is also a necessity, and usually takes the form of a high tower or minaret. (Plate I.) In almost every city and large town, there is one mosque known as the Jamma Masjid (Al-Masjidul Jami, lit, "the Collecting Mosque"). This designation is given to the principal or congregational mosque in which the Faithful assemble for the Friday (Jum'ah) prayer.

Above are the main elements comprising the mosque structure, and it was soon found that to combine these traditional requirements into a well-balanced whole was

not to be readily accomplished. Porticos similar entrance hall could be added to the exterior; but the treatment of the interior with its outstanding essential of a large open space, remained a problem. Obviously the sanctuary where was enshrined the mihrab, or symbol of "direction" of the Faith was the most significant portion, and this was eventually developed into the principal architectural feature, with the courtyard and its cloisters leading up to it. To produce the necessary structural effect of a house of prayer two important elements were imposed on to the exterior of the sanctuary, on the one hand a screen was thrown across its front to form a facade, and on the other, above the central space or nave corresponding to the "high place" of the Christian church, a dome was raised. It was in the task of co-ordinating these two dominating features, the facade and the dome, so as to form a unified architectural composition that difficulties were encountered, and in fact were never entirely overcome by the Indian builders. For nearly every phase of mosque architecture in India illustrates in the front elevation a conflict between these two essential constituents of the conception, and the efforts made to bring about an agreement. As a rule, the view of the central dome over the nave is obstructed by the parapet crowning the facade which rises up in front, although this combination is sometimes not unpleasing as seen from the side or back of the building. The cause of this lack of coherence in the elevational aspect of the Indian mosque has been attributed to the immature design of the earliest examples, such as the

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The other class or building of a religious order, the tomb, introduced into the country an entirely new kind of structure, as hitherto it had been custom of the people of India to raise no sepulchre to mark the resting place of the dead, their ashes being carried away on the broad bosom of the sacred rivers. Even with the Mohammedans the tomb-structure in the initial stages of the creed evolved slowly owing to all such memorials being prohibited. It is of no little psychological significance that a movement which began with restrictions against all forms of monumental art should eventually produce some of the most superb examples. Only the pyramids of the Pharaohs, and a few other funerary monuments, such as that raised in memory of King Mausoleus at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, have excelled in size and architectural splendour the Islamic tombs of India. Many of these noble piles consist of an imposing composition of vaulted halls and towering domes, and enclosed within a spacious garden, all on a grand scale, yet enshrining in the centre a mere

handful of dust, laid in a plain mound of earth to be seen in the mortuary chamber below. (Plate LII). In the course of time, the tomb-building, especially in northern India, introduced itself into the landscape, much of the finest Indo-Islamic architecture being expressed in these structures. The tomb (Qabristan), usually consists of a single compartment or tomb-chamber, known as 'huzrah or estanak' in the centre of which is the cenotaph or zarih, the whole structure being roofed over by a dome. In the ground underneath this building, resembling a crypt, is the mortuary chamber called the 'maqbarah or takhtana' with the grave or qabr in the middle. In the western wall of the tomb-chamber there is generally a mihrab, but some of the larger mausoleums also include a mosque as a separate building, the whole being contained within one enclosure, called a rauza, after the garden (ar-rauza) at Medinah in which is enshrined the Prophet's Tomb. Occasionally important tombs are designated dargahs, a word of Persian extraction signifying a court or palace.

In contrast to the religious architecture those buildings of a secular character, as already indicated comprise a large series of a kind so varied that no definite classification is possible, and they will therefore be dealt with either individually or in groups according to their position or purpose.

During the rule of the Mohammedans, architecture in India passed through three, different and more or less successive experience. The first of these prevailed for only a limited period, but it was one of desecration and

destruction inspired by the first white head of fanatical zeal. "It was the custom," relates a contemporary chronicler, "after the conquest of every fort and stronghold to ground its foundations and pillars to powder under the feet of fierce and gigantic elephants." In a like manner a large number of fortified towns were demolished, while temples and similar structures were included in the spoliation. This purely destructive phase was followed by a second one, in which the buildings were not ruthlessly shattered, but were purposely dismantled and the parts removed, to supply ready-made material for the mosques and tombs of the conquerors. The historian quoted above mentions that much of the demolition was effected by elephant power, these animals being employed to push the beams and pillars out of position, gather them up, and carry them to their new situation, much as they now stack timber, or haul teak wood logs for commercial purposes. It was during this phase that the temple buildings suffered most, as whenever any fresh territory was annexed, and the founding of a capital city contemplated, these structures became the quarries from which supplies of cut stone were extracted. This accounts for considerable areas in Upper India being almost entirely denuded of any records of Hindu architecture, notably around such early Islamic centres as Delhi and Ajmir. The spoils of these temples, however, had to be supplemented in places by a certain amount of new and original masonry, as may be seen in mosques of the early type, so that the materials were obtained from two sources and, as tersely described by the

chronicler- "the stones were dug out from the hills, and the temples of the infidels were demolished to furnish a supply." Finally, there was the third phase, when the Moslems having become firmly established in various parts of the country, found themselves in a position to plan and create building compositions constructed of masonry, not re-conditioned, but each stone prepared specially for its purpose. It was in these latter circumstances that Islamic architecture in India arrived and its true character and achieved its greatest splendour.

For the purpose of study, the architecture thus produced may be resolved into three main divisions, (1) the Delhi or Imperial, (2) the Provincial, and (3) the Mughul. The first of these divisions has hitherto generally been known as "Pathan," but not all those dynasties under which this type of architecture prevailed, can be so designated. Two of them were of Turkish extraction, one was Khalji, and one was of Arab descent. The architecture evolved under these dynasties was that associated mainly with their rule at Delhi, the capital city and centre of the imperial power. For, just as Rome had "classic" art of the capital city, differing greatly from that of the provinces, so the seat of the administration in Moslem India had its own form of architectural expression, which, although subject to variations and developments, never really lost its distinctive and imperial character. Beginning at the close of the twelfth century, on the establishment of Islamic rule at Delhi, this imperial style continued for nearly four centuries, when, in the middle of the sixteenth century it

was succeeded by that of the Mughuls. The second of these styles, the Provincial, refers to those modes of building practised in some of the more self-contained portions of the country, usually after their governors had thrown off the allegiance to Delhi, when they proceeded to develop a form of architecture in accordance with their own individual ideals. What may be termed the "pivotal year" of this movement was A.D. 1400, when the central power at Delhi had been broken by the invasion of Timur (Tamerlane), and its original prestige declined from that date. It will be understood that these provincial manifestations of the building art in most instances prevailed for a period partly contemporary with that maintained by the central power at Delhi, and partly with that of the Mughuls, until the later brought the whole of India under their rule. The third style, the Mughul, was the latest and ripest form of Indo-Islamic architecture, which, emerging after the middle of the sixteenth century continued to flourish until the eighteenth century, by which time the empire founded by the descendents of the Timurids, the "Great Mughuls," had begun to approach its end." (pages 3-5)

680

(Ex-69)

AIN-I-AKBARI BY ABUL FAZL
(1598 A.D.)

صوبہ اودھ

ابن البری

vol II

(Nawal Kishore,
Lucknow, 1881)

178

اودھ از بزرگ شیرٹای ہند - طول حدود

نزدہ درجہ و شش دقیقه - عرض بہت و بخت

درجہ و بہت و دو دقیقہ - بیشین زمان

در از اصد و چہل و ہشت گز و پناہ سی و

شش آباد بود - از نرس محابہ یا شتانی

بر مایند - لیسو اد شیر خاں - بیری کنند و

ملایر گرید - بنگاہ راجہ رام خیر بود - در دور

نریا فرمانرانی معنوی را با تخت لشی

صوری فرام داشت - یک کرم شیر

دریای اطلہ بدریای سرو پیوستہ بیابان

لعم بلزد - نزد ابن شیر دو قبر بزرگ

ماخنہ اند شش و بہت گزی -

ماتہ خواہا شہیت و آرب پیمبر

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بدیند و دلوات ما برخواستند برخی برآید
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 و از فرسوده رسمهای روز برکناره شد
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आइन ए. अकबरी
(1598 ईसवी)
मुसन्नफ : अबुल फजल
हिस्सा दोयम

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नवल किशोर प्रेस
लखनऊ
1881 ईसवी

आइन ए अकबरी, हिस्सा दोयम

पृष्ठ-78

अवध अज बुजुर्ग शहरहाए हिन्द तूल सद ओ पिजदाह (118) दर्जा ओ शश (60) दकीका। अर्ज बीस्त ओ हफ्त (27) दर्जा ओ बीस्तो दो (22) दकीका पेशीने जमान बदर अज असद ओ चहल हो हस्त (148) कर्दा व पहनासीओ शश (36) आबाद बूद । अज गुजीन मआबिद बास्ताने बरशुमारन्द व सवादे शहरे खाक बेजी कुनन्द ओ तिलहा बर गुरिन्द बुनगाहे राजा रामचन्द्र बूद । दर दौरै त्रेता फरमानराए मुआनवी रा बातखतनशीनी सुअरी फराहम दाशत यक करवहे शहर दरयाए घघर बदरयाए और सरू पैवसता पायाने किला बगुजरद - नज्दे ईन शहर दो कब्रे बुजुर्ग साखे अन्द । शश ओ हफ्ते गजी आमाए खावगा शोश ओ आयूब पयम्बर पिन्दारन्द ओ देवाफाहा बरख्खान्द । व बरखी बरान्के दर रतनपुर तुरबते कबीर मुजाहिद । दर जमाने सिकन्दर लोदी बूद । लख्खती दरे महानी बुर्द कुशायश याफत व अज फरसूदे रसमाई रोजे बरकिनारशुद फरयाने हकायक बशोर हिन्दी जमान अज यादगार ।

तर्जुमा

पृष्ठ-78

हिन्दुस्तान के बड़े शहरों में से अवध है जिसकी लम्बाई 118 दर्जा 60 दकीका और चौड़ाई 27 दर्जा 22 दकीका है । पहले जमाने में उसकी लम्बाई एक सौ अड़तालिस कोस और चौड़ाई 36 कोस तक आबाद थी । यह इलाका पुराने इबादतगाह में शुमार होता है । शहर इलाके में मिट्टी के बर्तन बनाते हैं और सोने का पानी चढ़ाते हैं । यह राजा राम चन्द्र का ठिकाना था और उस जमाने में वहाँ तख्तनशी होकर हकाइका मारिफ की बातें कहते थे । शहर से एक कोस की दूरी पर घाघरा दरिया सरयू दरिया से मिलकर किले के किनारे से गुजरती है । इस शहर के आस-पड़ोस में दो कब्रे बनी हुई हैं जो 6 और 7 गज की हैं और उन्हें शीश और अगूब पैगम्बर की कब्रे बताते हैं । और यह देव के अफसाने कहते हैं । बाज लोग कहते हैं कि यह कबीर दास की कब्र रतनपुर में है और जो सिकन्दर लोदी के जमाने में थे । कुछ लोग उसका मायना यह लेते हैं कि वहाँ जाकर रिजक में इजाफा हो जाता है और लोग आए दिन की गलत रस्मों से अलग-थलग हैं । हिन्दी अशार में बहुत से हकायक (सच्चाईयों) उनकी यादगार हैं ।

सिद्धांत लाल
लखनऊ

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No. $\frac{107 \text{ C1}}{76}$ to $\frac{107 \text{ C1}}{94}$ (total pages 83)

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[illegible]

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which are arranged in a columnar fashion. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are written in a more formal, printed style. The list includes names such as "John Smith", "Mary Jones", and "Robert Brown", along with their respective addresses in various cities and states.

2. The second part of the document is a series of short, handwritten notes or entries. These notes are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a columnar fashion, similar to the first part. The notes appear to be a continuation of the list or a separate set of information related to the names and addresses listed above.

3. The third part of the document is a series of short, handwritten notes or entries. These notes are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a columnar fashion, similar to the first part. The notes appear to be a continuation of the list or a separate set of information related to the names and addresses listed above.

4. The fourth part of the document is a series of short, handwritten notes or entries. These notes are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a columnar fashion, similar to the first part. The notes appear to be a continuation of the list or a separate set of information related to the names and addresses listed above.

5. The fifth part of the document is a series of short, handwritten notes or entries. These notes are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a columnar fashion, similar to the first part. The notes appear to be a continuation of the list or a separate set of information related to the names and addresses listed above.

6. The sixth part of the document is a series of short, handwritten notes or entries. These notes are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a columnar fashion, similar to the first part. The notes appear to be a continuation of the list or a separate set of information related to the names and addresses listed above.

7. The seventh part of the document is a series of short, handwritten notes or entries. These notes are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a columnar fashion, similar to the first part. The notes appear to be a continuation of the list or a separate set of information related to the names and addresses listed above.

8. The eighth part of the document is a series of short, handwritten notes or entries. These notes are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a columnar fashion, similar to the first part. The notes appear to be a continuation of the list or a separate set of information related to the names and addresses listed above.

9. The ninth part of the document is a series of short, handwritten notes or entries. These notes are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a columnar fashion, similar to the first part. The notes appear to be a continuation of the list or a separate set of information related to the names and addresses listed above.

10. The tenth part of the document is a series of short, handwritten notes or entries. These notes are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a columnar fashion, similar to the first part. The notes appear to be a continuation of the list or a separate set of information related to the names and addresses listed above.

TRANSLATION FROM URDU TO ENGLISH

107 C1/76

AKBARI CONSTITUTION

(1598 AD)

WRITER: ABUL FAZAL

CHAPTER SECOND

PUBLISHED BY NAVAL KISHORE PRESS, LUCKNOW, 1881

AD

PAGE 78

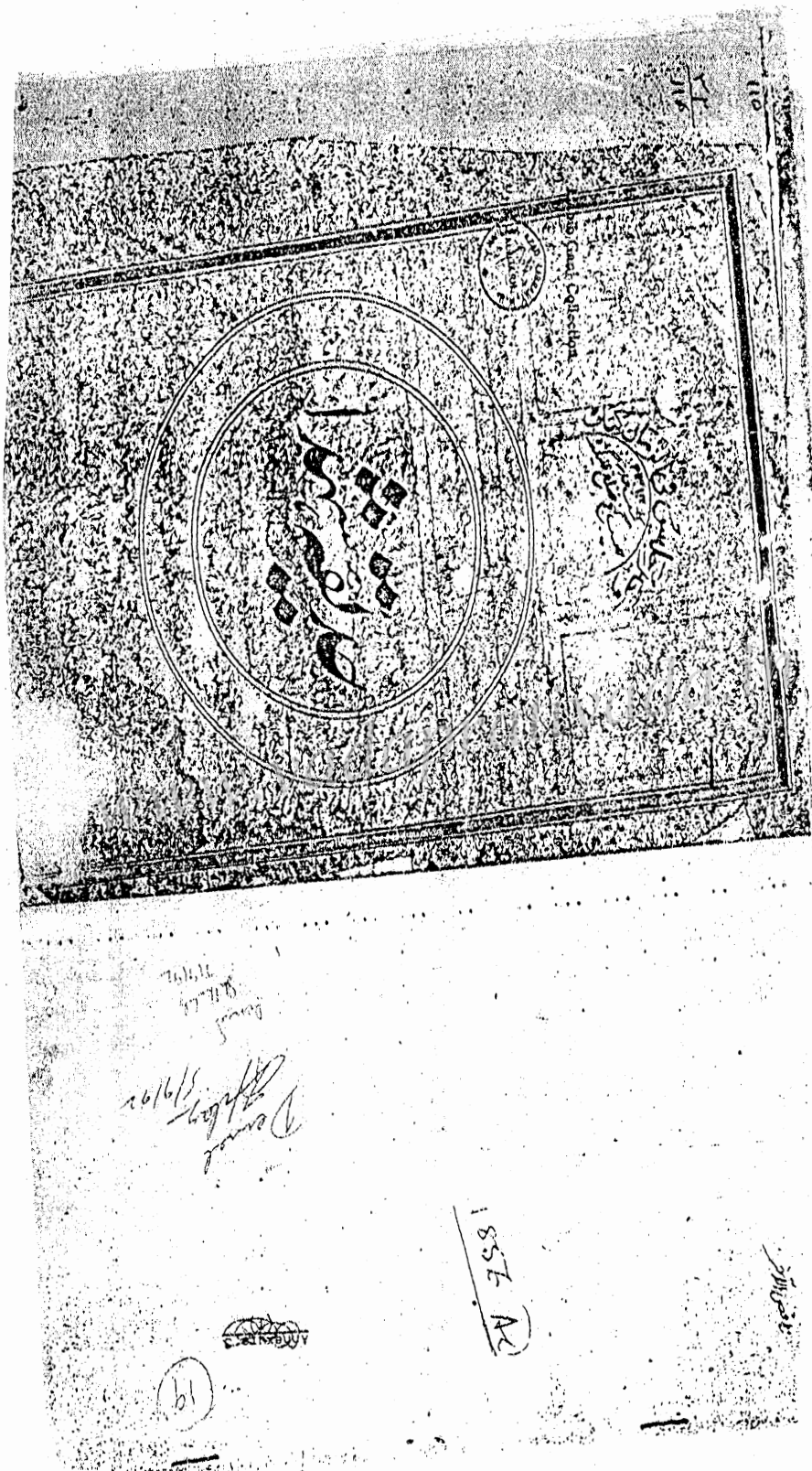
Awadh is one big city amongst the big cities of India, whose length is 118 Darja 60 Dakika and whose width is 27 Darja 22 Dakika. In the old times its length was 148 Kos and its width was 36 Kos and population was there. This area has remained a place of worship since olden days. The domicile (Original residents) of this area use to make earthen pots (Mitti Ke Bartan) and upon the golden water is painted. It was residence of Raja Rama Chander. After sitting on the throne there, Raja Rama Chander was giving advice his subjects for obeying good behaviour etc. and he was also giving his subjects good things regarding God. After a distance of one Kos from the city, Ghagra River joining with Saryu River passes at the corner of the Fort. Two graves have been built up in the neighbourhood area of this city whose length is 6-7 yards respectively which are called graves of Messengers of God Shish and Ayyub respectively, who are called

messengers of God. Few persons says that this is grave of Saint Kabir Dass who belong to the era of Sikander Lodhi. Few persons also believe that after visiting his grave, enhancement in the livelihood will come. Often wrong customs are being performed here and his several kinds of memories are here at this place.

Text Translated by

www.vadaprativada.in

(E-H-70)



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कुतुब खाना

हबीब गंज, जिला अलीगढ़

www.vadaprativada.in

हदीका ए शहदा

(मुसन्नफ़ : मिर्जा जान)

(इशायत : 1856 ईसवी)

www.vadaprativada.in

हदीका ए शहदा

मकाला अपना अमल करके मस्जिद के मिनार को तोड़ डाला। इस बात पर काजी हबीब अल्लाह ने बलवा किया और फिर मिनार बना लिया और बैरागियों से इकरारनामा अदम तर्जुम मस्जिद लिखवा के और किसी फकीर मुसलमान को अजान के वास्ते मुकरर कर दिया। गर्ज यह चारों मस्जिदें बनवाई हुई सलातीने माज़िया के चार इरकान ईमान की तरह अवध में वाक्या थी और कुतुब त्वासीख में तसरीह है खसूसन हनुमानगढ़ी की मस्जिद इबारत सहीफा शाही से, कि बहादुरशाह आलमगीर की बेटी ने चहल नसाइह लिखी हैं इस फिकरे से, कि मकानी रा करारगाहे हनुमान करारदादह अन्द व मीगायन्द कि बाद फतह लंका राम चन्दर हनुमान रा दर आन्जा निशायन्दे अस्त (तर्जुमा : हनुमान का ठिकाना बताते हैं और कहते हैं कि लंका की फतह के बाद राम चन्दर ने हनुमान को इस जगह उहराया था), साबित है। इबारत उसकी हबूहू अन्दराज पाती है और इस किताब में नकल हो के रवाज पाती है : इबारत नसीहत बिस्त ओ पर्जुम (25) अज सहीफा ए चहल नसाइह बहादुरशाही कि बतारीख पाज्ज आ दहम (15) शाबान सन 1231 हिजरी नकल शुदे दर कुतुबखाने मिर्जा हैदर शिकोह इन्ने मिर्जा सुलेमान शिकोह दाखिल शुद अज किताब मजकूरा नकल कर्दे शुद (तर्जुमा : इबारत सहीफा ए चहल नसाइह बहादुरशाही की 25 वीं नसीहत से है जो पन्द्रह (15) शाबान सन 2131 हिजरी में नकल हुई। यह किताब मिर्जा हैदर शिकोह बिन मिर्जा सुलेमान शिकोह के कुतुबखाने (पुस्तकालय) में दाखिल हुई। इसी किताब से यह इबारत नकल की गई है) :

बादशाहाने उलूल अज्मरा लाज्जम कि ख्याले तालीफे कलूबे अदना व आला मन्जूर व मलहूजदारन्द कि सुल्ताने वक्ता रा गरवीदगी जम्हूर अनाम बा खुद जरूरत व बरून तालीफे कलूबे जम्हूर रौनके रियासत व सल्तनत गैर मुमकिन बराए हमी सलातीन अज्जाम तालीफ रा जुज्जे आजमे रिसासत व सल्तनत दानिस्ता व मीदानन्द मगर दर बाबे तालीफ गैर मुशरव मीबायद कि सुरसीए दीन व इस्लाम रु नदहद गल्वाए दीन व इस्लाम मलहूज दारते हमे मुशिरकान रा मुतीए इस्लाम दारन्द व अज अख्जे जजिया कि बर कुफ़ारे फुज्जार इजरा याफते अस्त। दर नगुजरन्द व जमीअ राजगान रा अज अहजार रोजे ईदैन व प्यादा इस्तादे मानन्द। बैरुने मसाजिद कि दर मामूलए खुदहा बफरयाने बादशाही साख्ते अन्द वाइन्तजाए नमाज व खुत्बे मुआफ न दारन्द व मुआबिदहाए मुशिरकान हनूद वाक्या ए मथुसा व बनारस व अवध वगैरह रा कि कुफ़ारे ना बकार बरेतकाद खुदहा जाए रा मौलिदगाहे कन्हैया व मुकामी रा रसोई सीता व मकानी रा करारगाहे हनुमान करारदादह अन्द व मीगायन्द कि बाद फतह लंका राम चन्दर हनुमान रा दर आन्जा निशायन्दे अस्त भिस्मार गश्ता बराए तकयीयते इस्लाम दरआन हमेजा मसाजिद तामीर शुदे, अन्दआन मसाजिद रा अज जुम्मा व जमाअत खाने

नदारन्द व चूनांके कदगनस्त कि रस्मे बुत परस्ती बाऐलान न शवद व सदाए नाकूस बगोशे ऐहले इस्लाम न रसद वहीमी नमत बर शेखुल इस्लाम हमेशा दर ईन खसूस ताकीद अकीदन दारन्द कि तरवीजे दीने मतीन व तकवीयते ऐहले इस्लाम मुनहसिर बरानस्त अदना अकिलत दर ईन मामला मुकद्दमा वा रा लाकस मीनमायद मिसरा मर्द आखिर बीन मुबारक बन्दा अस्त। +

(तर्जुमा : बुलन्द-इरादा बादशाहों के लिए लाज़मी है कि वे अदना और आला, मकबूल और मलहूज लोगों का तालीफ़ कलूब करें और उनका ख्याल रखें। वक्त के सुल्तानों को चाहिये कि दुनिया ए जम्हूर का अपने साथ ख्याल रखें और समझें कि जम्हूर की तालीफ़ कलूब के बिना रियासत और सल्तनत की तरक्की और सैनिक मुमकिन नहीं है। इसी वजह से बड़े बादशाहों ने रियाया के दिलों को अपने वश में करना एक बड़ा काम समझ कर इसे हमेशा सरअंजाम दिया। मगर गैर मुशरबों (गैर मुसलमानों) के दिलों को तुभाने की बाबत यह ख्याल रहना चाहिए कि दीन ओ इस्लाम से रू गरदानी न होवे और दीन ओ इस्लाम के गल्बे का लिहाज़ रखते हुए सभी मुशिरकों (मूर्तिपूजकों) को मुतीए (फरमांबरदार) इस्लाम समझें और जजिया को, जो इन बदकार काफ़िरों पर लगाया गया है, कभी न छोड़ें। यह समझ लेना चाहिए कि (इस्लामी शासन के अधीन) बहुव्यम तलब किये गये सभी राजाओं को इस शाही हुक्म से छूट न मिल पाये कि वे ईदों के दिनों में नमाज़ और ख़ुत्बा अदा होने तक मस्जिदों के बाहर प्यादा हालत में मुस्तैद खड़े रहें। ख्याल रहे कि बादशाही फरमान से बनाई गई मस्जिदों में नमाज़ अदा किये जाने और ख़ुत्बा पढ़े जाने से मुआफ़ी नहीं दी गई है। और मुशिरकों की इबादतगारों को, जो मथुरा और बनारस और अवध वगैरह में हनूद के वाक़्या हैं, जिनमें बदकार काफ़िर अपने ऐतकाद के मुताबिक पूजा करते हैं और जिन्हें वे कन्हैया की जन्मभूमि और मुकाम सीता की रसोई और हनुमान का ठिकाना बताते हैं और कहते हैं कि लंका की फ़तह के बाद राम चन्दर ने हनुमान को इस जगह ठहराया था, (इन सभी जगहों को) इस्लाम की ताक़त दिखाने के लिए गिस्मार करके इन सभी जगहों पर मस्जिदें तामीर कर दी गईं। इन मस्जिदों को जुम्मा और जमाअत से छूट नहीं दी गई है। चूनांके यह लाज़मी कर दिया गया कि वहाँ बुत परस्ती की रस्म ऐलानिया अदा न की जाये और शंख की आवाज़ अहले इस्लाम के कानों में न पहुँचे। इसी तरह शेखुल इस्लाम हमेशा और खसूसियत के साथ ताकीद करे ताकि दीन को फ़ैलाने में तकवीयत पहुँचे।

जब पच्छिम राट का नाज़म दर्शन सिंह ब्रह्मन हुआ, मुसलमानों का रसूख दुश्मन हुआ। आस पास उस टीले के हाता खुदवाया, लड़ाई के काबिल किला बनवाया। फिर तो क्या कहना! मिसल मशहूर है कि एक तो करेला दूसरे नीम चढ़ा

हुए। महन्त बड़े मालदार हुए। अपने मज़हब के सरदार हुए। चले उनके बेशुमार हुए। मुसलमानों को उनके मुकाबिले की ताकत न रही। हकाम को खैर व शर की लियाकत न रही। गिर्द उस मस्जिद के हिसार कायम करके हनुमानगढ़ी उसका नाम रखा। परस्तिश का शगल सुबह व शाम रखा। उस मुसलमान फकीर को पहले तो कुछ देते रहे। बजबर व इकराह उसकी खबर लेते रहे। जब वह दरवेश मुसलमान मस्जिद का पासवान जन्त को सिधारा, बैरागियों ने मैदान मारा। उस खाना ए खुदा को अपना घर समझ के हनुमानगढ़ी में तो दाखिल कर ही चुके थे। अब कुछ निशान बाकी न रखा। ताकि व महाराब व भिम्ब को बराबर करके मस्जिद का गुमान बाकी न रखा। जब इन्तहा को दर्शन की हकूमत पहुँची, फिर तो अवध में यह नौबत पहुँची कि कई बरस तक अज्ञान और गावकुशी मौकूफ रही। हिन्दुओं की गौड़तली गंगा भी ईमा और इशारे में इतला उसकी अहले दरबार को हुई लेकिन मुफसल खबर न सरकार को हुई। शायद अहद हकूमत मुहम्मद अली शाह फिरदौस मंजिल में फिर अज्ञान की रस्म जारी हुई और गावकुशी भी ब्रदुशवारी हुई। मुहम्मद अली शाह साहिब सरीर हो तो किसी तरह रस्म कदीम जारी हो और काफिरों की जिल्लत व खुवारी हो।

नज़्म हस्ब हाल जमाना हाल

अब सुबाए अवध में यह सामान व साज है किस्सा है तूल उसकी कहानी दराज है हकाम काफिरों की खुशामद से कहती है। हक़िम को बुत परस्तों से राज व न्याज है यह बल पड़ा है वरना निकल जाती सन से जान चौदी के जूते खाते हैं ये हिरस ओ दान करबला में हमें जला कर किया ग़ल्लर उलेमा को मसले में नहीं इम्त्याज है खातिर से उनको शरआ की क्योंकि फेरी मांग है इस पर भी उनको अपनी फज़ीलत पे नाज है मुन्शी कलम को रोक अदब का है यह मुकाम बा हमी तू नेक व बदी का आफ़शाए राज है	मस्जिद में बादशाहों के बाल ओ बरार है बालफ़ाल वह जमाना है कोई नहीं खबर क्या खुशनुमा शिवाला यह बन्द नवाज है अख़्बार नगर में गावकुशी क्यों न बन्द हो यानी हरामजादे के रस्ते दराज है हिन्दू खुली खजाने ताली की बत्ती है मियाँ अब कलामे हक के जलाई यह नाज है घोका यह मसलों में न कहा जाए जान है बरफ़ाल ना दरुस्त यह हुक्म हवाज है बहके हुए हैं जो उनके दीन के राहे रास्त इस राह में कमाल नशीब व फराज है	क्या लिखे अपने हाथ से ईमान की जाफ़ को कहती है किसको सूम भला क्या नमाज है किस तरह से अवध में हो बीगे अज्ञान बुलन्द गोशाला पूजता है जो पेश नमाज है सबको तलाश न रही जो है अहले कारयान हासिल बजोर जरिया उनहे इम्त्याज है इस्लाम की तमीज हो क्या काफिरों को हाथ है खिल्लत से उनको सोज है हिम्मत से साज है फत्वा से उनकी गाज उनका खून हुआ हलाल मथुरा को सब समझते हैं मुल्के हिजाज है मतलब है जिसके लिखने से आगाज कर उसे जब थी तमाम सोज सज़ा या मरार है
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हदीका ए शहदा

इस मुखासर सी तहरीर का सबब उसकी नज़ीर का यह है कि जब मौलवी अमीरुद्दीन अली कदम सरहा आला नेजिहाद का कसद किया, यहाँ के उलेमा से मशवरा लिया सब साहिबों ने बैयत की, कबूल उनकी इमामत की। उस जलसे में मीर ईमान गुननाहुल रमाजी अला रहमतुल्लाह भी शरीक था, बहुत नज़दीक था। हंगाम मुंहजत पर चन्द हमराही का इसरार किया लेकिन हज़रत ने इन्कार किया और फरमाया कि तुम्हारा यहीं रहना मुनासिब है बल्कि वाजिब है कि अक्सर खलूत हमारे यहाँ के अमायद को आयेंगे, तुम्हारे सबब से जवाब बासवाय मिल जायेंगे। अलावा इसके वह काम इत्सराम होंगे जो बायस तकवीयते मुजाहिदीन तीक अन्जाम होंगे। पस अबासी ने नाचार उस खादम रसूल की अताअत कबूल की। फिर कहना कहा : यहीं रह। उसी दस्ती जो मौलवी साहिब ने बज़रिये नामा इरशाद फरमाया, बसर व चशम बजा लाया और कैफियत को कल्मबन्द करता गया, कल्मदान भरता गया। जय अमीरुल मुजाहिदीन रईसुल मुसलमीन ने शर्बते शहादत पीया, मैंने भी अफसर्दा हो के कल्म को रोक लिया और इसका नाम हदीका ए शहदा रख दिया। एक दोस्त बीजिया मुखल्लिस के अस्ताफ़ फर्मा नज़म में रश्के मीर और नस्र में फर्द। उन्होंने इस किताब के मज़मून के मुवाफ़िक कतआ तारीख़ मोज़ों किया है। इन्साफ़ कीजिये तो सुखन का जलवा दिया है। कतआ तारीख़ : तहरीरो का जब अहवाल कुफ़ व ईमान जैसे मुद्दों के कलई महशर तलक खुलेगी। तारीख़ ख़ात्मे की कि ढूँढ़ी जो मैंने आगे, आई निदा फ़लक से तारीख़ है अवध की।

आगाज़ मार्का इबरत अंगेज हैरत आमेज़ यूँ है कि कुतुबे साबिका और बयाने हाल से यह अहवाल मालूम हुआ है, जो बे कम व कास्त मर्कूम हुआ है, कि बाद तसल्लुत सालार मसाऊद गाजी के सलातीने माशिया ने भी गलादे हिन्दुस्तान जन्मतनिशान में जहाँ कहीं मआबिदे अजीम हुद्द के पाये, मस्जिदे खानकाह मुसाफ़िरखाने बनवाये और मुअज़्ज़िन मुदरिस मीरसामां मुक़रर करके देने मुहम्मदी को खूब शायया किया, सामने बुत परस्ती और नामूस लाज़मी को जाया किया, इस्लाम को रौनक और जीनत दी, लश्करे कुफ़्फ़ार को हज़ीमत दी यहाँ तक कि तमाम हिन्दुस्तान में सियाय मुसलमानी के कुफ़ की निशानी बाकी न रही। खुदा के सिया सनम परस्ती की मुशाकी न रही और जो कुछ हिन्दू मुसलमानों के हाथ से बाकी रह गए मांजुरे इस्लाम हुए, अख़राज देने लगे, मुत्तैअ और फ़रमाबरदार तमाम हुए। ख़याल किया चाहिये कि अगले बादशाहों ने तरक्की इस्लाम में किस कदर ऐहतमाम किया था, कैसा कैसा सर अन्जाम किया था कि अब तक इस्लाम में जर्क बर्क बाकी है। वही रौनक गरब से ताशरक बाकी है और मुआज़ अल्लाह अगर उन लोगों की आबयारी मेहनत से गुलस्ताने दीन मुहम्मदी ऐसा सेराब न होता और कुलबन उम्मीद मुसलमानों का बायीन आब ओ ताब ना होता तो इस ज़माना आखिर में, कि बारह सौ बहत्तर बरस गुजरे हैं, चकरार हैरान रह जाती।

दिल गच्चा सिर बस्ता की सूरत शगुफ़ता न रहती, दमी की फसल नजर आती। अल हासिल जिस तरह मथुरा और बनारस वगैरह को खस व खाशाके कुफ़ से साफ़ किया, फैजाबाद और अवध को भी उसी तरह ज़तालात की नज़ासत से शफ़ाक़ किया कि यह बड़ा परस्तिश का मुकाम था।

तख़्तगाहे पिदरे राम था। यहाँ के बुतख़ानों को तोड़ा, संगदिल बुतों को साबित न छोड़ा। जहाँ बड़ा बुतख़ाना था वहाँ बड़ी मस्जिद बनवाई और जहाँ छोटा मण्डप था, मस्जिदे मुख़्तसर क़नाती तामीर फ़रमाई। चुनांचे बुतख़ाना ए जन्म अस्थान में मस्किते रासे राम है, उसके मुत्तसिल सीता की रसोई है, सीता उसकी जोरु का नाम है, वहाँ कैसी मस्जिदें सर बुलन्द बाबर शाह ने सन नौ सौ तेईस (923) में बऐहतमाम सैयद मूसा आशिकान बनवाई है कि उसकी तारीख़ खैर बाकी (923) है। आज तक वह मस्जिद सीता की रसोई मशहूर नज़दीक व दूर है और पहलू में वह देर बाकी है। और राम दरबार की मस्जिद फ़िदाई ख़ान सूबेदार की बनाई थी जिसको काफ़िरों ने यहाँ तक सताया है कि एक दो मिनारी और मुत्तूदी दीवार अलग कर दी है बल्कि अमजद अली शाह के वक़्त में उसकी तामीर का हुक्म भी हुआ था मगर उसके मौत फ़ी मोहलत जुल फ़ी फ़ुर्सत मुदई यह हसरत साथ बह गई और किले की मस्जिद, कि बालेफ़ाल किला लच्छमन महन्त को मुआफ़ हो गया है और मस्जिद को भी गोशा खुमारमें मकान हो गया है। वहाँ सदर मुसलबा ख़ान मीर से यह महन्त ने फिर ले ली। ऐसी मस्जिदों का हाल, जो कब्ज़ा अख़्तियार हनूद में हों, जाहिर है, खुदा हाफ़िज व नासिर है। यह तो फ़क़त महंदा आराइश तस्वीर है। अब तरफ़ भाजरा रहे, जिससे अक्वल वक्ल व मीम होता है जिगर मर कर अलिफ़ लाम मीम होता है। क़तहा नज़र और मस्जिदों के अवध में एक टीला था, काफ़िरों को परस्तिश का हीला था। राज राम चन्दर ने उस मुकाम पर हनुमान अपने रफ़ीक़ को ढहराया था। बाद फ़तह लंका उसको बुजुर्गी का वसीला हाथ आया था। इसलिये हनुमान परस्त उसको हनुमान बैठक कहते थे, दालान में पड़े रहते थे। बालहाल उसी का नाम हनुमानगढ़ी है। उसकी यह लौकीर बड़ी ही वजह तस्मीम हनुमानबढ़ी यह है कि हस्ब बदस्तूर वहाँ भी औरंगजेब आलमगीर बादशाह गाजी ने, कि बाद वफ़ात — नज़ार मकान हो गई, खाई को खुदया के एक मस्जिद क़नाती बनवाई थी, मुख़्तसर उसी के मुलहक़ मय महाराब और मिम्बर जब अवसर हिन्दू ऐहत्ताम मआबिद बनाए, औरंगजेब बादशाह गाजी आवाराह वतन हुए और अहले इस्लाम बाद के बायस वहाँ न जा सके। हिन्दुओं को उस मस्जिद के मुशाकी में इसरार न रहा, अला बायीन का वश, ग़व़शा उसका बरक़रार न रहा। बाद चन्दे, मुसलमानों को गाफ़िल पा के चाहा कि फिर ठाकुरद्वारा बना के पूजा का रंग जमाए और इस पर मूरत हनुमान बने, उसी अस्थान वही संग जमाए। लेकिन काज़ी मुहम्मद आक़ुल

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ने जरायत की। उस मस्जिद की मरम्मत के एवज उन्हीं के इजाजत से बाकी शाह फकीर मुसलमान उसमें रहता था, नमाज़ पढ़ता, अज़ान कहता था। जब सजाऊद्दौला बहादुर बक्सर को गए, अतीत वहां आ रहे और मुत्तसिल मस्जिद के छप्पर डाल लिया और हनुमान की मूर्त को उसमें कायम किया। मगर हासिल में फकीर का भी हिस्सा रहा। जब फकीर को तख्दीर कर लिया, रफूता रफूता मकान माकूल तामीर कर लिया तो आमद भी ज़्यादा हुई। सारी कौम उनकी पूजा पर आमादा हुई इस अरसे में फकीर मजकूर ने इन्तकाल किया। उसके वारिसों ने माल ताल लिया और अलहदा मस्जिद से अकब उस टीले ही के

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696

EXHIBIT-70

TRANSLATION FROM URDU TO ENGLISH

107-C1/77

1314 Hijri

Publication

Habib Ganj District Aligarh

Book Name

Hadika E Shohada

(In the memory of martyrs)

Writer: Mirja Jaan

Year 1856

TRANSLATION FROM URDU TO ENGLISH

..... After completing their all proceedings, they broke down the Mimber of Masjid. Afterwards Qazi Habibullah, forcibly took the same under his possession and thereafter he got constructed Mimber of Masjid at the same place and a deed of agreement was got executed through a person, who has no respectable position in the society and a Fakir (Saint) Muslim person was appointed there for performing Azan. In fact above mentioned all four Masjid have been constructed by the previous Kings as there are four pillars of honesty (Iman) in the Muslim Religion. All these four Masjids were already situated in Awadh area and their description is also openly found in the historical

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books. In a special manner this fact is hereby exposed that on the Masjid situated at Hanumangarhi, which royal title has been affixed there, the same has been affixed by the daughter of Bahadur Shah Jafar, in which 40 advices have been given and among them one advice is as follows: - It is worth for mentioning that it has been concluded that the Ram Chander who has conquered Lanka with the help of Hanuman, after this period, there few identifications are placed here from many years. The title which was present there, the same has been copied exactly here.**(These words are written in very difficult Persian language and the Urdu – English translator is not capable to translate the same into English Language)**.....

Ultimately I mention this important fact that when Darshan Singh, by Caste Brahmin, Manager / Caretaker of the western nation who was very strong enemy of the Muslims, who got done digging of Tilas (Heaps of earth) in the neighborhood area and he also got constructed a fort for war. As an example is submitted and which is very famous as "*Ek Toh Karela Dusra Neem Chada*" due to this reason day by day he was getting more and more power. Thereafter, he became popular among the common people. After sometimes he became Mahant (Saint). The Mahant (Saint) of this area have remained very rich persons and they have remained leaders of their own religious community and several persons have become their followers (Chelas). Therefore,

Muslim people had no strength for challenging them. The leaders of that era did not differentiate between good and bad things. Afterwards, in a one portion of Masjid a place was selected and that selected portion was called Hanumangarhi. They appointed the time of worshipping in the morning and in the evening. In the beginning, some amount of money was being paid to above mentioned Fakir (Saint) Muslim in lieu of the above mentioned place. These people used to make enquiry regarding said Fakir from time to time. After sometime when above mentioned Fakir died then the opposite party took possession of the said place. In this manner those people treated the above mentioned place, which was place of God (Allah), as their own private place and afterwards that place was merged in Hanumangarhi and no identification and relics of Masjid were left there in any manner. Later on, after demolishing all kinds of Tapche, Mehrab and Mamber, the physical existence of the Masjid was vanished from there ultimately. After sometime there administration had spread too much and the same remained in existence for several years. Thereafter, Ajan could not be performed and cows could not be slaughtered for several years continuously. Even Gandtali Ganga on the instruction of Hindu Community also reached there but its information could not be obtained by the then Darbaris and Government and perhaps during the ruling of Mohd. Ali Shah Firdos, again Ajan was performed and again cows were slaughtered there and where the ruling of King Mohd. Ali Shah

had remained in existence then how can not be restored the old rites and customs and why Kafir (non-Muslim) persons were not insulted and defamed during his ruling period.

THIS POEM (NAJAM) ACCORDING TO PRESENT ERA

AB SUBAY AWADH MEIN	MASJID ME	KYA LIKHE APNE
YEY SAMAN V SAAJ HAI	BADSHAHO KE	HAATH SE IMAN
KISSA HAI TOOL USKI	BOL O BARAR	KI JAAF KOI
KAHANI DARAJ HAI	HAI	KEHTI HAI KISKO
HUKKAM KAFIRO KI	BALFAL VEH	SOOM BHALA GYA
KHUSAMAD SE KEHTI	JAMANA HAI KOI	NAMAJ HAI
HAI.	NAHI KHABAR	KIS TARAH SE
HAKIM KO BOOT	KYA KHUSNUMA	AWADH MEIN HO
PARASTO SE RAJ V NYAJ	SHIVALA YEH	BANGE AJAN
HAI	BANDA NAWAJ	BULAND
YEY BAL PADA HAI	HAI	GOSHALA POOJTA
VERNA NIKAL JATI TAN	AKHTAR NAGAR	AHI JO PAISH
SE JAAN	MEIN	NAMAJ HAI
CHANDI KE JOOTE	GOANKUSHI	SABKO TALASH N
KHATE HAI YE HIRAS O	KYON N BAND	RAHI JO HAI AHLE
DAAN KARBALA MEIN	HO	KARYAN
HAME JALAKAR KIYA	YANI	HASIL BAJOUR
GUROOR	HARAMJADE KE	JARIYA UNHE
ULEMA KO MASLME	RASTE DARAJ	IMIYAJ HAI
MEIN NAHI IMTIYAJ HAI	HAI	ISLAM KI TAMEEJ

KHATIR SE UNKO	HINDU KHULI	HO KYA KAFIRO
SHARYA KI KYONKI	KHAJANE KI TALI	KO HAY HAI
MERI MAANG HAI	KI BATTI HAI	KHILLAT SE UNKE
IS PAR BHI UNKO APNI	MIYAN AB	SOJ HAI HIMMAT
FAJILAT PE NAAJ HAI	KALAME HAQ KE	SE SAAJ HAI
MUNSHI KALAM KO ROK	JALAI YEH NAAJ	FATWO SE UNKI
ADAB KA HAI	HAI	GAAJ UNKA
YEH MUKAM	DHOKA YEH	KHOON HUA
BA HAMIN TU NEK V	MASLO MEIN N	HALAL
BANDI KA AFSAYE RAAJ	KAHA JAYE JAAN	MATHURA KO SAB
HAI.	HAI	SAMAJHTE HAI
	BARFAL NA	MULKE HIJAJ HAI
	DUROOST YEH	MATLAB HAI JISKE
	HUKAM HAWAJ	LIKHNE SE
	HAI	AAGAAJ KAR USE
	BAHKE HUYE HAI	JAB THI TAMAM
	JO UNKE DEEN	SOJ SAJA YA
	KE RAHE RASTE	GARAR HAI
	IS RAH MEIN	
	KAMAL NASIB V	
	FARAJ HAI	

107-C1/78

The purpose of this writing and the examples which have been mentioned here that when Moulavi Amiruddin Ali (God

(Allah) make his status great)) made announcement for war and he took advise from Moulvis of this area and all those persons agreed with their opinion and supported their opinion and accepted him their leader and in this meeting Meer Iman Gumna Al Ramaji Aala Rehmtatullah also took part. All those persons provoked him to become Mahant in this meeting and to depart for going in holy pilgrimage and all those persons also told Hajrat Aala to join him for going in holy pilgrimage but Hajrat Aala denied accepting their proposal. Hajrat Aala replied that it is better for you people to stay here and it is also indispensable for you all persons to stay here only. Hajrat Aala told that often letters of our persons will come to you all leaders and you persons will be able for giving its better reply and those work can be completed and support can be provided to the attackers (Mujahdin) through this process. In this situation, the persons who are not supporting to the leaders, they will have to become compelled for obeying the command of their leader. Afterwards they will reside here and they will not allow for stating their objections. In this document whatever have been stated by Hajrat Aala, people accept the same in letters and spirits. The comments of that time will be written in black and white and the store room was getting filled with this written work. When Amirul Mujahidin Raiesul Muslimin martyred then in this situation, having felt grief, I also stopped writing work. Afterwards I gave name "Hadiq E Shohada" to my written work.

.....(These words are written in very difficult Persian language and the Urdu – English translator is not capable to translate the same into English Language).....

After reading this learning incident and old books and after looking at the present era and neighborhood circumstances and after perusing all facts related to the old incidents whether they are less or more and after taking in possession by Salar Masood Ghazi and Kinds of old times of old eras, who has written the India is like heaven (Jannat), in all these heaven like areas where Hindu people were having their temples, there Masjid, Khanka and Musafir Khana should be got constructed in all above mentioned described areas and in all those area Mouajins and teachers were appointed in Masjids and caretakers and supervisors should be got appointed in Mushafir Khanas and he spread the Deen of Mohammad. The material related to idol worshipping such as conch (Shankh) and Ghanta were removed and he got spread Islam religion and religion of Hindu persons was crushed down extremely. Even no identification of non-Muslim persons (Kafirs) were left in India at that time. There remained no permission for idol worshipping except worshipping of Allah. All those Hindu persons who left in India they were forced to pay additional taxes and surcharges in comparison to Muslim persons and those Hindu persons were also forced to live their life in accordance with the constitution of Islam and to obey the command of Muslim people. All those kings and rulers must be

appreciated for their respective efforts which they made for spreading Islam religion in India in spite of each and every odd circumstances and conditions and temperaments and they must be also appreciated for the sacrifices they paid for spreading Islam religion in India and due to this reason alone the same brightness of Islam religion is still continuing in India till date. If all those above mentioned Kings and rulers would not have made their respective efforts and they would not have given sacrifices in different manners and styles and designs then in this situation Islam religion would not have been prevailing and enjoying in India at present and due to this reason today the Muslim People in India have been paying respect to their Islam religion and they are making prayers before Allah in the Masjids and they are performing Ajan and Namaj in the Masjids today in the atmosphere of freedom. In this last period of year 1272 Hijri this religion and culture of Muslim persons is still prevailing in India continuously since then till date. If all those above mentioned Kings and rulers would not have given sacrifices as mentioned herein above then today no Muslim person could be able to reside in India and to feel free for embracing and adopting and enjoying the all norms and facts relating to his Muslim religion and culture. The above mentioned facts are described hereunder in more detail in the following manner that in which manner idol worshiping has been removed and stopped from Mathura and Banaras in the same manner idol worshiping must be removed

and stopped from Faizabad and Awadh and all these above mentioned above places were great places of idol worshipping among Hindu Community.

The above mentioned place is called seat of father of Lord Rama. Places of idol worshipping situated here were demolished and even a single piece of any idol of Hindu religion was left there un-demolished. The place where was big temple of Hindu people, there big Masjid was constructed and the place where was small temple of Hindu people, there small Masjid was constructed. This place of worship is called birth place of Lord Rama and the place which is adjacent to it, is called "Sita Ki Rasoi" and Sita is called wife of Lord Rama. At that place Babar Shah got constructed a very big Masjid under the supervision of Sayyad Musha Ashiqan in the year 923 Hijri and its history is still maintained. Today the above mentioned "Sita Ki Rasoi" is called this Masjid. At the place of "Ram Darbar" Masjid has been got constructed by Fidai Khan Subedar. The Kafir persons (non-Muslim persons) have got demolished one or two Minars and some portion of the wall of this Masjid but during the period of Amjad Ali Shah order was also issued for the construction of the same but construction was not done but his death did not allow him to execute his desire. Masjid situated at Kila (fort) was given to Lakshman Mahant. Now this Masjid has converted into a house. Till now this Masjid is lying with the above mentioned Mahant. The condition of this kind of Masjid can be imagined very

well itself, which Masjid is under the possession of non-Muslim person. The condition of such type of Masjid can be very well known by Allah only that what kinds of idol worshiping is being done in this Masjid by the Karif person (non-Muslim) under his possession and supervision. It is told that in the Masjid of Awadh area there was one Tila (heap of earth) and the same was a piece of Idol worshiping of the Kafir (non-Muslim) persons. Raja Rama Chander had got stayed there his friend Hanuman. After conquering Lanka, general people started accepting Hanuman as the most Hon'ble Person. Therefore the Hindu Priest were saying said place as meeting room of Hanuman and they were lying in the Dallen of above mentioned place. Therefore, now this place is named as Hanumangarhi and this importance of Hanuman has had been enhancing day by day and this kind of honor and respect of Hanumangarhi also remained during the Kingdom of King Aurangzeb Alamgir Ghazi and after his death this above mentioned place was converted into a house. After getting done ditching there, a Masjid was got constructed there. In reality the fact is that adjacent with it Mehrab and Mimber were also got constructed there and Hindu persons after demolishing the same, they got constructed there place of idol worshiping. After the death of King Aurangzeb, Muslim persons could not be able to visit that area for performing their Namaj there. Hindu persons remained making again and again requests for demolishing the said Masjid. Its detailed description is this that after finding the

Muslim people in the negligent manner, the Kafir (non-Muslim) persons with the help of persons belonging to the Thakur caste, the Kafir (non-Muslim) persons after getting constructed few idols there, Kafir (non-Muslim) persons started worshiping all those idols there and after sometime a very big idol of Hanuman was got placed there and that place was ultimately reserved for Hanuman Ji but Qazi Mohd. Aakil raised few arguments there. Due to having constructed the said Masjid, Baki Shahi Muslim Fakir (Saint) was residing there and he was performing Namaj and he was giving Ajan. After sometime, Sajaud Daula went there and he started residing there. Thereafter he put Chhappar upon the Masjid there in a permanent manner and he continuously kept there said idol of Hanuman but the said Fakir (Saint) resided there in the shape of a share holder of that place. When the said Fakir (Saint) was recognized through his behaviour and conduct then a pucca house was constructed on the said place in a slowly and slowly process. Afterwards all persons of all community become their disciples. After sometime said Fakir (Saint) also died. Afterwards, the successors of the said Fakir (Saint) after taking the moveable property of the said Fakir (Saint), left that place of Masjid and after coming behind the Tila (heap of earth) near to the said place, those successors started residing there.

TRUE Friend only

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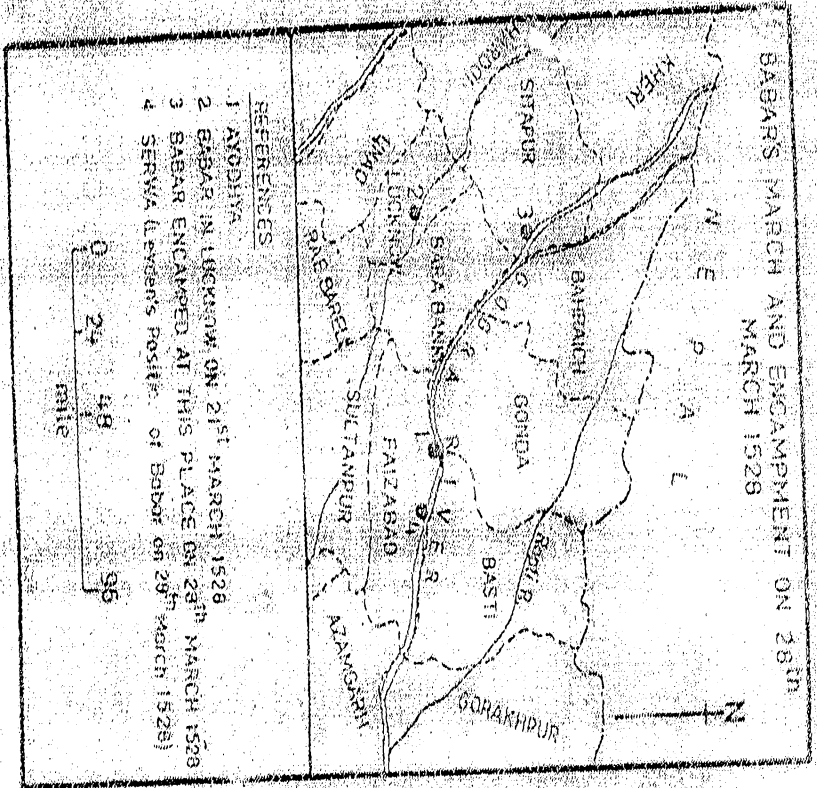
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Did Babur Build the Masjid?

Chapter Five

The popular belief that Babur and Aurangzeb destroyed temples in Ayodhya was bolstered by the theories that appeared since the advent of British rule in India. It has been held that the Muslim rulers were committed to the expansion of Islam, and that they made a policy of destroying Hindu temples to oppress Hindus and to convert them. However, this belief cannot be substantiated. There is no concrete historical evidence that the Mughal emperors, Babur and Aurangzeb, ever came to Ayodhya. It is true that there is a historical basis for the belief that Babur and Aurangzeb ordered the building of temples in Ayodhya. In any case, if the Mughal rulers had undertaken the destruction of Hindu temples as their policy, they would have failed miserably. Neither was the Hindu population reduced considerably nor was there a significant decrease in the number of Hindu temples. This belief would also suggest that the Mughals were more fanatical than their predecessors, the Turkish Sultans. Long before the alleged visit of Babur to Ayodhya, the city had been invaded by Turkish soldiers under Sayad Salur in 1036. In 1194, Ayodhya was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate and the area had Muslim rulers from then on. The local myths do not accuse them of having destroyed Hindu temples. But history seems to believe that the Mughal emperors were more intolerant towards Hindu subjects than the Turkish sultans. Some Muslim rulers did destroy Hindu temples. The practice was followed largely by the early Turkish Sultans, primarily for economic gains and also for reasons of facility. Subsequent Muslim rulers destroyed Hindu temples to glorify their own reign and also as acts of retribution. One view is that several temples were

(Ex. 71)



- REFERENCES**
1. AYODHYA
 2. BABAR IN LUCKNOW ON 21st MARCH 1526
 3. BABAR ENCAMPED AT THIS PLACE ON 28th MARCH 1526
 4. SERWA (Lewent's Post) of Babar on 29th March 1526

The Despatch Message

The Babar built the Masjid

198-22

destroyed by the later Muslim rulers because they had been the centres of un-Islamic activity. The early Turkish conquerors did not consider settling down in India. They came as conquerors and returned after looting the treasures of defeated chieftains and of the temples, Hindu temples, dyane and hah as they were, were the best and most convenient places for loot. The gold idols decorated with precious stones lured them to break the idols and destroy the temples. Some Muslim rulers quoted Islamic principles to justify their acts of destruction. The eradication of religious idols got them the emotional support of their soldiers in conducting each plunder. The destruction of Hindu temples also conformed to the age-old practice of the destruction of the grand structures of predecessors. In fact, some Muslim buildings were also destroyed. The Turkish Sultans believed that any ruling dynasty needed grand structures to symbolise their glory. They constructed tombs, mosques and other buildings as memorials to themselves. However, the early Sultans lacked the artistic, material and technical knowledge to build. They were naturally dependent upon indigenous resources though they made efforts to conform to the pattern of Islamic architecture. It was because of this that the mosques, tombs and buildings constructed during those years largely used the material of the alien Hindu temples or other buildings. Pillars, carved columns and blocks and huge stones with inscriptions were used in the structures that were erected during those times. This can be seen in the Islamic structures that were constructed in Delhi during the time of the early Turkish Sultans. This was especially true as long as expertise was unavailable and artisans from Persia and Central Asia had not settled in India. Even the later Turkish Sultans continued to utilise indigenous methods and material from the destroyed buildings to construct tombs and mosques. 7 v. u. d. in. Dead observ.

The Islamic architecture of India is an interesting story of three two seemingly opposite styles emerging with each other with varying degrees in different parts of the country in different periods of time, depending upon climatic conditions, type and availability of material and similar other factors. It is for this reason that the features of Indian style are found freely employed in the Muslim monuments of India. The

THE
JOURNAL
OF
THE
ROYAL
ANTHROPOLOGICAL
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PART I
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qualities of strength and grace, typical of the Hindu ornaments were borrowed by the Muslims who also did not frequently use the tubular system. On the other hand, the conceptions of breadth and spatialness of the system and the method of spinning the spirals with wider and covering long spirals with bands were essentially Islamic.¹

When Akbar Faizullah wrote that although Turkish rule in India introduced Islamic institutions and inaugurated an age of civilisation in the country, and agriculture, the social, political and economic life of India remained undisturbed, Indians did not show any resentment against the introduction of Islamic institutions, perhaps because this introduction was gradual. Faizullah is mistaken that the institutions were only introduced in urban areas. In the countryside, the old system of land settlement continued without any break. The kind signs of *Malikana* and *darul-irada* were sufficed. It is unlikely that mosques were constructed on the exact spot of the destroyed temples, since rights in land were not generally determined as seen Nizamuddin Mahmud, who compiled the geographical and other statistical data on eastern India in 1583, and was fairly critical of the period of Persian rule in India.

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Ed. Herbert Smith and Co. Agents

There was rather a ~~comparison~~ of the local people, French, Hindu and Muslim, for saying regarding places of worship.

Babur has been labelled the principal villain, yet the charges against him do not agree at all with the known personality of Babur. He was a fine soldier, an able administrator and a prolific writer and was not a religious fanatic in any way. A close reading of the *Babur-Nama* reveals that he was an extremely God-fearing man but in no way opposed to religious other than Islam. It was what he did outside the life and practices of Muslims of his society of Hindustan that he never attempted to abolish that system. There are numerous instances in the *Babur-Nama* where he has praised the art, architecture and scripture associated with Hindu temples. He disapproved of and idols but was not an iconoclast. A sharp observer, Babur always found time to record anything that appealed to his literary sense. He does not mention any incident when he or his men ever destroyed any Hindu temple.

In the documents Babur does not even say that he visited Ayutya. The only mention that he was situated in Ayutya on the bank of the river Chagza. He observed that on 28 March 1528, he was stationed in the north of Ayutya on the junction of two rivers. The activities of Babur during the period 2 April 1528 to 8 September 1528 are unknown. This is because the pages giving an account of Babur's activities on these days are missing. The truth has developed because of this absence of information.

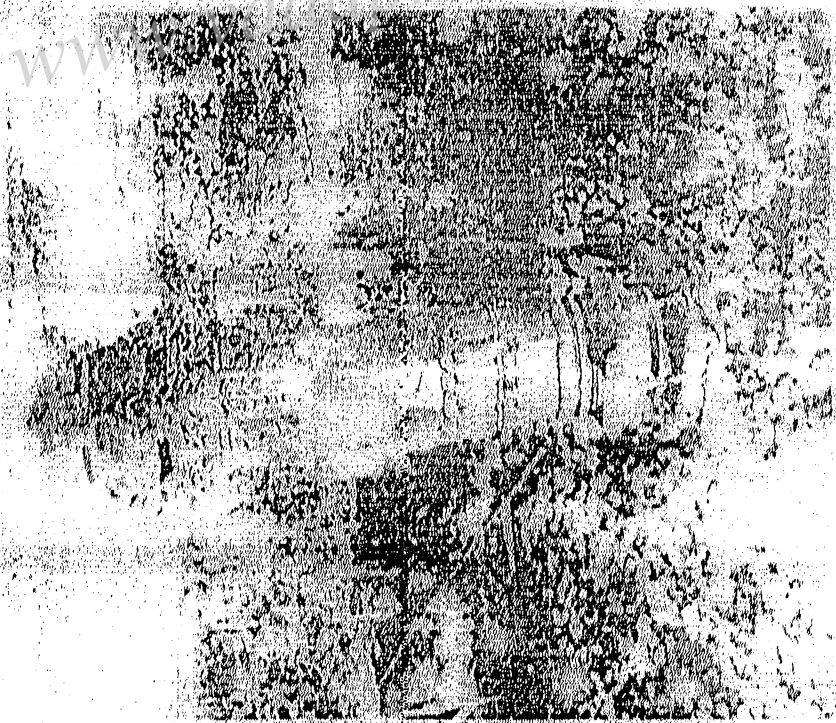
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Syjam Shukla holds that the two *pagas* were encouraged by the popularity of the tomb of Syed Saif Masud in Bahirach, which he believes was constructed after destroying the Hindu temple of *Bahar's Kund* to Bahirach. He contends that thousands of Hindus congregated there not for the *dargah* of the mosque but because they knew that there was once a temple there.

The myth further says that, when the two *pagas* were with Syjamamanda, Babur arrived in Ayodhya. They approached him with their proposal and forced him to agree to the destruction of the Babur Masjid. Some hold the opinion that Muzaffar Ashkan was impressed by the spiritual atmosphere of the Ramjanambhoomi. He often sat inside the temple. One day, he was thrown out, and swore to destroy it. Yet another story in traditional relates that, when Babur came to Ayodhya, he was resisted, having been at war with the Kingdom and having come to fight the Pathans in Ayodhya. He had been unable to suppress the latter and was feeling despondent. He approached a large number of religious men, both Hindu and Muslim, to bless him with victory in war against the Pathans in Ayodhya. He went to seek their blessings and it was therein that Muzaffar Ashkan asked him to destroy the Ramjanambhoomi and construct the Babur Masjid in its place. Muzaffar Ashkan told Babur that once he completed this pious task, his mission would be accomplished.

The local myths are associated with the widespread belief that Babur came to Ayodhya on 28 March 1525. It was the British scholars and administrators who strengthened the idea. John Leyden said to be his 1613 translation of Babur's memoirs. He made direct reference to the fact that the activities of Babur in Ayodhya are unknown as the pages of the diary relating to the emperor's activities between 2 April and 3 September 1528 are missing. This revelation by Leyden was followed by the claim of Martin in 1834 that he had been to the Babur Masjid and found black stone pillars in the mosque. They were an Islamic and therefore must have been taken from a Hindu temple. In 1834, William Erskine also proposed a translation of the memoirs and he too contended that Babur was in Ayodhya on 28 March 1525. In 1873,

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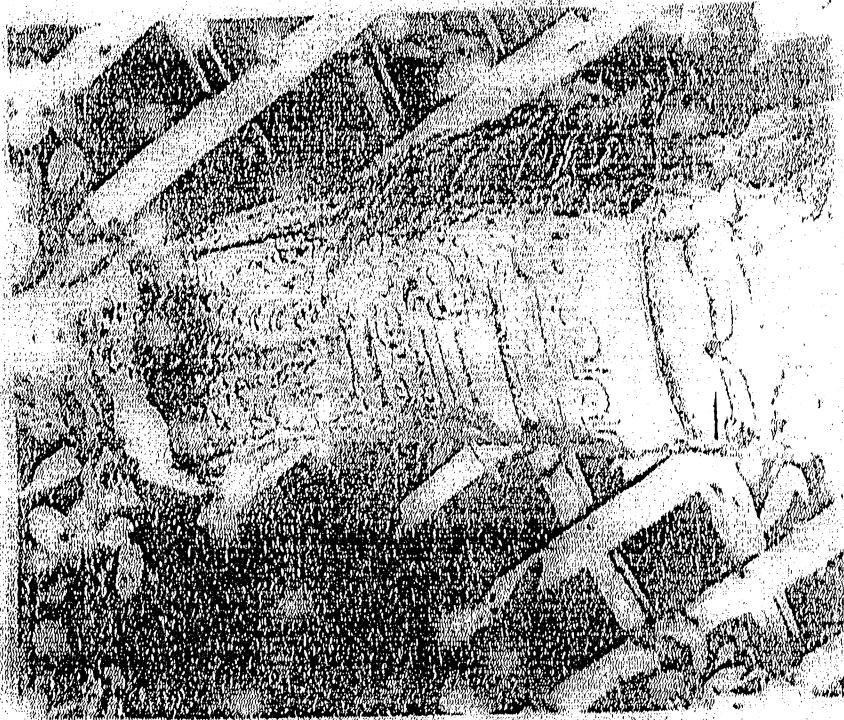
A black stone pillar standing in a field. The stone is a relic of the Babur Masjid, as it is believed to be the same stone used in the Babur Masjid.

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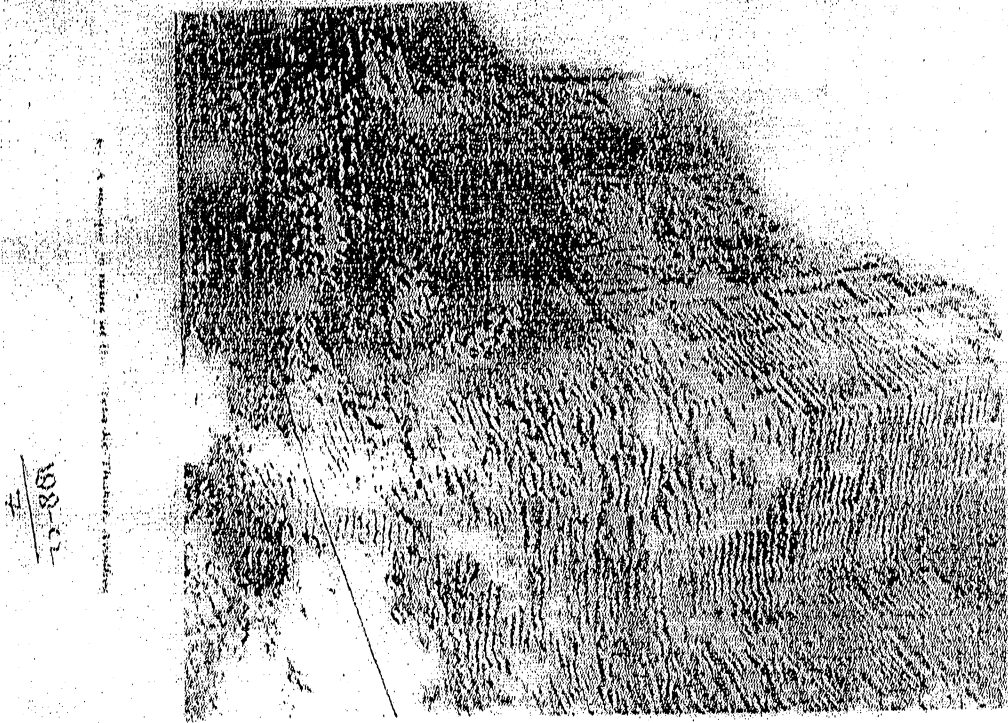
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The structure is a stone wall or a large pot, with a person's hand visible on the right side, touching the surface.



The structure is a stone wall or a large pot, with a person's hand visible on the right side, touching the surface.

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Fig. 1. A fragment of a stone seal (Fig. 1) from the Tashkent Excavations.

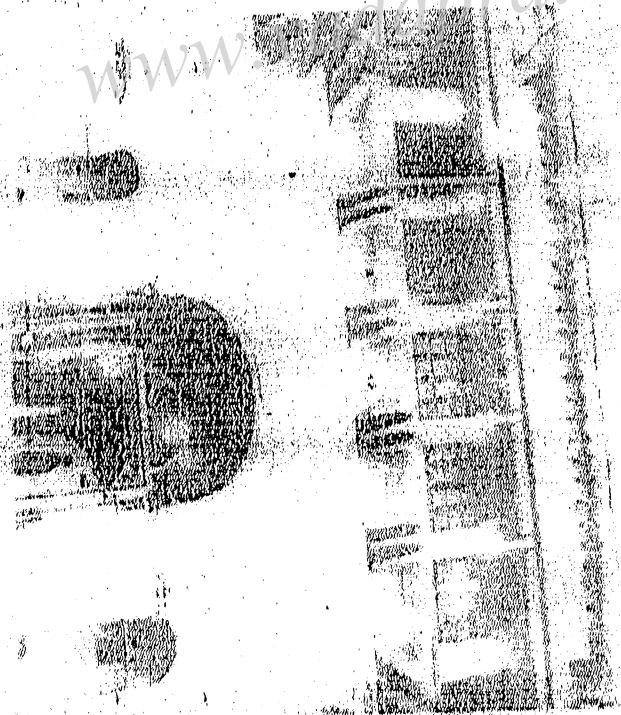
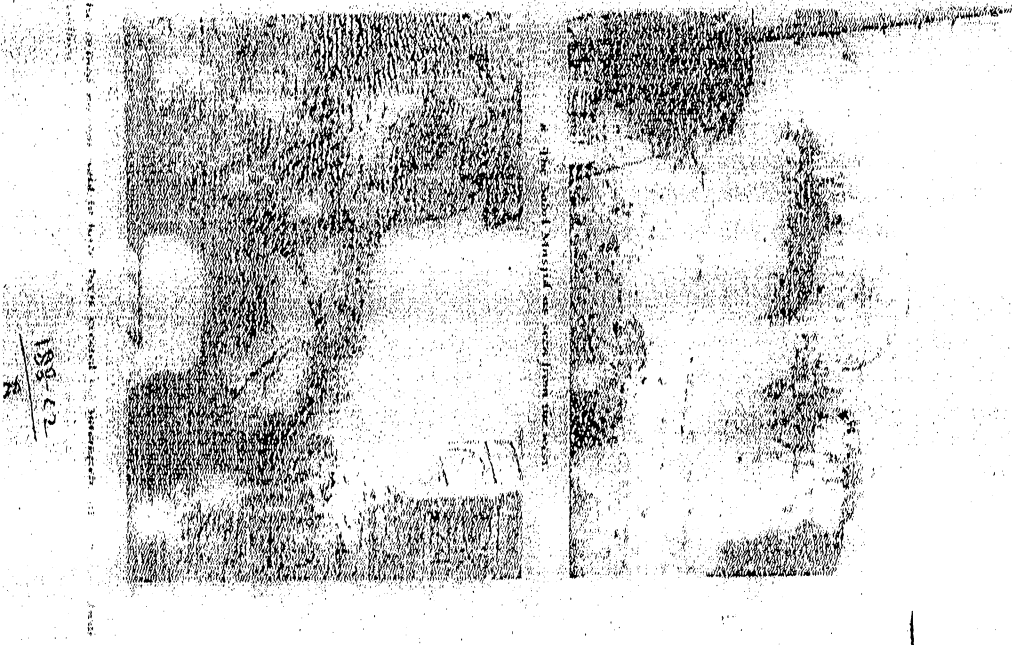


Fig. 2. The Kalyan Stupa, Gandhara (excavated north of Swatara).
The stupa is located in the south of the Kalyan Stupa.



188-62
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Old Babur built the Masjid

It is Eliot repeated this view. In 1860, Carney made a direct reference to Babur having destroyed the Ramjanambhumi temple. In 1877, W. C. Bennett supported the contention of Carney. Eliot made an indirect reference to Babur's destruction of the famous Ramjanambhumi temple. He commented that Babur constructed the mosque on the spot of the fallen temple. Consequently, archaeologists adopted the same thinking. Cunningham in 1865 and Fergusson in 1891 repeated the local traditions. All the British scholars and administrators who have been quoted above wrote in the nineteenth century. They were convinced that Babur visited Ayodhya and had been involved in some mystery activity there.

It appears that the local myths were granted respectability by John Leyden in 1813, even though Anneke Sabarnah Beveridge corrected the fallacy. In 1921, she wrote that Babur was stationed some distance north of Ayodhya on 28 March 1528. (See Map II) Leyden's mistake was natural because he was not at all acquainted with the geography of the area around Ayodhya. Also, he committed the error because of the complexities of the script. Babur's memoirs were compiled in Turki and translated into Persian. Leyden's English translation is from the Persian version. Both Fergusson and Eliot also saw the Persian manuscript and both made the same mistake as Leyden. Beveridge saw both the Turki and Persian manuscripts and as a result corrected Babur's camp on that contentious day (28 March 1528).

Leyden said, on the basis of the legends in the Babur Namah that Babur encamped 4 to 6 miles north of Ayodhya at the junction of the two rivers Sava and Chagra. He concluded, wrongly, that Aud and Ayodhya were the same. It is a historical fact that since the Muslim conquest in Ayodhya, a larger area around Ayodhya came to be called Aud. In fact, refers to the whole area between the rivers Gomti and Chagra as Aud. Leyden's location of the place is not supported by local geography, a close study of which reveals that it arises by the name of Sava ever flowed in any part of North India. It is a probable mistake that the ferry port of Sava for the junction of the two rivers, Sava and Chagra. The ferry port of Sava is situated to the north of Ayodhya. The

THE DISPERSED INDIANS

mistake was repeated by Eskine and Ethel. The latter, in fact, made an attempt to provide a geographical location and hence shifted the place of Babur's encampment to the south of Ayodhya. Beveridge gives us the actual location of Babur's camp on 28 March 1528. She concluded that Babur was encamped at the junction of the rivers Sarda and Chaggra.² She stayed in Faizabad for two months and acquainted herself well with the local geography. She was convinced that the location of Babur's camp had to be in the north of Ayodhya. She concluded that *Koti Sarai Chakra*, an affluent of the river Gomti was actually the river Sarda,³ as mentioned in the memoirs. She did not consider the river Sarai (the stretch of the Chaggra that flows by Ayodhya is generally referred to by the local people as the Sarai) the same as the Sarda. She arrived at her conclusions on the basis of the geographical location and the nature of the rivers. She wrote: 'To so take it seems warranted by the context, there could be no need for the rods on the Sarai'; 'be examined, and its position is not suitable'. The river Sarda was 'shallow while the riv. Sarai (Chaggra) was a fast flowing river. The junction of the two rivers Kan Sarda Chakra known as Sarda (Sarda) in one memoirs) and Chaggra was north of Gorak and south of Banarath. The junction of it, two rivers was and still is 72 miles north of Ayodhya. The memoirs state that the junction of the two rivers was 2 or 3 *krods*. (1 *krodh* = 1 kos = 2 miles) above Aod. We have already mentioned that Aod was generally taken to be the area between the rivers Gomti and Chaggra in the *Muzrai Musnad* as well as in the *Pakia of Jnan Prasad*. And had been taken to be the area between the rivers Gomti and Chaggra.⁴ Thus, it would be more appropriate to say that Babur was encamped at the junction of the two rivers, Sarda (or Chaggra) which was 4 or 5 miles north of the northern limits of Aod.

John Lewin and, yet, him, Eskine and Ethel continued the mistake of reading *Sarda* instead of *Sarda*. This was strongly probable because of the writing of the manuscript and their ignorance of local geography.⁵ They do observe that Babur was a keen observer and always gave minute details about the place that he visited. Had Babur camped just south of Ayodhya, he would have almost definitely recorded that in Ayodhya the river Chaggra

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is called *nar Sa'yun*. Erydon and the other two scholars were not aware that the river flowing by Ayyothya was the river Ghaggar, called the Saryn by the local people. These three scholars translated the Persian version of the memoirs of Bābur, which is a translation of the original Turki. Because of the scrip, they read

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In the Persian script, these letters appear similar. It is easy for a person who is not very familiar with any proper name to commit this mistake. As such, anyone can read

SIRDA (12) AS SERWA (12)

A close reading of the text reveals that Babur described the river Sarda as shallow and with fords which could be used for crossing. The river Sarda (Chagra) is deep and fast-flowing and the fords would be impassable. The *Se-Sarda* (Sardh) is, however, shallow and was fords. Everedige translated the Turki manuscript of Babur's memoirs and also acquainted himself well with the geography of the area around Fuzbad. We can safely agree with her that Babur camped 72 miles north of Asghabad, at the junction of the rivers Sarda and Chagra, on 28 March 1519.

It is therefore doubtful that Babur ever came to Ayodhya. Those who claim that Babur destroyed the famous Ramnath-temple in Ayodhya and ordered the construction of a mosque known today by its name on the spot are convinced that Babur was in Ayodhya between 29 Apr. and 18 September 1526. They argue that Babur or some one of his kindred entirely alienated the account of his activities in Ayodhya during the period. They say that this was done with a view to consolidate the Mughal Empire in India. This argument is based on the observation that it has been made by Babur regarding his activities after March 29. This is projected on the basis of a document that is said to have been written by Babur, where he observed:

After spending several days searching in the area, we were not successful in finding any more. We did find a few small ones, but they were not the same as the ones we had found before. We were very disappointed.

The Destroyed Mosque

orange trees, and various birds of colored plumage, I ordered the march towards Ghazipur."

Beveridge came across this document while translating the memoirs. She found it in Erskine's own codex of the *Wajiz-i-Babar*. According to her, several circumstances isolate the document from the context of the main text. She was certain that it was very different in the nature of its writing from the text of the Persian translation of the memoirs compiled by Abul Rahim. Again, it was inconsistent with the narration because Babur does not march to Ayodhya in AH 935. It was because of this factor that she gives the translation of the document in the appendixes.²

This document had been brought into prominence by Erskine. He says that he received it in 1826 while he was compiling his translation of the memoirs. Erskine used the document in his work of 1834.

Babur cannot be accused of deliberately removing the pages from the memoirs. He himself observed in his memoirs that on 2 May 1529 there was a strong storm and several leaves were uprooted. He also says that pages of his writing flew away and were lost. It is said that he removed the pages because he was afraid that the posterity would blame him as an iconoclast. Babur was not a necessary saint; he could not have concluded that in the nineteenth century some people would begin to label his actions as sinful if they came to know about his activities in Ayodhya. It is surprising that the people who contend that Babur suppressed the pages for fear of being charged for the sinful activities are the ones who hold the popular opinion that Babur had been convinced by the *jaqes* that the destruction of the Ramjanambhoomi temple was a religious act.

Not even Babur's successors, he claimed, Humayun had the *Truce of Humayun* compiled and made reference to the memoirs of Babur. Akbar asked Abul Fazl to compile the *Akbar-Nama* and asked two men to translate the *Futuh-i-Munawwar* for Akbar. Fazl's reference later, Abul Fazl Rahim understood and completed the translation of the *Futuh-i-Munawwar* in Persian. None of these successors is likely to have removed the missing pages.

The Mughals were the emperors of Hindustan and were quite

Did Babur Build the Mosque?

convinced of their own glory. They never questioned the tenure of the Mughal Empire in India. Nor did they imagine that a time would come when their actions would be questioned. Since the successors of Babur allowed Babur's sarcastic remarks regarding the way of life of the Hindu ascetics to remain in the memoirs, it would be surprising if they erased the record of his activities in Ayodhya. If the pages were destroyed for fear that they would incite Hindu subjects against the empire, then the Mughal emperors should also have removed the Persian inscriptions on the inside and outside of the mosque. The allegation presupposes that as Babur had destroyed the Ramjanambhoomi temple in Ayodhya, the Hindus were already disturbed in that case the mosque in Ayodhya would always remind the people of the destroyed Ramjanambhoomi temple and the removal of Babur's testimony would not make any difference. In all probability, only two alternatives were available to the Mughal emperors: if the Ramjanambhoomi temple had existed in Ayodhya, they could have completely done away with any evidence that would remind the Hindus of the destroyed temple. Along with the pages of the memoirs they should have also demolished the mosque with its inscriptions. Or, they could have openly claimed that it was the pious duty of Muslims to demolish any place of worship of the infidels and, therefore, the destruction of the Ramjanambhoomi temple was a holy act on the part of Babur. The Mughal emperor chose neither of the two alternatives. It makes one wonder if there was even a Shi'a Ramjanambhoomi temple on the spot of the Babul Masjid in Ayodhya.

The idea that Babur or one of his successors deliberately removed the relevant pages from his memoirs first appeared in the early part of the nineteenth century. The idea of the age-old antagonism between the Hindus and Muslims of India also belongs to this time. We must observe that during the Mughal period fairly cordial relations between Hindus and Muslims existed and these continued into the nineteenth century. In fact, the first Hindu-Muslim conflict arose in a territory that had been brought under the control of the British in 1805, rising broke out in Benares. The Hindus went on the rampage against the Muslims to avenge the alleged destruction of the Vishwanath temple by Aurangzeb. It

76
198-62
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this conflict, forty mosques were destroyed and a few people were killed. It was soon afterwards that James Stuart Mill circulated the idea of an inherent conflict between Hindus and Muslims. It was in this environment that some Englishmen claim to have unearthed a document that indicated that Babur had stayed in Ayodhya.

A complete and close reading of the memoirs of Babur convincingly shows that Babur was camped north of Ayodhya on 28 March 1528. He records, on 2 April, that he went out to hunt in the area north of the camp as he had heard it was a fine hunting ground. He must have left the area of the controversial encampment immediately as he recorded on 28 March 1528 that he had asked to find ways to cross the river. This expressed his anxiety to settle the affairs of Ayodhya. As such, it is clear that Babur was more involved in the task of consolidating his kingdom than in serving the interests of his religion. On the basis of the memoirs, we are forced to doubt if Babur ever went to Ayodhya. This doubt further raises its position regarding the presence of the Ramjanambhoomi temple in Ayodhya.

The Muslims of Ayodhya/Fazlbad, like their Hindu counterparts, have several myths about their places of worship. The stories relate to the several graves, roads and mosques in Ayodhya/Fazlbad. They also believe that Emperor Babur came to Ayodhya in 1528 and destroyed the famous Ramjanambhoomi temple, to propitiate Pir Fazal Abbas Mulla Ashtikari. The Muslim saint lived in the area south-west of the Ramjanambhoomi temple, where there is, to say, a graveyard said to contain the grave of the saint. His tomb is marked by two inverted black-stone pillars half-buried in the earth (see Plate 1). The local Muslims are convinced that the use of the black stone pillars in the mosque indicates that the material of the Ramjanambhoomi temple was used in the construction of the mosque. They further claim that similar pillars were put in the head of the grave as a mark of respect. The local Hindus say the original temple stood with other temples in Ayodhya and were not disturbed until, in the fifth century AD.

188-22
11

Bikramjeet (a corruption of Vikramaditya) came to Ayodhya during one of his military campaigns and, after a short rebellion, decided to re-establish his several pieces of worship associated in some way with the life of Rama. In this way, Bikramjeet established 360 places of worship of Rama and the most important among them was the Ramjanambhoomi temple. They relate that the Ramjanambhoomi temple constructed by Bikramjeet rested on 84 pillars made of black stone which they claim is the *Kashmir* stone (touchstone).

As a matter of fact, the black-stone pillars belong to a period between the tenth and eleventh centuries. Abul Fazl, who said the city was also called the city of Rama or Ramjanambhoomi, indicates the local Muslims for several graves that they considered to be those of the *palatibharya*, Sis and Ayub? Abul Fazl gives no information regarding the Babri Masjid and the Ramjanambhoomi temple. This forces us to contend that there was never any Ramjanambhoomi temple in Ayodhya and that, until the time of Akbar, the controversial mosque was not known as Babur's mosque. It came to be called the Babri Masjid at a later period.

It is true that several non-Islamic elements have been freely used in the construction of the mosque. These include the black-stone pillars, the gaving of a *veranda* (corridor, an *arcade* of Vishnu) on the outside enclosure of the Masjid, and the wooden beam just below the arch. The two inscriptions, one on the inside and the other outside the mosque, suggest that the Babri Masjid as constructed at the behest of Babur.

The black-stone pillars used in the Babri Masjid are remarkable in that very few structures with such pillars now exist. We found eleven similar pillars in Ayodhya and Fazlbad. There are four black-stone pillars used in the Babri Masjid and two identical pillars at the head of Mulla Ashtikari's grave. The grave is about 600 years south-west of the mosque. A similar solitary pillar is to be found in the *Fazlbad Cantonment*. There is another black-stone pillar about four feet in height found at the entrance to the Janambhoomi temple inside the Kausalya Bhawan in Ayodhya. In addition to the effluent black-stone pillars found in Ayodhya and Fazlbad, we came across two black-stone pillars kept in the U.P. State Museum, Lucknow. These pillars were brought from a village

The Deputed Mosque

in Muzaffarnagar District, Uttar Pradesh. Apart from these, we did not find any other black-stone pillars in U.P. However, we may add that carvings on black stone are known to have been frequently used in Buddhist and Jaina structures.

The first reference to the carved black-stone pillars used in the mosque was made by Montgomery Martin in 1838. He writes:

There are some pillars in the mosque built by Bahur. These are of black-stone and of an order which I have seen nowhere else, and which will be distinguished from the accompanying drawing. They have been taken from a Hindu building is evident from the traces of images being observable on some of their bases, although the images have been cut off to satisfy the conscience of the bigot. It is possible that these have been selected to a temple built by Vishnuvaran. But I think the presence of such temples doubtful, and if they did not exist, it is probable that the pillars were taken from the ruins of the place. They are only 6 ft. high.

Martin gives us a sketch of the pillar. After him, P. Carnegy in the 1860s gives us a description of the pillars used in the Babri Masjid. He writes:

Ayodhya was then little other than a wilderness; it must at least have possessed a fine temple in the banyan-trees, for many of its columns are still in existence and in good preservation, having been used by the Mussulmans in the construction of the Babri Mosque. These are of a size of close-grained dark-colored or black stone, called by the natives *basant* (literally rough-stone) and are covered with different devices. To my thinking these more strongly resemble the pillars than those I have seen at Benares and elsewhere. They are from seven to eight feet long, square at the base, wider and squared round or octagonal at the top.

For some time after 1860, British officials continued to observe the presence of the semi-lance pillars in the Babri Masjid. Subsequently, before 1858, we do not have any evidence of their presence.

It was clear to the no Indian, however, that the pillars were not the

59 188-12
12

The Deputed Mosque

that the mosque was constructed from the ruins of a non-Hindu building. We therefore photographed the pillars to date the carvings on them. As we were not allowed to photograph the exterior or the interior of the mosque, we decided to photograph some pillars outside the mosque. The two pillars at the grave of Musa Ashkan were damaged and the carving was not very clear, so we photographed the lone pillar buried in Faizabad Cantonment. This pillar is in good condition and shows the carvings very clearly. We were also informed that there was a black-stone pillar at the entrance of the Jamunasthan temple situated in the Kanishtha Bhawan. This pillar is at the *Jambudwar* and is in an extremely damaged state. We also photographed the two black-stone pillars kept in the U.P. State Museum, Lucknow. (These pillars at that time were kept in the store-room in the basement of the Museum.)

We showed the photographs of the different pillars to two of the greatest experts on Ancient Indian temple art and architecture. Professor M. A. Dhaky and Professor Krishna Dev of the American Institute for Indian Studies, Kamnagar (Varanasi). They classified the photographs on the basis of the pattern of carvings on the pillars. The pillars at the head of the grave and the pillar at Faizabad Cantonment form one set. The pillars at the Lucknow Museum were kept in a separate set, and the *Jambudwar* pillar in the Jamunasthan temple formed a third category. The experts agreed that the pattern of carving on the pillars in the first set can be dated to the period between the twelfth and early eleventh century A.D. They added that the carvings on the pillars was representative of the art of sculpture developed in Gaya during the time of the *U.P. State Museum, Lucknow*. They dated the carvings on the pillars found in Ayodhya and Faizabad. They dated the carvings on the former pillars to the period after the eleventh century or, more precisely to the twelfth and thirteenth century. They said that from the carving on the pillar that forms the *Jambudwar* of the Jamunasthan temple it could be dated to the twelfth century. Thus, the pillar at the Jamunasthan temple was closely resembled the pillars kept at the *State Museum, Lucknow*. This revelation was very convincing as there is no evidence as to when the pillar at the Jamunasthan temple was originally obtained. However, we do

know that the two pillars kept at the Lucknow Museum were brought from a village in Mazrahatpur district. When Pradesh Both Dhakay and Krishna Das agree that the pillars were inside the Bahari Masjid were an-islam and, as such, cannot be considered an integral part of the mosque. They also said that it cannot be said with certainty that the pillars in question were part of a Hindu temple. They could have been a part of either a secular or a religious building. They added that the pillars could have been part of a Hindu, Buddhist or Jain temple. In fact, at one stage in the history of India, it became difficult to clearly demarcate the elements of Buddhist, Jain and Paganistic art and architecture. A process of assimilation was established between the three faiths from the fifth century AD. Professor Dhakay observes that largely local traditions of art, architecture and sculpture defined the styles of painting, building and carving. Dhakay and Krish Das were certain that the pillars must have been brought to Ayodhya from eastern India during the period of either the Palas or Senas. They even pointed out that the style of carving on the controversial pillars was quite typical of Gaya.

The presence of Jainism, Jains inside the mosque and the image of Varaha on the outer wall of the mosque confirm that material from a destroyed non-Jainic structure had been used in its construction.

There is historical evidence that Shah Jahan Ghazi destroyed several temples in Ayodhya in 1648. Shah Jahan Ghazi Muhammad bin Sam community known as Shah Jahan Ghazi. Shah Jahan Ghazi after taking Khamrui Shah Jahan Ghazi came with Shahab-ud-din Chohan and together they established a reign of terror in Ayodhya. After some time Shahab-ud-din Chohan left the province, but Shah Jahan Ghazi stayed back. He indulged in looting and destroying temples and was thus able to amass wealth and property for himself and his family. He died in Ayodhya and the mound on which his tomb was constructed came to be known as Shah Jahan Ghazi (the mound of Shah Jahan).

Shah Jahan Ghazi destroyed the famous Jain temple which is said to have commemorated the birthplace of the future *trilokya*. Admittedly, Jain temples were like the Hindu religious texts, show that Mahatma often came to Ayodhya to preach. It was also

189-22
13

claimed that the four *trilokya* were born in Ayodhya. A scholar claims that, as Ayodhya had come to be revered as the birthplace of the minor of Vishnu, the Jains also claimed Ayodhya as the birthplace of the *trilokya*. Whatever the reason, the fact is that before the arrival of Shah Jahan Ghazi in Ayodhya, the men had become accepted among the Jains that the four *trilokya* were born in Ayodhya. It was therefore certain that there must have been several temples to commemorate the birthplaces of these *trilokya*. It is surprising that today we have only Jain temples of recent origin. It is therefore certain that the old Jain temples either perished or were destroyed. We must remember that Jains were generally rich merchants and they assigned huge amount of wealth to the construction of temples. Jain temples were, therefore, generally rich and well-decorated. There is evidence to show that there was a temple dedicated to Adinath in Marao Tola near Swargadwar in Ayodhya. Shah Jahan Ghazi destroyed this temple on the plea that it had 'made idols.' The real reason may have been the wealth it contained.

The 'made idols' were thrown into the river. The discovery of the idols at a later period gave rise to an interesting controversy in Ayodhya. P. Carey and Bernet attest that some idols were recovered from the river-bed near the Swargadwar. Bernet writes:

... Statues were discovered (discovered by some fish) about the year AD 1850, when fish were discovered, widely proclaimed by local setting forth that the Jains had appeared to them in a dream and had indicated to them where the fish concealed in the ground and that if they were released and set up in the river, 'they would be necessary for long pilgrimages to Purgatory' (i.e., any good fisherman who had released and had then set up as ordered and had produced the fact for the benefit of the pilgrims at large). For one reason the disposition took and thousands of fish were made their offerings in the river, and great was their disgust when the first were afterwards revealed by a learned scholar that the temples perished to the fisherman who, according to the tradition in question, were in the habit of sacrificing fish to the temples as they were. Therefore the temples furnished evidence to the fisherman who discovered by the fisherman of the 'Purgatory' (i.e., the river).

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Today, peculiar idols may be seen at the *Kutir Ram Murti* situated near the Swamishan. The myth about the idols in this temple is that these very statues were removed from the Ram-temple in the time of its destruction and thrown in Janabhiswom temple at the time of its destruction by a Mahadharman the next. They are said to have been recovered by a Mahadharman priest and installed by him in the temple. The temple has six statues, the statues of Ram, Sita, Bharat, Shatrughan and Lakshman are small in size, while that of Hanuman is huge. The statue of Hanuman is kept in a glass casket in front of the five smaller statues. These idols are well-adorned in colourful clothes. Shri Ramji holds a bow, a mace and an umbrella and Lakshman and Shatrughan hold maces. The statue of Hanuman has a face like that of a bear and its feet are quite large. A silver hook reveals that the feet in all the statues are turned inwards instead of outwards. They give the impression that they are statues depicting some form of animals.

It is possible that, like the high parts of the destroyed Jaina temples, were scattered all over. There is a strong possibility that the black stone pillars and the image of Varaha had been lying unnoticed before the construction of the mosque. Such Jaina Ghoris destruction of the Adina Temple of the Jains is confirmed by the developments of 1961. In that year, the Jains constructed a temple to commemorate the birthplace of Ashvath on the Shah Jahan Road. The arrangement made for the burial of the temple was peculiar to Ayodhya. The keys of the temple were in the possession of the descendant of Shah Jahan Ghoris. This was natural because the temple stood on his property. It was also settled that the 100 weeks from the offering made in the temple were to be shared by the descendants of Ghoris. There is a strong possibility that the black stone pillars might have been parts of the destroyed Jaina temples. We do know for a fact that Ayodhya was on the east-west and north-south road route of India which connected eastward with China. Several rich Jaina merchants resided in Ayodhya. We have evidence of Jaina merchants from Ayodhya trading in Gaya in the eighth century A.D. There is a strong possibility that the black stone pillars were brought by them from Ayodhya from Gaya in the sixth or seventh century to be used in the temple dedicated to the *mithankarna*. The pillars from these

[illegible]

destroyed temples might have been ordered for the construction of the mosque.¹

Second, we learn that material from the previously destroyed temples was used in the construction of the Babur mosque. It is difficult to say in the absence of any evidence, but the material was of the Kampananthevanam temple. There are inscriptions on the walls of the Babur Masjid that proclaim that the mosque was constructed under the orders of Babur.

The Bad Maşid has three inscriptions in Persian, two outside and one inside the mosque. The style of calligraphy in each of these inscriptions is different. One of the two external inscriptions can hardly be read while only six lines of the other are legible. The legible inscription reads as complete and apparently has been written in praise of God and the Prophet in the first temple God has been pleased by saying that the creation of the universe has not need an abode. In the second stanza the Prophet Muhammad has been called the ruler of the two worlds and the chief among the *anambur* (prophets). The third legible line are in praise of Ismail, who has been called a *ghafur* (forgiveness). Some interesting *ghazal* as same of *ghazal* has inscribed a cannot be called as *ghazal*.

The inscription inside the medal is more important both for its content and for the position that occupies. The subject with the inscription is just above the right. The content of the inscription would translate by A.S. "overseer". We reduced her translation.

(2) by the order of the Emperor taking place is an entire nothing if in the very beginning of the century;

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[illegible][illegible]

بسمه یوده شاه پادشاه کریم
 بنایت است تا کاخ کردون ساقی
 بنا کرد این جهاد قفسه ساقی
 امیر سعادت نشان میر ساقی
 بود قفسه ساقی خوشال بنایت
 عیان شد که گفتم بوزیر ساقی

Inscription above the figure inside the niche

بسمه آل کردستان است اکبر
 رفت این جلیق الم لا اله الا الله
 درود سبطی ابوبدر از شایسته
 کرد در این ساقی دو جلیق
 خاندن سبطی ابوبدر
 رشت در دو جلیق کامران

Inscription at the entrance of the mosque

Beveridge inferred that *Amir Nur Muhammad Ali Bugh* pursued the glory of Mir Bugh and the *Shah-mir* might mean just 'good-hearted' but 'good fortune'. This, according to her, meant that it was the good fortune of Mir Bugh to be assigned the task of building a mosque on the site of an ancient Hindu temple. She adds, 'Presumably the order for building the mosque was given during Babur's stay in Ayl (Ayodhya) in 924 AD at which time he would have been impressed by the dignity and sanctity of the ancient Hindu shrine.' She continued that Babur was an ardent follower of Muhammad and, as such, he was imbued with another faith. 'He therefore regarded the substitution of a temple by a mosque as dignified and worthy.' She goes on to add that she has no historical evidence to support her assumption of either Babur's destruction of the Hindu shrine or his construction of the mosque.

Beveridge interpreted the inscriptions differently. Her conclusions were based on preconceptions. We are aware that Beveridge stayed in Faizabad/Ayodhya for two months when she was working on the *Babur-Nama*. She must surely have been influenced by the local legends. Further, in the appendices of the *Babur-Nama*, she expresses her doubts regarding the Persian document that claimed that Babur had spent several days in Ayodhya in AD 924. She wrote that she found the Persian document in the memoirs, page 431, and in Erskine's volumes of the *History of India*, folio 271, which, however, several circumstances isolate it from the context, one of them being that Babur did not march to Ghazipur in AD 924. She doubts its association with the text of Abul Rahim and feels that it was probably a later addition that was made popular in 1826-27. She used this document and confirmed that Babur had been and stayed in Ayodhya (1824). However, Beveridge seems to have been influenced by British writing on local affairs and she failed to raise any doubts regarding the inscription. However, she did add that there was no historical evidence to support the conclusion made. It is the inscription inside the mosque that is most significant. Beveridge has translated the first line *Shah-mir* as *Shah*, *Babur*, as the order of Emperor Babur. However, it could also mean 'By the desire of Emperor Babur'. Beveridge failed to observe that the inscription was in the form of a couplet and hence several shortcomings in the Persian language should

The Disputed Mosque

have been overlooked. It would be apt to add that in case the inscription wanted to convey 'By the order of Emperor Babur then it should have been worded *"Ba hukm-i-Zahir-ed-din Muhammad Babur Ghazi"*.

Given that no mention is available in the *Babur Nama*, it is possible that Mir Baqi, the victory of Babur in Ayodhya might have either constructed the mosque or taken over an old mosque and dedicated it to Babur according to the traditions of the time. The tradition was an ancient one. It established that a conqueror by virtue of his victory in war became the lord of all land and the structures on it. As such, he could either destroy buildings that glorified the previous regime or construct a new structure to glorify his own reign. The geographical location of the mosque and the nature of Babur's conquest suggested that an existing mosque could have been repaired and rededicated to the emperor.

Babur's defeat of the Afghans was rather uncertain and unsettled. This is evident from the fact that, soon after his death in 1530, they again started consolidating themselves. Sher Shah defeated the Mughal emperor Humayun in this area. Sher Shah consolidated his position and in 1539/40 established a minar in the town. It was not till 1554 that the Mughals were able to subdue the area again and restore order. Thus, Mir Baqi must have known he could be arrested in any time. The contentious mosque occupied a central, raised spot in the city and had come to be known as the 'Jami Masjid'. Mir Baqi might have had the mosque repaired and then rededicated it to Babur. This is a strong possibility in the circumstances. But there is no historical evidence to support it.

The Muslim presence in Ayodhya had been established by 1194. In 1226, Ayadh was made a province of the Delhi Sultanate and Malik Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, son of the third Muslim Sultan of Delhi, Shams-ud-din Iltutmish, was appointed governor of Ayadh. Ayadh became the capital of the province and was fortified. The importance of Ayodhya as a military command, fortress and an administrative centre grew. The Sultans of Delhi realised the strategic importance of Ayodhya. They became aware that, through Ayodhya, they could control the eastern part of India, particularly Lakhnau and Benauli. The Sultans also needed wealth and this could be realised from land revenue.

The Babur Built the Mosque

Agriculture was a major source of income and, as Ayadh was rich in agriculture, its development as an administrative centre was natural. Being on the main commercial routes, Ayodhya developed as an important market. It is, therefore, certain that a Muslim population must have started growing in Ayodhya. It is on record that when Muhammad-bin-Tughling started adopting strict measures, a large number of nobles came and settled in Ayadh. When famine struck the Sultanate during the time of Muhammad-bin-Tughling, grain was sent in huge quantities to Sarapadwan from Ayadh. Thus, by the beginning of the thirteenth century, Ayodhya had emerged as a town where important Muslim families and large number of Muslim soldiers lived. It was natural that the Muslim population needed a place to offer prayers. The 'Jami Masjid' was at the most central, convenient and high spot in the town. Seeing the geographical position of the Babur Masjid, we may say that there could not have been a more suitable place.

The style of calligraphy in the inscriptions of the Babur Masjid also raises serious doubts about whether Babur constructed the mosque. The style in the inscription on the outside, just above the entrance of the mosque, is thick-set. This does not conform to the style of calligraphy prevalent in the sixteenth century but is more representative of the nineteenth century style of calligraphy. The inscription in the inside of the mosque, just above the pulpit, though finer and sharper, is also set. This style of calligraphy is representative of the nineteenth century. There is a strong possibility that the stone inscriptions were put up at a later stage to strengthen the claim that Babur had actually constructed the mosque.

We are aware that during Akbar's time the idea that Ayodhya was the birthplace of Sher Ram was revived. In fact, several places associated with Sher Ram started gaining significance. Tulsidas's *Ramacharitam* depicted Ram, with an Firozi fortress. The popularity of several places associated with Ram. When the Englishers started came to Ayodhya in 1838, he actually saw the inscriptions of the Babur Masjid and also heard the local myth. It was during the nineteenth century that the Babur Masjid-Ram was during the nineteenth century took root. It is possible, then, that nineteenth-century controversy took root. It is possible, then, that some of the local Muslims put up the inscriptions to consolidate

The Inspired Mosque

their claims over the mosque. The choice of Babur as the maker of the mosque was natural and justified. They had to choose a Mughal emperor because of the attitude of the Nawabs of Awadh. When Sadat Khan became the governor of Awadh, he started making peace between the warring groups of the *Vishnava Brahmins* and *Shayva Sampradai*. It was during this time that the *Brahmins* were able to take several religious spots in Ayodhya back from the *Sampradai*. Several Ramia seeds began to grow after establishing their seat in Ayodhya. The second Nawab, Sadat Jang, shifted the capital from Ayodhya to Faizabad. Under Asaf-ud-daulah, the *Ramias* received rich grants to extend their activities.

It is clear from the account of Montgomerie Martin in 1838 that Faizabad came to be called a Hindu city. While Ayodhya was known to him as the Hindu city. We also know from Nohannud Baken that by 1819, the knowledge that Aurangzeb had levied a poll tax on the Hindus and had destroyed some Hindu temples was common. This made it dangerous to show that Aurangzeb had had the mosque constructed. The use of his name would have strengthened the conception of the destruction of the Ramjanambhoomi temple. It is possible that the local Sunni Muslims raised the bogey of Babur's name as they knew nothing about the intentions of Babur. They must have been certain that the use of Babur's name would add respectability and strength to their claims over the mosque.

The style of architecture of the Babri Masjid raises doubts regarding the conception that Babur had the mosque constructed in 1528. The mosque is an ugly structure in the typical style of architecture of Jaunpur. In fact, the Babri Masjid if viewed from the west side (the back) appears identical to the Atala Masjid in Jaunpur. The Atala Masjid was constructed by the Sultan of Jaunpur. The upholders of the Ramjanambhoomi temple theory contend that as in Babur's mosque a wooden beam has been used just below the arch, a clearly shows that the mosque was constructed on the ruins of the temple. They do not realise that the use of a wooden beam to support the arch was typical of the buildings of the Shariq Sultans of Jaunpur. This was a natural phenomenon because most of the buildings of the Shariqs were constructed exclusively by Indian masons from indigenous resources. Indian

Did Babur Build the Masjid?

masons who were far away from Delhi had not mastered the art of making a perfect arch.

The dome of the mosque also raises questions regarding the date of the construction of the building. By the sixteenth century, the art of making a symmetrical dome had been mastered. In fact, the buildings of the sixteenth century no longer used beams to support arches, nor were their domes semi-circular. Some buildings from the fifteenth century have perfect arches and symmetrical domes. The Babri Masjid lacks the architectural finesse of the sixteenth century.

During the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, the governor of Ayodhya was an enlightened person, Malik Amur-ul-Mulk Mulkani (1325-1351). In his time, several noble families settled in Ayodhya and it is certain that there was a great deal of construction. He is said to have built a palace on the banks of the Sarayu, where its ruins still testify to the glorious past. It is probable that the fort of Ayodhya was constructed between 1325 and 1351.

The political history of Ayodhya indicates a period of growing political and economic significance for Ayodhya from 1325 to 1489. Building activity was also intense during this period. The Babri Masjid might have been constructed during the period of either the Tughlaqs or the Shariqs. This is clear from the fact that the bricks and masonry used in the construction of the walls of the fort closely resembles the bricks and masonry used in strengthening the mound of the Masjid on its eastern side. The period of the Shariqs (1226-1299) was comparatively prosperous for the zamindars and the local people, which encouraged prolific building activity.

The Babri Masjid has a number of significant features. When the area of the mosque was divided in the sixteenth century, the eastern front was opened for the platform marking the birthplace of Rama and the eastern door was closed to the Muslims. The Muslims who came to offer *harwar* at the mosque entered from the north gate. The northern outer wall and the gate do not appear as old as the Babri Masjid. The outer wall on the northern side is well plastered and has a striking emblem engraved at the top of the north gate. The emblem has two lions on either side with a peacock standing between them. The lions in a jumping position with their tails curled. The lion and peacock emblem is found on

188-52
12

several buildings in Ayodhya. The other common emblem in Ayodhya is that of two fishes on either side above the main entrance of buildings. This is the emblem of the Nawabs of Awadh, whose sovereignty it attests. It is therefore probable that the outer wall on the north side with the emblem of the lions and the peacock is a later addition.

The ugly building called the Babri Masjid is incongruous in the city. While the old walled city has several constructions that can be dated to the eighteenth century, the Babri Masjid is the only one that stands out as an aspect structure. There is another mosque near the Sagar Sadak which is in ruin (see Plate 9). It seems a construction of the late Mughal period. Some historical evidence does not allow us to date the construction of the Babri Masjid but architectural design does help us to conclude that the mosque belongs to a period before Babur. Historical evidence does not show that Babur came to Ayodhya and therefore the charge that he destroyed the Ramjanambhoom temple does not arise. In fact, the contention that the Ramjanambhoom temple was at the spot of the Babri Masjid is itself doubtful.

Notes and References

1. 229 and due to local Hindu-Muslim Architecture, Delhi, 1970, pp. 1-2.
2. See M. A. Khan, *Economic History of the Turkish Sultanate of Delhi*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Allahabad, 1967.
3. *Monumental History, Eastern India*, op. cit., p. 30.
4. *Report, Government of the Province of Oudh, Calcutta, 1877*, Vol. II, p. 461.
5. *About Fakhri Masjid*, Vol. I, p. 171.
6. For a study of Babur's career, life and achievements, the following authorities may be consulted:

A. Primary Sources

- (a) *The History of Babur*. The Turkish text was published by Istanbul in 1957, and the English translation from the Hyderabad edition by Hyderabad in 1961. The text is probably a direct copy from Babur's autograph text. On the other hand, there are two principal Persian versions, the first by *Bayan*, and the second one by *Shah* and the name of *Nizami* and *Shah*. The text is published in three parts of *Erasmus* and *London*, 1826.

185-2
18

and on the second Persian version, it is currently good reading. It is always limited to its original; (c) the translation of P. over De Courville, 1871 based upon *Hamid's* Turkish text, it has remained for a long time the choice to the original; (d) the one based on *Hamid's* text, by *Abd. A. S. Raza*, 1921, to this, any obligations are great.

The *Babar-Nama*, does not supply all the details of Babur's life. There are four important versions: the first for 1504-1505, the second for 1508-1511, the third for 1511-1519 and the last for 1519-1525. Therefore he taken to other authorities.

(b) *The Turki-Rakhat of Mirza Asaf Khan Dughlat*. The only translation is that of N. Elia and P. de la Rive. The author was Babur's cousin, and in intimate contact with him during the Kabul period of his career. Mirza Asaf Khan's work is particularly valuable in filling the blanks of the *Babar-Nama*, but as for the work, it is not so well known as a great work of Babur and all his work, he is inclined to side with the *Hamid* in 1519 and later. Here, he is not to be trusted.

(c) *The Hamid-Nama*, *Shah* of *Khawarizm*. *Hamid* is a collection of letters and reports. It is a historical history, not Chapter 3, and a of book III are particularly important for the relations between Babur and *Shah* *Hamid*. The author was a well-informed contemporary who visited Babur in India and preserved a great deal of authentic material. The work was begun in 927 (1520), and was perhaps continued down to 935 (1528) and 937 (1530), and was perhaps continued down to 945 (1538).

Very little has been made of it, probably because it has never been translated. It was not known to *Erasmus*. (d) *The Hamid-Nama* of *Nizami* and *Shah* *Hamid*. The only copy known is in the Library of *Nizami* and *Shah* *Hamid* of *Rampur*, which is in the Library of *Nizami* and *Shah* *Hamid* of *Rampur*. The book is in great condition, the text is in good condition because the author, a *Shah*, was with the project of editing the *Hamid-Nama*. (e) *The Hamid-Nama* of *Nizami* and *Shah* *Hamid*. The author was a well-informed contemporary who visited Babur in India and preserved a great deal of authentic material. The work was begun in 927 (1520), and was perhaps continued down to 945 (1538) and 937 (1530).

It is very important as it gives the history of the struggle between Babur and *Shah*. (f) *The Hamid-Nama* of *Nizami* and *Shah* *Hamid*. The author was a well-informed contemporary who visited Babur in India and preserved a great deal of authentic material. The work was begun in 927 (1520), and was perhaps continued down to 945 (1538) and 937 (1530).

(g) *The Hamid-Nama* of *Nizami* and *Shah* *Hamid*. The author was a well-informed contemporary who visited Babur in India and preserved a great deal of authentic material. The work was begun in 927 (1520), and was perhaps continued down to 945 (1538) and 937 (1530).

B. Modern Sources

- (h) *The Hamid-Nama* of *Nizami* and *Shah* *Hamid*. The author was a well-informed contemporary who visited Babur in India and preserved a great deal of authentic material. The work was begun in 927 (1520), and was perhaps continued down to 945 (1538) and 937 (1530).

The Deputed Manager

social for the old period. With the author reports of the time of Shahi and his successors, he reports as an eyewitness or from hearsay.

- (4) The *Al-Bihar* of Tawfiq al-Hakim is a chronicle of the reign of Shahi and Shah Tahmasp from AH 988-985 (AD 1522-1597). There is however an unfortunate lacuna (AH 913-931—AD 1531-1553) in the text I have seen, which deprives the book of much of its value as a source for Babur's history. The *Al-Bihar* of Tawfiq al-Hakim is, like the *Al-Bihar* of the *Al-Bihar* of Tawfiq al-Hakim, the most accurate and well-balanced. The most accurate in the *Al-Bihar* of Tawfiq al-Hakim, but it is not a good general history of the Babur period. It is a good general history of the Babur period, but it is not a good general history of the Babur period.
- (5) The *Al-Bihar* of Tawfiq al-Hakim is a chronicle of the reign of Shahi and Shah Tahmasp from AH 988-985 (AD 1522-1597). There is however an unfortunate lacuna (AH 913-931—AD 1531-1553) in the text I have seen, which deprives the book of much of its value as a source for Babur's history. The *Al-Bihar* of Tawfiq al-Hakim is, like the *Al-Bihar* of the *Al-Bihar* of Tawfiq al-Hakim, the most accurate and well-balanced. The most accurate in the *Al-Bihar* of Tawfiq al-Hakim, but it is not a good general history of the Babur period. It is a good general history of the Babur period, but it is not a good general history of the Babur period.
- (6) The *Al-Bihar* of Tawfiq al-Hakim is a chronicle of the reign of Shahi and Shah Tahmasp from AH 988-985 (AD 1522-1597). There is however an unfortunate lacuna (AH 913-931—AD 1531-1553) in the text I have seen, which deprives the book of much of its value as a source for Babur's history. The *Al-Bihar* of Tawfiq al-Hakim is, like the *Al-Bihar* of the *Al-Bihar* of Tawfiq al-Hakim, the most accurate and well-balanced. The most accurate in the *Al-Bihar* of Tawfiq al-Hakim, but it is not a good general history of the Babur period. It is a good general history of the Babur period, but it is not a good general history of the Babur period.

C. Modern Works

- (7) *Emperor, a history of India in the Time of Babur and Humayun*, London, 1924. It is a fine and scholarly piece of work, excellent alike from the Persian and Indian point of view. Its solid learning and sound judgment will always make it difficult to supersede. But the author did not make use of some important sources.
- (8) Lane Poole, David (*Emperor of India*), London, 1918. The author has relied on *Chahar*, *Emperor of India*.
- (9) John Leyden, *Emperor of India*, London, 1811.
- (10) A.S. Beveridge, trans., *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (11) L.F. Rushbrook Williams, *Emperor of India*, London, 1918.
- (12) E.F. Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (13) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (14) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (15) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (16) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (17) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (18) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (19) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (20) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (21) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (22) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (23) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (24) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (25) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (26) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (27) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (28) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (29) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (30) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (31) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (32) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (33) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (34) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (35) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (36) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (37) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
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- (40) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (41) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (42) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (43) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (44) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (45) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (46) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (47) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (48) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (49) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (50) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (51) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
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- (98) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (99) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.
- (100) Rieu, *Emperor of India*, London, 1921.

14. P. Carnegy, *Historical Sketch of the History of the Province of Agra and the District of Agra*, London, 1872.
15. Report of Cunningham in *IASB*, 1865, p. 248.
16. A. Fisher, *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, (New Series), 1891, Vol. II, p. 297.
17. A.S. Beveridge, trans., *Babur Nama*, London, 1921, p. 682.
18. Leyden, op. cit., p. 76.
19. Mohd. Hasan, trans., with commentary, *The Babur Nama*, Bareilly, 1924, p. 105.
20. Beveridge, op. cit., p. 682.
21. Ibid., (unpublished).
22. Asaf Khan, *Chahar Chahar*, 1882, and Ibn Battuta in the *Al-Bihar* refer to the territory between the rivers Gomti and Ghaghara in Agra.
23. Beveridge, op. cit., p. 683.
24. Ibid. She found it in the *Babur Nama*, p. 439, and in Esakpe's own context of the *Al-Bihar*, p. 371.
25. Ibid. She concludes by writing, "where however several circumstances isolate it from the context," p. 678.
26. Ibid., p. 678; f. 374b. May 25. A great storm came and some pages flew away.
27. W.W. Hunter, ed., *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. III, London, 1881, p. 312.
28. Anil Kant, *Abul-Fazl*, Vol. I, p. 32.
29. Montgomery Martin, op. cit., p. 152.
30. P. Carnegy, *Historical Sketch of the Province of Agra and the District of Agra*, London, 1872, p. 152.
31. Smith, *Director of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, *Director of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, 1877, p. 150. See also *Director of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, 1877, Vol. II, p. 439.
32. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 439.
33. Lane Poole, *Emperor of India*, London, 1918, p. 11.
34. Beveridge, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 439.
35. Ibid., *Director of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, 1877, Vol. II, p. 439.
36. See *Kampanibhaskar*, a *Director*, ed. by the Kame Ram Mohar Trust in Agra.
37. Lane Poole, *Emperor of India*, London, 1918, p. 11.
38. A.S. Beveridge, trans., op. cit., Appendix, p. 688.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. S.R. Farwell, a noted Hindu scholar and Persian scholar, feels that in case the inscription is to be interpreted in a special sense, as Beveridge wants it to be, there it should have been marked, as the order of Emperor Babur and Akbar's have been in the *Al-Bihar*, *Director of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, 1877, p. 150.
42. Anil Kant, *Abul-Fazl*, Vol. I, p. 32.
43. Fisher's *History of India as told by its historians*, Vol. II, p. 351.
44. Fisher's *History of India as told by its historians*, Vol. II, p. 351.

44. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 34-35.
45. Ibid.
46. See Cunningham's report published in 1858, 1865, pp. 29-36. It can be seen that, whereas the title of the volume was established, a 'Jami Masjid' was raised in Kanauj, the Sharps also constructed a Jami Masjid.
47. J. R. Farquhar, *Lessons in the History of Kanauj*, p. 106. Farquhar was probably referring to the Sharps' mosque in Kanauj, which he described as 'a fine specimen of the eighteenth century in its architecture'.
48. Ibid.
49. William Foster, ed., *Early Travels in India*, London, 1921, p. 178.
50. Montgomery Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
51. W. H. Murray, *Memories of Delhi and Ferozabad*, Allahabad, 1868, pp. 151-52.
52. See Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, 3 Volumes, London, 1927. In the introduction, volume III, *On the History of the Architectural Survey of India*, pp. 1-22, the style of architecture is discussed in detail. It says that the buildings of the Sharps' mosque in Kanauj are:

The style of buildings adopted by the Muhammadan Sharps of Kanauj seems to be derived from a fusion of those of the Ghor, Tughlak and Lodhi dynasties of Delhi. The finest example of this style is the great mosque of Ibrahim Sharf al-Jang, and the largest of the great Jami Masjid of Ibrahim Sharf al-Jang. Other examples are the Jami Masjid at Kanauj, the Jami Masjid at Etawah and Kanauj, and the Jami Masjid at Meerut.

53. Although the plan of the Sharps' mosque is not known, it is a common one, the plan being that of a square with a central dome, four minarets, and a large central courtyard. The plan is derived from the plan of the great mosque of Ibrahim Sharf al-Jang, and the plan of the great mosque of Ibrahim Sharf al-Jang.
54. See Cunningham, *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. III, 1871-72, p. 12.

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AYODHYA, DRUMLA TAL, AND SAHET MAHET.

CHAPTER X.

AYODHYA, DRUMLA TAL, AND SAHET MAHET.

AYODHYA.

Barot's Masjid of Ayodhya was built in A. H. 990, or A. D. 1583, by Mir Khan, on the very spot where the old temple Jambhasthnam of Jambhasthandra was standing. The following inscriptions are of interest:

Inscription No. XII is written in Arabic characters over the central mihrab of the masjid. It gives twice the Basmala:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي جعل في هذا المسجد المبارك

"There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is His Prophet." (Qardx, Surah II.)

Inscription No. XIII is written in Persian poetry, the metre being Ramez, in six lines on the minbar, right-hand side of the masjid:—

ساختن با بر خاستن جهان
بها کوه این سقا را گذار
بنا کرده این سقا را گذار
بنا کرده این سقا را گذار
بنا کرده این سقا را گذار
بنا کرده این سقا را گذار

1. By order of Babar, the king of the world;
2. This firmament-like, lofty,
3. Strong building was erected
4. By the auspicious noble Mir Khan.
5. May ever remain such a foundation,
6. And such a king of the world.

The letters of this inscription have been mixed together by the copyist, and are therefore very indistinct.

Inscription No. XLII is written in Persian poetry, the metre being Ramez, in ten lines, above the entrance door of the masjid. A few characters of the second and the whole third lines are completely defaced.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
بنا کرد این سقا را گذار
بنا کرد این سقا را گذار
بنا کرد این سقا را گذار
بنا کرد این سقا را گذار
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بنا کرد این سقا را گذار
بنا کرد این سقا را گذار
بنا کرد این سقا را گذار

Demul
Gulay
1/9/52

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY REPORT, N. W. PROVINCES AND OUDH

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي هَدَانَا لِهَذَا وَمَا كُنَّا لِنَكُونَا لَهُ شَاكِرِينَ إِلَّا أَنْ هَدَانَا اللَّهُ لِهَذَا إِنَّهُ لَكَنُورٌ
 فِي الْحَمْدِ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي هَدَانَا لِهَذَا وَمَا كُنَّا لِنَكُونَا لَهُ شَاكِرِينَ إِلَّا أَنْ هَدَانَا اللَّهُ لِهَذَا إِنَّهُ لَكَنُورٌ

1. In the name of God, the merciful, the clement.
2. In the name of him who... may God perpetually keep him in the world.
3. Such a sovereign who is famous in the world and is a person of delight for the world.
4. In his presence one of the grandees who is another king of Turkey and China.
5. I said this religious foundation in the auspicious year 1084.
6. O God! may always maintain the crown, throne and life with the king.
7. May Babar always pour the flowers of happiness, may remain successful.
8. His counsellor and minister who is the founder of this fort masjid.
9. This poetry, giving the date and eulogy, was written by the last writer and poor servant Fakh-alah-Ghori, composer.

The old temple of Ramachandra at Jagmasthanam must have been a very fine one, for many of its columns have been used by the Muslims in the construction of Babar's masjid. These are of strong, close-grained, dark-coloured or black stone, called by the natives *Agayee*, "touch-stone slate," and carved with different devices. They are from seven to eight feet long, square at the base, centre and capital, and round or octagonal in the middle.

Inscription No. XLIII is written in Tughra characters on a fragment of red sandstone, brought from the ruined Masjid of Aurangzeb, built on the site of an old temple, called Svargataramandiram. The original stone is at present in the Faizabad Local Museum.

"There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His Prophet. May peace, benediction and blessings be upon him!" [Qur'an.]

Inscription No. XLIV is written in twenty incomplete lines on a white sandstone, broken off at either end, and split in two parts in the middle. It is dated Samvat 1211, or A. D. 1184, in the time of Jayachandradev of Kanauj, whose praises it records for erecting a Vishnu temple, from whence this stone was originally brought and appropriated by Aurangzeb in building his masjid known as Tota-ki-Thakur. The original slab was discovered in the ruins of this Masjid, and is now in the Faizabad Local Museum.

BUTHA TALUK.

This place lies 18 miles north-west from Bareilly and 25 miles north-east from Ayodhya and has been identified by Mr. Carleyle with Kapilavastu, the birth-place of Sikyamuni, which identification General Cunningham approves of. After

¹ The Oudh Gazetteer, Vol. I, page 8, gives the date of the completion of this Masjid as A. H. 924, or A. D. 1518, the word before in the inscription having probably been read wrong. But this is incorrect, as the metre shows.

² Cunningham's Archaeological Reports, Vol. XII, page 113 only.

AYODHYA BHUILA TAL, AND SAHBT MAHBT

CHAPTER X

AYODHYA BHUILA TAL, AND SAHBT MAHBT

AYODHYA

Babar's - Masjid at Ayodhya was built in A.H. 930, or A.D. 1528, by Mirkhan, on the very spot where the old temple Janmasthanam of Ramchandra was standing. The following inscription are of interest.

Inscription No.XL is written in Arabic characters over the central mihrab of the masjid, it gives twice the Kalimah:-

... Arabic language...

"There is no God but 'Allah Muhammad is His Prophet." [Quran Surah II]

Inscription No.XLI is written in Persian poetry, the metre being Ramal in six lines on the nimber, right-hand side of the masjid.

...Persian Language...

1. By order of Babar, the king of the world
2. This firmament-like, lofty,
3. Strong building was erected
4. By the auspicious noble Mir Khan.
5. May ever remain such a foundation,
6. And such a king of the world.

The letters of this inscription have been mixed together by the copyist and are therefore very indistinct.

Inscription No.XLII is written in Persian poetry, the metre being Ramal in ten lines, above the entrance door of the masjid. A few characters of the second and the whole third lines are completely defaced.

68. Archaeological Survey Report N.W. Provinces and Oudh
...Persian Language...

1. In the name of God, the merciful the element
2. In the name of him who may God perpetually keep him in the world.
- 3.
4. Such a sovereign who is famous in the world and in person of delight for the world.
5. In his presence one of the grandees who is another king of Turkey and China.
6. Laid this religious for foundation in the auspicious 930
7. O God I may always remain the crown, throne and life with the king.
8. May Babar always pour the flowers of happiness, may remain successful.
9. His counsellor and minister who is the founder of this fort masjid.
10. This poetry, giving the date and eulogy, was written by the lasy writer and poor servant fath-allah-Ghori, composer.

The old temple of Ramachandra at Janmasthanam must have been a very fine one, for many of its columns have been used by the Musalmans in the instruction of Babar's Masjid. These are of strong, close-grained, dark-coloured or blackstone, called by the nativee kasauti, "touch-stone slate," and carved with different devices. They are from seven to eight feet long, square at the base, centre and capital and round or octagonal intermediately.

Inscription No.XLIII is written in Tughara characters on a fragment of red sand-stone, brought from the ruined Masjid of Aurangzib, built on the site of an old temple, called svargadyaramandiram. The original stone is at present in the Faizabad Local Museum.

...Arabic Language...

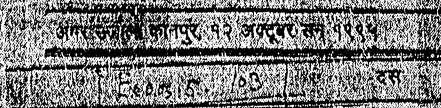
"There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His Prophet, May peace benediction and blessings be upon him!" (Quran.)

Inscription No.XLIV is written in twenty incomplete lines on a white sandstone, broken off at either end, and split in two parts in the middle. It is dated Samvat 1241, or A.D. 1184, in the time of Jayachchandra of Kanauj, whose praises it records for erecting a Vaisjnava temple, from whence this stone was originally brought and appropriated by Aurangzib in building his masjid known as Treta-ki-Thakur. The original slab was discovered in the ruins of this Masjid, and is now in the Faizabad Local Museum.

BHUILA TAL

This place lies 18 miles north-west from Basti and 25 miles north-east from Ayodhya and has been identified by Mr. Carlleyle' with Kapilavastu, the birth-place of Sakyamuni, which identification General Cunningham approves of. After

(EX-103)

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Ex 0.45-5-103

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EXHIBIT-103

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Amar Ujala Kanpur, 12th October, 1995

STATE

Dispute arose in Babri Action Committee. Charge imposed on Hashim.

Faizabad: On 11th October. Dispute has arisen in Ayodhya Babri Action Committee. Several kinds of serious charges have been imposed on Hashim, who is fighting suit on behalf of Babri Masjid. These charges have been imposed on behalf of Anjuman Mohafiz Masji and Makbra (Ayodhya).

Above mentioned organization has stated in his one press notification that plaintiff Mohd. Hashim Ansari has sold Bani Kalan Masjid, Station Road, Kotiya, Ayodhya against a sale consideration amount of Rs. 25,000/- before eight – nine years to the purchaser namely Gopal Dass and out of which payment of Rs. 17,000/- has already been paid. At the place of the above mentioned Masjid, after putting a Chhappar there, Gopal Dass is operating one Hotel there and he has also got constructed one residential house there. Payment of Rs. 50,000/- through cheque has been also given to Hashim Ansari by the relief committee. The Muslim persons belonging to Ayodhya have made a complaint against Hashim Ansari in respect of the payment given by the relief committee to

him. On this ground another installment from the relief committee has not been obtained by Hashim Ansari and therefore, he is making irrelevant allegations on Babri Masjid Committee, Ayodhya.

This charge has been imposed on Hashim Ansari that in the month of July, on the arrival of Ramnareshcharya, Hashim Ansari after taking money, made sit his real brother namely Kashim, on the seat. The Muslim persons of Ayodhya became angry due to sitting Kashim on the same and 1 stage. It has also been stated that organizers and office bearers of the Babri Action Committee, Ayodhya have embezzled the money which has come outside and the riot victims of Ayodhya had reaming roaming harassed and disturbed.

Anjumn has given its advice that after taking the opinions from the central and state committees, Mohd. Hashim should be dismissed from his post, so that after misleading the Muslim persons, he can not be able to take unlawful advantage of his position. In the situation of mutual conflict between the Muslim Leaders, the Babri Action Committee has become inactive and ineffective.

735
(Ex-114)

Presidential Address XIII Annual Conference
of the India Archaeological Society held on
GBM 20th (A.P.) on 22nd December, 1989.

Admission
Reference Number

Deval
21/12/89

THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT ALLAHABAD
LUCKNOW BENCH, LUCKNOW

S. NO.	5	OF	89
Plaintiff	Su	Defendant	State of U.P.
VERSUS			
Plaintiff	Singh	Defendant	State of U.P.
PRODUCED BY	O.P.W. 3 S.P. Gita (Bhaskar Singh)		
DATE OF PRODUCTION	Filed by Gita on 30.5.92		
ADMITTED / NOT	BY THE COURT		
The court has found the evidence at page 9 of the evidence.			
ADMITTED IN EVIDENCE / REJECTED			
EXT. NO.	C.S. - 5 - 114		

BY ORDER OF THE COURT 21.5.92

U.S.D. 5/2/92

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RAM JANMABHUMI CONTROVERSY : PASSIONS APART, WHAT HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY HAVE TO SAY ON THIS ISSUE

Dr. S.P. Gupta
Director
Allahabad Museum

(1624)
166

It is common knowledge that millions of Hindus all over the world consider Rama as Maryada-Purushottam (i.e., a man par excellence, the upholder of human values). He was the eldest of the four sons of Dasharath, the king of Kosala. The capital of the kingdom of Kosala was located at Ayodhya, on the river Sarayu. Rama, his eldest son from his eldest consort Kaushalya, was born in this township. He was married to princess Sita. Due to some family feuds between Dasharath and his youngest consort Kaikeyi, Rama was exiled for 14 years. He then left the capital along with his wife Sita and brother Lakshmana, reached a land-gram on the river Yamuna, not too far from Ayodhya, where he spent sometime, and then moved on further south-east, and reached Sringeripur on the river Ganga, in District Allahabad, crossed it on boat and reached Bhupadwa, Agram, located near Sungam, i.e., the confluence of the Ganga and Yamuna, at Prayag, also called Allahabad city. After staying here for a few days, he moved on further south-east, crossed the river Yamuna, near present-day Arai, and reached Chitrakuta, located on the banks of the Mandakini. Thus the story goes on till the party of these three persons reaches Lanka to kill Ravana. Everyone agrees that this story is based on the Ramayana, composed by sage Valmiki in chaste Sanskrit. It was retold in various languages in India and various countries of South Asia and South-East Asia. There is a Muslim mosque at Ayodhya. On the basis of two fragmentary inscriptions in Persian, located in the mosque, it is said that the mosque was built during the time of Babur.

(Contd. on page 25)

737

261

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an invader from Soviet Central Asian region of Farghana, a rich river valley, precisely in the Hijari year 935, which is calculated to 1528 A.D. However, the actual builder, as mentioned in one of the inscriptions, was someone called Mir Badi, perhaps one of his commanders.

The Hindus maintain that this mosque was built forcibly at this place, after demolishing a pre-existing Hindu temple. They also maintain that this place is the birth-place, or Janma-
sthana, of Rama. According to them Rama was no ordinary human being, he was an incarnation or avatar of Lord Vishnu. For them, it is, therefore, not the question of actual birth-place of a prince of a royal family, it is in reality the question of their Faith. Here the God was born in the form of a human being. His 'place of birth' is, therefore, the 'most Sacred' and 'most Holy' 'piece of land' for them. In Hinduism, unlike Islam, what matters is 'the place where incidents of religious nature occur'. That is why Kurukshetra, Haridwar, Prayag, Gurudwara Shivalong at Delhi, Harmandir Sahib at Amritsar, etc., are of great religious significance to them. By the same token, Krishna Janmasthan at Mathura and Buddha Janmasthan at Lumbini are sacred to them.

In cases of this kind poor historians are called upon by both the communities to produce historical evidence in their favour. And precisely at this point we find them divided into two groups - one trying to blow-up certain facts by suppressing the rest, and the other trying to do exactly the opposite. The public is thus confused. The politicians take advantage of this situation. The newspapers sometimes also take sides.

The historical issues may be broadly divided into two groups - one which concern literary and traditional data, and the other which concern art and archaeology.

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(262)

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The literary and traditional data may be culled from all known sources - Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jain and Islamic - while the art and archaeological data may be culled from the carvings present on the temple-pillars, door-jambs and old stone images and the results of archaeological excavations conducted at the sites by different scholars.

The Valmiki Ramayana, as noted earlier, maintains that Lord Vishnu incarnated Himself in the human body of Rama at Ayodhya. The date of birth is also given : on the 9th day, in the month of Chaitra, which often falls in March. The year is not mentioned but yuga is mentioned - it is Treta, that is in the third phase or period of the world's history which has traditionally been divided into four periods or eras called yugas.

Now what is the date of the Ramayana, and what is the time-bracket of the Treta Yuga? Such questions have recently been raised by Prof. Romila Thapar, S. Gopal, Bipin Chandra and others.

The Valmiki Ramayana is generally dated in the period between 2nd century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. It is generally held by scholars that it was orally composed as well as orally handed down in the Gurushishya parampara, i.e., one generation teaching by heart and passing it over to the next generation. The basis of this dating is two-fold : (a) the language and style, and (b) the contents, such as the mention of certain kinds of palaces and also of men of foreign origin, generally coming from West Asian countries. It is, however, also maintained by some other scholars that it began as a story told orally, in the narrative form, at least from the 4th century B.C. How much still earlier this oral tradition may go, is perhaps possible to guess. Stray references to the individual items of the story, such as the

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(263)

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occurrence of the term Ayodhya, are found in the works of later Vedic, pre-Buddhist (or pre-600 B.C.) literature, such as the Taittiriya Aranyaka. At least one form of the story occurs in the Buddhist literature, the Dasharatha Jataka, even in China. Archaeological dating of the lowest levels of habitation at Ayodhya goes back to 8th-9th century B.C. Since the earliest date of the site can also be, broadly speaking, the date of Valmiki and his Ramayana, the tradition may be 3000 years old. Parts of the story, it may be mentioned, also occur in the Mahabharata, the core of which is dated, on astronomical grounds, around 1450 B.C. The Rama katha may, thus, be even 3500 years old.

Some scholars, like Romila Thapar, however, maintain that the crucial issue is the dating of Treta Yuga in which Rama is said to have been born. Treta Yuga is dated to thousands of years prior to Kali Yuga, which itself is said to have started in the year 3102 B.C. This they say is enough to maintain that the claims of the Hindus cannot be historically true since, archaeologically speaking, the site of Ayodhya was itself not inhabited prior to 1000 B.C.; in fact 800 B.C.

On this issue at least some scholars of ancient history however, maintain that the terminology of the yugas - kata, treta, dvapara, and kali - is also applied to four different parts of a single year, based on four major seasons. In that case treta will represent the season of the year in which Rama was born. Be that as it may, we, the historians, without taking any sides, are clear in our minds that since the Ramayana is an epic, its growth is encyclopaedic, for example the Balakanda and the Uttarakanda were definitely added at a date later than the date of other khanda; some other portions may also have been added in the process of growth. We are also convinced of the fact that

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Since it is a work of kavya literature, poetic embellishment of the core story is in the very nature of things, just as it was true with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer. We are equally aware of the fact that natural and supernatural have invariably been mixed up in all epics, both Indian and non-Indian. We also know that each age in which such core-stories are retold, contemporary picture gets readily added; it happened in the case of *Ramacharitamansa* by Tulsi Das, and it happened in all the other versions of the *Ramayana*. The *Mahabharata* is also no exception. The Bible too is no exception.

We, the historians, therefore, try to sort out and sift the 'supernatural' from the 'natural', the 'additions' from the 'basic' and, the 'growth' from the 'seed', all in order to find out the core. After that, in order to evaluate the evidence we frame the questions as follows :

Is the whole story just a fiction, or at least the core or germ or seed-story is likely to be correct?

This question, in relation to the *Ramayana*, will be answered at the end. First let us categorise the supernatural or mythological part of the Rama story because, in strict historical terms, i.e., in calendar years, we can neither prove that nor disprove that. But that, we all know, is not at all expected of us, the historians; since everyone of us, as well as the public at large, knows one thing very clearly that more than the historical events, these are the 'Social Realities' which are based on these 'supernatural' and 'mythological' beliefs and faiths. There are in no way peculiar to the Hindu epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*; all the Greek and Roman epics are full of such supernatural-beliefs, still 'historical truths' and 'social realities' are sifted from these epics.

(Contd. on page 6)

741

(265)

16221
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(6)

Thus working, we know it well that the birth of Rama cannot be proved, at least not in the Treta Yuga; if it is Treta season, then, perhaps, there may be some truth in it. It is, therefore, to be treated as that part of the epic which bestows upon the core-story fathomless antiquity.

Exactly the same thing happens when we start dealing with the concept of Avatar or incarnation; in the present case Rama as the incarnation of Vishnu. It can never be, and it has never been, the subject of history in terms of chronology worked out in calendar years.

This scale of measurement has not been applied at any time by any historian to any religion, be it Christianity, or Islam, or Jainism, or Buddhism, or any other. ^{Id.} ~~Where~~ was Lord Christ born? From the womb of the Holy Mother Mary who was unmarried to any male. How was Buddha born? From the side, hip region, of Maya. Now let Dr. Thapar or Dr. Gopal prove them as 'historically' correct; what is humanly impossible cannot be proved as 'historical' event. Yet it can hardly be maintained that Christ and Buddha were not the human beings; we know even their dates of birth. We, the historians, thus sit the 'supernatural', which we know human beings are in the habit of adding or improving on their supreme social and religious leaders, from the 'natural' in order to reach two kinds of truths - the 'historical realities', and 'social realities'. For us, none of them is untrue; both are the facts of social history. In fact, social realities born out of religious practices are of greater historical value than the historical realities.

It brings us to the historical part of the issue. The first is the lead question : which is the cut-off date in the whole controversy?

(Contd. on page 7)

742

(266)

1024
12/16

(7)

It is 1528 A.D., the year in which the mosque was built. This is the datum line. This is the fixed point or the reference point; every other piece of evidence has to be considered with reference to this date.

The second question is was there a temple at the site of the mosque? If so, what is its date?

According to one view, there was no temple at the site prior to the mosque. Hence, there was no question of its demolition by Babur or by Mir Baqi. There is, in fact, absolutely no mention of the demolition of a temple at the site in any literary text written prior to the coming of the British as the rulers of India.

According to the opposite views, there was a temple at this site. There are art and archaeological evidences to prove the existence of a temple at the site in pre-Babur period. It was demolished by the people of Mir Baqi. It was done so in order to build a mosque here for Babur, perhaps to create a place where he could offer his prayers while at Ayodhya.

First let us deal with the evidence of art and archaeology which are based upon scientific methods; these are perfectly reliable sources of history.

In the mosque there are as many as 14 pillars which support the super-structure of a part of the mosque. The pillars are of black schistose rock of the slate variety. Locally, it is called Kasauti stone. It is found in the lower Himalayas, in Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, from Chamba through Garhwal, Almora and Kumaon, out of which many images were carved and kept in the temples of these very regions, mostly dated from the 9th through the 12th century. There are two more similar pillars of black stone, fixed upside down, beside the grave of one Muslim saint, Fazole Abbas alias Musa Ashikhan, who is generally blamed

743

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by the local people for inciting the then authorities to demolish the temple and build a mosque at Janmasthan; the local old people maintain that this they know from traditional accounts handed over to them generation after generation; it has been mentioned by various modern historians, including Hans Bakker, the writer of the famous work 'Ayodhya'. In addition, there is a door-jamb resting against the wall in the mosque's compound, that is in the court-yard of the new Janmasthan temple. There are nearly a dozen images, both Vaishnava and Saiva, located at various places in Ayodhya and Faizabad. The details of these items, including photographs of several of them, can be found in the book written by Hans Bakker.

The pillars are carved at the base with the sacred water-pitcher or purna ghata or kimbha or kalasha with overhanging creepers with rich foliage arranged in highly stylised manner. From this a decorative lotus rises up. On one of the octagonal side of one pillar a female figure (measuring about 15-20 cm) in tribhanga (bent at three places) pose is still visible, although it is heavily mutilated. The columns are octagonal in shape, passing into a square at the base.

The door-jamb is of the same stone as the columns. It is 115 cm long, and decorated with sculptured figures from top to bottom. At the base there is a small arched recess in which one can see a standing male figure. The image is wearing a mukuta (tiara or pagadi with kalangi) on the head, a vanamala (long garland) on the front bare body. Above the niche are two vertical bands of decoration, the right one shows the rising creeper motif, the left one contains five figures of devakanyas or apsaras, i.e., nymphs or heavenly female beings. There are arranged one above the other, the uppermost figure is in fact

(Contd. on page 9.)

744

268

16921
174
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(9)

of a Shalabhanjika, a female figure holding and bending the branch of a blossoming tree.

Can we date them? If yes, then how?

Yes, these can be easily dated on the basis of what we call the science of art-style. If we carefully look at the forms of various elements of decorations, for example the type of creepers (the leaves and the flowers), the form of the water-pitcher, the garland, the female figures (body, eyes, nose, face) and the architectural features, such as the form of the arch, and the pilasters, we come to the conclusion that these pillars were definitely carved in the 11th-12th century, some 800 to 900 years ago, since stylistically these forms belong to what we call in art history 'Late Pratihara' or 'Gahadavala' style. We have several examples of similar forms from different sites in northern India, some of which are from sites like Jamsot in Distt. Allahabad, the examples of which in sandstone are housed in the Allahabad Museum.

However, those who maintain that there was no temple at the site which was destroyed by the orders of Babur or his Commander Mir Baqi ask me: admitting that these pillars are of the 11th-12th century, what proof is there that these pillars and the temple belong to a temple which was built at the site, and not brought from somewhere else, say a kilometer or two away? Questions of this kind can be convincingly answered only by the science of field-archaeology.

What does archaeological excavations conducted at the site by some eminent archaeologists reveal?

In 1969 and 1970 Prof. A.K. Narain of the Banaras Hindu University excavated the site of Ayodhya by having three trenches at three different places at Ayodhya. From 1975 through 1980 Prof. B.B. Lal, a former Director-General, Archaeological Survey

745

269

10721
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of India, and Director, Indian Institute of Indian Studies, Shimla, laid as many as fourteen trenches at different places at Ayodhya, including one at Janmabhumi and one just behind the Babari mosque for archaeological investigations. The work was done in collaboration with the Archaeological Survey of India as a part of a large national project launched by the Central Government, when Pratap Narul Hasan was the Minister of Education and Culture, called 'Archaeology of the Ramayana Sites'; in fact, he was the 'motive force' behind this project. These 17 trenches yielded the following data which have direct bearing on the problem we are faced with here.

First, the earliest habitation layer in these trenches, laid directly above the natural soil, yielded the most beautiful pottery of Indian material culture, called Northern Black Polished Ware with silvery and golden hues. It is fired uniformly at a very high temperature, more than 1000°C, to produce not only unique lustre but also unique metallic sound. It has been dated by various scientific methods, including Radiocarbon dating with MASCA correction, of the associated organic objects. This pottery is dated to the period 8th-9th century B.C.

Secondly, there has been almost continuous human habitation in the Janmabhumi-Masjid area, upto the 10th century A.D.

Thirdly, in the 11th century, some people constructed a series of rectangular 'bases' or short pillarlike structures of burnt-bricks. This was done by cutting the debris of the 10th century buildings. These bases served as the fillings of the foundation trenches so that the heavy weight of the pillars could easily be borne by the earth (not-so-hard debris of earlier structures) here. These bases, arranged in a regular fashion, have been encountered in the trench laid in the Janmabhumi:

(Contd. on page 11)

746

(270)

(270)
10721
126

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In all likelihood if the trench is extended we will get more evidence of this kind.

Fourthly, a well-laid floor, made of pinkish white chunam or lime, slightly higher than the upper-most face of the 'brick bases', was found running across and beyond the trench-area.

All this establishes the fact that the structure of the temple was built over the brick-bases and it had a well-rammed lime floor all around the stone pillars. It was a part of a very large pillared hall. We, the field archaeologists, are quite convinced that given a chance to excavate here on larger scale, we will be able to reveal the evidence of more 'pillar-bases' and more of the 'lime floor' of this temple.

These kinds of art and archaeological evidences establish two things :

One, the antiquity of the site of Avodhya is at least 3000 years from now if not more, and

Second, in the 11th-12th century a Hindu temple was erected at the site popularly called 'Jannabhumi', where now a 16th century mosque, with 14 black-stone pillars, decorated with beautiful floral and human carvings, largely mutilated, stands; if the earth dumped by the archaeologists inside the trench to cover it is removed even a little, the brick-bases of the pillars and the lime floor can be exposed to all the people of the world to see for themselves and examine the evidence. And if allowed to dig further, archaeologists will be able to reveal many more similar brick-built pillar-bases in the foundation trenches dug for erecting a temple-complex.

These art and Archaeological evidences indicate that if the core of the Ramayana is based upon some historically

(Contd. on page 12)

747

(27)

10721
177

(21)

(12)

occurred events, then these events, including the birth of Rama, must have taken place in the time-frame of about 3000 years.

Further, most of the pillars of the temple were removed at a later date, although a few of them are still in situ, many are misplaced, and the rest completely destroyed, perhaps ground to powder to make lime mortar for the mosque.

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This brings us to another point of the controversy - that the present site of Ayodhya located on the banks of Sarayu, also called Ghaghra, in Dist. Faizabad, U.P. may not be the Ayodhya of the Valmiki Ramayana. In favour of this doubt, some historian friends quote a few Buddhist literary works which call this site 'Saket' and not Ayodhya. Many of the Jain literary sources also do not generally call this site 'Ayodhya'; they call it 'Vinita' and 'Saket'. Only the Brahmanical literary sources call the site Ayodhya, rarely Saket. Since the Buddhist and Jain sources are, according to their tradition, older in date than the Hindu traditions, the latter are not to be relied upon. Thus, if there was indeed the town of Ayodhya, it was located somewhere else, perhaps on the river Ganga, hundred of km. away in Bihar. Here, at the present site of Ayodhya there was the town called 'Saket'. For these scholars, the two names stood for two different towns located far away from each other.

In this context we would like to draw the attention to the following facts.

To begin with, there is ample evidence to show that the ancient town of Saket (of the Jain and Buddhist texts), was the capital town of the ancient region of Kosala, referred to as 'one of the sixteen mahajanapadas' of the time of the Buddha, i.e., the 6th century B.C.; perhaps some 100 or more years

(Contd. on page 13)

748

272

1021
178-
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still older, the mahajanapadas were of pre-Buddha times according to various literary sources, including Jain and Buddhist. According to Valmiki Ramayana, Ayodhya was the capital town of the Kingdom of Kosala, where ruled the mighty kings of the Ikshvaku dynasty, including Dasharuth, the father of Rama.

Were then there the practice of two different capital-towns in the Mahajanapadas, including Kosala? We have no example to this effect. Then the two of them are likely to be one and the same town. But was it not?

There are some Buddhist sources which do occasionally use the term 'Ayodhya' for Saket as it both the names are interchangeable. In fact, the famous Chinese traveller of the 7th century, Hsien T'sang, uses the Chinese version of the term Ayodhya and not Saket - it is A-yo-to. Clearly enough, if Saket was a Buddhist town separately located than the Hindu town Ayodhya, Hsien T'sang, the Buddhist monk, would have used the Chinese version of the term 'Saket' and not the Chinese version of the term Ayodhya. He was after all primarily describing the Buddhist establishments of the township; the reference to 'ten Deva temples' was only incidental.

There is nothing surprising in it. The town of Varanasi has also been called Kashi, and Sarnath was within the region or kshetra of Kashi. While Prayag was the name of the place where ashramas and temples existed, Pratibhanpur was the name of the place where the actual habitation of the general public was located, both the sites were located within the Prayag Kshetra. Similarly, Patalliputra, modern Patna, in Bihar, was also known in the ancient literature as Kusumpur. In fact, Ayodhya had still another name, Vinita, used repeatedly by the Jains. It was called as the birth-place of the First Tirthankar, Adinath.

(Contd. on page 14)

749

223

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or Kushabha. This was also the birth place of the fourth and fifth Tirthankara, Mahavira, like Buddha, also said to have visited the place. Hence, in all likelihood, Ayodhya township and Kashi had different sectors, some religions patronised some sectors and gave them one name while the other religions patronised other sections and called them by another name. But basically they all belonged to a single human settlement-area.

Buddhists, Jains and the Brahmins lived together, side by side, not at one place but at various places in India. At Ellora, there are the rock-cut temples of all the three religions. At Mathura, Kausambi and Kashi also the same was true, there are the remains of all the three religions. If this was the situation at Saket-Ayodhya also, there is nothing surprising in it.

In fact, Kalidasa, the famous Sanskrit poet of the 5th century, used both the names interchangeably in his famous work Raghuvamsha. Emperor Skandagupta, of the Gupta dynasty, 5th century, laid the foundation of a Vishnu temple at Ayodhya which, as mentioned in the inscription, he dedicated to God Saranagata, i.e., the God with bow-and-arrow; obviously, no other than Rama.

We have, therefore, ample historical evidence to prove that for at least 1500 years Ayodhya was considered as the birth-place of Lord Rama and the term 'Saket' was used for this very town & the two names were interchangeable.

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We, the historians, are also aware of another fact, that there is absolutely no correlation between antiquity and socio-religious realities. Islam may be youngest but it is in no way inferior either to Christianity or Hinduism. Hence if the core of the Rama story is only 3000 years old, Rama will not lose his position of eminence in the Hindu socio-religious realities.

274

(24)
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180

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even though many pious Hindus have taken this date hard to digest, as Prof. D.B. Lal has observed in one of his articles on Ayodhya.

Similarly, as long as we have ample evidence of some social realities in the form of beliefs existing amongst the millions of the people through the length and breadth of the country existing for hundreds of years, which are manifested in literature (Mahabharata), in art (sculpture and painting), in architecture (temple) and in rituals (puja and archana) and claims are made over all of them even in adverse circumstances, (in the present case, connected with the Janmasthan at Ayodhya in pre-1528 A.D. period, the date of the construction of the Babari Mosque), it is our sacred duty to enumerate and evaluate them faithfully as historical evidences, since it is absolutely immaterial whether the traditions are 1500 years old or 15000 years old.

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In the present controversy, it is also to be noted by all concerned that in the 5th century A.D. no one in India did anything in reaction to Islam since Islam was not even then born - the history of Islam is only 1400 years old. Hence the traditions were born out of positive faith.

Our evaluation of all historical events should be based upon historical processes, i.e., why and how certain things happened the way they happened, because the former are only the products of the latter. In all historical studies what we really study and evaluate are not so much the historical events but historical processes and historical patterns of human behaviour, including the reactions and the attitudes of the people contemporary to the events, and the people following them, generation after generations, both, the rulers and the ruled - we are social scientists.

(Contd. on page 16.)

(276)

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182

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with legend 'Rama-Siya' in Devanagari script. Jahangir, when approached, also allowed the Hindus to do so. Shahjahan followed this practice. But, not Aurangzeb, perhaps. In the British period while some Nawabs of Lucknow did offer their patronage through their Hindu colloquies, the period, by and large, was marked by fierce disputes over the ownership of the Janmasthana. Gazetteers of Faizabad Distt. are full of these facts.

This shows that at no point of time the Hindus abandoned their claim to this piece of land which was so very sacred to them.

This is also clear from several accounts of the European travellers who visited India in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Tieffenthaler, a German speaking traveller, visited Ayodhya in 1767. Here he saw a vedi, i.e. a sacred platform inside the mosque, which was considered to represent the Rama Janmasthana. He saw the Hindus visiting in large numbers going round it three times (parikrama) and prostrating (dashabavata) before it. On Rama Navami day people visited it with accompanied festivities, according to him. Martin, in 1838, also saw similar acts of piety. Several others have also said the same.

For the historians, these facts are more important than anything else since in these are the records of the reactions and observations of the people who soon followed Babur and Mir Baqi.

The Hindus thus need that piece of land in Ayodhya on which the so-called 'Babari' mosque stands. They propose to build a temple here. They are requesting the Muslim brethren to be considerate and show largeness of heart in this matter by shifting this 'historical' irritant to some other place so that at least for once they feel convinced that their life long wish

(Contd. on page 18)

(277)

1672/183 (27)

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bons are really good-neighbours - good-neighbourliness is always based upon some sacrifice to accommodate the feelings and the needs of the neighbours. This is the spirit of co-existence. In Islam shifting of mosque is not rare; it is not against their law and practice. The Hindus are appealing to their good nature. They want them to shift the mosque a little away for which they are even offering all necessary man-power and money.

Newspaper reports show that some young Shia Muslims in fact agree with their Hindu brethren on this issue and they are ready to accommodate these views, and allow the Hindus to build a temple at the Rama Janmasthana. They have in fact offered to shift the mosque bodily to a nearby place on their own since for the Muslims this mosque is in fact of no special significance - it was not even in active worship at any point of time in history ever since it was built since there is absolutely no proof that Babur ever visited it, the man who had to offer the first prayer in it.

Those who are maintaining that there is no historical record to prove that Babur demolished or wanted to demolish the temple here, or for that matter any temple in India, should also tell a few other facts such as the following since not many people know it.

That, the total period of Babur's stay in India was only four years, from 1526 to 1530; he died in the 48th year of his life in 1530. Even these years he spent only in the battlefield.

That, the diary of events of his life which he wrote in his own handwriting was in Turkic which Akbar got translated in Persian by 'Abdur Rahim Khankhana in 30 years' time, in 1589.

That, a part of the original Turkic manuscript was first got burnt while Babur's tent caught fire, though later he tried
(Contd. on page 19).

278

10761
184 (28)

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to repair it and make good the loss still the accounts for more than one year, early 1528 to late 1529, are completely lost to the world.

That, the entire original Turkic manuscript still remains untraceable, after Jehangir no Mughal ruler had seen it.

That, the present Babur Nama is an English translation (by Mrs. Beveridge) of a Persian translation of the original found at the Salur Jung Museum.

Hence our main source of information about Babur is neither complete nor fully reliable. Similarly, none of the two Persian inscriptions by Mir Badi located in the Mosque is found complete. Hence, it is just possible that the 'missing portions' contained the reference of the temple or the demolition of the temple; but it is only our conjecture. In fact, we do not really expect any writing about the destruction of the temple during the Muslim rule in India; everyone was mortally afraid of the brutal consequences. Even otherwise absence of references to certain acts is never taken as positive evidence in historical writings since it does show the bias of the historian.

One thing more. In one of the Persian inscriptions in the Mosque, Babur is given the appellation of 'Qalandar', a Persian term exclusively used for Muslim saint, no emperor, that is the ruler of the mundane world, was ever called 'qalandar' in the Muslim annals. Thus, does this inscription really refer to Emperor Babur? Was this Babur not someone else, a saint? But this is besides the point.

In this context what is most important for all of us is to note the fact that soon after Babur, Akbar, Babur's grandson, did allow the Hindus to offer prayers to Janmasthana which was located within the premises of the Mosque. What does it show,

(Contd. on page 20)

754

279

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particularly when we know it that neither Akbar nor his father Humayun had built the mosque here? How then the 'Janmasthana' got located inside the mosque, when it was not already existing before the erection of the mosque? Foreign travellers, who had no reason to take sides in the 17th and 18th centuries, have left their own accounts to the fact that there was a vedi or platform within the mosque which the Hindus took for the Janmasthana of Rama and worshipped it as such. We should not forget the fact that for the Hindus a superstructure is not at all essential for regarding a place 'holy', fit for worship - temple is a later growth, the original form was just a platform since for them the actual spot where an event of religious nature took place is of supreme importance; in fact, even a formal vedi or platform ~~too~~ was not essential, just the piece of land was enough, demarcated or not demarcated.

Similarly, the 'history' for the Hindus always lies in the Shrutis (what is heard), the Smritis (which is remembered) and the Puranas (what is codified in traditions). Their sense of history was not like that of Herodotus or Al-Biruni, something like that (narration of events in calendar years) developed very late in India, only after the coming of the Muslims. Hence, it is perfectly 'historical' for them to regard a particular place as Rama Janmasthana since behind this has been a very long 'tradition', at least of 1500 years, if not 3000 or more years; it was in any case of pre-Islamic origin. And that is enough.

In Hindu law deity is a person, it can own land with full legal rights. The vedi or the place called 'Rama Janmasthana' had thus the full title over the land around it. Since it preceded the building of the mosque (otherwise it could not be located within the mosque), it had the full ownership of the land. From the point of view of the Islamic traditions and laws, on the

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755

(280)

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other hand, a mosque built over the place on which other religions had claims cannot be considered fit for prayers. Hence it cannot supersede the rights of ownership of the land which the Jannathana had over this piece of land.

Thus, even legally, the land of Jannathana belongs to the Hindus and not the Muslims. But this is for the courts to decide.

We, the historians and archaeologists, could only lay the historical facts before the public and then appeal to the parties concerned to find out for themselves solution of this knotty problem in the true spirit of SAMBHAVA, i.e., mutual respect on the basis of perfect equality, which was propounded by Ashoka the Great, some 2300 years ago through his inscriptions engraved on rock to last for ever in order to remind us of his Eternal Message of Mankind.

'My dear Muslim brethren, think for a moment what would have been your reaction in a similar situation, had your place of worship was caught in a controversy of this very kind'. Ashoka would have asked you, and then without waiting for your answer, which would have been obvious to him, told you, 'kindly do treat your fellow brethren, the Hindus, in the true spirit of Sambhava, and return to them gracefully and magnanimously whatever traditionally belonged to them; you have nothing to lose, instead you have everything to gain, the goodwill of your brothers and sisters in the Hindu neighbours.'

756

(Ex-114)

Presidential address: XXIII Annual Conference of the India Archaeological Society held on Guntur (A.P) on 22nd December, 1989.

Ram Janambhumi Controversy: Passions Apart, What History And Archaeology Have To Say On This Issue

Dr. S.P. Gupta
Director
Allahabad Museum

It is common knowledge that millions of Hindus all over world consider Ram is Maryada-Purushottam (i.e. man per excellence, the upholder of human values). He was the eldest of the four sons of Dasharath, the king of Kaushalya. The capital of the kingdom of Kaushalya was located at Ayodhya, on the river Suryu, Rama, his eldest son from his eldest consort Kaushalya, was born in this township. He was married to princess Sita. Due to some family feuds between Dashrath and his youngest consort Kaikeyi, Rama was called for 14 years. He then left the capital along with his wife Sita and brother Lakshman reached Nandigram on the river Jamana not too far from Ayodhya where he spent

sometime and then moved on further south-east and reached Srīngverapur on the river Ganga, in District Allahabad, crossed it on boat and reached Bhardwaj Ashram, located near Sangam i.e. the confluence of the Ganga and Yamuna, at Prayag, also called Allahabad city. After staying here for a few days, he moved on further south-east, crossed the river Yamuna, near present day Arrail, and reached Chitrakuta, located on the banks of the Mandakini. Thus the story goes on till the party of these three persons reaches Lanka to kill Ravan. Everyone agrees that this story is based on the Ramayana, composed by sage Valmiki in chaste Sanskrit. It was retold in various languages in India and various countries of South Asia and South-East Asia. There is a Muslim mosque at Ayodhya. On the basis of two fragmentary inscriptions in Persian, located in the mosque, it is said that the mosque was built during the time of Babar, an invader from Soviet Central Asian region of Farghana, a rich river valley, precisely in the Hijari year 935, which is calculated to 1528 AD. However the actual builder, as mentioned. In one of the inscriptions, was someone called Mir Baqi, perhaps one of his commanders.

The Hindus maintain that this mosque was built forcibly at this place, after demolishing a pre-existing Hindu temple. They also maintain that this place is the birth-place, or Janamsthan, of Rama. According to them Rama was no ordinary human being, he was an incarnation or avatar of Lord Vishnu. For them, it is, therefore, not the question of actual birth place of a prince of a royal family it is in reality the question of their Faith. Here the find was born in the form of a human being. His place of birth is, therefore, the 'most Sacred' and 'most Holy' 'piece of land' for them. In Hinduism, unlike Islam what matters is the place where incidents of religious nature occur'. That is why Kurukshetra, Haridwar, Prayag, Gurudwara Shishganj at Delhi Harmandir Saheb of Amritsar, etc are of great religious significance to them. By the same token, Krishna Janamsthan at Mathura and Buddha Janamsthan at Lambini are sacred to them.

In cases of this kind poor histories are called upon by both the communities to produce historical evidence in their favour. And precisely at this point we find them divided into two groups one trying to blow up certain facts by suppressing the rest, and the other trying to do exactly the

opposite. The public is thus confused. The politicians take advantage of this situation. The newspapers sometimes also take sides.

The historical issues may be broadly divided into two groups one which concern literary and traditional data and the other which concern art and archaeology.

The literary and traditional data may be called from all known sources-Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jain and Islamic while the art and archaeological data may be ruled from the carvings present on the temple pillars, door jambs and old stone images and the result of archeological excavations conducted at the site by different scholars.

The Valmiki Ramayana, as noted earlier, maintains that Lord Vishnu incarnated himself in the human body of Rama at Ayodhya. The date of birth is also given on the 9th day, in the month of Chaitra, which often falls in March. The year is not mentioned but yuga is mentioned, it is treia, that is in the third phase or period of the world's history which has traditionally been divided into four periods or eras called yugas.

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Now what is the date of the Ramayana, and what is the time bracket of the Treta Yuga? Such questions have recently been raised by Profs. Romila Thapar, S. Gopal, Bipin Chandra and others.

The Valmiki Ramayana is generally dated in the period between 6th century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. It is generally held by scholars that it was pretty compared as well as orally handed down in the Guru Sahaya parampara, i.e. one generation (sic) It by heart and passing it over to the next generation. The basis of this dating is two fold : (a) the language and style, and (b) the contents, such as the mention of certain kinds of places and, also of men of foreign origin, generally coming from West Asian countries. It is, however, also maintained by some other scholars that it began as a story told orally, in the narrative form, at least from the 4th century B.C. how much still earlier this oral tradition may go, is perhaps possible to guess. Stray references to the individual items of the story, such as the occurrence of the term Ayodhya, are found in the works of later Vedic, pre-Buddhist (pre-600 B.C.) literature, such as the Tattariya Aryanaka. At least one form of the story occur in the Buddhist literature, the Dasharatha Jataka, even

in China. Archeological dating of the lowest levels of habitation at Ayodhya goes back to 8th-9th century B.C. Since the earliest date of the site can also be broadly speaking, the date of Valmiki and his Ramayana, the tradition may be 3000 years old, part of the story, it may be mentioned, also occur in the Mahabharata the core of which is dated, on astronomical grounds, around 1450 B.C. The Rama Katha may, thus, be even 3500 years old.

Some scholars, like Romila Thapar, however, maintain that the crucial issue is the dating of Treta Yuga in which Katha is said to have been born. Treat Yuga is stated to thousand of years prior to Kali Yuga, which itself is said to have started in the year 3102 B.C. This they say is enough to maintain that the claims of the Hindus cannot be historically true since, archaeologically speaking, the site of Ayodhya was itself not inhabited prior to 1000 B.C. in fact 800 B.C.

On this issue at least some scholars of ancient history however, maintain that the terminology of the Yugas, Sata, Treta, Dwapar and Kali is also applied to four different parts of a single year, based on four major seasons. In that case

treta will represent the season of the year in which Rama was born, he that as it may, we, the historians, without taking any sides, are clear in our minds that since the Ramayan is an epic, its growth is encyclopedic, for example the Ralakanda and the Uttar Kanda were definitely added at a date later than the date of other Kamlani some other portions may also have been added in the process of growth, we are also convinced of the fact that since it is a work of Kavya literature, public embellishment of the core story is in the very nature of things, just as it was true with the Iliad and Odessy of Homes. We are equally aware of the fact that natural and supernatural have invariably been mixed up in all epics, both Indian and non-Indian. We also know that each age in which such core-stories are retold, contemporary picture gets readily added; it happened in the case of Ramcharitmanas by Tulsidas, and it happened in all the other versions of the Ramayana. The Mahabharata is also no exception. The Bible too is no exception.

We, the historians, therefore, try to sort out and sift the 'supernatural' from the 'natural', the additions from the 'basic' and, the 'growth' from the 'seed', all in order to find

out the core. After that, in order to evaluate the evidence we frame the questions as follows:

It is whole story just a fiction, or at least the core or germ or seed story is likely to be correct?

This question, in relation in the Ramayana, will be answered at the end, first let us categorise the supernatural or mythological part of the Rama story because, in strict historical terms, i.e. in calendar years, we can neither prove that nor disprove that. But that we all know, is not at all expected of us, the historians; since everyone of any as well as the public of large, knows one thing very clearly that more than the historical events, these are the 'social realities' which are based on these 'supernatural' and 'mythological' beliefs and faiths. These are in no way peculiar to the Hindu epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata; all the Greek and Roman epics are full of such supernatural beliefs, still 'historical truths' and 'social realities' are sifted from these epics.

Thus working, we know it well that the birth of Rama cannot be proved, at least not in the Treta Yuga; if it is Treta season, then, perhaps, there may be Rama truth us

it. It is, therefore, to be treated as that part of the epic, which bestows upon the core story fathomless antiquity.

Exactly the same thing happens when we start dealing with the concept of Avatar or incarnation; in the present case Rama as the incarnation of Vishnu. It can never be, and it has never been, the subject of history in terms of chronology worked out in calendar years.

This scale of measurement has not been applied at any time by any historian to any religion, be it Christianity, or Islam, or Jainism, or Buddhism, or any other. He was Lord Christ born? From the womb of the Holy Mother Mary who was unmarried to any male. How was Buddha born? From the side, hip region, of Maya. Now let Dr. Thapar or Dr. Gopal prove them as 'historically' correct; what is humanly impossible cannot be proved as 'historical' event. Yet it can hardly be maintained that Christ and Buddha were not the human beings; we know even their dates of birth. We, the historians, thus sift the 'supernatural', which we know human beings are in the habit of adding or imposing on their supreme social and religious leaches, from the 'natural' in order to reach two kinds of truths- the

historical realities', and 'social realities'. For us, none of them is nature; both are the facts of social history. In fact, social realities born out of religious practices are of greater historical value than the historical realities.

It brings us to the historical part of the issue. The first is the lead question; which is the cut off date in the whole controversy?

It is 1528 A.D, the year in which the mosque was built. This is the datum line. This is the fixed point or the relevant point; every other piece of (sic) be to be completed with reference to this date.

The second question is was there a temple at the site of the mosque? If so, what is its date?

According to one view, there was no temple at the site prior to the mosque. Hence, there was no questions of its demolition by Babur or by Mir Baqi. There is, in fact, absolutely no mention of the demolition of a temple at the site in any literary text written prior to the coming of the British as the rulers of India.

According to the opposite views, there was a temple at this site. There are art and archaeological evidence to prove. The existence of a temple at the site is pre Babur period. It was demolished by the people of Mir Baqi. It was done so in order to build a mosque here for Babur, perhaps to create a place where he could offer his prayers while at Ayodhya.

First let us deal with the evidence of art and archaeology which are based upon scientists method; these are perfectly reliable sources of history.

In the mosque there are as many as 14 pillars which support the super-structure of a part of the mosque. The pillars are of black schistose rock of the state variety. Locally, it is called Kasauti stone. It is found in the lower Himalayas, in Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, from Chamba through Garhwal, Almora and Kumaon, out of which many images were carved and kept in the temples of these very regions, mostly dated from the 9th through the 12th century. There are two more similar pillars of black stone, fixed upside down, beside the grave of one Muslim saint, Fazle Abbas @ Musa Ashikhan, who is generally

blamed by the local people for inciting the then authorities to demolish the temple and build a mosque of Janmasthan; the local old people maintain that this they know from traditional accounts handed over to them generation after generation; it has been mentioned by various modern historians, including Hans Bakker, the writer of the famous work 'Ayodhya'. In addition, there is a doorjamb resting against the wall in the mosque's compound, that is in the court yard of the new Janamsthan temple. There are nearly a dozen images, both Vaishnava and Siva, located at various places in Ayodhya and Faizabad. The details of these items, including photographs of several of them, can be found in the book written by Hans Bakker.

The pillars are carved at the base with the sacred water pitcher or purnaghata or kumbha with overhanging creepers with rich foliage arranged in highly stylized manner. From this a decorative lotus rises up. On one of the octagonal side of one pillar a female figure (measuring about 15-20 cm) in tribhanga (bent at three places) pose is still visible, although it is heavily mutilated. The columns are octagonal in shape, passing into a square of the base.

The door jamb is of the same stone as the columns. It is 115 cm long and decorated with sculptured figures from top to bottom. At the base there is a small arched recess in which one can see a standing male figure. The image is wearing a mukuts or pagadi with kalangi on the head, a (long garland) on the front bare body. Above the niche are two vertical bands of decoration, the right one shows the rising creeper motif, the left one contains five figures of devkanyas or apsaras, i.e. nymphs or heavenly female beings. They are arranged one above the other, the appearance of the most figure is in fact of a Shalabhanjika, a female figure holding and bending the branch of a blossoming tree.

Can we date them? If yes, then how?

Yes, these can be easily dated on the basis of what we call the science of art-style. If we carefully look at the forms of various elements of decorations, for example the type of creepers (the leaves and the flowers), the form of the water pitcher, the garland, the female figures (body, eyes, nose, face) and the architectural features, such as the form of the arch, and the pilasters, we come to the conclusion that these pillars were definitely carved in the 11th -12th century, some 800 to 900 years ago, since stylistically

these form belong to what we call in art history 'Late Pratihara' or 'Oahadaval' style. We have several examples of similar forms from different sites in northern India, some of which are from sites like Jamsot in Instt. Allahabad, the examples of which in sometime are housed in the Allahabad Museum.

However, those who maintain that there was no temple as the site which was destroyed by the orders of Babur or his Commander Mir Baqi ask us I admitting that these pillars are of the 11th-12th century what proof is there that these pillars and the (sic) belong to a temple which was built at the site, and not brought from somewhere else, say a kilometer or two away? Questions of this kind can be convincingly, answered only by the science of field-archaeology.

What does archaeological excavations conducted at the site by some eminent archaeologists reveal?

In 1969 and 1978 Prof. A.K. Narain of the Banaras Hindu University excavated the site of Ayodhya by having three trenches at three different places at Ayodhya. From 1975 through 1980 Prof. B.B. Lal, a former Director

General, Archaeological Survey of India, and Director, Indian Institute of Indian Standard, Shimla laid as many as fourteen trenches at different places at Ayodhya, including one at Janambhumi and one just behind the Babari Masjid for archaeological investigations. The work was done at collaboration with the Archaeological Survey of India as a part of a large national project launched by the Central Government, when Prof. Nural Husen was the Minister of Education and Culture, called "Archeology of the Ramayana Sites in fact, he was the motive force' behind this project. These 17 trenches yielded the following date which have direct bearing on the problem we are faced with here.

First, the earliest habitation layer in these trenches laid directly above the natural soil, yielded the most beautiful pottery of Indian material culture, called Northern Black Polished Ware with silvery and golden hues. It is fired uniformly at a very high temperature, more than 1000 C, to produce not only unique luster but also unique metallic sound. It has been dated by various scientific methods, including Radiocarbon dating with MASCA correction, of the associated organic objects. This pottery is dated to the period 8th-9th Century B.C.

Secondly, there has been almost continuous human habitation in the Janambhoomi Masjid area, side the 10th centaury A.D.

Thirdly, in the 11th centaury some people constructed a series of rectangular 'bases' or short pillar like structures of burns-bricks. This was done by cutting the debris of the 10th century buildings. These bases served as the fillings of the foundation trenches so that the heavy weight of the pillars could easily be borne by the earth (not-so-hard debris of earlier structures) bare. These bases, arranged in a regular fashion have been encountered in the truth laid in the Janambhoomi in all likelihood if the trench is extended we will get more evidence of this kind.

Fourthly, a well laid floor made of pinkish white chunam or lime, slightly higher than the upper-most face of the 'brick bases', was found tunning across and beyond the trench-area.

All this establishes the fact that the structure of the temple was built over the brick bases and it had a well rammed lime floor all around the stone pillars. It was a part

of a very large pillared hall. We, the field archaeologists, are quite convinced that given a chance to excavate here on larger scale, we will be able to reveal the evidence of more 'pillar bases and more of the 'lime floor' of this temple.

These kinds of art and archaeological evidences establish two things;

One, the antiquity of the site of Ayodhya is at least 3000 years from now if not more, and

Second, in the 11th-12th century a Hindu temple was erected at the site popularly called 'Janambhumi' where now a 16th century mosque, with 14 black stone pillars, decorated with beautiful floral and human carvings, largely mutilated, stands if the earth dumped by the archaeologists inside the trench to cover it is removed even if by the brick bases of the pillars and the lime floor can be exposed in all the people of the world to for themselves and examine the evidence. And it allowed to dig further, archaeologists will be able to reveal many more similar brick built pillar bases in the foundation trenches due for erecting a temple complex.

These art and archaeological evidences indicate that if the core of the Ramayana is based upon some historically occurred events, then these events, including the birth of Rama, must have taken place in the time frame of about 3000 years.

Further, most of the pillars of the temple were remained at a later date, although a few of them are still in site, many are misplaced, and the rest completely destroyed, perhaps grounded to powder to make lime mortar for the mosque.

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This brings us to another point of the controversy that the present site of Ayodhya located on the banks of Saryu, also called Chaghra, in Dist. Faizabad, UP may not be the Ayodhya of the Valmiki Ramayana. In favour of this doubt, some historian friends quote a few Buddhist Literary works which call this site 'Saket' and not Ayodhya. Many of the Jain literary sources also do not generally call this site Ayodhya; they call it 'Vinita' and 'Saket'. Only the Brahmanical literary sources call the site Ayodhya, rarely Saket. Since the Buddhist and Jain sources are, according

to their tradition, older in date than the Hindu traditions, the latter are not to be relied upon. Thus, if there was indeed the town of Ayodhya, it was located somewhere else, perhaps on the river Ganga, hundreds of Km away in Bihar. Here, at the present site of Ayodhya there was the town called 'Saket'. For these scholars, the two names stand for two different towns located far away from each other.

In this context we would like to draw the attention to the following facts.

To begin with, there is ample evidence to show that the ancient town of Saket (of the Jain and Buddhist texts), was the capital town of the ancient region of Kosala, referred to as 'one of the sixteen mahjanapadas' of the time of the Buddha, i.e. the 6th Century B.C., perhaps some 100 or more years still older, the mahajanapadas were of pre-Buddha times according to various literary sources, including Jain and Buddhist. According to Valmiki Ramayana, Ayodhya was the capital town of the Kingdom of Kosala, where ruled the mighty kinds of the Ikshvaka dynasty including Dashrath, the father of Rama.

Were then there the practice of town different capital towns in the Mahajanapadas, including Kosala? We have no example to this effect. Then the two of them are likely to be one and the same town. But was it on?

There are some Buddhist sources which do occasionally use the term 'Ayodhya' for Saket as if both the names are inter-changeable. In fact, the famous Chinese traveler of the 7th Century, Hieun T'sang, uses the Chinese version of the term Ayodhya and not Saket- it is A-yo-to, Clearly enough, if Sakeet was a Buddhist town separately located than the Hindu Town Ayodhya, itieun T'Sang, the Buddhist monk, would have used the Chinese version of the term 'Saket' and not the Chinese version of the term Ayodhya. He was after all primarily describing the Buddhist establishments of the township the reference to 'ten-Deva temples' was only incidental.

There is nothing surprising in it. The town of Varansi has also been called Kashi, and Sarnath was within the seven or Kshetra of Kashi. While prayer was the name of the place where ashrams and temples existed, Pratabhanpur was the name of the place where the actual

habitation of the general public was located, both the sites were located within the prayer Kshetra. Similarly, Pataliputra, modern, Patna, in Bihar was also known in the ancient literature as Kusumpur. In fact, Ayodhya had still another name, Vinita, used repeatedly by the Jainas. It was called as the birth place of the first Tirthankar, Adinath or Rishabha. This was also the birth place of the fourth and fifth Tirthankars. Mahavira, like Buddha, also said to have vested the place. Hence, in all likelihood Ayodhya townshipped Kshetra had different sectors, some religions patronized some sectors and gave them one name while the other religions patronized other sections and called them by another name. But basically they all belonged to a single human settlement area.

Buddhists, Jains and the Brahmins lived together, side by side, not at one place but at various places in India. At Ellora, there are the rock-cut temples of all the three religions. At Mathura, Kausambi and Kashi also the same was true, there are the remains of all the three religions. If this was the situation at Saket Ayodhya also, there is nothing surprising in it.

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In fact, Kalidas, the famous Sanskrit poet of the 5th century, used both the names interchangeably in his famous work Raghavansam. Emperor Skandagupta, of the Gupta dynasty, 5th century,, laid the foundation of a Vishnu temple at Ayodhya which as mentioned in the inscription, be dedicated to God Sarayu i.e. the God with bow and arrow; obviously, no other than Rama.

We have, therefore, ample historical evidence to prove that for at least 1500 years Ayodhya was considered as the birth place of Lord Rama and the form 'Saket' was used for this very town the two names were interchangeable.

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We, the historians, are also aware of another fact, that there is absolutely no correlation between authority and socio-religious realities- taken may be youngest but it is in no way inferior either to Christianity or Hinduism. Hence of the core of the Rama story is only 3000 years old, Rama will not lose his position of eminence in the Hindu socio-religions realities, even though many plans Hindus have taken this date hard to digest, as Prof. B.B. Lal has observed in one of his articles on Ayodhya.

Similarly, as long as we have ample evidence of some social realities in the form of beliefs existing amongst the millions of the people through the length and breadth of the country existing for hundreds of years, which are manifested in literature (Ramayana), in art (sculpture and painting), in architecture (temple) and in rituals (puja and archana) and claims are made over all of them even in adverse circumstances (in the present case, connected with the Janmasthan at Ayodhya in pre 1522 A.D. period, the date of the construction of the Babari Mosque), it is our sacred duty to enumerate and evaluate them faithfully as historical evidences, since it is absolutely immaterial whether the traditions are 1500 years old or 15000 years old.

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In the present controversy, it is also to be noted by all concerned that in the 5th century A.D. no one in India did anything in reaction to Islam since Islam was not even then born. The history of Islam is only 1400 years old. Hence, the traditions were born out of positive faith.

Our evolution of all historical steps should be based upon historical processes, i.e. why and how certain things

happened the way they happened, because the former are only the products of the latter. In all historical studies what we really study and evaluate are not so much the historical events but historical processes and historical patterns of human behaviour, including the reactions and the attitudes of the people contemporary to the events, and the people following them, generation after generation; both, the rulers and the ruled we are social scientists with legend 'Ramayana' in Devnagari script. Jahangir, when approached, also allowed the Hindu, to do so, Shahjahan followed this practice. But, not aurangzeb, perhaps. In the British period while some Nawabs of Lucknow did offer their patronage through their Hindu colleagues, the period, by and large, was marked by fierce disputes over the ownership of the Janmsthan, Gazetteers of Faizabad Dist. Are full of these facts.

This shows that at no point of their the Hindus abandoned their claim to this piece of land which was so very sacred to them.

This is also clear from several accounts of the European travelers who visited India in the 12th, 18th and 19th centuries. Tieffenthaler, a German speaking traveler,

visited Ayodhya in 11767. Here he saw a vedi, i.e. a sacred platform inside the mosque, which was considered to represent the Rama Janamsthan. He saw the Hindus visiting in large numbers going round it three times (parikrama) and prostrating (datalavata) before it. On Rama Navami day people visited it with accompanied festivities, according to him. Martin, in 1838 also saw similar acts of piety. Several others have also said the same.

For the historians, these facts are more important than anything else since in these are the records of the reactions and observations of the people who was followed Babur and Mir Baqi.

The Hindus thus tired that piece of land in Ayodhya on which the so called 'Babari' mosque stands. They propose to build a temple here. They are requesting the Muslim brother to be considerate and show largeness of heart in this matter by shifting this 'historical' irritant to some other place so that at least for once they feel convinced that their life long neighbours are really good-neighbours good-neighborliness is always based upon some sacrifices to accommodate the feelings and the needs of the neighbours.

This is the opened of (sic). In Islam shifting of mosque is not rare; it is not opened then law and practice. The Hindus are appealing in their guest some. They want them to shift the mosque a little away for which they are even offering all necessary manpower and money.

Newspaper reports show that some young Shia Muslims in fact agree with their Hindu brethren on this issue and they are ready to accommodate these views, and allow the Hindus to build a temple at the Rama Janamsthan. They have in fact offered to shift the mosque bodily to a nearby place on their own since for the Muslims this mosque is in fact of no special significance- it was not even in active worship at any point of time in history ever since it was built since there is absolutely no proof that Babur ever visited it, the man who had to offer the first prayer in it.

Those who are maintaining that there is as historical record to prove that Babur demolished or caused to demolish the temple here, or for that matter any temple in India, should also tell a few other facts such as the following since not many people know it.

That, the total period of Babur's stay in India was only four years, from 1526 to 1530; he died in the 448th year of his life in 1530. even these years be spent only in the forth-field.

That, the diary of events of his life which he wrote in his own handwriting was in Turkit which Akbar got translated in Persian by Abdur Rahim Khankhana in 30 years time in 1589.

That, a part of the original Turkis manuscript was first got burnt while Babur's tent caught fire, though later be tried to repair it and made good the loss still the accounts for more than one year, early 1528 to late 1529 are completely lost in the world.

That, the entire original Turkis manuscript still remains untraceable, after Jahangir no Mughal ruler had seen it.

That, the present Babur Nama is an English translation (by Mrs. Beveridge) of a person translation of the original found at the Salar Jung Museum.

Hence our main source of information about Babur is neither complete nor fully reliable. Similarly, none of the two Persian inscriptions by Mir Baqi located in the Mosque is found complete. Hence, it is just possible that the 'missing portions' contained the reference of the temple or the demolition of the temple; but it is only our conjecture. In fact, we do not really expect any writing about the destruction of the temple during the Muslim rule in India; everyone was mortally afraid of the brutal consequences. Even otherwise absence of reference to certain acts is never taken as positive evidence in historical writings since it does show the bias of the historian.

One thing more. In one of the Persian inscriptions in the Mosque, Babur is given the appellation of 'Qalander', a Persian term exclusively used for Muslim saini, no emperor,, that is the ruler of the mundane world, was ever called 'Qalander' in the Muslim annals. Thus, does this inscription really refer to Emperor Babur? Was this Babur not someone else, a saini? But this is besides the point.

In this context what is most important for all of us is to note the fact that soon after Babur, Akbar, Babur's grand

on, did allow the Hindus to offer prayers to Janamsthan which was located within the premises of the Mosque. What does it show, particularly when we know it that neither Akbar nor his father Humayun had built the mosque here? How then the Janamsthan got located inside the mosque, when it was not already existing before the erection of the mosque? Foreign travelers, who had no reason to take sides in the 17th and 18th centuries, have left their own accounts to the fact that there was a vedi or platform within the mosque which the Hindus took for the Janamsthan of Rama and worshipped it as such. We should not forget the fact that for the Hindus a superstructure is not at all essential for regarding a place 'holy', fit for worship- temple is later growth, the original form was just a platform since for them the actual spot where an event of religious nature took place is of supreme importance; in fact, even a formal vedi or platform was not essential, just the piece of land was enough, demarcated or not demarcated.

Similarly, the 'history' for the Hindus always lies in the Shrutis (what is heard), the Smritis (which is remembered) and the Puranas (what is codified in tradition). Their sense of history was not like that of Herodotus or Al' Biruni,

something like that (narration of events in calendar years) developed very late in India, only after the coming of the Mosque. Hence, it is perfectly 'historical' for then to regard a particular place as Rama Janamsthan since behind this has been a very long 'tradition', at least of 1500 years, if not 3000 or more years; it was in any case of pre-Islamic origin, and that is enough.

In Hindu law deity is a person, it can own land with full legal rights. The vedi or the place called 'Ramajanamsthan' had thus the full title over the land around it. Since it preceded the buildings of the mosque (otherwise it could not be located within the mosque), it had the full ownership of the land. From the point of view of the Islamic traditions and laws, on the other hand, a mosque built over the place on which other religions had claims cannot be considered fit for prayers. Hence it cannot supersede the rights of ownership of the land which the Janamsthan had over this piece of land.

Thus, even legally, the land of Janamsthan belongs to the Hindus and not the Muslims. But this is for the courts to decide.

We, the historians and archaeologists, could only lay the historical facts before the public and then appeal to the parties concerned to find out for themselves solution of this knotty problem in the true spirit of Sambhava, i.e. mutual respect of the basis of perfect equality, which was propounded by Ashoka the Great, some 2300 years ago through his inscriptions engraved on rock to last for ever in order to remind us of his Eternal Message of Mankind.

'My dear Muslim brethren, think for a moment what would have been your reaction in a similar situation, had your place of worship was caught in a controversy of this very kind'. Ashoka would have asked you, and then without waiting for your answer, which would have been obvious to him, told you, kindly do treat your fellow brethren, the Hindus, in the true spirit of Sambhava, and return to them gracefully and magnanimously whatever traditionally belonged to them; you have nothing to lose, instead you have everything to gain, the goodwill of your brothers and sisters in the Hindu neighbours.

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Almost after a decade, the writer revisited Ayodhya to restudy the archaeological remains at Jannabhoomi - Babri Mosque as several leading lawyers and judges, and at least one former Attorney General of India, told him that while historical interpretations are 'opinions', archaeological facts are 'evidence', and that they need 'evidence' more than 'opinions'. To recollect, when the huge mound, over which the most controversial Babri Masjid stands, was put to archaeological excavations by the Government of India under the leadership of Prof. B.B. Lal, from 1975 through 1980, it was little realised by us that one day the discoveries made here will become so very crucial for the Medieval history of this place. The team of expert archaeologists was interested mainly in the history of pre-Ashokan period, the project under which Ayodhya was explored was called 'Archaeology of the Ramayana Sites'. K.V. Soundararajan and K.N. Dikshit, two other very important team members, were concentrating on the lowest levels of occupation, obviously to know how old exactly the site was which will tell at least this much that the Rama Rajya could hardly be older than that.

hardly be older than that.

Soon it was realised that the first human settlement at Ayodhya, including Jannabhumi - Masjid area, is only about 2800 years old, of course to the dismay of many devout Hindus. But those who hardly believe in the dictum 'older the culture greater it is in comparison to the rest', were interested in knowing the true history of this place. In the present controversy, however, the country is interested in the period between the late 10th and early 16th centuries.

The deep trench taken for digging just behind the Mosque, not only touching its back wall but also well under its foundation made it absolutely clear that after the site was deserted for some

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time, during the early medieval period, 8th to 10th century, settlement restarted at this place in the 11th century. And it is in these levels that a series of pillar-bases, made of burnt bricks, slightly less than 1m in height, were found standing at regular intervals; at least four of them were almost fully intact. They obviously served as the strong foundation for the heavy pillars they must have carried over them. If experience is any guide, we are sure that many more such bases are waiting the spade of archaeologists. A little above the top of these bases, patches of lime used for making the floor were also detected. Which were then the pillars for which these foundation-bases were constructed? In reply to this our attention was drawn to the black-stone pillars, found fixed to this date in the structure of the Mosque, since these bases would very much accommodate the bases of the stone pillars.

We have now rephotographed these pillars, examined the details of their carvings, compared them with similar carvings on pillars used in other contemporary Temples in Northern India. Our findings show that these belong to a Hindu Temple of the 11th century, the period during which the Gahadval kings of Kannauj were ruling at Ayodhya.

In the mosque there are 14 pillars, used as 'load-bearing' elements of the architecture. There are 2 other similar pillars found about a kilometer away fixed upside down in the graveyard where Musa Ashikan, a Muslim Saint, blamed for giving advice to Mir Baqi to demolish the temple, is alleged to have been buried. Besides these 16 pillars, the owner of the cultivated land, adjacent to the boundary of the graveyard, claims to know the existence of 4 other similar pillars below the Ashikan's grave.

There is one door-jamb of similar stone also, presently kept loose in the courtyard of a comparatively recent building called 'Janmasthan', located about a hundred yards away from Janmabhumi-Babri Mosque.

We will now present the integrated studies of the art of all the available pillars and the door-jamb.

The pillars are about 5 ft. 6 inches tall. All of them are fully carved, from the bottom to the top. For convenience's sake we can divide them in three parts - the base, the shaft and the capital. The base, almost square, supports a bulbar mangal kalash or purna-ghata. It is, at least in some examples, shown carried

789

283

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188

over the shoulders of sitting bharavahaka yakshas or kichakas, one on each of the four corners of the base. The yakshas are bare-bodied. Their leg posture and somewhat bulging eyes compare them with most of the known weight-lifting short bodied semi-divine human figures known in Indian art from the 2nd century B.C. itself such as Sanchi.

The Kumbhas or water-pots, carved beautifully in the realistic form are decorated with various kinds of floral designs and geometric patterns; the central band of the decoration shows a series of lotus petals in the form of a running frieze.

The ghata shows over-flowing flowers and leaves, all highly exuberant and luxurious yet stylised with flowing tendrils and twisted stigmas, pericarp and petals, intertwined in a complex pattern but fixed outline. These can be very easily compared with the floral decorations of the 10th-11th century Temples found in northern India, including those in the Qutab complex at Mehrauli in Delhi.

The shaft has sixteen facets, largely plain. However, from the mouth of the purna ghata emerge several kinds of decorations which run over these facets, particularly those in the centre. For example, a double petalled lotus, one series opened upwards and one downwards, on a tall stalk. The lotus served as the base for devakanyas or nymphs standing in tribhanga posture. Unfortunately, most of them have been vandalised, the faces of these beautiful apsaras were particularly mutilated. In some examples, it was replaced by another decoration, that of a pecking goose with highly stylised feathers, with several curves, twists and facets to form an intricate floral pattern, the roots of which go back in the Gupta period, 5th century.

Over the shaft is the mālā-bandha or the frieze with hanging garlands of flowers and jewels. Some of them are tall and are arranged in pairs parallel to each other. Some are short and are shown intersecting, with a floral tassel hanging from in-between space.

Over this frieze is the capital or sirsha. There are several series of mouldings, most of them plain, but at least one is corrugated. In some examples it is in the form of highly

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(284)

1892
189

stylised ghata. Over this frieze is a purna-ghata or holy water pitcher, decorated with plain mouldings and floral designs in bands. The upper-most part shows upward running floral petals in the form of corbel. The top is plain, to support either beam. At the base of the pillars also separate blocks of stones might have been used as raisers.

In addition to these usual decorative friezes, there are some individual motifs. For example ardha-ratnas or half-jewels in the form of decorated triangles. Similarly, there are single blooming flowers on stalks. These are generally found placed on one of the faceted faces of the sixteen faceted shafts.

This brings us to the door-jamb or dvāra-sākhā. It has two vertical parallel surfaces on two different planes. The one nearer the door has floral decorations with highly curved and stylised leaves in the form of petals. The other one has six rectangular panels, one below the other. The lower has a standing dvarapāle with trident in one hand and a long scarf or uttariya running across the lower front and the hands. The upper ones have devakanyās or nymphs, standing in various postures. These beautiful figures framed in arches with double cusps, raised on pillars showing a series of mouldings. The human figures as a whole, show delicate handling of forms, the garments are freely flowing or clinging to the body softly, depending upon their position.

On stylistic grounds, all these sculptures belong to a Hindu temple and can securely be dated to the 11th century. Since no inscription has been found on them, we can not be more precise than this.

The two Persian inscriptions on the entrance of the mosque date the mosque to 1513. The temple at the site, therefore existed for a little more than 300 years !

In this context, it may also be pointed out, for whatever worth it is, that years of our archaeological explorations

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791

(285)

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in northern India, including Ayodhya region, have completely failed us to locate any temple-site other than this where identical pillars might have been existing, to create even suspicion in our minds that the pillars and the door-jamb examined by us were brought from elsewhere to be reused here as architectural elements. All the pillars, it is true, are not in situ but that is hardly expected since the requirements of two different kinds of architecture - temple and mosque - are not identical.

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792
(Ex-116)

73

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107C1
75

Description of Ramjanmabhoomi
in Ayodhya Mahatmya

स्तत्पविष्यमादिग्भागे वर्तते परमो मुने	1
पिंडारक इति ख्यातो क्षीरः परमपौरुषः	11
पूजनीयः प्रथमेन गंधपुष्पाक्षतादिभिः	11 13 11
यस्य पूजावशान् नृणां सिद्धयः करसंश्रिताः	1
तस्य पूजाविधानेन कर्तव्यं पूजनं नरैः	11 14 11
सरयुसंगिते स्नात्वा पिंडारकं च पूजयेत्	1
पापिनां मोहकर्तारं मतिदं कृतिनां सदा	11 15 11
तस्य यात्रा विधातव्या सुपुण्या नटरात्रिषु	1
तत्पविष्यमादिग्भागे विघ्नेशं किल पूजयेत्	11 16 11
यस्य दर्शनतो नृणां दिघ्नलोभो न विधत्ते	1
तस्माद् विघ्नेश्वरः पूज्यः सर्वकाम फलप्रदः	11 17 11
तस्मात्स्थानतः शेषाने रामजन्म प्रवर्तते	1
जन्मस्थातीमदं प्रोक्तं मोक्षोदपल्लवायनम्	11 18 11
विघ्नेश्वरात्पूर्वभागे वासिष्ठोदुत्तरे तथा	1
लौमशात्पविष्ये भागे जन्मस्थानं ततः	11 19 11
यदृष्ट्वा च मनुष्यस्य गर्भवासज्ज्यो भवेत्	1
विना दानेन तपसा विना तीर्थीर्चना मयेः	11 20 11
नवमीदिपसे प्राप्ते व्रतधारी हि मानवः	1
स्नानदानप्रभावेण मुच्यते जन्मवन्धनात्	11 21 11
कपितामोसहस्ताणि यो ददाति दिनेदिने	1
तत्फलं समवाप्नोति जन्मभूमेः प्रदर्शनात्	11 22 11
आश्वमे वसतां पुंसां तापस्तानां च यत्फलम्	1
राजसूयसहस्राणि प्रतियर्षाग्निहोत्रतः	11 23 11
नियमस्थं नरं दृष्ट्वा जन्मस्थाने विशेषतः	1
मातापित्रोर्गुणानां च भक्तिमुद्वहतां सताम्	11 24 11
तत्फलं समवाप्नोति जन्मभूमेः प्रदर्शनात्	11 25 11

[Ayodhya Mahatmya, Skandapurana:Vaishnavakhanda,

edited by

Shri Krishnadas Kshem Raj Shresthi-(1910)]

Demish/Cham
31/9/92

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793

(73)

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107C1
75

Description of Ramjanmabhoomi
in Ayodhya Mahatmya

स्तत्पश्चिमदिग्भागे वर्तते परमो मुने	1
पिंडारक इति ख्यातो वीरः परमपौरुषः	11
पूजनीयः प्रयत्नेन गंधपुष्पाक्षतादिभिः	11 13 11
यस्य पूजावशान्न नृणां तिरस्त्रयः करसंश्रिताः	1
तस्य पूजाविधानेन कर्तव्यं पूजने नरैः	11 14 11
सरयूतीक्ष्णे स्नात्वा पिंडारकं च पूजयेत्	1
पापिनां मोहवर्तारं मीतदं कृतिना सदा	11 15 11
तस्य यात्रा विधातव्या सुपुण्या नदरात्रिषु	1
तत्पश्चिमदिग्भागे विघ्नेशं विद्ध पूजयेत्	11 16 11
यस्य दर्शनतो नृणां दिघ्नलोभो न विद्यते	1
तस्माद् विघ्नेश्वरः पूज्यः सर्वकाम फलप्रदः	11 17 11
तस्मात्स्थानतः शेषाने रामजन्म प्रवर्तते	1
जन्मस्थानं प्रोक्तं भोक्तृदिपस्तथाधनम्	11 18 11
विघ्नेश्वरात्पूर्वभागे काशस्थोऽदुत्तरे तथा	1
लौकशात्पश्चिमे भागे जन्मस्थानं ततः	11 19 11
यदृष्ट्वा च मनुष्यस्य गर्भवासज्यो भवेत्	1
विना दानेन तपसा विना तीर्थविना मठैः	11 20 11
नवमो दिक्ते प्राप्ते व्रतधारी ह्ये मानवः	1
स्नानदानप्रभावेण मुच्यते जन्मदन्धात्	11 21 11
वैपितागोतहृत्प्राणि यो ददाति दिनेदिने	1
तत्फलं समवाप्नोति जन्मभूमेः प्रदर्शनात्	11 22 11
आश्वे वसतां पुंसां तापशान्तं च यत्फलम्	1
राजसूयसहस्राणि प्रतिवर्षाग्निहोत्रतः	11 23 11
नियमस्थं नरं दृष्ट्वा जन्मस्थाने विप्रेक्षतः	1
मातापित्रोर्गुणानां च भवितुमुद्दहतां सताम्	11 24 11
तत्फलं समवाप्नोति जन्मभूमेः प्रदर्शनात्	11 25 11

[Ayodhya Mahatmya, Skandapurana:Vaishnavakhanda.

edited by

Shri Krishnadas Kshem Raj Shresthi-(1910)]

Demetrius/Cham
1/9/92

794
(Ex-116)

“एतत्पश्चिमदिग्भागे वर्तते परमो मुने।
पिंडारक इति ख्यातो वीरः परमपुरुषः॥
पूजनीयः प्रयत्नेन गंधपुष्पाक्षतादिभिः॥13॥
यस्य पूजावशान् नृणां सिद्धयः करसंश्रिताः।
तस्य पूजाविधानेन कर्तव्यं पूजनं नरैः॥14॥
सरयूसलिले स्नात्वा पिंडारकं च पूजयेत्।
पापिनां मोहकर्तारं मतिदं कृतिनां सदा॥15॥
तस्य यात्रा विधातव्या सुपूण्या नवरात्रिषु।
तत्पश्चिमदिशाभागे विघ्नेश किल पूजयेत्॥16॥
यस्य दर्शनतो नृणां विघ्नलेशो न विद्यते।
तस्माद् विघ्नेश्वरः पूज्यः सर्वकाम फलप्रदः॥17॥
तस्मात्स्थानतं ऐशाने रामजन्म प्रवर्तते।
जन्मस्थातमिदं प्रोक्तं मोक्षादिफलसाधनम्॥18॥
विघ्नेश्वरात्पूर्वभागे वासिष्ठादुत्तरे तथा।
लौमशात्पश्चिमे भागे जन्मस्थानं ततः॥19॥
यदृष्ट्वा च मनुष्यस्य गर्भवासजयो भवेत्।
विना दानेन तपसा विना तीर्थविना मखैः॥20॥
नवमी दिवसे प्राप्ते व्रतधारी ही मानवः।
स्नानदानप्रभावेण मुच्यते जन्मवन्धनात्॥21॥
कपिलागोसहस्राणि यो ददाति दिनेदिने।
तत्फलं समवाप्नोति जन्मभूमेः प्रदर्शनात्॥22॥
आश्रमे वसतां पुंसां तापसानां च युत्सवः।
राजसूयसहस्राणि प्रतिवर्षाग्निहोत्रतः॥23॥
नियमस्थं नरं दृष्ट्वा जन्मस्थाने विशेषतः।
मातापित्रोर्गुरुणां च भक्तिमुद्वहतां सताम्॥24॥
तत्फलं समवाप्नोति जन्मभूमेः प्रदर्शनात्॥25॥”

Hindi Translation (as provided by DW 2/1-3, Mahant Ram Vilas Das Vedanti):

“एतत्=राम जन्मभूमि के पश्चिम दिशा में पिंडारक इस नाम से
ख्यातो=प्रसिद्ध परम पुरुष वीर परम मुनि का स्थान वर्तते=हैं। उस
पूजनीय स्थान का गन्ध पुष्प अक्षत आदि से प्रयत्नपूर्वक पूजन करना
चाहिए। (13)

“जिसके पूजन के कारण मनुष्यों के हाथ में सिद्धि प्राप्त हो जाती है।
इसलिए उसकी पूजा मनुष्यों को विधि पूर्वक करना चाहिए। (14)

“सरयू जल में स्नान करके पिंडारक की पूजा करनी चाहिए। मतिमंद मोह
से ग्रसित पापियों को सदा करना चाहिए। (15)

“उसकी यात्रा नवरात्रि के पुष्य नक्षत्र में करनी चाहिए। तत्=राम जन्मभूमि के पश्चिम दिशा के भाग में विघ्न को दूर करने वाले श्रीगणेश जी का पूजन करना चाहिए। (16)

“जिसके दर्शन से मनुष्यों का विघ्न=कष्ट, दुःख थोड़ा भी नहीं रहता इसलिए विघ्नेश्वर सम्पूर्ण कामनाओं के फल को प्रदान करने वाले पूज्याय =पूज्यनीय हैं। (17)

“उस स्थान के ईशान कोण पर राम जन्मभूमि है (जहाँ पर इस समय राम लला) विराजमान हैं। इदम्=इसी राम जन्मभूमि को जन्म स्थान=राम जन्मभूमि स्थान के नाम से प्रामृमं=जाना जाता है अथवा उक्त प्रकार से व्यक्त किया गया है जो मूक्षादि फल को देने वाला है। (18)

“विघ्नेश्वरात्=विघ्न को दूर करने वाले गणेश जी के पूर्व भाग में तथा वशिष्ठकुण्ड के उत्तर भाग में, लोमश के पश्चिम भाग में जन्म स्थानं=जन्मभूमि का स्मृतम्=स्मरण करना चाहिए। (19)

“जिस राम जन्मभूमि पर विराजमान श्रीराम लला का दर्शन करने के बाद मनुष्य को पुनर्जन्म से मुक्ति मिल जाती है। बिना दान, बिना तपस्या और बिना यज्ञ के ही केवल राम जन्मभूमि के दर्शन मात्र से ही मुक्ति प्राप्त हो जाती है अर्थात् फिर से गर्भ में जन्म नहीं लेना पड़ता। (20)

“जो मनुष्य नवमी तिथि को व्रत धारण करता है और सरयू में स्नान और अयोध्या में दान करता है उसके प्रभाव से जन्मबन्धन से मुक्ति मिल जाती है। (21)

“एक हजार कपिला गाय जो प्रतिदिन दान करता है उस दान का जो फल मनुष्य को मिलता है वही फल श्रीराम जन्मभूमि के दर्शन करने से प्राप्त होता है। (22)

“आश्रम में निवास करने वाले मनुष्यों को और तपस्वियों को जो फल प्राप्त होता है, एक हजार राजसूय यज्ञ करने वालों को और प्रति वर्ष अग्निहोत्र में हवन करने वालों को वो फल प्राप्त होता है। (23)

“नियम में स्थित रहकर जो मनुष्य विशेष रूप से जन्मस्थाने=श्रीराम जन्मभूमि पर स्थित राम जी के दर्शन से प्राप्त होता है। माता-पिता गुरुओं और सज्जनों की भक्तिपूर्वक सेवा करने से जो फल प्राप्त होता है वही फल रामजन्मभूमि के दर्शन से प्राप्त होता है। (24)

“वही फल श्रीराम जन्मभूमि का एवं श्रीरामजन्मभूमि में विराजमान भगवान

रामलला के दर्शन से प्राप्त होता है। (25)

English Translation (By the Court)

"On the west of Ram Janam Bhumi lies a place of Pindara, a famous and great sage and great human being. We should worship this adorable place with scent, flowers, rice-grains, etc. (13)

Due to that worship human beings can attain Siddhi (accomplishment). Hence, human beings should duly worship it. (14)

After taking a dip in the water of Saryu one should worship Pindarak. The sinners suffering from weak understanding and from attachment should always do the said worship. (15)

Journey to it should be done in the Pushpa Nakshatra of Navratri. In the west part of Ram Janam Bhumi, we should worship Ganesha Ji, remover of obstacles. (16)

As a result of whose darshan human beings do not have any obstacle and pain, even a little sorrow such Vighneshwar is worthy of worship as provider of results of all desires. (17)

On the north-east of that place lies Ram Janam Bhumi (where at present Ram Lala is presiding). The same Ram Janam Bhumi is known as Ram Janam Bhumi Sthan or expressed in the said manner and it is a provider of liberation, etc. (18)

We should remember Janam Bhumi as located in the east part of 'Ganesha Ji', remover of obstacles, and in the north part of Vashishtha Kunda and in the west part of Lomash. (19)

After having darshan of Sri Ram Lala presiding at that very Ram Janam Bhumi one is liberated from rebirth. Even without making any gift, without practising austerities and without making sacrifices, one attains liberation only with darshan of Ram Janam Bhumi, that is to say, one does not have to take birth from mother's womb again. (20)

One who keeps fast on the ninth day, has a dip in Saryu and offers gifts in Ayodhya, gets liberated from the bondage of birth. (21)

The darshan of Sri Ram Janam Bhumi provides the same results that a man may have by gifting one thousand Kapila cows everyday. (22)

The result that hermits and ascetics residing in Ashrams have, is the same that people have on performing one thousand Rajsiya Yajnas have and on offering 'havans' in fire-pits. (23)

From the darshan of Ram Janam Bhumi one may get the same results as one may get from having darshan of Ram Ji particularly at Sri Ram Janam Bhumi or from rendering dedicated service to parents, teachers and gentle persons. (24)

One may get the same results from darshan of Lord Ram Lala presiding at Sri Ram Janam Bhumi. (25) "