

BIRLA CENTRAL LIBRARY
PILANI (RAJASTHAN)

Class No. 954.005

Book No I 392 V2

Accession No 34912

INDIAN CULTURE

(Journal of the Indian Research Institute)

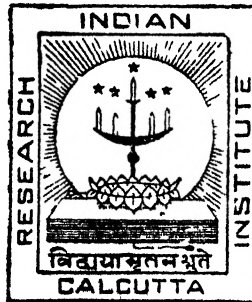
Edited by

DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR,
M.A., PH.D., F.A.S.B.

BENI MADHAB BARUA, M.A., D.LITT.

BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

JULY



1935

Published by

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

HONORARY GENERAL SECRETARY, THE INDIAN RESEARCH

INSTITUTE, 55, UPPER CHITPORE ROAD, CALCUTTA.

OPINIONS ON THE "INDIAN CULTURE"

Dr. W. Stede.—The new magazine is a very admirable undertaking, embodying the best product of intellect of our Indian colleagues and fellow students. I cannot but pay the highest tribute of admiration to this new publication.

Dr. F. O. Schrader.—... admirable... shows the high standard which is expected of a scientific journal and astonishes one by the richness of its contents.

Mons. Louis Finot.—... full of interesting matter and forebodes a bright future.

Dr. Barnett.—The October number of *Indian Culture* is a most admirable one.

Dr. M. Winternitz.—I congratulate you and your collaborators on the publication of No. 3 of *Indian Culture* which is again full of interesting matter relating to various branches of indology.

Dr. Louis de la Vallée Poussin.—... contains many good things. I am much interested by the remarks of Prof. Winternitz on the Śramaṇa-Literature.

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

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

Dr. Th. Stcherbatsky.—A splendid issue.

Mr. Charles E. A. W. Oldham.—It is indeed very kind of you to have sent me a copy of the first issue of your new quarterly journal entitled *Indian Culture*. You have assuredly deserved well of your country by your unsparing devotion to the promotion of research into the history of its past.

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

Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda.—I congratulate you on the excellent character of the new oriental journal you have started. It is a high class magazine with articles of very superior quality.

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

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (Vol. IX, Part I, July 1934).—This very admirable periodical will be welcomed all over the country by all those who are devoted to the promotion of research into the ancient History of India and her great culture. It is a quarterly Journal and deals with topics relating to Indian History, Geography, Art, Archæology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Religion, Folklore, Philosophy, Ethnology, Anthropology, etc. etc. from the earliest times down to the medieval period. The excellent character of this new Journal and the high standard of articles published in it, and the enterprise and devotion of the group of the Bengali scholars seem to make Indian culture rightly and completely fill the great void created by the unfortunatè discontinuance of the great epoch making journal, the *Indian Antiquary*. This new Journal, three numbers of which are before us, shows itself to be first class scientific periodical by the richness of its contents. Like the *Indian Antiquary*, it is hoped that this Journal also will be an impartial forum to all devoted and inspiring workers under the capable editorship of the distinguished and veteran savant Dr. Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, who is assisted by willing and brilliant scholars like Dr. Barua and Dr. Bimala Churn Law. We heartily congratulate the management of the Journal on the high standard of excellence that is attained and hope that by means of unsparing devotion it will be maintained. There is no doubt that its appearance is a valuable addition to the number of scholarly journals published in India to-day. We wish it all success.

MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY BOARD

DR. SIR BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL, KT., M.A., PH.D., D.Sc.
SIR D. B. JAYATILAKA, KT., M.A.
DR. SURENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A., PH.D.
DR. PRASANNA KUMAR ACHARYA, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.
DR. LAKSHMAN SARUP, M.A., D.PHIL.
MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT GOPINATH KAVIRAJ, M.A.
DR. RADHA KUMUD MUKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., P.R.S.
DR. PANCHANAN MITRA, M.A., PH.D.
MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA KAVIRAJ GANANATH SEN, M.A., L.M.S.
MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA KULAPATI KUPPUSWAMI SHASTRI, VIDYAVACHASPATI, M.A.
RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A.
PROFESSOR K. V. NILAKANTHA SHASTRI, M.A.
DR. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALLA, PH.D., BAR.-AT-LAW.
PANDIT HARGOVIND DAS SETH.

RULES

The Journal, which is a quarterly one, will be issued annually in four parts in July, October, January, and April. The inland subscription is Rs. 6 (including postage) and foreign subscription is 10 shillings (including postage) per annum payable in advance. Each copy is priced at Rs. 2 (inland) and 3s. 6d. (foreign). The rates of advertisements may be ascertained on application to the Managing Director at 55, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta, to whom all remittances should be sent. Any change of address should be promptly intimated to him. In case of non-delivery within a fortnight from the approximate date of publication, the office should be informed at once. Any one paying Rs. 100 at a time as a life-subscriber of any particular series of publications of the Institute will get free copies of the Journal. Luzac & Co., London, Otto Harrassowitz, Germany, and the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depôt, Lahore, are the selling agents.

The Journal deals with topics relating to Indian history, geography, art, archæology, iconography, epigraphy, numismatics, religion, literature, philosophy, ethnology, anthropology, folklore, etc., etc., from the earliest times to the mediæval period. **Contributors are requested to send articles, notes, reviews, etc., type-written, addressed to the Editors at No. 43, Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta.** They are further requested to add or alter in the galley proofs but not in the page proofs. The Editors reserve to themselves the right to accept or reject the whole or portions of the articles, notes, reviews, etc. The rejected contributions are not returned to authors if postage is not paid. Books for reviews, Journals for exchange, etc., should be sent to the Editors at No. 43, Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta.

(or Ocean of Indian Chemistry, Medicine and Alchemy)

Compiled in Sanskrit with English translation in 3 volumes.

Price Rs. 6 each volume.

Opinions :—

Edward Peters, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A. :—

I consider you are performing *one of the world's greatest good works to-day* in making available this marvellous ancient wisdom of India *which is the only source and store-house of real knowledge.* I shall anxiously await the publication of the remaining volumes of your priceless work.

Prof. M. Winternitz of the Prague University :—

It is an interesting contribution to our knowledge of Hindu Chemistry, Alchemy and Medicine. I shall make a mention of your great work in the revised edition of Vol. III of my History of Indian Literature.

Albert G. Ingalls, Associate Editor, "Scientific American" :—

These books have been given a special place in the library of the Journal, reserved for works which are eminently worthy of preservation for the edification of future editors.

To be had of all the principal booksellers of the world and of the author, and of the Indian Research Institute Book Depôt, 55, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.

BHUDEB MOOKERJI, M.A. (triple), Rasacharya,
Sankhya-Vedanta-tirtha,
(Ayurvedic Physician),
20, Grey Street, Calcutta.

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, LEIPZIG, Germany

The leading Oriental Book Dealer

on the European Continent

Largest stock of books dealing with Oriental subjects (Languages, literature, art, archaeology, religion, history, etc.), published in any country of the world, especially the Orient.

LITTERAE ORIENTALES

issued every three months, being a bibliography of new Oriental works, having come out in Germany and all foreign countries and in the East.

Important catalogues printed recently:

INDIEN Part I: Political and cultural history, archaeology, Indian religion, comparative science of language, Indian linguistic. 3312 nos.

INDIEN Part II: Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit literature, New Indian languages, 4007 nos.

All catalogues are sent gratis on application.

MOTI LAL BANARSI DASS

Oriental Booksellers and Publishers, Saidmitha, Lahore

IMPERIAL HISTORY OF INDIA—by the Greatest Living Authority on Ancient Indian History, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal M.A.—based on the old Sanskrit texts. This History of Ancient India has matters which settle many controversies. Worth possessing. 1934. Rs. 8.

HISTORY OF INDIA (150 to 350 A.D.) by the above Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. The so-called Dark Period is disclosed as a Bright Period of Hindu History. It is a very substantial contribution to the Early History of India. *Only very few copies remain more.* Rs. 10.

LAND SYSTEM IN SOUTH INDIA (800-1200 A.D.) by Dr. K. M. Gupta. The work brilliantly sets forth a chapter of the social and economic history of Ancient India. Rs. 10.

STUDIES IN PHILOSOPHY by Prof. H. M. Bhattacharya. Worth possessing. Rs. 3-8.

ESSENTIALS OF ADWAITISM by Dr. R. Das or a free English translation of Naisyakarmyasiddhi. Rs. 5.

SADUKTIKARNAMRITA of Shridhardass critically edited for the first time by the late MM.Pt. Ramavtar Sarma, M.A., with an historical introduction of 150 pages by Dr. Har Datt in English. *Best Sanskrit Anthology.* Rs. 10.

PHYSICAL CULTURE by Dr. Jai Chand. This is a well-written book upon an important subject based on Vedic System of Yoga and interpreted in the light of Modern Knowledge. It is decidedly an advance over all other systems known to the world. Re. 1.

NIRUKTA translated into English by Dr. L. Sarup, M.A. Rs. 8.

Comm. of **SKANDA** and **MAHESWARA** on Nirukta critically edited for the first time by Dr. L. Sarup, M.A. Complete in 3 vols. Rs. 16-4.

INTRODUCTION TO PRAKRIT for mastering Prakrits by Dr. A. C. Woolner. Rs. 3.

NAISHADHA CHARITRA of Sri Harsha completely translated into English for the first time with critical notes, copious extracts from several unpublished commentaries, valuable introduction, comprehensive appendix and a vocabulary by Principal K. K. Handiqui, M.A. *Every portion of the book bears upon it the stamp of great erudition and wide research.* Rs. 12.

ANCIENT INDIAN COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST, Vol. I—Champa by Dr. R. C. Majumdar with several illustrations, inscriptions, and a map. Highly appreciated all over the world. *This is the glorious chapter of Hindu History.* Rs. 15.

ANCIENT INDIAN COLONY OF SIAM by Dr. P. N. Bose. An up-to-date history of Siam with illustrations. Rs. 3-8.

KAMA KALA (in English) lays bare to the modern man in a modern tongue the vital secrets of sex which the Ancient Hindu Sexologists like *Vaisyayana* had expounded in their world-famous writings. With 30 very beautiful Half-tone and tri-colour illustrations. Rs. 5.

VAISNAVA PHILOSOPHY with special reference to Gaurangite cult by Prof. G. N. Mullik. Rs. 8.

HEYAPAKSHA OF YOGA by Dr. Pathak. Rs. 7-8.

MAHAVIRACHARITA critically edited by Macdonell and Todarmall. Rs. 10.

PHONOLOGY OF PANJABI by Dr. Banarsi Dass Jain. Rs. 5.

PRINCIPLES OF INDIAN SILPASASTRA by Dr. P. N. Bose. Rs. 3-8.

KANVIYA SATAPATHA BRAHMAN critically edited for the first time by Dr. Caland. Rs. 10.

JAIMINIYAGRIHYASUTRA text, com., and English trans. by Dr. Caland. Rs. 6.

KAUTILYA ARTHA SASTRA critically edited with com., intro., and notes by Drs. Jolly and Schmidt. Rs. 10.

Besides above we keep in stock all kinds of Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Hindi, Avesta, and Books on Ancient Indian History, and supply to the world at the shortest notice. Big catalogue containing 5,000 items with latest supplements sent free on application with 4 annas stamps for postage.

HOW TO BECOME A MASTER OF ENGLISH

There is not a walk in life in which a mastery of the English language will not bring advancement, a larger income, wider influence, and make the road to success smoother and surer.

Whatever your Business or Occupation, you need a command of the English language to be successful. Whether you are a doctor, a lawyer, a merchant, a salesman, a clergyman, a teacher, a student or a clerk, a command of English will bring you to the forefront and lack of it will be a drag on your onward climb. You need good English in every relation of your life and it will help you, as no other single thing can, to reach the goal of your desires and achieve success.

Here is the way to gain a new command of English in a few weeks. Mr. Grenville Kleiser, who is a leading authority on English and Speech and the best known teacher of English by correspondence, has discovered a new method of mastering the English language. His Correspondence Course, that has been taken up by more than

1,00,000 persons all over the world, enables you to become a Master of English by the easiest system of study and in the shortest time possible. It teaches you by post in your spare moments at home, how to—

- Add Thousands of Expressive Words to your Vocabulary ;
- Use the Right Word in the Right Place ;
- Avoid All Mistakes of Grammar and Idiom ;
- Develop Originality of Expression ;
- Write Tactful, Forceful Letters, Essays, Advertisements, Articles, Stories, Sermons, etc. ;
- Increase Your Power of Persuasion ;
- Win Higher Promotion and Pay ;
- Become an Engaging Conversationalist ;
- Make Yourself Welcome in Good Society ;
- Be a Person of Culture, Power and Influence in your Community.

Master Writers Have Praised This Course.

Enthusiastic endorsements of this remarkable Course have been written by such masters of English as John Burroughs, Mary Roberts Rinehart, Booth Tarkington, Irwin S. Cobb, Rupert Rughe, Ellis Parker Butler, who know the ins and outs of the literary craft and who can appreciate, as no amateur can, the vital importance of mastery of English. All lines of business, all trades, all professions, arts and sciences are represented among the thousands of Mr. Kleiser's students. Just half an hour a day results in surprising progress.

Everyone who wants to have a command of words and consequently a command of men and of circumstances, to impress men of affairs, to write in a clear, bold, vigorous style that carries conviction and to possess power and personality, should enrol himself for the Grenville Kleiser Correspondence Course at the earliest opportunity. Full particulars can be had FREE OF CHARGE. Drop a post card for them to The Tutorial Institute, Head Quarters, Delhi, 75 or

**POST THIS COUPON
TO-DAY.**

THE SECRETARY,

THE TUTORIAL INSTITUTE,
HEAD QUARTERS, DELHI, 75.

Please send me full particulars of the Kleiser Correspondence Course for attaining Mastery of English.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

Age.....Occupation.....

JUST OUT!

JUST OUT!

ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES, VOL. II

By DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

It deals with a connected and systematic history of the twenty tribes from the earliest time to the end of the Hindu period, e.g. the Vaṅgas, Suhmas, Gauḍas, Puṇḍras, Sindhu-Sauvīras, Surāṣṭras, Mūlakas, Mekalas, Daśārṇas, Kārūsas, Ambaṣṭhas, Mālavas, Yaudheyas, Sibis, Kekayas, Abhiras, Trigarttas, Vāhlikas, Niṣādas and Niṣadhas.

Price Rs. 1/8/-; Foreign price 3s. 6d.

To be had of the Author, 43, Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta; and Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London.

OPINIONS AND REVIEWS

Dr. L. D. Barnett.—An excellent and most useful work. I am again your debtor.

Dr. E. J. Thomas.—It is a worthy successor to your former work and with its multitude of valuable references and facts will be an important contribution to our geographical knowledge of India.

Mrs. Rhys Davids.—It must have meant a lot of work but you gave ungrudgingly.

Dr. Sten Konow.—You give us the results of your research work in a clear and perspicuous style and we have every reason for being thankful to you for what you have done.

Dr. M. Walleser.—It is of the utmost interest for me and I am sure I shall learn a great deal from it.

Mr. E. J. Rapson.—It is a useful summary of geographical information and I shall no doubt often be glad to refer to it.

Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.—I welcome your book as a very useful help in connection with our planned "Archæological Atlas of Greater India".

Mr. Charles E. A. W. Oldham.—It is a valuable compilation full of useful references helping towards the location of these ancient tribes—a matter of much importance for the understanding of the history of their times.

"*Calcutta Review*", November, 1934.—Dr. Law's work fills a long-felt want. No serviceable study, at once concise and comprehensive, of the tribes included in his book had hitherto been available. There is no doubt that this book along with its predecessor will prove indispensable wherever knowledge is sought of the ancient Indian tribes.

Journal of Indian History.—Dr. B. C. Law has made a special study of ancient Indian Tribes, the Kṣatriyas and other tribes from the earliest times.... We congratulate the earnest scholar of this little volume for giving us a useful book, being short studies on a great subject.

Oriental Books, Indian and Persian Art, MSS., Bronzes, etc.

INSPECT OUR GALLERY OF ORIENTAL ART.

All the books prescribed for students at the School of Oriental Studies and the Universities are kept in stock.

Just Published

TEACHINGS FROM THE BHAGAWADGITA.

Translation. Introduction, and comments by Hari Prasad Shastri.

8vo, cloth, pp. 80

Price 3s. 6d. In paper covers 2s.

BOOK OF RAM.

The Bible of India. By Mahatma Tulsidas. Rendered into English by Hari Prasad Shastri.

Cr. 8vo, limp gilt cloth, pp. 143.

Price 5s. In paper covers 3s. 6d.

THE MAWAQIF AND MUKHĀTABĀT.

Of Muhammad Ibn 'Abdi' L-Jabbār Al-Niffari, with other fragments. Arabic text, edited for the first time, with translation, commentary and indices, by Arthur John Arberry, M.A.

Roy. 8vo, buckram, pp. xvii, 276, 218.

Price 65s.

("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series: New Series, IX.)

WALKER (JOHN).

Folk Medicine in Modern Egypt. Being the relevant parts of the *Tibb al-Ruhka*, or Old Wives' Medicine of 'Abd al Raḥmān Ismā'il. With 3 illus. and 1 facs.

8vo, cloth, pp. 128.

Price 7s. 6d.

Gratis on Application

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS ON ARABIA, ISLAM
ARABIC TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS, ETC.

LUZAC & CO.

Oriental and Foreign Booksellers.

46 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.

(Opposite the British Museum.)

MYSORE ECONOMIC JOURNAL

The only Journal of its kind published regularly on the 7th of each month for over twenty years. Has a number of contributors and reviewers attached to it. Bright and topical in its contents, it has ever stood out for progressive and suggestive comments on public affairs and well being. Sir Roper Lethbridge called it the 'Most admirable Journal'. Annual subscription Rs. 6.

FROM THE BOOK DEPARTMENT, books on economic matters can always be ordered. The following books are available for sale from stock:—

PLANNED ECONOMY FOR INDIA by Sir M. Visvesvaryya, K.C.S.I., LL.D., price Rs. 6.

MADURA SOURASHTRA COMMUNITY by K. R. R. Sastry, M.A., F.R.-Econ.S., price Re. 1.

INDIAN CASTE SYSTEM by C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., F.R.Econ.S., price Re. 1.

STUDIES IN RURAL ECONOMICS by S. Kesava Iyengar, M.A., price Rs. 8.

TOWARDS NATIONAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY by Dr. P. J. Thomas, M.A., B.Litt., Ph.D., price As. 4.

MYSORE GAZETTEER (5 VOLUMES) Edited by C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., price per set Rs. 30, can also be had in parts at prices varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 8 per volume.

Postage extra in all cases.

Apply to Manager, "Mysore Economic Journal", 19, Gundopunt Buildings, Siddicutta, Bangalore City.

PRAKRITI

(The Journal of Science in Bengali)

Edited by

DR. SATYA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., F.Z.S., M.B.O.U.

Published every two months with highly **INSTRUCTIVE** and profusely **ILLUSTRATED CONTRIBUTIONS** by **SPECIALISTS** on all branches of **SCIENCE**.

LIBRARIES, COLLEGES and EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS must not do without it.

The Journal now in its **ELEVENTH YEAR** has an ever-increasing *role of Usefulness*, specially in view of the proposed *Change in the Curriculum* of studies envisaged by our University.

AMONG OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Acharya Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray.
Prof. Dr. Nil Ratan Dhar, D.Sc., F.I.C.,
I.E.S.
Dr. Satya Prasad Roy Choudhuri,
D.Sc.
Dr. Snehamay Dutt, D.Sc.
Dr. Sukumar Chandra Sarker, D.Sc.
Dr. S. N. Sen, Ph.D., Meteorologist.
Dr. Sukumar Ranjan Das, M.A., Ph.D.
Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A.
Dr. Ekendra Nath Ghose, M.Sc., M.D.,
D.Sc.

Dr. Sunder Lal Hora, D.Sc., F.L.S.,
F.Z.S.
Dr. Himadri Mookerjee, D.Sc.
Dr. S. R. Bose, M.A., Ph.D.
Prof. Girija Prasanna Majumder, M.Sc.,
B.L.
Mr. Nikunja Behari Dutt, M.R.A.S.
Prof. Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A.
Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.Sc., Ph.D., Eco-
nomic Botanist to the Government
of Assam.

Annual Subscription : Rupees Four.

Single Copy : Annas Ten.

Apply to the **MANAGER, PRAKRITI,**
50, Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta.

**For
NEAT AND PROMPT
PRINTING SERVICE**



Ring up B.B. 3460

or Call at

**THE SREEKRISHNA
PRINTING WORKS**

259, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta

You will never have dissatisfaction

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT WORKS

by

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA KAVIRAJ GANANATH SEN, SARASWATI, M.A., L.M.S.

PRATYAKSHA SHARIRAM

A Text-book of Human Anatomy in Sanskrit
written on Ayurvedic lines

(With elaborate English and Sanskrit Introductions containing a History
of Ayurveda generally and of Hindu Anatomy particularly.)

Written in *lucid classical and easy Sanskrit* incorporating all ancient knowledge and nomenclature and illustrated with numerous diagrams and half-tone blocks, it is not a work of translation or transliteration but has been declared a “**perfectly original masterpiece**” by learned Scholars, not only of India, but also of Europe and America. *It has been recommended as a text-book* for all Ayurvedic students and practitioners by the 5th All-India Ayurvedic Conference, 1913, and adopted as such in *Ayurvedic Schools and Colleges—all over India*, e.g. Delhi, Lahore, Pilibhit, Poona, Bombay, Trivandrum, Madras, Calcutta, etc.

Complete in 3 Volumes—the 1st and 2nd Volumes of which are already out. Price, 1st Volume (cloth-bound), 3rd Edition, Rs. 5; 2nd Volume Rs. 6; 2 Volumes bound together Rs. 10; 3rd Volume is in the Press. Postage extra.

SIDDHANTA-NIDANAM

A Text-book of Ayurvedic Pathology and Symptomatology
in Sanskrit (with Author's own Commentary)

This is a work of unique importance as it not only embodies all the informations found in Mádhyava Nidánam and the Nidanasthanas of Charaka, Sushruta and Bagbhatta but also *puts facts in a new light* interpreting the Sutras of the Rishis in a truly scientific manner. Besides, unlike other works of Nidánam, it contains a thorough exposition of the theory of *Vayu, Pitta and Kapha* in a way acceptable to all physiologists of the present day.

Complete in 3 Volumes—the first of which is out. Price of 1st Volume—**Rs. 2.** For students—**Rs. 1-8.**

Other Volumes in the Press.

PUBLISHED BY

KALPATARU AYURVEDIC WORKS,

Chittaranjan Avenue, N. Calcutta

SELECT OPINIONS ON PRATYAKSHA SHARIRAM BY M.M. GANANATH SEN

Dr. A. F. Rodolf Hornle, M.A., Ph.D., C.I.E. (*Author of "Studies in Hindu Medicine"*):—"With great difficulties, you have grappled with considerable skill and success.... Fine classical Sanskrit.... A very creditable performance."

Dr. C. H. Tawney, M.A., Ph.D. (*London*):—"You are throwing new light upon an important subject....it will benefit your countrymen materially."

Dr. H. Oldenberg, M.A., Ph.D. (*Göttingen*):—"Very interesting and valuable."

Dr. H. A. Hare, M.D., B.Sc. (*The celebrated Medical author of America*):—"Your work will be an acquisition to the Library of the College of Physicians, United States."

Lt.-Col. J. T. Calvert, M.B., M.R.C.P., I.M.S. (*Principal, Medical College, Calcutta*):—"A valuable asset not only to the student of Ayurvedic Medicine but also to antiquarians....much appreciate the difficulty and almost Herculean amount of labour."

Lt.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar, I.M.S., F.L.S. (*Retd.*):—"A work of real utility....does credit to your great learning and spirit of research."

Sir Subrahmanya Iyer, K.C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D., LL.D.:—"Most valuable work.... All India must feel grateful to you for the service you are rendering to the cause of Ayurvedic Medicine."

Lt.-Col. Dr. S. P. Sarbadhikari, M.D., C.I.E.:—"It is a magnificent oriental addition of exquisite grace and absolute correctness to the anatomical library of the present day of which your countrymen will feel proud and which not only Indian but even European savants will readily welcome."

Dr. Sir Bhala Chandra Krishna, Kt. (*Bombay*):—"A very valuable production, extremely useful for Ayurvedic practitioners. The masterly manner in which the author has dealt with history of Ayurvedic Medicine deserves the highest praise."

Dr. A. Mitra, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S. (*Eng.*):—"You deserve the highest praise for your valuable work and the thanks of the whole medical world are due to you. For I believe that the Medical man's education will be incomplete if he has not read your book."

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Chitradhar Misra (*Principal, Sanskrit College, Darbhanga*):—"Evinces wonderful command of Sanskrit, great erudition and genuine research of the author."

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhusan (*Principal, Sanskrit Dept., Hindu University, Benares*):—"The elegance of your diction, the perspicuity of your style and the chastity of your language and above all the depth of your research are exceedingly charming."

Pandit Lakshmiram Swami Ayurvedacharyya (*Ex-President, Calcutta Session of the All-India Ayurvedic Conference*):—"An epoch-making production in the field of Ayurvedic literature. Calcutta should be proud of it." (*Presidential Speech, 1914.*)

THE NEW REVIEW

PUBLISHED IN CALCUTTA SINCE JANUARY, 1935

is one of the international group of Catholic Journals of general interest, conducted by the Society of Jesus, for the educated public.

The Journal takes a keen interest in the comparative study of the traditional philosophies of India and Europe, and in India's cultural achievements.

Publishes the studies of experts on the present problems of India in the fields of Religion, Philosophy, Literature, History, Education, Art, Science, and Economics.

Reviews literary productions in the more important vernaculars and in Sanskrit.

The monthly issues of THE NEW REVIEW contain more than 100 pages in Royal 8vo. size.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES, PAYABLE IN ADVANCE :

<i>Inland</i>		<i>Abroad</i>
Rs. 12	12 months	£1
Rs. 6	6 months	12s.
Re. 1	1 month	2s.

Obtainable through any booksellers, or through the Publishers,

MACMILLAN & CO., LTD.,

CALCUTTA, BOMBAY, MADRAS, LONDON.

THE JOURNAL

of the GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

A six-monthly Journal devoted to the investigation of Indian cultural influences abroad and specially in Eastern and South-Eastern Asia.

Contents of Vol. I, No. I:—J. Przyluski—Indian influences on Western thought before and during the third century A.D.; C. O. Blacden—The use of the *Visarga* symbol in some of the languages of Greater India; R. C. Majumdar—The Śailendra Empire; V. Bhattacharya—Depung,—the Monastic University of Tibet; H. B. Sarkar—An Old-Javanese Inscription from Ngabean of the Śaka year 801; *ibid.*—Two notes on the Cultural contact between Java and Bengal; D. P. Ghosh—Early Art of Śrīvijaya.

Contents of Vol. I, No. II:—G. Cœdès—

On the origin of the Śailendras of Indonesia; R. C. Majumdar—The struggle between the Śailendras and the Cholas; J. Przyluski—Indian colonisation in Sumatra before the seventh century; H. B. Sarkar—An Old-Javanese Loan-record of the Śaka year 833; E. Obermiller—*Sūnyatā* and its different interpretations; H. Meinhard—Ancient Indian Culture in Bali: etc. etc.

Published twice a year—in January and July. *Vol. II, No. I just out.* Annual subscription Rs. 4/- only exclusive of postage. Agents outside India—Messrs. Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.

To be had of the GREATER INDIA SOCIETY'S OFFICE

21, Badur Bagan Row, P.O. Amherst Street,
CALCUTTA.

Works of Panini Office

An Academy of Ancient Sanskrit Literature

It is not too much to say that a large number of English-educated Hindus, unacquainted with Sanskrit possess very little knowledge of their Scripture. While the Christians and the Mohammadans are generally well-acquainted with their religious scriptures, the Hindus alone are ignorant of their Sacred Books. To remove this WANT, the Panini Office has been publishing translations of various Sacred Books of the Hindus. This series has brought the scriptures of the Hindus to the door of the rich and the poor alike.

UPANISADS

1. **Isa, Kena, Katha, Prasna, Mundaka, Mandukya** Upanishads with Madhava's commentary; by RAI BAHADUR ŚRĪSH CHANDRA BASU Rs. 7/8.
2. **The Brihadaranyaka Upanishad** with Madhava's commentary by RAI BAHADUR ŚRĪSH CHANDRA BASU Rs. 12/.
3. **Aitareya Upanishad** with Madhava's commentary Rs. 4/8.
4. **Taittiriya Upanisad**, end of Vṛigu Valli Re. 1/8.
5. **Kausitaki and Maitri Upanisads** Rs. 6/-
6. **Studies in the first six Upanisads** according to Śankara Rs. 4/-
7. **Philosophical Teachings in the Upanishads** Rs. 3/-

DARSANAS or System of Hindu Philosophy.

1. **Aphorisms of Yoga by Patanjali** with the commentary of Vyāsa and the Gloss of Vāchaspati Mīśra, by RAMA PRASHAD Rs. 7/8.
2. **The Yoga Sastra** or a treatise on Practical Yoga consisting of
 - i Introduction to Yoga Philosophy Re. 1/8.
 - ii Śiva Samhitā Re. 1/8.
 - iii Gheranda Samhitā Re. 1/8.
 - iv Hatha Yoga Pradipikā Re. 1/8.

TOTAL Rs. 6/-

3. **Vedanta Sutras** with Baladeva's commentary of Govinda Vashya and Prameya Ratnavali Rs. 14/-
4. **Studies in the Vedanta Sutras**, (Vol. XXII, part II) Rs. 3/-
5. **The Vaisesika Sutras of Kanada**, with the commentary of Śankara Mīśra and extracts from the Gloss

- of Jayanārāyana and Chandrakānta Rs. 7/8.
6. **The Nyaya Sutras of Gotama** Rs. 8/-
7. **The Mimansa Sutras of Jaimini** Rs. 23/-
8. **Introduction to above** Rs. 48/-
9. **Siddhanta Darsanam** Rs. 3/-

PURANAS

1. **The Matsya Puranam** Rs. 20/-
2. **Brahmma Vaivarta Puranam** Rs. 17/8.
3. **Narada Pancharatram** Rs. 6/-
4. **Devi Bhagvatam** Rs. 25/-

ARTHA SASTRA or NITI SASTRA ; Hindu economics, politics and Sociology

1. **Sukraniti**; by PROF. BENOY KUMAR SARCAR Rs. 6/-
2. **The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology**; Book I, first edition out of print; second edition ready for the Press Rs. 16/-
3. **The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology**; Book II Rs. 6/-

INDIAN LAWS—Yajnavalkya Smriti

- i **Acharya Adhyaya**; with the commentary, Mitākṣarā, and notes from the Gloss of Bālabhaṭṭi, translated for the first time into English with copious explanatory and critical notes Rs. 15/-
- ii **Vyavahara Adhyaya, Dayabhag** (Inheritance) Rs. 3/-
- iii **Prayaschitta Adhyaya** Rs. 10/-

HISTORICAL

1. **Max Muller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature** Rs. 10/-

2. **Panini and his place in Sanskrit Literature** by GOLDSTÜCKER
Rs. 5/-

HINDU RELIGION

1. **The Daily Practice of the Hindus** Rs. 3/-
2. **Catechism of Hindu Dharma** Rs. 2/-
3. **Gita Teachings** Re. 1/8.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION

1. **Chinese religion through Hindu eyes ;** by PROF. BENOY KUMAR SARCAR Rs. 6/-
2. **The Bible in India** Rs. 2/-

SCHOOL PRIZE BOOKS

1. **Folk Tales of Hindusthan** by SHEIKH CHILLI Rs. 4/8.
2. **Griffith's Scenes from Ramayana** Re. 1/8.
3. **Griffith's Specimens of Old Indian Poetry** Re. 1/8.
4. **Dean Milman's Nala & Damayanti** Re. 1/8.
5. **Waterfield's Indian Ballads** Re. 1/8.
6. **Nizami Laili and Majnun,** by SURGEON JAMES ATKINSON of E. I. Co.'s service Re. 1/8.
7. **Benjamin Babington's Adventures of Gooroo Noodle** As. 10/-
8. **Life of Srish Chandra Basu** Rs. 2/8.

WORKS

of

Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retd.)

"There is no Eastern country which has so many talented men in so many walks of life as India. Men like Tagore Sir J. C. Bose..... Major B. D. BASU, the historian of India : to name only a few out of scores—would be highly distinguished in any European country,..... All of these should be respected and appreciated by us Englishmen and Europeans as working on a plane of absolute equality with ourselves"—*The Changing East*, p. 23. Mr. J. A. Spender, long Editor of the *Westminister Gazette* ; London, 1927.

Written by—

- 1.—**Rise of the Christian Power in India** Rs. 15/-
2.—**India Under the British Crown** Rs. 10/-

3.—**The Consolidation of the Christian Power in India** Re. 1/8.

4.—**The Colonisation of India by Europeans** Rs. 2/-

5.—**Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries** Rs. 2/8.

6.—**History of Education in India under the rule of the East India Company, Second Edition** Rs. 2/8.

7.—**Story of Satara** Rs. 10/-

8.—**My Sojourn in England** Rs. 2/-

9.—**Diabetes Mellitus and its Dietetic Treatment, fifteenth edition** Rs. 2/-

10.—**Culture** Rs. 2/-

11.—**Indian Medicinal plants. First Edition** Rs. 275/-

Edited by—

1. *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, describing the decline and downfall of the Moghul Empire in India, translated from the Persian by GENERAL BRIGGS Rs. 3/8.

2. *History of Nadir Shah*, JAMES FRASER. A very rare work Rs. 3/-

3. *History of Shah Alum*, by W. FRANKLIN Rs. 3/-

4. *History of the reign of Tipu Sultan*, translated from the Persian, by COLONEL MILES Rs. 3/-

5. *Private Journal of the Marquis of Hastings* Rs. 3/-

6. *Decoitee in excelsis* or spoliation of Oudh by the East India Company. By MAJOR BIRD Rs. 3/-

7. *Empire in Asia*. How we came by it. A book of confessions. By W. M. TORRENS, M.P. Cloth, gilt letters Rs. 4/-

8. *The Government of India under a Bureaucracy*. By JOHN DICKINSON, Jun. Rs. 2/-

9. *The Native States* As. 4/-

10. *The State and Government of India under its native rulers* As. 4/-

11. *The Company and the Crown*. By HON. T. J. HOWELL-THURLOW Rs. 3/-

12. *Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown towards India*. By Mr. M. Ludlow Rs. 3/-

13. *A few words on our financial Relations with India*. By Major Wingate As. 6/-

14. *Origin of the Pindaries*, First published in London, 1818. Cheap reprint Re. 1/8.

THE HIDDEN FEAR

By W. J. Ennever

FEW things which I have encountered in the course of my life have impressed me more than the prevalence of what I here call "the hidden fear."

It is a fear which is not openly confessed: indeed, in many cases those who suffer from it are not conscious of its existence, even though its deterrent effects are constantly experienced. But nevertheless it is a very real fear which has far-reaching consequences.

Actually, this "hidden fear" of which I speak is at the root of what is termed "inferiority complex." It is probable that the more scientific term misleads a good many people, and that is why, for the present, I prefer to discuss it as "the hidden fear."

I have met with it in men whom none would suspect of an "inferiority complex"—they themselves would scorn the suggestion. Nevertheless, they are afflicted and handicapped by a "hidden fear" which prevents them being all that they might otherwise be. I have been honoured with the confidences of men and women of recognised eminence in many fields of human activity—statesmen, men of letters, actors, and members of the legal and medical profession—who have in the course of conversation revealed the existence of a fear which, consciously or unconsciously, dogs their progress.

The "hidden fear" is, however, much more in evidence with those whom I may term "the rank and file" of business and the professions, and, in my opinion, it is this which in the vast majority of cases is responsible for failure and mediocrity.

Here I will state an opinion which I firmly hold, and which every year, every day almost, tends to confirm. It is that *the normal man or woman possesses capacities and abilities far greater than they themselves believe.*

I make that statement quite seriously, for it is based upon my observation of some thousands of cases during my thirty years' work at the Pelman Institute.

A reader of these words may exclaim impatiently, "Oh! but that cannot apply in my case. I know myself: I know my own powers and my own limitations." Probably he does: but he has never sought to discover the cause of his "limitations." I venture to

say that the cause is, in almost every case, a hidden fear of some sort—a doubt, self-distrust, fear of opinion, timidity, dread of novelty or any departure from settled habits. It is impossible to catalogue all the varieties of the hidden fear, but these are some of the more prevalent, and until they are abolished a very real limit is set to the possibilities of progress.

They limit progress because they deter a man from exerting himself to the full extent of his capabilities. He does not really believe in his own abilities beyond a certain point, and, not believing, he does not try. He may be ambitious, but his fear of failure holds him back from the attempt to climb. And yet, if his fear, his doubt, his indecision, were to be analysed or subjected to the questionings of *reason*, they would vanish like a mist before the rising sun.

And, once again, I speak from long experience. I have known innumerable cases wherein those who have come to the Pelman Institute as confessed mediocrities, or even as positive failures, have subsequently made rapid progress, achieving what hitherto they had thought to be beyond their powers. The power had been in them all along, but it was held back by the "hidden fear."

That is why I say emphatically that most people possess far greater abilities than they credit themselves with; but as those abilities are unrecognised and not put to use, they remain in a lowly station instead of rising, as they well might, to the highest.

Nobody has ever been asked to take Pelmanism "on faith." I should, indeed, be very sorry if a single man or woman ever took the Course without being first completely satisfied that it is a thoroughly sound, scientific, and practical means of developing those latent powers of the brain which, called into activity, never fail to make all the difference between real success and—mediocrity.

A copy of the "Science of Success" (48 pp. illustrated) in which many people speak of Pelmanism from personal experience and which contains the opinions of Pelmanism contributed by a number of the most distinguished men and women will be sent free on application.

The Pelman Institute. Indian Headquarters Delhi 75.
Branch 102/75, Clive Street, Calcutta.

INDIAN CULTURE

Vol. II

JULY, 1935

No. 1

CONTENTS

ARTICLES		Page
THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PHYSICAL FEATURES OF INDIA FOR THE UNDERSTANDING OF HER HISTORY. By MISS DOROTHY A. L. STEDE, B.A. (CANTAB.)	.. ..	1
THE SŪFI MOVEMENT IN INDIA. By DR. MD. ENAMUL HAQ, M.A., Ph.D.	.. ..	17
THE ICONOGRAPHY OF HERUKA. By DR. BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA, M.A., Ph.D.	.. ..	23
THE OCCUPATION OF BENGAL BY THE KINGS OF KĀMARŪPA. By MR. NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A.	.. ..	37
A NOTE ON THE SUCCESSION OF FIRŪZ SHĀH. By MR. ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.	.. ..	47
HISTORICAL NOTES AND QUESTIONS. By MR. SUSHIL KUMAR BOSE, B.A.	.. ..	53
MR. K. P. JAYASWĀL ON THE GUPTAS AND THE VĀKĀṬAKAS. By MISS KARUNA KANA GUPTA, M.A.	.. ..	61
FURNITURE (MAN'S INDEBTEDNESS TO PLANTS). By MR. GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR, M.Sc., B.L.	.. ..	67
PREHISTORIC TRADE ROUTES AND COMMERCE. By DR. PANCHANAN MITRA, M.A., Ph.D.	.. ..	77
PARASITOLOGY IN THE ATHARVA VEDA. By MR. RULIA RAM KASHYAP, M.Sc.	.. ..	93
A VANISHED SAKYAN WINDOW. By MRS. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, M.A., D.Litt.	.. ..	115
PLOTINUS AND INDIAN THOUGHT. By DR. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, M.A., D.C.L., D.Litt., BAR-AT-LAW.	.. ..	125
MISCELLANEA		
ŚRI-PRTHIVĪ-VALLABHA. By MR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A.	.. ..	131

LAKSHMANASENA.	
By MR. S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.	133
PALI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHĀLUKYA (SŌLANKI) KUMĀRAPĀLA, DATED V. S. 1209.	
By PANDIT BISHESHWARNATH REU	136
THE SUNDARBAN PLATE OF DOMMANAPĀLA.	
By MR. JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH	138
KAUŚIKĀ OR KAUŚIKI.	
By RAI BAHADUR K. L. BARUA, B.L.	139
AŚVAMEDHA BY THE FEUDATORIES.	
By MR. JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH	140
ARJUNA MIŚRA.	
By MR. P. K. GODE, M.A.	141
AN OLD SITE IN BENARES.	
By MR. AMALANANDA GHOSH, M.A.	146
SOME MISTAKES IN MR. K. P. JAYASWAL'S 'IMPERIAL HISTORY OF INDIA'.	
By MR. DASHARATHA SHARMA, M.A.	148
CANDRADVĪPA.	
By MR. NĀLINI NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A.	150
DOMMANAPĀLA AND DHARMAPĀLA : ALLEGED SOUTHERN ORIGIN.	
By MR. NĀLINI NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A.	151
DONATED LAND OF THE NIDHANPUR CHARTER OF BHĀSKARA- VARMAN OF KĀMARŪPA.	
By MR. JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH	153
THE OLD-JAVANESE LEXICON.	
By MR. HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR, M.A.	157
SYMBOLOGY OF THE ASOKA PILLAR CAPITAL, SĀRNĀTH.	
By MR. BHAVATOSH MAJUMDAR	160
A NOTE ON THE KINGS AND EMPERORS OF DELHI.	
By MR. PURAN CHAND NAHAR, M.A., B.L.	163
KAUŚIKI AND KUŚĪARĀ (CRITICAL REMARKS).	
By MR. PADMANATH BHATTACHARYYA, VIDYABINODA, M.A.	167
KAUŚIKI AND KUŚĪARĀ (A REJOINDER).	
By RAI BAHADUR K.L. BARUA, B.L.	171
INDRAMĪTRA AND BRAHMAMĪTRA (A REJOINDER).	
By MR. JYOTISH CHANDRA GHATAK, M.A.	172

REVIEWS

SUCCESSORS OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHAṆAS IN THE EASTERN DECCAN.	
By DR. B. A. SALETŪPE	175

CONTENTS

xvii

Page

CULTURAL FELLOWSHIP IN INDIA. By MR. A. F. M. ABDUL ALI	175
KANMAREYĀDA KANNADA ATHAVA KANNADARA MŪLA STHĀNA. By DR. B. A. SALETORÉ	176
MAHĀRĀSTRADA MŪLA. By DR. B. A. SALETORÉ	176
THE SONG OF THE LORD. By PROF. VANAMALI VEDANTATIRTHA	177
PARSI LAW. By MR. MANACKJEE C. H. RUSTOMJEE	179
AN EARLY HISTORY OF KAUSĀMBĪ. By DR. B. C. LAW	180
KĀMARŪPAŚĀSANĀVALĪ. By N. G. M.	181
IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS ..	185

OPINION of Dr. B. C. LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.
Editor, "Indian Culture".

The blocks entrusted to the Indian Photo Engraving Co. for execution are well prepared & I have nothing to complain as to the quality of their work. They are very punctual in carrying out orders & I trust customers will be greatly pleased with their work. I can strongly recommend this firm to those who are really appreciative of good work.

Bimalachon Law
4/6/27

OPINION of Mr. O. C. GANGOLY
Late Editor, "Rupam".

The Indian Photo Engraving Co. has executed for me several tri-colour blocks. I am accustomed to get most of my colour works done in Europe, and my expectations are pitched on somewhat high standard. I can say that the colour work produced by the Indian Photo-Engraving Co. does attain a high standard

O. C. Gangoly

10th May 1927

THE INDIAN PHOTO ENGRAVING CO.,
PROCESS ENGRAVERS & COLOUR PRINTERS
217, CORNWALLIS STREET.

Telephone—B.B. 2905.

Telegrams—"Duotype" Calcutta.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PHYSICAL FEATURES OF INDIA FOR THE UNDERSTANDING OF HER HISTORY¹

By DOROTHY A. L. STEDE

'India has no history'. How often does one hear this cryptic remark? How often do people wonder vaguely what it can mean? Incredible it seems, that a great country, with a mighty civilization whose antiquity is only exceeded by that of Egypt and of China, should be said to have 'no history'. History, in the general acceptance of the word, signifies 'a systematic written account of events' (under events we must include everything that affects a nation and its culture). Here we are faced with a difficulty. 'A systematic written account of events'. Such a thing was unheard of in India during the ages of her glory. The Brahmans, distinguished as they were in many branches of knowledge, paid no attention to the science of history; their chronology was hopelessly inaccurate, and it meant little to them if they antedated a king by several centuries. This curious tendency on their part was largely due to the fact that, by adopting the doctrine of transmigration, the Brahmans early embraced the notion that all existence and its attendant actions are a positive evil, so that it did not seem worth while to record them. Thus it is that India's history has of late been painstakingly reconstructed, little by little, from the evidence of coins, inscriptions of various kinds, literature, and the accounts of foreign visitors, e.g., Megasthenes of Greece, and Hiouen Tsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim.

By history one should understand not merely a succession of dates of battles, invasions, dynasties; under history one should include the entire culture of a race, or, to be more accurate, of the inhabitants of a country (for there must needs be a thousand and one races), their attainments, in literature, art and science, their daily life, trade, relations with one another, and with the outside world, and their religion and all that it entails.

And for the study of each one of these factors we shall find a knowledge of India's physical features indispensable. Here again one is apt to be misled. At first sight it would seem that very little could be included in the term 'physical features'. Does it mean simply 'the lie of the land'? One could say, 'Oh yes, there

¹ Awarded Royal Asiatic Society's University Prize.

are the Himalayas across the north of India. They have always formed a formidable barrier, and have stopped many an invasion. But the fact that there are mountain-passes has prevented them from being an absolute barrier, so that hordes have poured in from time to time from the N.W. and the N.E. ' . This is true, but it is only a half-truth, and there are many other factors to be considered.

What a narrow line of demarcation separates history from geography ! In every sentence regarding the physical features of the country, we are apt to refer to historical possibilities or events ; that is to say, we unconsciously regard geography primarily in its relations to human life. When we think of rainfall we consider how the lack of it may lead to failure of crops, and hence to famine ; or how the excess of it, causing floods, may render thousands homeless. And as history is essentially the record of the lives of an infinite number of single human beings, forming a compact mass (which may not be at all compact in reality, but is bound to appear so after several centuries, owing to the blurring of the individual personalities), it is easy to see what a tremendous influence on history such physical features must have.

Let it be understood that ' physical features ' includes not merely the shape and contours of the land, its mountain and river systems, and its vegetation ; but also the climate, winds, rainfall, ocean currents, animals, minerals, and location. All these factors are inextricably interwoven one with another, and cannot be dealt with in any logical order.

Let us commence with a brief survey of the main topographical features of the country. India proper may be conveniently divided into three chief parts :

(1) N.W. India, or the region of the Indus and its tributaries : bordered on the N. and W. by the mountainous districts of Kashmir and Baluchistan, and shading on the S. into the deserts of Rajputana. This district is not particularly fertile, for it is only in the neighbourhood of the Indus and some of its tributaries that the surface can be cultivated by means of river-irrigation.

(2) The region of the combined basins of the Ganges and Brahmaputra and their affluents ; a great alluvial plain which constitutes the main portion of N. India, and which supports a dense population. This district is backed by the Himalayas, which supply the vital waterways whose fertilizing influence is so important a factor in the life of Hindustan.

(3) The southern peninsula, which consists of the Deccan, a large plateau occupying the centre portion, bordered on all sides by mountain ranges ; and the narrow coastal strips which line the W. and E. Ghats. The Vindhya and Satpura ranges which flank the

Deccan on the N. form a broad wall dividing N. from S. India,—this is an important fact to be taken into account in the consideration of India's civilizations and ethnography.

Such, broadly speaking, are the divisions of India ; it will readily be realized that their characteristics have played an enormous part in the enactment of her history. Other features which demand to be noted are, first, the *size* and extent of the country, and second, her location in regard to the rest of the continent. India has an area of at least 1,350,000 square miles, and lies between $8^{\circ} 4'$ and 35° N. latitude. Small wonder that it has been termed 'an epitome of the whole earth', containing as it does the most varied vegetation, and great extremes of altitude and temperature. In consideration of the physical features of India, we cannot limit ourselves completely to India herself, but must consider her location with regard to other countries, and incidentally touch on certain aspects of the features of those neighbours of hers. For example, in discussing the nomad invasions and migrations which enter so largely into the political history of N. India, we shall have to deal with climatic cycles and their effect on the people of Central Asia. High plateaus are the predominant feature of Asia's orographical structure ; and these plateaus, more even than the mountains, have been instrumental in the restriction of mutual intercourse between the Asiatic races, and in the consequent independent development of their civilizations in the past. Thus India is separated from China by the lofty plateau of Thibet, even more thoroughly than by the Himalayas. On the N.W. her neighbours are Afghanistan and Turkestan ; and behind Afghanistan lies Persia, and behind her Arabia and Egypt.

It is with these neighbours that India was chiefly concerned until the discovery of the sea-route from Europe by Vasco da Gama in 1498. As has already been noted, India is on the north almost completely cut off from the rest of Asia by impassable mountain ranges. But this barrier is not entirely secure ; it is permeable at its East and West extremities, being there pierced by mountain-passes or river-valleys. And through these passes came, at varying intervals, the multifarious hordes which have influenced the ethnology and civilization of India, and especially of North India.

Let us consider for a moment the different races of India, and the invasions in historic times which have influenced them. Four different stocks may be traced : Aryan, Dravidian, Kolarian, and Tibeto-Burman. The two latter are comparatively unimportant ; they would seem to have entered India in prehistoric times by the N.E. passes, and to have more or less been relegated to the mountains by subsequent Dravidian invasions ; from the N.W. ; the Dravidians

in their turn being disturbed in their possession of the North by the Aryan invaders during the period of the Vedas. To-day the Dravidians are still predominant in the South of India ; but the aboriginal tribes, thanks to India's mountain ranges, which have made her a museum of races, form one of the world's most interesting relics of bygone ages ; safely ensconced in the hilly districts, many of these tribes are still in the Stone Age, untouched by modern civilization.

The history of India is, generally speaking, the history of the Aryans, who, entering the Punjab probably between 2500 and 2000 B.C. gradually spread from there over the Indo-Gangetic plains, and later evolved a mighty civilization characterized by the development of the caste system, the like of which is unknown elsewhere in the world, and of a great classical language and literature which has lately altered radically the trend of Western linguistic research. In addition, the Aryans in India have originated no fewer than three religions—Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism. The connection of religion with India's physical features will be touched upon later.

The next invasion of any importance was that of the Persians ; more than 500 years B.C., the region on both sides of the Indus became and remained part of the Persian Empire until its destruction by Alexander the Great in 351 B.C. Then it was that India first came directly into contact with Europe ; for Alexander now invaded the Punjab, and very nearly penetrated to the Ganges. After his death, his Græco-Bactrian successors remained in touch with the N.W. until the 2nd century A.D. It is to this period that we must trace the chief source of Greek influence in N. India ; and it should be recognized at once that such influence is by no means so extensive as is sometimes supposed ; it is indeed practically limited to the science of astronomy.

The next invasions of any importance are those of the Muhammadans, sporadic offshoots of which occurred between the 8th and 12th centuries. The Mohamedan dominion proper was not however established till after 1200 A.D. ; and the so-called Mogul Empire, which is associated with Mohammedanism in the popular imagination, lasted for barely a century and a half, i.e. from 1556–1707. And this dominion, though it gave India political union, did not essentially affect her civilization, in spite of its influence in the sphere of religion.

It will be seen that it was Northern India, and more especially N.W. India, which always had to bear the brunt of the land invasions. Until the end of the 15th century, the Deccan was more completely isolated from the rest of the world by sea than N. India by its mountain barriers. There was a certain amount of commerce by

sea between India and Babylon from the 7th to the beginning of the 5th century B.C., but after the decline of Babylon this gave place to the land trade with Arabia. But at last, at the close of the European Dark Ages, India's extensive coastline made her directly known to the Portuguese, and through them to the rest of Europe. And since that time, it is no longer possible to speak convincingly of India's 'isolation'. We come now to a very important chapter in India's history—the establishment of European settlers on her coasts, and the spread of Western ideas inland over the whole country. Of these Europeans, only the English have made a lasting impression on India, so the others, French, Dutch, Portuguese, etc., need not be dealt with in detail. Portuguese influence has been restricted to the extreme South of India and Ceylon.

It now becomes evident how very important is India's coastline. By 1657 the English were fairly planted at the three points from which their influence was to extend over India—the W. coast, Madras, and Bengal. A century later, the disintegration of the Mogul Empire, and the conflicts of various native powers, had given the traders of the English E. India Co. the opportunity for establishing a dominion in India, while English superiority in sea-power, and the advantages of the geographical distribution of their settlements, had aided them in overcoming the French. India being practically a continent in itself, has always been composed of numerous States, large and small, each pursuing its own lines of development, and now subjecting, now subjected to its neighbours. From time to time one of these States has succeeded in founding a great empire; but the greatest of such empires, that of Chandragupta and Asoka in the 3rd century B.C., and that of the Moguls in the 17th century A.D., has never extended over the entire continent, and, like all empires dependent for their strength on an irresponsible monarchical or imperial power, they were bound to disintegrate when that power weakened. And with each disintegration the struggle between the individual States began anew. While the existence of these numerous petty States rendered more difficult the task of the sporadic invader, on the other hand it constituted one of the factors which facilitated the establishment of British rule, which would not have been possible had any unifying native empire existed. It should be noted that the existence of so many separate States is largely due to the geographical configuration of the country, with its numerous barriers, formed by rivers, mountains, or desert wastes. In this connection it may be observed that the prosperity or decline of many an Indian town has depended on physical conditions. It is impossible in an essay of limited length to do more than touch on the importance of certain key-situations, e.g. Delhi, three times the

headquarters of an Indian empire, or Patna, the ancient Pataliputra. Mention may also be made of the numbers of ruined cities within a few miles of the banks of the Ganges and Indus, and their tributaries ; such towns as Gujrat, in the Punjab ; Kanauj, the former Kānyakubja, one of the great legendary cities of Aryan civilization in India, now stranded, a mass of ruins, about 4 miles from the Ganges ; Hastināpura, another ancient victim of the Ganges caprices.

This brings us to the consideration of an important group of physical characteristics : the climate, and its effect on vegetation, coupled with the influence of the mountain—and river—systems. Climate is the most important of all the geographical factors, and it is one of the few factors that man is unable to alter. It acts upon man in three chief ways. In the first place, it sets up barriers which limit his movements (in crossing mountains, oceans, deserts, etc.). Secondly, it determines the supply of most of the materials needed, not only for food, but for clothing and shelter ; and thirdly it has an important influence upon health and energy. To this last factor must be ascribed the general lack of progress on the part of tropical races. The first fact that calls for observation is that India, like China, is a monsoon region. A little consideration will reveal that practically all the great empires of antiquity, Rome, Greece, Babylonia, Syria, Egypt, and Carthage, had their seats in the subtropical regions between 20 and 40 N. latitude. The corresponding populous monsoon regions on the E. side of Eurasia are the great Indo-Gangetic plains of India, and most of China. These, too, were the scenes of ancient civilizations. In the matter of agriculture, the people of the monsoon regions have the advantage, for the rain comes when it is most needed, i.e. in summer ; while in the subtropical regions the chief rainfall is in winter, when it cannot be of such benefit to the crops. This explains the dense population of monsoon countries. Millet and rice are the staple foods in such a climate, and when properly cultivated, they yield enormous returns, so that living is comparatively easy. But monsoon countries are particularly liable to famines ; since practically all the people are closely dependent upon agriculture, the prosperity of the whole country depends upon a short season of abundant rain in summer, and when that rain is scanty or delayed, ruin ensues. The S.W. monsoon is of greater economic importance than any other seasonal wind owing to the rainfall which it brings to India ; large populous areas would become desert without it. Nor would it give such prosperity to N. India were it not for the co-operation of the great rivers which flow from mountains covered with perpetual snow, and which enable one-fifth of all the cultivated land of India to be

irrigated. In S. India, where the mountains are not high enough to give abundant water throughout the dry season, irrigation is carried on by means of 'tanks' or artificial reservoirs. The chief trouble with such tanks is that they are liable to become filled with silt; accordingly such irrigation is not so satisfactory as direct river-irrigation.

Irrigation is one of the strongest agencies in promoting civilization, for it encourages providence and care, and, teaching people to live in peace and submit to the will of the majority, fosters communal existence and co-operation, without which progress is impossible. The earliest civilizations grew up in Egypt, Mesopotamia, N. India, and China, where irrigation has always been of the highest importance.

The great rivers of the plain of Bengal, besides fertilizing the land, provide highways for trade and commerce; for the Ganges is navigable for the greater part of its course of over 1,550 miles, and the Brahmaputra for 800 miles. But against their beneficent influence we must place their destructive effects; the floods which often devastate the plains, and the silting up of harbours and the forming of islands which change fluvial course and destroy the prosperity of towns.

We must now deal with the development of the family and village systems, which have subsisted in India from very early times, and which are to a great extent dependent on the type of agriculture. India is and always has been predominantly an agricultural country; this fact has been responsible for the maintenance of the family of tribal system, which is interlinked with the caste system, and has had an incalculable effect on the history of the country.

Even in the early Vedic period the priesthood occupied an influential position; it was their business to superintend the sacrifice, and to invoke the deities of rain who meant so much to the community. As soon as the energetic life of conquest in the N.W. gave place to a life of peaceful agriculture in the plains, the priesthood was able to secure its dominance; the weaker Dās̄yus or Dravidians had been subjected, and became the Sūdras or lowest caste. The contrast in colour between the fair-skinned Aryans and the dark aborigines formed the original basis of the caste system. Even to the present day the Aryan of India retains the memory of his fair colouring, and it is the dearest wish of a Hindu girl to be thought 'fair'. It is strange to consider the effect of the climate, which has burned the Aryan Indian's skin for countless generations, so that he is now himself regarded as 'coloured' by his European brothers.

As the basis of society was the patriarchal system, the government of the tribe was naturally monarchical; the political unit of the

tribe consisted of a number of settlements, which again were formed of an aggregate of villages. In these conditions vocations soon tended to become hereditary, and the following system was evolved :

(1) The Brahmans or priestly caste, who alone held the secret of the sacrifice, and who developed the culture of the people in all its branches : poetry, philosophy, law and science, all of which have never been entirely separated from religion.

(2) The Kshatriyas or knightly caste, including the king and his nobles. Their duty was to fight, and to rule, though generally guided in this latter function by Brahman advisers.

(3) The Vaiśyas, the agricultural caste, who tilled the soil, generally through the medium of (4) the Sūdras, the lowest caste of serfs. Such was the original framework of the caste system which is to-day so complicated.

As is inevitably the case in a patriarchal system of agricultural and pastoral people, the family was subjected to its head ; in the gradual development of modern society all the members of the family group have emancipated themselves from the absolute control of the head of the family—and women have been the last to find emancipation. In the 'unchanging East', which still remains largely untouched by modern inventions and all that they entail, such emancipation has been slow to take place. Exactly why the East is unchanging is too deep a question to be lightly dismissed ; but a good part of its unaltering character may be attributed to the climate and the resulting social habits. A hot climate such as that of India is not likely to stimulate men to scientific inventions such as have been so numerous in the last two centuries in the West ; for such inventions (e.g. that steam engine) and their patenting demand an amount of physical energy which is unknown in tropical countries.

In the spheres of literature and law, on the other hand, the West can learn much from India. The hot climate was pre-eminently suited for meditation and reflection ; it refined the intellect of the Brahmans, and fostered the Oriental tendency towards asceticism and monachism. The various forms of penance, which were celebrated to such an extent, and the forest life of the anchorite, would not be possible in colder climes. For example, there is a favourite 'tapas' or self-mortification, which consists in being exposed to the heat of the 'five fires', i.e. the sun above, and a fire at each of the cardinal points. The wearing of bark garments and matted hair would, in England, lead to a speedy death, and the ascetic would not be able to enjoy the slow wasting-away which precedes his union with Brahma (the universal soul).

To return to literature. The importance of ancient Indian

literature as a whole consists in its originality. Two of the factors in this originality are India's isolation, which enabled her to pursue an independent development ; and the existence of a caste which devoted itself to creative and critical thought. In nearly every department, lyrical poetry, epic, fable, drama, phonetics, grammar, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and law, the Indians achieved notable results. The vehicle of most of this literature was Sanskrit.

The caste system, by allocating to each man his own particular task, was also instrumental in the development of the manufactures (in the original sense of the word) which have brought to perfection throughout the centuries, and which have made India's muslins, silks, cloth-of-gold, and filigree work famous all over the world. The influence on these handicrafts of other physical features than climate may be illustrated by the story of Kashmirian art. The 'Vale of Kashmir', the valley of the upper Jhelum, is celebrated in literature and history for its beauty and agreeable climate, and is renowned for its shawl-weaving, lacquer work, and silver and copper products. And the peculiar design which marks all Kashmir art is said to be derived from the graceful curves of the river as viewed from the summit of the Takht-i-Suliman, the well-known hill which overlooks Srinagar.

This brings us to the consideration of the influence of flora and fauna on India's history. But before dealing with plants and animals, a word must be said of the part played by India's rivers and mountains in her literature and religion. The Ganges and Jumna, the Godāvari and Nerbudda in a lesser degree have been sacrosanct for many, many ages, and thousands of pilgrims travel every year to the holy sources of 'Mother Gangā', or purify themselves by ablutions in her waters, or those of the Jumna. The countless references in Sanskrit literature to these sacred streams, and the veneration in which they have so long been held, can only be understood if we remember how vitally important is the never-failing supply of water which they bestow on the country.

It is a commonplace that each religion is modified by the colouring of its surroundings. Shady trees, for example, such as the banyan or nyagrodha, with its curious rooting branches, or the ficus religiosa, the noted Bo-tree, naturally proved a great boon in a country like India, and accordingly tended to take on a sacred character, which is well illustrated in Buddhism by Buddha's incarnations 'tree genius'. In the Veda, plants are frequently invoked as divinities, mainly with regard to their healing powers. In Sanskrit literature as a whole, and notably in the plays, Nature occupies a very important place. The mango, the brilliant creepers, and the beautiful lotus must be thanked for many a lovely simile in

Kalidasa ; while the gorgeous colours of the parrot and the peacock furnish reflections on the vanity of human life. A person who does not know all the varying aspects of an Indian scene cannot hope to understand fully the references in literature, and the workings of the Hindu mind.

It may be argued that flowers and dainty animals have always in all countries inspired the poets, and have always played their parts in religious rites. But that is no reason for leaving them out in a consideration of the importance of physical features in India's history,—especially as I feel that they have here been rather more than less important, in a country which has been the home of so many religions, and which has developed so original a literature.

Much might be said on the subject of the cow, the sacred animal, *aghnya*, 'not to be slain'. The cow is of course the symbol of plenty, and, owing to its great importance in the pastoral and agricultural life of monsoon countries, early acquired in India a sanctity such as it has not enjoyed in other lands. Its place in mythology is an interesting one ; there is for example the legend of *Kāmadhuk*, the miraculous cow which yields all desires—corresponding to our horn of plenty. Much of the bitterness between Hindus and Mohammedans, a very real part of India's history—may be traced to the feeling in regard to animals, notably the cow, the pig, and the monkey (the latter being sacred to the Hindu as *Hanumat*, the helper of Rama, incarnation of Vishnu. It may be remarked that *Hanumat* is at the present day the Tutelary deity of village settlements all over India, and Professor Jacobi has suggested that he must have been connected with agriculture, and may have been a genius of the monsoon). The Indian Mutiny of 1857 is often said to have originated in the bitterness regarding the greased cartridges. Here, though we have an instance of exaggeration of a single factor in an occurrence. The Mutiny was *not* primarily due to greased cartridges, but to grievances real or supposed, such as Lord Dalhousie's policy of 'lapse', and the imagined undermining of the caste system resulting from the introduction of railways.

Among other animals which have exerted an influence on Indian habits is the serpent. This is the form which *Vrtra*, the powerful demon, Indra's foe, is believed to possess. Serpent worship in India goes back to pre-Aryan times, and the Aryans borrowed the cult from the aborigines. The characteristics of the serpent which must have inspired awe are its deadly venom, its mysterious movements, and its strange power of casting its slough.

The doctrine of transmigration which has coloured all of India's history may well have been influenced by two factors : (1) the intelligence of many animals and birds (such as the monkey, the

elephant, the parrot, and the maina bird) which made it seem likely that they could assume human form, or that men could descend to their level ; and (2) the regularity of the seasons, which is so marked in India, and which could not but foster a belief in the continuity of existence. The doctrine of metempsychosis, which became universally accepted shortly after the end of the Vedic poetry is largely responsible for the Weltschmerz of the later poetry, and for the grotesque exaggeration and fantasy which characterizes much of the mythology.

One of the most striking results of this belief is the wide prevalence of vegetarianism in India, and the care for animal life which is so marked, and which under Aśoka even went so far as the establishment of hospitals for animals. The attachment to vegetarianism, which has much to do with the mild temper of the Hindu, is directly encouraged by the climate ; for meat and fish do not keep well in hot countries, neither are furs and leather necessary articles of clothing.

The influence of the transmigration theory in literature is seen to best advantage in beast fable, which is India's supreme gift to the West. The Indian fables differ from Aesopic in this : in the latter animals act as animals ; in the former, animals act as men in the form of animals, and this treatment of the fable produces some piquant situations, where we can see the human thinly masked by the beast.

That the fable should be the most original department of Indian literature says much for the inter-relation of man and Nature in India, which resulted in the instruction of princes in polity, through the medium of the didactic beast fable.

Up to a certain point, man can bend most geographical features to his will ; he can improve the soil, tunnel through mountains, and make artificial harbours. But he cannot alter the climate, which is relentless. Many and many a time has a human being, of greater enterprise than the common man, pitted himself against climatic influences ; but many and many a time has he been baffled. Napoleon had cause to curse the climate of Russia in 1812—and similarly Alexander the Great, his mighty predecessor, could not persuade his soldiers, who had endured many hardships, to put up any longer with the Indian climate. He had resolved to march to the Ganges, but his troops were worn out by the heat of the Punjab summer, and by the hurricanes of the S.W. monsoon. So the conqueror was forced to turn back, with his ambition unfulfilled. Thus is history made. It would be easy to multiply instances ; let it suffice to adduce the story of the British in India. It is self-evident that the races of tropical regions are by no means as hardy as those of

temperate climes. The great secret of India's conquest by the English is this: the soldiers were recruited constantly from the British Isles, fresh and supplied with the natural vigour of the cyclonic regions. They did not remain in India long enough to become weakened, for their home was in England. Thus it was that a mere handful of Europeans, so to speak, could overcome an Indian army of great numerical superiority.

Speaking of conquest, one is reminded of the superficiality of Alexander's subjugation of the Punjab. In all periods of history, local governments in India have gone on almost unchanged, in spite of the numerous invasions. The lot of the ordinary people was not vitally affected by the losses or gains of their rulers. This state of affairs was due to the peculiarity of the caste and village system mentioned above, which ensured that fighting was the duty of the military caste,—a department of government, so to speak, and therefore not important to the community as a whole. So long as their village remains intact, its inhabitants do not mind to whom it is subjected. This is one of the main reasons why Alexander's invasion has left no traces in the institutions of literature in the country. The main principles of government have remained unaltered throughout the ages, being based on the acknowledgment of the village system and its superstructure of social habits, which would be impracticable in any but an agricultural community. Here we may note another uniform principle of government, dependent on a different geographical factor—the idea of religious toleration, which is strikingly apparent in the India of the 3rd century B.C., (as evidenced by the edicts of Aśoka, the Buddhist Emperor), and which has remained generally accepted from that time until the present day. It has been remarked above that India is a continent in itself; as a result government have been obliged to recognize an infinite variety of religious beliefs and social customs. To attempt to suppress these beliefs and customs would spell disaster, and so every enlightened ruler has tolerated and sanctioned them.

Apart from insect pests and epidemics, which have troubled India to a great extent, and which are due indirectly to the weather, there is one other aspect of climatic influence to be considered. The chief motive of the migration of peoples, and more especially of nomads, is scarcity of food, and such scarcity has in Central Asia been due to the aridity of the land during the dry eras of climatic cycles, which in past centuries seem to have gone to greater extremes than those of our own day. Important evidence of this is found in ruins, in the level of salt lakes, and in the growth of old trees. Nomads such as those of Central Asia are the first to feel the effect of increased aridity, and they react by invading more fortunate

areas, such as the Punjab. The greatest of all outpourings from the desert occurred in the seventh century A.D., just at the time when the dry part of a climatic cycle was most pronounced. The outbursts of the Huns in the 5th century, of Genghis Khan, about 1200 A.D., and of the Moguls soon after 1500 A.D., all occurred during periods when the deserts suffered from unusual aridity.

We must now leave the interesting subject of climate, and deal with the last great physical factor—India's minerals. It is on the tableland, and among the surrounding mountains that India's mineral wealth lies hidden. Coal is found in the Gondwana rocks; it also occurs in the Tertiary rocks from Sind to Kashmir, and in Assam. Pure iron ores are abundant throughout the Peninsula and in the outer Himalayas. It is a noteworthy fact that one of the chief reasons for the differences between the civilizations of antiquity and the modern civilizations of W. Europe and the U.S.A. is the amount of iron available for everyday use. Iron ores do not occur in plains like those of Northern India, and accordingly there is no incentive among the Aryan Indians to develop an industrial civilization. It was owing to her easily available coal and iron, close to the coasts, that England was enabled to change from sailing vessels before any other nation, and to play a leading part in the Industrial Revolution. And because India's important minerals are buried in the mountains, her people never made very much progress in manufacturing, commerce, mining, and transportation. The introduction, under British rule, of railways and good roads, and the development of coal-mining and metal-smelting have already made an appreciable difference in the outlook of the people; but there is always the danger of mechanization, the great evil of modern civilization. It would be a great pity if the beautiful handicrafts of the native workman were superseded by mass production with its soul-destroying effects.

If India is not rich in iron and coal, she is nevertheless a perfect mine of precious stones. Gold, diamonds, rubies and sapphires are present in seemingly inexhaustible quantities; while ivory and marble (which belong of course to another category) contribute to the beauties of many a building. One might expatiate on the by-gone magnificence of countless Indian edifices; magnificence on a larger scale than any that is seen in Europe. The resplendent temples, the remarkable rock-cut caves, and the Mohammedan mausoleums, the most famous of which, the Taj Mahal at Agra, is entitled to rank among the wonders of the world,—it is buildings such as these that bear testimony to an Oriental culture, the like of which is not met with in Europe. It would seem difficult to make these buildings dependent on the physical features; but one must

remember that they, in a literal sense, arise *out* of the physical features (especially the caves).

Contrast these examples of Indian architecture with the architecture of Babylon, which owing to the lack of good building stone, was never remarkable. And the rank luxuriance of jungle vegetation must have suggested many forms; the graceful minarets and pillars seem to emulate the lofty palms. Then, again, the very vastness of India, and her isolation, which cannot be over-emphasised, is responsible for the diversity of her buildings. In connection with India's wealth, we must remember not only its office in the decoration of temples and the like, but also its importance as a magnet to attract foreigners. From the earliest times the 'wealth of Inde' has been famed throughout the East, and later throughout Europe. It was to search for India and her treasures (including spices and cloths) that early explorers, Columbus among them, set sail in the Age of Discovery; so that Vasco da Gama's historic landing at Calicut in 1498 may be said to depend indirectly on a feature of India's physical make-up, viz., her mineral and agricultural wealth. It was a desire for the valuable trade of India that led Europeans to establish settlements on her coasts in the 17th century; and it was not till many years later that this desire gave place in importance to the wish for territorial possessions.

From the foregoing survey it will be seen that India's physical features have been a vital factor in her development. But it must be constantly borne in mind that they only constitute a single factor,—and it is the union of many factors which determines the progress of a nation. Broadly speaking, History may be considered the product of two great forces—Environment and Personality; and it is impossible to separate one from the other. To give an example: it is perfectly true to say that the eruptions of nomads from Central Asia were largely due to lack of food caused by aridity. But that is only one side of the question. It was not the lack of food which led the powerful Mahmud of Ghazni to plunder the temple of Somnath; it was his character which was to blame.

Furthermore, it must be remembered that it is in ancient times that we can trace most clearly the effects of geographic features in retarding or furthering the efforts of man. As the ages go by, man is more and more able to overcome them, and bend them to his use. Until recent centuries, all the world was more or less on a level as regards scientific inventions, and man could not yet enslave the elements as he can in these days of steam and electricity. To-day a letter by air mail reaches India from England in a week, and a wire in a few hours. But traffic by air has not yet superseded traffic by water; here we are reminded of the volume of trade which

passes through Bombay (which possesses one of the finest harbours in the world) and Calcutta. Calcutta, though farther from Europe, and though not in possession of so fine a harbour as that of Bombay, yet has a more extensive trade, for it has as its hinterland the fertile plains of Bengal.

Under British rule, harbours are being improved, and railways are throwing out feelers over the land. India's population has increased rapidly during the last two centuries, and she is already more Westernised on the surface than any other Oriental country. Much may be hoped from a union of Eastern and Western culture, and perhaps in the future we may see a blend of idealism and materialism which will give inspiration to generations to come.

THE ŞÜFI MOVEMENT IN INDIA

IV

(Period of Reformation—1550 A.D. downward)

By MD. ENAMUL HAQ

What was the result of the fusion of Indian and Islāmic thought? As to the nature of this fusion, we do not like to pass any remark. It may either be good or bad according to the taste of him who studies it sympathetically or unsympathetically and who judges it from this or that point of view. What we like to note here is the result. The result, it achieved, is undeniably, in the words of Dārā Shikūh 'Mujm'au-'l-Bahrayn' or 'The Mingling of the two Seas'. In the realm of thought indeed the two seas mingled and consequently a mixture of the two seas' water was produced, out of which a spirit of mutual toleration grew up. Had it not been the case, Abū-'l-Faḍl could not write:—

'Praise be to God that all men agreed in this, that there is no creed that may not in some one particular be in error, nor yet any such that is entirely false, and therefore, that if any one, according to his conviction, speaks favourably regarding a doctrine which seems at variance with his own faith, his motives should not be misunderstood, nor should people rise to decry him.' (Ain., Vol. III, p. 429.)

A revolution in the realm of thought and a spirit of mutual toleration resulted soon in the imitation of each one's religious and social practices, thoughts and beliefs. In every department of life, a sort of newness appeared which a section of Hindus and Muslims did not like. The dissatisfied sections of the two communities thought that every innovation was bad and irreligious. So, in order to ward these things off from the society, people bestirred themselves. Soon, regular reformatory movements were launched from both the sides. As we are not directly concerned with the reformation of the Hindus, we need not discuss it here.

In the later part of the sixteenth century, signs of reformation among the Muslims were visible. The idea that the Muslims of India were, day by day, degrading to be Hinduized was entertained by a section of the Muslims who apprehended a great danger for their brethren, of being slowly merged among the Hindu population. This idea was rapidly developing with the march of time; it was

enhanced by the liberal movement of Akbar and his learned followers. But there was none among the reactionaries so bold as to voice their feeling and shape their idea in words and deeds. At last in the person of Shaykh Ahmad of Sirhind, the earnestly wished-for opportunity came. His full name was Imām Rabbānī Mahbūb-i-Subhānī Shaykh Ahmad Fārūqī. He is generally known by his title Mujaddad-i-Alf-i-Thānī or the Reformer of the Second Millenium of the Hijera. This title is based on the foundation of a popular belief among the Muslims. It is said that there is a tradition to the purport that at the end of every millenium of Hijera, there will appear a reformer in the Muslim world, whose duty is to eradicate all sorts of false beliefs, wicked practices, various superstitions and the similar accretions that a religion may acquire by virtue of its progress and expansion. Shaykh Ahmad of Sirhind claimed to be that reformer in the second millenium of Hijera. He was born in Sirhind in the year 1563 A.D., and educated there in his early days. In course of time, he became an erudite scholar, possessed esoteric and exoteric knowledge in Islāmic lore, such as theology, science, philosophy and mysticism, and thereby played the part of a doctor of Islām enforcing his discretionary power on the masses in matters that concerned Shāri'at or Islāmic canonical law. There is no doubt that there was not a single learned man like him in India in the sixteenth century A.D. His erudite work, 'Maktūbāt' or 'Epistles' collected after his death by his followers, is the most shining example of his profound learning in one hand and of incessant propaganda work for reform on the other.

From the very beginning of his career, Shaykh Ahmad assumed a reformatory attitude and his reformation was surely of a sweeping and drastic nature, which the people of other schools than his, could not bear the brunt of. The field covered by his reformation, was a fairly wide one. He not only directed his mighty pen and tongue against the alleged Hinduized beliefs and practices, prevalent among the Muslims of India, but also applied much of his energy to the reformation of the different Ṣūfī orders and diverse Muslim sects, such as Shī'ahs and Rāfiḍīs. Hindus too could not escape him. His 'Maktūbāt' or 'Epistles' contains a few letters addressed to prominent Hindus of different localities. These letters clearly show, how Mujaddad-i-Alf-i-Thānī tried to expound the falsity of the Hindu belief in gods and goddesses and the futility of subtle explanations that are generally given by the Hindus in support of their beliefs. He offered the message of unmixed monothism to the Hindus and preached, explained and unfolded to them the beauty and teachings of Islām.

His pose of a Ṣūfī-reformer, is interesting to know. Tadhkirah-

i-Auliya-i-Hind gives it (part III, p. 95) in the following figurative way :—

‘ It is narrated that, one day Shaykh Ahmad, while sitting in a mosque, was surrounded by a group of followers and attentive to the act of imparting them instructions. At this time, Shāh Sikandar of Kithāl came and offered Shaykh Ahmad the cloak of Qādirī order (Khirqah-i-Khilāfat, when offered, means spiritual successor). On this he (i.e. Shaykh Ahmad) thought about his initiation in the Naqshbandī order. While he was thinking thus, he saw all on a sudden that there came ‘Abdu’l-Qādir of Jilān (1078–1166), Khawājah Bahāu-’d-Dīn Naqshband (d. 1389), Khawājah ‘Abdu’l-Bāqī, Khawājah Mu’īnu-’d-Dīn Chishtī (1142–1236), Shaykh Shihabu-’d-Dīn Suhrawardī (1147–1234), Shaykh Najmu’d-Dīn Kubrā and Badī’u-d-Dīn Shāh-i-Madār (1115–1436) and they all made him their spiritual successor.’ This narration which is like a conscious allegory simply means that Shaykh Ahmad not only claimed to be a reformer in the religious and social field, but also in the field of theosophy or Taşawwuf as it was then prevalent in India. He chiefly belonged to the Naqshbandī school of mystic thought, but he reformed all schools including his own. Everyone going through his ‘Maktūbāt’ or Epistles can easily imagine, how he grappled with the situation.

However, as a result of his writing treatises on the falsity of Rāfiḍī and Shī’ah creeds, a class of Muslims, particularly these two sects grew infuriated with him. Shī’ahs had a very strong hold on the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr through his favourite consort Nūr Jahān who was a Shī’ah. They instigated the Empress to take a drastic and immediate step against the rising heretic Shaykh Ahmad. The Emperor, under the instigation and influence of his royal consort, soon arrested the reformer and passed order to throw him to prison for an indefinite period of time. But Shaykh Ahmad neither changed his opinion, nor abandoned his convictions. He was even not inactive behind the prison bars where he preached the message of reform to all and sundry who came in contact with him. As a result of his preaching, the prison-house soon turned to be a reformatory platform and he succeeded to win over a large number of prisoners to his side.

After the imprisonment of Shaykh Ahmad, many changes took place within a short period of two years, at the end of which, Shaykh ‘Abdu’l-Haqq Muhaddith of Delhi (d. 1641) succeeded in convincing the Emperor of the puritanic spirit of Shaykh Ahmad and of the good and beneficial result of his reform. On this, the Emperor gladly released Shaykh Ahmad from his prison, showed respect and honour to him and allowed the prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān) to be initiated by him. After his release, Shaykh Ahmad worked very

vigorously as there was no authority-religious or royal,—to oppose him. (*Tadhkirah*, part III, pp. 94–99 ; *Maktūbāt* of *Alf-i-Thānī*.)

The activities of this celebrated savant, reformer and saint were felt far and wide. Many people from different parts of India were converted to Islām by him and accepted him as a 'Mujaddad' or reformer. Mawlānā *Shaykh* Ḥamīd Dānishmand of Mangalkot, Burdwan, was his deputy who worked for his master in Bengal. The well-known book *Maktūbāt* contains a few letters addressed to this Bengali saint and savant.

Shaykh Ahmad died in the year 1624 A.D. On his death, the Indian Muslims lost a great reformer indeed. His tomb is in Sirhind where thousands of pilgrims from different parts of Northern India, assemble every year.

The movement started by *Shaykh* Ahmad, was of mainly Sunni character, in the sense that it tended more to Sunni creed than others. Imām Abū Ḥanīfah (699–767 A.D.) one of the founders of the Sunni sect among the Muslims, was the first religious doctor who introduced reasoning in Islām. He saw that those problems, which had a pure local and occasional origin could not be solved according to the canons of existing creed in Islām, save the employment of a good and sound reasoning. With a view to purify the Muslims of India, *Shaykh* Ahmad adopted in many cases, this method of Abū Ḥanīfah (699 A.D.–767 A.D.) and employed his reasoning to the solutions of problems of Indian origin. As the general consensus of Muslim public is that none but a 'Mujaddad' or reformer can do such things, *Shaykh* Ahmad had that necessary qualification. Excepting many other similarities between the Sunni creed and the reformatory creed of *Shaykh* Ahmad the two erudite doctors of Islām, Abū Ḥanīfah and *Shaykh* Ahmad met with each other on the same ground of employing reasoning in the field of religion.

The two other men who carried on the reform of *Shaykh* Ahmad were Mawlānā *Shaykh* 'Abdu-'l-Haqq of Delhi (d. 1641 A.D.) and the Sunni Mughal emperor Aurangzib. Mawlānā 'Abdu-'l-Haqq was a great doctor of tradition (*Muhaddith*) and a famous authority on the Qurānic commentary (*Mutafassir*). He wrote volumes in Persian and Arabic which testify to his profound erudition in many branches of Islāmic lore. His treatises on *Taşawwuf* speak of his thorough mastery over this department of Islāmic theosophy. At first this learned man could not agree in many points with *Shaykh* Ahmad. He argued against many principles, now embodied in the 'Epistles'. But after all *Shaykh* Ahmad convinced this doctor of the infallibility of those controversial principles on which 'Abdu-'l-Haqq raised questions of dissent. After 'Abdu-'l-Haqq was won

over to the side of Shaykh Aḥmad, he became one of his (Aḥmad's) strong supporters and we have mentioned before, how this man was instrumental to the release of Shaykh Aḥmad from the prison. (Tadhkirah, part III, pp. 49-50.)

A regular campaign was directed by Aurangzīb against the alleged heresy among the Muslims. The result of this campaign was the compilation of the great Indian Ḥanifī law book, 'Fatwā-i-Ālamgīrī' or the Legal Decisions of 'Ālamgīr. Emperor Aurangzīb was an orthodox Sunnī Muslim and he employed a good number of Ḥanafī doctors to compile a law book of simply puritanic character, basing on which, he intended to enforce Muhammadan law among the Muslims of India. The doctors of Aurangzīb worked hard for many years in collecting materials and embodying them in the forementioned book, under different heads, with decisions now based on analogy, now on discretion, now on sound decisions, now on careless whims and often on the taste of a particular group of mediæval doctors of religious law, who generally possessed narrow ideas, small outlook and limited freedom of thought. When we go through the pages of 'Fatwā-i-Ālamgīrī, we wonder to see often the tremendous struggle of the doctors of Aurangzīb for drawing far-fetched analogies, and employing often unsound discretions. As if, these learned mediæval doctors formed an opinion on some particular problem, before they had thoroughly examined the existing facts with an unbiased mind and then they tried to prove their opinion already formed. However this book is a monumental work in the sense that it is the best orthodox Indian Muhammadan production on orthodox Indian Islām. During six hundred years of Muslim rule in India, only one book was written on a comprehensive basis and that is 'Fatwā-i-Ālamgīrī' which could guide the Indian Muslims in all religious matters. As Islām in India had to live under a regular non-Islāmic environment for centuries together, it had naturally to face many new problems of pure local and circumstantial origin. Many of such problems were sought to be solved by the scholars of Aurangzīb and the results have been put down in this memorable book.

Aurangzīb's criterion of reformation was based on his 'Legal Decisions'. When the book was compiled the Emperor enforced his decisions on all Muslims of India who belonged to the Sunnī school of Islāmic principles. His reformations may be characterized as the reformations by force, while those of his predecessors, Shaykh Aḥmad and 'Abdu-'l-Haqq were the reformations by persuasion. The former worked in India because of the imperial power to drive them on, while the latter proved more successful because of the brains to work behind them in the hearts of people. The imperial

power became intolerable in certain cases : Dārā Shikūh, the learned brother of Aurangzīb, and the most liberal man of the time had to sacrifice his precious life on the altar of force only because of his novel dream of fusion of Hinduism with Islām. The great Suhrawardī Saint Sarmad was beheaded in 1659 A.D., by Aurangzīb, for his alleged heresy. After his execution, he was buried beside the Cathedral Mosque in Delhi. He is generally known as the inhabitant of Armenia or Kāshān.¹ It is said that he came to India as a trader and settled at Thath where he fell in love with a beautiful Hindu lad. This sensual love ('ishq-i-mijāzī) is said to have led him to the love divine ('ishq-i-haqīqī) which ultimately gave him a fore-most rank amongst the darvishes of India. (Tadhkirah, p. III, p. 175). Sarmad was probably not an Armenian ; he seems to have been an Indian. The following 'rubāyī' or quatrain of Sarmad speaks of his early allegiance to Hinduism :—

' O Sarmad ! thou hast acquired much fame in this world :
 From the creed of infidelity, thou hast passed over to Islām
 At last what defect didst thou detect, of Allah and His apostle
 By rebelling against the disciple of Lakṣman and Rām ? ' ²

However, on the death of Aurangzīb, the force of his reformation was naturally abated and in course of a few years, it naturally died away. But, the reformation of the orthodox scholars was going on by their lieutenants. It did not cease for ever.

¹ Kāshān is a city situated midway between Tehrān and Ispahān.

² سرمد بجهان بسی نکو نام شدي از مذهب کفر سوی اسلام شدي
 آخر چه خطا دیدي از الله و رسول برگشته مرید لچمن و رام شدي

ICONOGRAPHY OF HERUKA¹

By BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA

In the Indian Buddhist Iconography, published in 1924, I gave a survey of all the different forms of Heruka I could obtain from the *Sādhanamālā*. I had occasion since to examine a few more manuscripts of Tāntric Buddhism, and I have been able to discover numerous forms of Heruka not recorded anywhere else. Assuming that a correct description of these forms would facilitate further identification of hitherto unidentified images of Heruka, I give below an account of the different forms so far available. It may be noted that Heruka in no way differs from the famous Buddhist deity Hevajra,² to whose worship many Buddhist Tantras are dedicated. Heruka, or Hevajra is an object of common worship in Nepal and Tibet, and his images are found in abundance in these countries. The forms here described, therefore, may prove of considerable help in correctly identifying not only the so-called Tibetan banners with forms of Heruka that come exclusively from these countries, but also many other sculptures.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Heruka is either represented singly or in yab-yum (in the embrace of his Śakti). The latter is generally known as Vajravārāhī. When single, Heruka stands on a corpse or on the prostrate figures of Bhairava and his consort Kālarātri in either the Ālīdha or the Pratyālīdha attitude, or dances in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude, with the sole of one foot pressed against the thigh of the other. Born in the family of the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya, his person is awe-inspiring to a degree hardly discoverable in other deities, except, possibly Mahākāla and Bhūtaḍāmara. His dishevelled hair rises upwards in a peak of flame. His three blood-shot eyes seem to be coming out of their sockets. His distorted face is terrible, with long bare fangs, and a protruding tongue. His head bears a row of skulls or of severed heads and a necklace of severed heads is also worn round the neck,

¹ Read before the Seventh Session of the Indian Oriental Conference held in Baroda in December, 1933.

² Hevajra is described in Getty and Deniker's *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 123, where several of his images are reproduced. I have not been able to trace the Dhyāna described in this book for the main deity Hevajra.

the blood trickling from the fifty human heads which compose the necklace. He is bedecked with the six mudrās, all made of human bones: namely, the Kaṇṭhikā (neck-lace), Rucaka (bangles), Kuṇḍala (ear-rings), Mekhalā (girdle), the Yajñopavīta (sacred-thread) and Bhasma (ashes),—all these serving to render his already awe-inspiring form most horrible to behold.

In yab-yum the main form remains the same, except that there Heruka embraces Vajravārāhī (or any one among his many consorts) with two hands, while the Śakti holds the same weapons, and is of precisely the same description, as the principal deity.

When single, Heruka may have from one to three faces, and from two to six hands. The forms differ in the number of faces and hands, and in the kind of weapons held in his hands. As a rule, different forms have different names in consonance with the principal idea, or symbolism, they represent. I give below six different forms of Heruka described as single, with citations from the texts.

I. SINGLE FORMS

1. *Buddhakapālin.*

He is one-faced and two-armed. His left hand holds the Kapāla, his right shows the Abhaya Mudrā. The Khaṭvāṅga hangs from his left shoulder.

तत्परावृत्तमात्मानं बुद्धकापालिनं परम्
द्विभुजमेकवक्त्रं तु
कपालखट्वाङ्गधरमभयं दक्षिणं करम्

अभिधानोत्तर ई०Bf.

2. *Jñānaviśuddha.*

He also is one-faced and two-armed. He holds the Vajra in his right hand and the Kapāla in his left; the Khaṭvāṅga hangs from his left shoulder. The Hevajrasādhanatantra, from which this description is quoted, states that the Vajra symbolizes 'Abhedya-jñāna' or the Knowledge of Oneness in everything; the Khaṭvāṅga symbolizes 'Prajñā' or the Highest Knowledge; and the Kapāla stands for the 'Bodhicitta' or the Will to Enlightenment.

एकमुखं ज्ञानविशुद्धं, द्विभुजं शून्यताकरणाविशुद्धं, दक्षिणतो वक्ष्यमभेद्यज्ञानप्रतिपादकं
वामे कपालखट्वाङ्गं च; खट्वाङ्गं प्रज्ञास्वभावरूपं कपालं बोधिचित्तप्रतिपादकम् ।

हेवचसाधनतंत्र प० २४A.

3. *Sahajanātha.*

He, again, is one-faced and two-armed. His two hands, joined in the Dharmamudrā (which, very probably, is the same as the Dharmacakramudrā), rest against his breast as at the time of lecturing. Heruka in this form sits in the Vajraparyaṅka attitude on the moon over a corpse, unlike the others, who are shown in the Ālīḍha, the Pratyālīḍha, or the dancing attitude.

चन्द्रकान्तमणिप्रभमात्मानं वक्षसत्वं महाशान्तं जटामुकुटिनं द्विभुजैकमुखं त्रिनेत्रं वक्ष-
पर्यङ्गिनं धर्ममुद्रादृतकरद्वयं विश्वपद्मे शवोपरि चन्द्रस्थं सहजहेरुकं ... चिन्तयेत् ।

हेवक्षसाधनतन्त्र प० ३A.

4. *Ṣaṭpāramitāvisuddha.*

He is three-faced and four-armed, and shows the Ghaṇṭā and the Trīśūla in his two left hands, and the Vajra and the Kartri in his two right. His three faces stand for Kāya (body), Vāk (speech) and Citta (mind). According to the Hevajrasādhanatantra, from which the Dhyāna is cited, the Ghaṇṭā represents the essential purity of the Śūnya; the Trīśūla destroys duality; the Vajra symbolizes 'Samatājñāna' or the Knowledge of Oneness and the Kartri destroys all varieties of ignorance.

षट्पारमिताविशुद्धं त्रिमुखं कायवाक्चित्तप्रतिपादकं वामे घण्टाशून्यताशुद्ध्या त्रिशूलं
ज्ञानद्वयच्छेदनार्थं दक्षिणे वक्षं समताज्ञानविशुद्धं कर्त्रिकाऽश्रेषाज्ञानच्छेदनाय ।

हेवक्षसाधनतन्त्र प० २४A.

5. *Mañjuvajra.*

He is three-faced and six-armed. He bears the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā, the sword and the book, and the Utpala and the Aṅkuśa.

अथापरं विधिं वक्ष्ये मंजुवक्षस्य साधनम् ।

षण्मुखं षड्भुजं शान्तं सितदेहं तु निर्मलम् ॥

त्रिनेत्रं वक्षपर्यङ्कं षण्मुद्राभरणोज्वलम् ।

... ..

वक्षघण्टासमापन्नं अस्तिपुस्तकधारिणम् ।

उत्पलमङ्कुशं चैव ज्ञानमूर्तिं विभावयेत् ॥

अभिधानो० प० ७१B.

6. *Mahāsukha.*

He is three-faced and six-armed. Unlike the other forms, he sits in the Sattvaparyaṅka, or reclining attitude, and bears the

Vajra, Ghaṇṭā, sword, Aṅkuśa, Ratna, and Pāśa. His faces are white, blue and red.

अक्षयमव्ययं शुद्धं आदिमध्यान्तनिर्मलम् ।
 आकाशज्ञाननिष्पन्नं वक्षसत्वं महासुखम् ॥
 त्रिसुखं षड्भुजं शान्तं त्रिनेत्रकरणारसम् ।
 सत्वपर्यङ्गमासीनं षण्मुद्रादिहृषितम् ॥
 वक्षघटासमापन्नं असिबद्धप्रपाणिनम् ।
 रत्नपाशकरं दिव्यं सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकम् ॥
 अभिधानो० प० ७०

II. YAB-YUM FORMS

From the new materials now available, we can distinguish as many as eighteen different forms of Heruka or Hevajra. In Yab-Yum, he is seen embracing Vārāhī or Vajravārāhī, but the name of the Śakti is different in some cases. He may have from one to eight faces, and from two to sixteen arms. His appearance is rarely, if ever, pleasant and peaceful since all the horrors associated with the most horrible deities of the Buddhist Pantheon are to be found in him. His eighteen yab-yum forms are described below :--

1. *Heruka.*

He is one-faced and two-armed. He bears the Vajra in his right hand and the Kapāla in his left. The Khaṭvāṅga hangs from his left shoulder. He embraces his consort Vārāhī.

द्विभुजमेकवक्त्रं तु त्रिनेत्रं विद्वताननम् ।
 कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं वक्षोस्त्रालनतत्परम् ॥
 वाराह्या तु समाश्लिष्टं
 अभिधानो० प० ५०

2. *Acintyajñāna.*

He is one-faced but four-armed, and embraces the Prajñā, who, in this case, is Vajravārāhī. His first right hand bears the Vajra, and his first left the Kapāla filled with the blood of the Devas and Asuras. The two remaining arms embrace the goddess. The four hands symbolize the four agencies for the destruction of the four Māras, or evil beings, who are generally represented in Buddhism as the four gods of the Hindu Pantheon : Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra. The face of Heruka is purified by the ' Acintyajñāna ', or

the Highest Knowledge, above all conception. The words Deva and Asura here mean 'Bhāva', 'existence', and 'Abhāva', 'non-existence', and the word Rakta, or blood, represents their unification or commingling. The Kapāla of a human being symbolizes the purity arising out of the commingling of the two opposite concepts of existence and non-existence, when duality disappears.

एवं चतुर्भुजं चतुर्भारविनाशार्थमेकमुखं अचिन्त्यज्ञानविशुद्धं, प्रथमदक्षिणामुजे वक्षं युगनद्धमाङ्गप्रतिपादकं, प्रथमवाममुजे कपालं देवासुराणां रक्तेन पूरितं देवासुरशब्देन भावाभावं रक्तशब्देन तदेकीकरणं, पूरितशब्देन तत्पदप्राप्तं एतद्विशुद्धं नरकपालं शेषभुजाभ्यां वक्ष्वाराह्या-
लिङ्गितम् ।

हेवक्षसाधनतन्त्र प० २४A.

3. *Raudrabhūṣana.*

He is four-faced and four-armed, and embraced by the Śakti. He bears the Kapāla, the Vajra, the Ghaṇṭā and the Damaru, and the Khaṭvāṅga hangs as usual from his left shoulder. Presumably, the hands bearing the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā are also engaged in clasping the Śakti.

चतुर्भुजं चतुर्वक्त्रं त्रिनेत्रं रौद्रभूषणम् ।

कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं वक्ष्वरगण्डमरुकम् ।

वाराह्यादिसमापन्नं देव्या कुचनिपौडनम् ॥

अभिधानो० प० ५१B.

4. *Vikṛtānana.*

He is described as three-faced and six-armed. He bears the Vajra, the Ghaṇṭā, the Kapāla, the sword, the Damaru and the severed head of Brahmā. The Khaṭvāṅga hangs from his left shoulder, and the hands that bear the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā are, presumably, also engaged in clasping the Śakti.

आलिकालिप्रयोगेन आत्मानं हेरुकाकृतिम् ।

त्रिसुखं षड्भुजं नाथं त्रिनेत्रं विद्वताननम् ॥

वक्ष्वाराह्या समापन्नं जङ्घादयसुवेष्टितम् ।

कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं असिडमरुकं परम् ॥

ब्रह्ममुखं च अपरमुजैः षड्भिर्विभूषितम् ।

अभिधानो० प० ५२B.

5. *Samvarottama.*

He is three-faced and six-armed. The first two hands, holding the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā, embrace the Prajñā. The other four

hands bear the Kapāla, the Khaṭvāṅga, the Triśūla and the severed head.

नीलरक्तसिताकारं षड्भुजं च त्रिवक्त्रजम् ।
 वक्षघटासमापन्नं त्रिनेत्रं विहृताननम् ॥
 कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं त्रिशूलमुखधारिणम् ।
 स्नाभविद्याङ्गसत्सङ्गमहासुखपदस्थितम् ॥
 पीठादिक्रमयोगेन त्रियोगं संवरोत्तमम् ।

अभिधानो० प० ६६A.

6. *Samayottama.*

He is six-armed and five-faced,—rather an unusual form. The two hands which bear the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā are engaged in embracing the Śakti. The remaining hands bear the screen made up of the skin of Śiva, the Kapāla, the Kartri and the Damaru, while the Khaṭvāṅga hangs from his left shoulder.

षड्भुजं पञ्चवक्त्रं च नाद्यरसरसोत्तमम् ।
 वक्षघटासमापन्नं वाराह्यैदेहालिङ्गितम् ॥
 शिवचर्मवरधरं वितानं विततोपमम् ।
 कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं कर्त्रिडमरुकं तथा ॥

अभिधानो० प० ७६A.

7. *Yoginīrabhu.*

He is four-faced and eight-armed. The hands bearing the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā embrace the Prajñā, while the remaining hands bear the Kapāla, a portion of the skin of the Jina, the Mudgara, the Śūla, the Paraśu and the severed head of Brahmā. The Khaṭvāṅga hangs from the left shoulder as usual.

अष्टबाहुं चतुर्वक्त्रं भयस्यापि भयङ्करम् ।
 आलीढपदमासीनं त्रिनेत्रं योगिनीप्रसुम् ॥
 वक्षघटासमाश्लिष्टं वाराह्यैजान्मवस्थितम् ।
 कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं जिनचर्मपटार्धकम् ॥
 सुदूरं शूलपरशुमपरं ब्रह्ममुखं भुजाशकम् ।

अभिधानो० प० ६५

8. *Mahāvajra.*

(a) He is four-faced and eight-armed. The right face is blackish-red, the left is blackish-green, the face above is of Garuḍa, while

the one in front is red, and burning like a dozen suns. One of his right hands bears the Vajra ; the corresponding left hand shows the Tarjanī, to which a noose is attached. The remaining six hands bear the Kapāla, the Khaṭvāṅga, the Aṅkuśa, the Śūla, the skin of Indra and the Damaru. He stands in the Āliḍha attitude on the prostrate body of Varuṇa. (b) He may have another form with twelve hands, when the following symbols are added: the Kartri, the severed head of Brahmā, the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā.

तत्र मध्ये महावच्चं सदंष्ट्रोक्तभौषणम् ।
 अष्टबाहुं चतुर्वक्त्रं त्रिनेत्रं भीमभौषणम् ॥
 वक्षोस्त्रालनतत्परं तर्जन्या पाशसंयुतम् ।
 कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं अङ्गुष्ठं शूलधारिणम् ॥
 इन्द्रचर्माम्बरधरं डमरं चाष्टमं स्मृतम् ।
 आलीढपदाक्रान्तं च वरुणं भीतिविह्वलम् ॥

अभिधानो० प० ८०A.

9. *Pañcānana.*

He is described as five-faced and ten-armed. He holds the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā in the first pair of hands, with which he also embraces the Prajñā, and the second pair exhibits the cloth made up of human skin. The other hands hold the Triśūla, the Damaru, the Kartri, the Kapāla, the severed head of Brahmā and the axe. The Khaṭvāṅga hangs from his left shoulder.

वक्षसत्त्वपरावृत्या हेरुकं तं विभावयेत् ।
 पञ्चाननं दशभुजं वाराह्या समलङ्कृतम् ॥
 वक्षधगटासमापन्नं महासुखसुखोत्तमम् ।
 त्रिशूलं डमरं चैव वक्षकर्त्रिकमेव च ॥
 कपालखट्वाङ्गधरः परशुं चैव चतुर्थके ।
 वामदक्षिणपाणिभ्यां नरचर्माम्बरं तथा ॥
 पादद्वये समावेष्ट्य वाराह्यै सम्पटीकता ।

अभिधानो० प० ३६Bf.

10. *Vajraheruka.*

He is described as being endowed with four heads, four necks and twelve arms. The first pair of hands bears as usual, the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā, and the second the raw skin. In the remaining eight hands he holds the following symbols: the Kapāla, the

Khaṭvāṅga, the Jharjharapātra, the Śūla, the Pāśa, the Aṅkuśa, the Muṇḍa and the Damaru.

त्रिनेत्रं रौद्रवपुषं चतुर्भुवं चतुर्मुखम् ।
 भुजैर्दादशभिर्युक्तं शून्यताज्ञानमुत्तमम् ॥
 वक्षघण्टासमापन्नं वाराह्यालिङ्गनं सुखम् ।
 नामधूतगुणं श्रीमहासुखवक्षहेरुकम् (?) ॥
 कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं चक्रभर्भरपात्रकम् ।
 शूलपाशाङ्गधरं मुण्डं च डमरं तथा ॥
 वामदक्षिणपाणिभ्यां नवचर्मपटोर्धकम् ॥

अभिधानो० प० ७६

11. *Samvaravajra.*

He is endowed with four faces,—coloured blue, yellow, red and green—, three eyes and twelve hands. The hands holding the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā embrace the Śakti Vajravārāhī, and the second pair holds the skin flayed from the body of Gaṇapati. The third of the remaining right hands bears the Damaru, the fourth holds leaves, the fifth the Kartri, and the sixth Vajraśūla, in a menacing attitude. In the third of the remaining left hands he bears the Khaṭvāṅga surmounted by a Vajra, in the fourth the Kapāla full of nectar, in the fifth the Vajrapāśa, and in the sixth the severed heads of the four Māras (Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra).

भगवन्तं श्रीसंवरवक्षं चतुर्मुखं ... त्रिनेत्रं दादशभुजमालीढस्थं ... समयवक्षवाराह्या-
 लिङ्गनभुजद्वयेन वक्षघण्टा, अपरभुजद्वये गणपतिचर्माम्बरधरं तृतीयदक्षिणकरे डमरं चतुर्थे पक्षे
 पञ्चमे कर्त्री षष्ठे वक्षशूलमुद्यतम्, वामतृतीयभुजे वक्षखट्वाङ्गं चतुर्थे अमृतपूर्णाकपालं पञ्चमे
 वक्षपाशं षष्ठे चतुर्मारिशिरः ।

अभिधानो० प० २०A.

12. *Sadvajra.*

He is described as five-faced and twelve-armed. The first two hands holding the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā embrace the Prajñā ; the second pair holds the cloth made out of the skin of Rudra. The remaining hands bear the Kapāla, the Śūla, the Kartri, the Aṅkuśa, the Pāśa, the Muṇḍa or the severed head, the Mudgara (hammer) and the Damaru. The Khaṭvāṅga as usual hangs from his left shoulder.

तत्पराहृत्य सद्वचं हेरुकं तं विभावयेत् ।
 वचघण्टासमापन्नं देवीकुचनिषीडितम् ॥
 रुद्रचर्माम्बरधरं सार्द्ररक्तखवद्रजम् ।
 कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं शूलं च कर्त्रिकाङ्गुशम् ॥
 पाशं मुण्डधरं रौद्रं सुदूरं डमरुं तथा ।

अभिधानो० प० ४२, ४३

13. *Surata-Srī.*

He is described as five-faced and twelve-armed. In the first pair of hands, Heruka holds the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā and (with them he) embraces the Prajñā Vajravārāhī, in the second pair (he holds) the skin of Gaṇapati. He bears the Śūla in the third right hand, the Aṅkuśa in the fourth, the Kartri in the fifth and the Damaru in the sixth. In the third left, likewise, he holds the Kapāla, and supports the Khaṭvāṅga against his left shoulder ; in the fourth he holds the Vajrapāśa, in the fifth the severed head of Brahmā and in the sixth the Paraśu (axe). The five faces of Heruka are blue, yellow, white, red and green, and they express Raudra, Hāsya, Śṛṅgāra, Vīra and Bībhatsa (wrath, mirth, amorousness, courage and horribleness).

वचसत्वयोगेन सुरतश्रीहेरुकमात्मानं भावयेत् चतुर्मुखं द्वादशभुजं आलीढपदसंस्थितम् ।
 वचवाराह्यालिङ्गितभुजद्वयेन पञ्चशूककपालवचघण्टा अपरभुजद्वयेन गणपतिचर्माम्बर-
 धरः, तृतीयदक्षिणाकरे वचशूले चतुर्थे अङ्गुशं पञ्चमे वचकर्त्रिका, षष्ठे वचडमरुकं वामतृतीय-
 भुजे कपालं योगेन वचखट्वाङ्गम्, चतुर्थे वचपाशं पञ्चमे ब्रह्मशिरः षष्ठे परशुम् ।

अभिधानो० प० २३B.

14. *Herukottama.*

His first two hands, bearing the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā, embrace Bhagavatī Vārāhī, the second pair holds the skin of Mahābhairava. The third right holds the Vajra in Tripatākā attitude, the fourth the Trīśūla, the fifth the Paraśu (axe), and the sixth the Vajra-Damaru. Likewise, the third left holds the Khaṭvāṅga, the fourth the Vajrapāśa, the fifth the Kartri, and the sixth the severed head of Rudra.

वचसत्वपराहृत्या चात्मानं हेरुकोत्तमम्, वाराह्यालिङ्गितभुजद्वये कपालघण्टा,
 अपरभुजद्वये महाभैरवचर्मसाम्ब्राम्बरधरः, तृतीयदक्षिणे करालवचोस्त्रालनं त्रिपताकाभिनयेन,

चतुर्थे च पञ्चश्रृङ्गं त्रिशूलं, पञ्चमे परशुं षष्ठे वज्रमरुकम् । वामद्वितीयभुजे खट्वाङ्गं, चतुर्थे
वक्षपाशं, पञ्चमे कर्त्रिकां, षष्ठे रुद्रशिरः अग्रतो वाराह्यालिङ्गिता भगवती ।

अभिधानो० प० २२

15. *Mañjuvajra.*

This is another form of Heruka, and is also described as being embraced by Vārāhī. Obviously, then, Mañjuvajra should be regarded as more akin to Heruka than as is usually done, to Mañjuśrī. Mañjuvajra is described as six-faced and twelve-armed. In the first pair of hands he holds the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā and (with them he) embraces the Devī ; with the second pair he covers his waist with the skin of Raudrabhairava. The other hands bear the Kapāla, the Maṇi, the Utpala, the Aṅkuśa, the Pāśa, the Damaru, the severed head and the bow. The Khaṭvāṅga hangs from his left shoulder as usual.

षण्मुखं द्वादशभुजं वाराह्या समलङ्कृतम् ।
वक्षघटासमापन्नं देव्या कुचनिपौडितम् ॥
रौद्रभैरवचर्मै(?)ण कटिरावेष्ट्य संस्थितम् ।
कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं मणिमुत्पलधारिणम् ॥
अङ्गुशं पाश्र्चमरुं मुण्डचापधरं तथा ।

अभिधानो० प० ३० A.

16. *Praṇavaḍāka.*

He is described as six-faced, twelve-armed and six-legged. With his six legs he dances in the Ardhaparyaṅka attitude, and embraces the Śakti who is here called Vajradevī. The first pair of hands, bearing the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā, embraces the Śakti, while the second pair holds the screen made of the skin of Brahmā. In the remaining eight hands he holds the Kapāla, the Khaṭvāṅga, the severed head of Maheśvara, the Triśūla, the sword, the Damaru, the noose and the goad. In the text, the weapons are given in the hands of the Devī, and because the Devī is of the nature of the Svābhā Prajñā the same weapons must be assigned to the principal god Praṇavaḍāka also.

तत्परावृत्तमात्मानं प्रणवडाकमुत्तमम् ।
षण्मुखं द्वादशभुजं त्रिनेत्रं रागघूर्णितम् ॥
अर्धपर्यङ्गन्दत्यपदैः षट्चरणविभूषितैः ।
वक्षदेवीसमापन्नां गर्भां च मेखलोत्तमाम् ॥

वज्रघटासमाश्लिष्टां बोध्यङ्गस्थानपीडिताम् ।
 ब्रह्मचर्मवितानाङ्गां करद्वयेन धार्यताम् ॥
 कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं महेश्वरमुखधार्यताम् (?) ।
 त्रिशूलसिद्धमखं चैव पाशाङ्गुशकरायणाम् ॥

अभिधानो० प० ७४B.

17. *Nilogra.*

He is described as six-faced and twelve-armed. With the first pair of hands, bearing the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā he embraces the Śakti. In the second pair he carries the skin of Jina. The eight other hands bear the Kapāla, the Khaṭvāṅga, the arrow, the Aṅkuśa, the Damaru, the Muṇḍa, the Kartri and the Paraśu.

नीलोग्यं विद्धतं रौद्रं त्रिनेत्रं षण्मुखोत्तमम् ।
 वज्रघटासमापन्नं देव्याघरनिपीडितम् ॥
 जिनचर्माम्बरधरं ङाकिनीकुलधारिणम् ।
 कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं वज्रचिह्नादलङ्कृतम् ॥
 बाणमङ्गुशकरव्यग्रं डमरुमुखधारिणम् ।
 कर्त्रिकापरमुं चैव भुजैर्दादशभिर्युतम् ॥

अभिधानो० प० २२A.

18. *Āliḍāka.*

He takes his origin from the first syllable 'A', which in the Buddhist Tantras is called 'Āli', and from which the name 'Āliḍāka' seems to have been derived. According to the Dhyāna, Āliḍāka is sixteen-armed and eight-faced, and he clasps the Śakti, Āliḍākinī, against his breast. With his first pair of hands he embraces the Śakti, while with the second pair he spreads the screen made of the skin of Viṣṇu. In the remaining twelve hands he holds : the Kapāla, the Khaṭvāṅga, the sword, the club, the Triśūla, the Damaru, the Paraśu (axe), the Aṅkuśa (goad) the noose, the severed head of Brahmā, the Kartri and the Cakra (disc).

अकारज्ञाननिष्यन्नं आलिङ्गाकोत्तमोत्तमम् ।
 अष्टवक्त्रं षोडशभुजं त्रिनेत्रं भौमभौषणम् ॥
 आलिङ्गाकिनीदेहस्थं द्विभुजं गघ्रदेहजम् ।
 विष्णुचर्मवितानं च द्विभुजेन प्रसारयेत् ॥
 कपालखट्वाङ्गधरं अस्त्रिसुदूरधारिणम् ।

त्रिमूलदमबकं चैव परमुमङ्गुच्छं तथा ।
पाशं ब्रह्मशिरश्चैव कर्त्रिकां चक्रमेव च ।

अभिधानो० प० ७२, ७३

III. EXTRAORDINARY FORMS.

The Abhidhānottaratantra gives further descriptions of the five more varieties of Heruka according as he partakes of the nature of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. These forms, known as Vajradāka, Buddhādāka, Ratnadāka, Padmadāka and Viśvaḍāka are also recognized as the five Vajravīras. They are represented as sitting in the Vajraparyaṅka attitude on a corpse, on the animals sacred to them, such as the elephant, lion, horse, peacock and Garuḍa. These five deities wear a crown of matted hair, are decked with six Mudrās, and bear a row of skull on the forehead. In appearance they are as awe-inspiring as the forms previously described.

वज्रडाकेति प्रथमं द्वितीयं वज्रडाकजम् ।
द्वितीयं रत्नडाकस्तु चतुर्थं पद्मडाकजम् ॥
पञ्चमं विश्वडाकस्तु ।
पञ्चैते हेरुका ज्ञेया वज्रवीरास्तथैव च ॥
जटामुकुटिनः सर्वे कपालमालिनस्तथा ।
वज्रमुद्रामुद्रिताः सर्वे स्वासनीपरि संस्थिताः ॥
गजसिंहश्च तुरगमयूरगरुडानि च ।
अथोपरि प्रेतासनाः सर्वे ध्यातव्याः सिद्धिप्रदाः (?) ॥

अभिधानोत्तर प० ६३

Conclusion.—The study of Iconography is still in its infancy, and it is almost impossible to give an exhaustive description of all the different forms of one single deity whether Buddhist or Hindu. So also it is with the deity Heruka. Heruka in different forms was described in the Buddhist Iconography where a remarkable sculpture in the Dacca Museum was reproduced and identified as that of Heruka. His Tibetan prototype, Hevajra, is described in several places in 'The Gods of Northern Buddhism' by Getty and Deniker.¹ The iconography of Heruka seemed, for a while, to be complete. But a study, a very cursory one, of only two Buddhist

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 123. Also in N. K. Bhattasali: *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, 1929, p. 35.

Tantras which happened to be in the collection of the Oriental Institute at Baroda revealed the existence of many varieties which have been described in this paper. If someone with patience makes a further search many more forms will be available, and many more new truths and principles will be discovered.

The Dhyānas quoted, and the forms of Heruka described in this short article will enable students of iconography to identify many of the hitherto unidentified images of Heruka, and classify them accurately. It will also be possible to recognize many of the deities painted on the so-called Tibetan and Nepalese banners as images of Heruka.

But these Dhyānas, occasionally also give indication of the deep-seated symbolism that is contained in this Buddhist imagery. The three faces of Heruka, for instance, are said to represent the three instruments of humanity, body, mind and speech. The blood of the Devas and Asuras really contains a symbolism which will surprise many who seem to be horrified at the idea of representing gods with such gruesome objects, and who seem to think that Buddhists freely gave themselves up to devil-worship. The symbolism really teaches that the cognition of both existence and non-existence is not real but imaginary, and it is only when the duality ceases that the right knowledge is produced ; for, according to the later Buddhists, the Śūnya is the only reality, and everything else is mere manifestation of the great substratum called Śūnya.

In this article I have exhaustively described many different forms of Heruka, but it does not seem to me that I have succeeded in describing all.

THE OCCUPATION OF BENGAL BY THE KINGS OF KĀMARŪPA

By NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA

The discovery of the two lost plates of the Nidhānpur copper-plates¹ of Bhāskaravarman, King of Kāmarūpa, have revealed the fact that the locality of the grant was 'Mayūra-śālmā=âgrahāra' in the district (*viṣaya*) of Candrapurī. The difficulty of identifying this particular Candrapurī cannot be exaggerated, as it is a common place-name in India, particularly in North-Eastern India, but attention is drawn to the fact that in the Khālimpur copper-plate grant of Dharmapāladêva, one of the four villages granted is 'Mâḍhâ-śālmāli'.² Neither 'Candrapurī' nor 'the dried river Kauśikā' finds place in this inscription, but what is essential to note in this connection is that the 'Gaṅginikâ', which in case of the Nidhānpur copperplates is the name of the river that formed the western boundary of the lands granted, is found associated with that village in that inscription. Since 'Mâḍhâ' is a very natural corrupt form of 'Mayūra', and such a peculiar name is not commonly met with of a place, the 'Mâḍhâ-śālmāli' of the one grant may not improbably be identical with the 'Mayūra-śālmāla' of the other. We have also a statement on the position of the village Mayūra-śālmāla that 'it was situated in a place lying very close to the kingdom of Gauḍa between the rivers Teestâ and Karatoyâ which was the western boundary of Kāmarūpa and now forms part of the district of Rangpur in North Bengal'.³ If so, the lands donated by the Nidhānpur copperplates lay in the Pauṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* of Bengal, as all the four villages granted by the Khālimpur inscription lay in the Vyâghrataṭi-*mandala* of that *bhukti*.

But Bhāskaravarman only renewed the grant that was originally made by his great-great-grandfather, Mahâbhûtavarman, alias Bhûtivarman, whom we may place, without any great risk of error, towards the close of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A.D. The *bhukti* of Pauṇḍravardhana, we know, was included in the empire of Budhagupta, whose dates range from 476-77 to 495-96 A.D., and it, therefore, appears likely that it, or a part of it which included the Mayūra-śālmāla tract, came to be occupied by

¹ Ep. Ind., XIX, pp. 115-25.

² Ep. Ind., IV, p. 253.

³ *Ibid.*, XIX, p. 246, and p. 117, foot-note 2.

Bhûtivarman shortly after Budhagupta had ceased to reign. That a part, or rather the eastern part of what was Paṇḍravardhana, had always been a component part of the kingdom of Kâmarûpa in those times, is a presumption that may safely be discarded.

The reason for renewing the grant was that the original plates issued by Bhûtivarman had been burnt. But the renewal was made not by an immediate successor of Bhûtivarman, but by one who was fourth in descent from him, while, again, the fifth of the Dâmodarpur copperplates shows that the Paṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* was (again) swayed over by a Gupta prince in 543-44 A.D. The loss, therefore, of what Bhûtivarman had acquired in Bengal by his son, Candramukhavarman, or his grandson, Sthitavarman, may well be presupposed.

When exactly Bhâskaravarman came to conquer Kârṇasuvârṇa cannot be determined, until and unless fresh data are forthcoming to this effect. There is no proof whatever in favour of that 'during the first quarter of the seventh century Bhâskaravarman assisted by Śrî Harsha, defeated Śasâṅka and re-acquired this area' or that 'the grant was made by the beginning of his reign when he was helping his friend Harṣavardhana in conquering Kârṇasuvârṇa',² or a like other statement. Equally, there is no absolute indication in the materials we possess that 'on the anarchy which ensued on that monarch's (Harṣavardhana's) death, it (Kârṇasuvârṇa) may have been annexed by Bhâskaravarman'.³ But one thing appears to be certain, that Bhâskaravarman's subjugation of Kârṇa-suvârṇa was not merely of the nature of a raid on it, as is sometimes asserted.

Bhâskaravarman, who had the title of 'Kumâra' (Keu-mo-lo),⁴ is sometimes described by the Chinese as 'the king of Eastern India'.⁵ And a seal of his has been discovered at Nâlandâ,⁶ the significance of which seems to be much greater than is ordinarily supposed to bear.

I-tsing in his 'K'au-fâ-kao-sâng-chüen', written sometime between 700 and 712 A.D., gives, after alluding to the journeys of Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang, brief memoirs of fifty-six Buddhist monks who visited India and the neighbourhood from China and bordering districts, after Hiuen Tsang and before him. One of these, Hwui

¹ Indian Culture, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 427.

² Indian Historical Quarterly, 1927, p. 839.

³ History of Assam, by Sir Edward Gait, Second ed., 1926, p. 26; also cf. 'Harsha' by R. K. Mukherjee, Oxford, 1926, p. 74.

⁴ Beal, *Records*, II, p. 196.

⁵ Ind. Ant., 1880, p. 20; Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁶ J.B.O.R.S., Vol. V, pp. 302-4.

Lun, a native of Corea, following after Hiuen Chiu who visited India after 650 A.D., reached India, 'dwelt for ten years in a covenant in the country of Amarāvāt', and then went to Northern India. His account, we are told, contains the following description about a temple in Bôdh-Gayâ: 'To the N.E. of the great Bodhi (the temple just named) about a couple of stages, is another temple called Châlukya. This is the one which was formerly built by a king of the Châlukya kingdom in South India. This temple though poor is remarkable for the religious life of its inmates. In more recent times a king called Jin-Kwan ('Sun-army') (i.e. Ādityasena) built a new temple by the side of the old one, which is now getting finished, and in which many priests from the South take their residence'. 'Forty stages or so to the eastward of this' Hwui Lun's account continues, 'we come to the Nālanda Temple. First taking the Ganges and descending it, we reach the Mrigaśikhavana Temple. Not far from this is an old temple, the foundations of which alone remain—it is called China Temple. . . . The territory now belongs to the king of Eastern India, whose name is Devavarmā. He has given back the temple and land to the villagers to avoid the expense of keeping it up as he would have to do, if many priests of China came there.'¹

The actual date when this account was set down in writing is unknown, but that it was written sometime before 673 A.D., the date of I-tsing's arrival at Tāmralipti, is beyond all doubt, and in the year when it was written, Bôdh-Gayâ, as the above excerpt very conspicuously brings home, was within the dominion of Ādityasēna, doubtless of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, while Nālandā, lying 40 stages or so to the eastward of Bôdh-Gayâ, was within that of one Dēvavarmā. Who is this king? Dēvavarmā, who bore the title of 'Varman', has been described as 'the king of Eastern India', ruled in the third quarter of the seventh century A.D., and whose kingdom included the Nālandā region (in the west), appears in the best of probability to have been a lineal descendant of Bhâskaravarmā, who bore the same title of 'Varman', equally described as 'the king of Eastern India', ruled in the first half of the seventh century A.D., and whose seal has been discovered at Nālandā. Bhâskaravarmā was not a Buddhist, and so, too, Dēvavarmā looks not to have professed that religion, for otherwise he would on no account give back the (Buddhist) temple at Nālandā, where (Buddhist) priests from China used to come to the villagers, simply to avoid the expenses of keeping it up.

¹ Life of Hiuen Tsiang, Beal, Intro., p. xxvi f.; J.R.A.S., 1881, pp. 558-72, and Ind. Ant., 1881, pp. 109-11 and 192-93.

Contemporary, or nearly so, with Dêvavarmâ was 'Hoh-lo-she-po-t'a', king of Samatâta, whom Seng-Chi, another Chinese priest and a predecessor of I-tsing in India, describes as 'a Upâsaka (who) greatly revered the three objects of worship, and devoted himself to his religious studies'.¹ Seng-Chi is placed between 650 and 655 A.D.,² which if not precisely true, makes a near approach to truth. The king continued to rule till I-tsing's own times,³ but the restoration of his name is not altogether free from doubt. Beal first restored it as 'Harshavardhana',⁴ but in his introduction to the 'Life of Hiuen Tsiang',⁵ he puts it as 'Râjabhata (or °patu)', 'Râjabhata' being the name suggested by Watters, in modification of 'Harshabhata', as restored by M. Chavannes.⁶

The resemblance that lies between the names of 'Râjabhata' of Seng-Chi's description and 'Râjarâjabhata' the son of Dêvakhadga of the Khadga dynasty of East Bengal, was enough for Mr. N. N. Vasu⁷ and Dr. N. K. Bhattasâli⁸ to postulate that they were one and the same prince. And labouring under this idea, it was much too easy for them to believe that palæographically the two Âsrafpur copperplates, which give out the name of the Khadga prince, the Madhuban and Bânâskherâ plates of Harshavardhana, the Shâhpur image inscription of Âdityasêna (672 A.D.) and the Âpshad inscription of the same prince, all belong to the same century. Subsequently Dr. R. C. Majumdâr, going a step further, identified Hwui Lun's 'Dêvavarmâ' and Seng-Chi's 'Râjabhata' with respectively 'Dêvakhadga' and 'Râjarâjabhata' of the Khadga dynasty.⁹ He also read a date in Plate B of the Âsrafpur plates as 'year 79 (or 73) day 28', and referring the year 79 (or 73) to the Harsha era, obtained the date 685 (or 679) A.D. for Dêvakhadga. Dr. Râdhâ Gôvinda Basâk, on palæographical considerations, first referred the Âsrafpur plates to a period between the last quarter of the seventh and middle of the eighth century A.D.,¹⁰ but later to a date 'not posterior to the beginning of the eighth century A.D.'¹¹ But,

¹ Life, Intro., pp. xl-xli; J.R.A.S., 1881, pp. 561-62; Ind. Ant., 1881, p. 196.

² 'Vaṅger Jâtiya Itihâsa' by N. Vasu, Râjanya-Kâṇḍa, 1321 B.S., p. 76. Also cf. 'Bâṅglâr Itihâsa', by R. D. Banerji, Vol. I, 1st ed., p. 141.

³ Watters, 'On Yuang Chwang', Vol. II, p. 188.

⁴ J.R.A.S., 1881, p. 562; Ind. Ant., 1881, p. 196.

⁵ Pp. xl-xli.

⁶ Watters, op. cit.

⁷ N. Vasu, op. cit., pp. 76-77.

⁸ J.A.S.B., 1914, pp. 86-87.

⁹ J.A.S.B., 1923, pp. 376-78; also 'Early History of Bengal' (Dacca University Bulletin, No. 3), 1925, pp. 22-23.

¹⁰ Sâhitya (Bengali journal), 1321 B.S., pp. 468-69.

¹¹ History of North-Eastern India (circa 320-760 A.D.), London, 1934, p. 202.

nevertheless, as to Dr. Majumdâr's reading of the date in Plate B, he says, 'Attention may be drawn to the fact that the day of the month in the plate, whether it be 25 or 28, is indicated by the system of letter-numerals, the first sign being a symbol for 20, and the second for either 5 or 8. The use of two different systems in two successive lines in the same inscription for indicating number cannot easily be explained, although one may admit that the first symbol in the reading of the year-number is really a puzzling one.'¹ I do not want here to enter into palæographical controversy about the Āsrafpur plates, but beg to add, with reference to Dr. Majumdâr's theory, that there is absolutely no warrant for describing Seng-Chi as 'one of the last batch of priests described by I-tsing',² as he has done, for the names of the priests are not given to us in order of their dates; and even if it were so, a date like 679 or 685 A.D., for Dêvakhadga, would mean that Dêvakhadga, the father, followed Râjarâjabhaṭṭa, the son, on the Khaḍga throne, if the latter be identified with Râjabhaṭa, as described by Seng-Chi who came to India before 673 A.D. Secondly, the Khaḍgas could never possibly exercise any sway over the Nâlandâ region. Again, it follows from the account that Dêvavarmâ professed Brâhmanical religion, but Dêvakhadga was a Buddhist ('Parama-Saugata').

A gold-plated metal image of Sarvânî (Durgâ, Caṇḍî), bearing an inscription of Prabhâvatî, queen of Dêvakhadga, was discovered at Chandagrâma, a few miles south of Comilla in the district of Tipperah.³ Dr. Bhaṭṭasâli naturally finds the characters of this inscription, too, as akin to those of the inscriptions of Ādityasêna, and Dr. Majumdâr's identification of Dêvavarmâ with Dêvakhadga lends such a happy and substantial corroboration to his initial theory that he is over-confident to declare that, 'The striking coincidence of the names mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, viz. Devavarma, king of Eastern India, and his successor Râjabhaṭṭa, king of Samataṭa, with the names Devakhadga and Râjarâjabhaṭṭa of the plates, both the pairs reigning in the same locality during the same period ' etc. etc.⁴ But the evidence furnished by the Sarvânî image is twofold; besides the evidence of the characters of the inscription, it also bears the evidence of art, which is extremely valuable for our purpose. The anatomy of the figure shows a

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

² J.A.S.B., 1923, p. 378.

³ *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, by N. K. Bhaṭṭasâli, Pl. LXX; *Art of the Pâli Empire*, by J. C. French, Oxford, 1928, Pl. II; *Eastern India School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, by R. D. Banerji, Delhi, 1933, Pl. I(c).

⁴ Bhaṭṭasâli, *Iconography etc.*, p. 6.

somewhat abnormal elongation of the legs. The lengthening of the limbs is a feature, characteristic of no inconsiderable a number of sculptures of the so-called Gaudīya School of Art, and they mostly date from the 9th-10th century A.D. The stone image of Tārā at Itklhōri with an inscription of (the Gurjara Pratihāra king) Mahēndrapāla's reign, the stone image of Lōkanātha from Bihār in the Indian Museum (No. 3796),¹ the stone image of Māricī in the Rājshāhī Museum probably from Vikrampur,² a mutilated stone image of the Buddha from Bihār in the Museum of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad,³ the stone image of Gaurī from Ārial, District Dacca,⁴ and a stone image of Vasudharā in the Sārnāth Museum,⁵ may be mentioned as some of the typical examples of it. But the metal image of Sarvāṇī in question may best be compared with the metal image of Lōkanātha, discovered at Bandarbazār in the district of Sylhet,⁶ which Dr. Bhaṭṭasāli assigns to the 8th-9th century,⁷ and the late Prof. R. D. Banerji, to 'the period of renaissance of art in Bengal in the latter half of the tenth century'.⁸ But judging from the grounds of style of art—(comparative strength and simplicity or rather crudeness), techniques (spare decoration, etc.), and the standard of perfection the art of metal-casting did attain in East Bengal from the tenth century, it should best be referred to the 9th century. The image of Sarvāṇī has been ascribed by Mr. J. C. French to the eighth century under the impression that 'it bears an inscription which gives its date as the eighth century'.⁹ But irrespective of all other considerations, this sculpture has got to be assigned to the 8th-9th century, on stylistic grounds, just what the late Prof. R. D. Banerji also suggested.¹⁰ To fancy that it belongs to 7th century is, we must agree, worse than idle, and violates all iconological rules.

This is, again, it should be called up, precisely the period (viz. 8th or 9th century) in which the Āsrafpur plates were placed by the

¹ French, op. cit., Pl. XX and Pl. XVIII.

² Catalogue of the Archæological Relics in the Museum of the V.R. Society, Rājshāhī, by Basak and Bhaṭṭacāryya, 1919, Pl. I.

³ Handbook of the Sculptures in the Museum of the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad, by Manōmōhan Gāngulī, Cal., 1922, Pl. IV.

⁴ Bhaṭṭasāli, op. cit., Pl. LXVIII(b), and Addenda, p. 273.

⁵ Catalogue of the Museum of Archæology at Sārnāth, by D. R. Sahni, Cal., 1914, Pl. XV(b), No. B(f) 19.

⁶ Bhaṭṭasāli, op. cit., Pl. IV; A.S.I. Ann. Rep., 1924-25, Pl. XXXIX(a).

⁷ Bhaṭṭasāli, op. cit., p. 25.

⁸ A.S.I. Ann. Rep., 1924-25, p. 156.

⁹ French, op. cit., p. 2.

¹⁰ Eastern Indian School of Med. Sculp., p. 123.

late Mr. G. M. Laskar, who edited them.¹ Dr. R. C. Majumdar also, it must be noted here, admits that, 'In general the alphabets of the two plates A and B resemble those of the Khalimpur copper-plates of Dharmapāla'.² The late Prof. R. D. Banerji in the first edition of his 'Bāṅglār Itihāsa'³ and his monograph entitled 'The Pālas of Bengal'⁴ referred the plates to the (first half) of the 10th century, but in the second edition of the former it was emended to 9th century.

So, then, it is absurd to credit the possibility of Dêvavarmâ being the same as Dêvakhadga. On the contrary, there is nothing that goes against finding in Dêvavarmâ a successor to Bhâskaravarmâ. When and how Bhâskaravarman extended his conquests up to the Nālandâ region is a guess too difficult to hazard at present, but the discovery of his seal at Nālandâ, as has been indicated above, is not an accidental phenomenon. Devavarmâ (or his successor) was, however unable to retain the lordship over the Nālandâ region, and had to lose it to his mighty neighbour, Ādityasêna, in or before 672-73 A.D., for the Shâhpur stone image inscription of the time of Ādityasêna, and dated in that year, records the installation of an image of his *Balâdhikṛta*, Śâlapakṣa, in evidently the *Agrahâra* of Nālandâ.⁵ Dêvavarmâ (or his successor) also lost his mastery over Karnasuvârṇa, as is testified to by the Vaidyanâtha Temple inscription of Ādityasêna at Deoghar, which describes him as a ruler 'of the whole earth up to the shores of the oceans'.⁶ By the time of this inscription, which is, however, undated, Ādityasêna presumably domineered over Western Bengal, including Karnasuvârṇa, by ousting the king of Kâmarûpa.

With the knowledge of an heir of Bhâskaravarman to the throne of Kâmarûpa, we can no more asseverate that 'the greatness of Kâmarûpa did not last long', and that 'Bhâskaravarman was shortly after overthrown by a barbarian, Sâlastambha by name'.⁷ The date 664 A.D. for Sâlastambha has been got on a very rough calculation, by 'allowing an average of sixteen years for each of the twenty-one kings' that preceded Brahmapāla, according as recorded in the inscriptions of Raṭnapāla, supposed to belong to the period

¹ Mem. A.S.B., Vol. I, p. 86.

² J.A.S.B., 1923, p. 377.

³ Vol. I, Ch. VIII, p. 207.

⁴ Mem. A.S.B., Vol. V, p. 67.

⁵ Fleet's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, No. 43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 213, foot-note.

⁷ Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilization, by R. C. Majumdar, Cal., 1927, p. 348.

between 1010 and 1050 A.D.¹ Whether Ādityasēna first dispossessed Dēvavarmā (or his successor) of his territories in Eastern Magadha and Western Bengal, or Sālastambha first deprived him of his paternal kingdom of Kāmarūpa, the future will ascertain.

The next king of Kāmarūpa who had for some time subjugated Gauḍa, was Śrī-Harṣa, the father-in-law of Jayadēva, the Licchabhi or Licchavi prince of Nepāl. The Paśupatinātha Temple inscription of Jayadēva, dated in 759 A.D., tells us that Śrī-Harṣa was the lord of Gauḍa, Ōdra, Kaliṅga, Kōsala (evidently Mahā-Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala, identified with Gondwānā to the south-west of Ōdra) and other lands, and describes his daughter, Rājyamatī, as 'the noble descendant of Bhagadatta's royal line'.² The latter expression clearly holds out that the father of Rājyamatī, Śrī-Harṣa, as a king of Kāmarūpa,³ although his identity with 'Śrī-Hariṣa', as proposed, has not yet been conclusively proved. Sir Edward Gait opines that 'although he (Śrī-Harṣa) is said to have ruled over Gaur, Orissa and other countries this may be really an instance of the poetic exaggeration which was so frequently indulged in by the scribes and panegyrists of early Hindu kings'.⁴ Such also is the view of Mr. F. J. Monahan.⁵ But the Sāmangaḍ copper-plate inscription of Dantidurga, the Rāṣtrakūṭa king, dated in 753-54 A.D., states that he (Dantidurga) 'quickly overcame the boundless army of the Karnāṭaka (i.e. the army of Kīrttivarmā II, the Western Cālukya prince), which has been expert in defeating the lord of Kāñcī and the king of Kērala and the Cōlas and the Pāṇḍyas and Śrī-Harṣa and Vajraṭa'.⁶ With regard to Śrī-Harṣa of this passage, Dr. Fleet conjectured that 'this refers to the conquest of Śrī-Harsha or Śrī-Harshavardhana of Kānyakubja, "the warlike lord of all the region of the north", by Pulakēśi II in the seventh century A.D.'.⁷ But this does not maintain, it is too palpable, consistency of facts, for if 'the boundless army of the Karnāṭaka' means, as it doubtless does, the army of Kīrttivarmā II, the Śrī-Harṣa whom the army had defeated must be supposed to have been a contemporary of Kīrttivarmā II, as Vajraṭa and the other kings mentioned therewithal were. In view of the fact that Śrī-Harṣa of Kāmarūpa was a contemporary of Kīrttivarmā II, the conclusion is irresistible that it was he, who, as the lord of Ōdra, Kaliṅga and

¹ Gait, op. cit., p. 30.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 178.

³ Cf. Le Népal, par Sylvain Lévi, Paris, 1905, Vol. II, p. 171.

⁴ Op. cit., pp. 30-31.

⁵ Bengal : Past and Present, July-September, 1916, pp. 62-63.

⁶ Ind. Ant., 1882, p. 114.

⁷ *Ibid.*, foot-note.

Kôsala, is alluded to in the Sâmangaḍ inscription as to have been worsted (evidently somewhere in the South) by the army of Kîrttivarmâ II. As Kîrttivarmâ commenced to reign in 747-48 A.D., the defeat of Śrî-Harṣa by him must have taken place between that date and 753-54 A.D., or approximately in 750 A.D. It is almost certain that till about that date he (Śrî-Harṣa) did not cede his suzerainty over Gauḍa in the North. But in any case, we must admit that the statement in the Paśupatinâtha Temple inscription about the lordship of Śrî-Harṣa over Gauḍa and the southern provinces is not an instance of poetical exaggeration by his son-in-law's panegyrist.

A NOTE ON THE SUCCESSION OF FIRŪZ SHĀH

By ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE

Sir Wolseley Haig says: 'The death of Muhammad (bin Tughluq) left the army without a leader and threw it into confusion. Some historians allege that on his death-bed he designated his cousin, Firūz, the son of Rajab, as his heir, but these are the panegyrists of Firūz, who made no attempt to claim the throne but merely associated himself with other officers in the endeavour to extricate it from a perilous situation the officers urged Firūz . . . to ascend the throne, but the situation was complicated by his professed unwillingness to accept their nomination and by the presence of a competitor, a child named Dāvar Malik, whose claims were vehemently urged by his mother, a daughter of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq. She was silenced by the objection that the crisis required a man, not a child, at the head of affairs, and . . . the nobles overcame the protests of Firūz by forcing him on to the throne and acclaiming him . . . On his way towards Delhi Firūz learned that the aged minister, Khvāja Jahān, had proclaimed in the capital . . . a child whom he declared to be the son of Muhammad Tughluq, but whom the historians represent as supposititious. We have, however, no impartial chronicle of this reign and there is much to justify the belief that the child was Muhammad's son and that the allegation that he was not was an attempt by panegyrists to improve their patron's feeble hereditary title.'¹

The suspicion that Firūz Shāh was an 'usurper' was expressed by Briggs² more than a century ago. Sir Wolseley Haig's attempt to prove it, therefore, deserves more than a passing notice. Dr. Ishwari Prasad has refused to agree with him on this point.³ I propose to examine whether it is possible to accept Sir Wolseley Haig's point of view.

The principal contemporary authorities on this question are Baranī⁴ and Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif⁵; but they are, according to Sir

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 173-4. Sir Wolseley Haig has discussed the question in detail in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1922, pp. 365-72.

² *Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, Vol. I, p. 446 note.

³ *History of Medieval India*, Second edition, p. 257 note.

⁴ Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 266-7.

⁵ Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 274-86.

Wolseley Haig, 'panegyrists of Fīrūz' and cannot be regarded as 'impartial' historians of this reign. Of the later writers, the earliest and perhaps the most reliable is the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī*.¹ Then we have the general works of Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad,² Badāonī³ and Firishta.⁴

We shall discuss the various arguments put forward by Sir Wolseley Haig.

(1) His first point is this: Of the five brothers of Muhammad bin Tughluq, one—'Mubārak Khān, at least, seems to have been living when Fīrūz was proclaimed in Sind, and unless he had been blinded, a recognized disqualification, his claim was superior to that of Fīrūz. Nor is it certain that all the brothers of Muhammad Tughluq died without male issue'

Now, if we do not believe the story of nomination given by Baranī, Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, Badāonī and Firishta, or if we refuse to recognize the legal validity of nomination on the ground that in the cases of Raziyyat⁵ and Kāi Khusrav⁶ the nominations of İltutmish and Balban were set aside, the claim of Mubārak Khān, or of the sons of his older brothers, if any, was, from the technical point of view, undoubtedly superior to that of Fīrūz Tughluq. But we must remember that in those days hereditary right was not the sole determining factor in complicated questions of succession. Kaiqubād was placed on the throne of Delhi during the life-time of his father, Bughrā Khān⁷; and Sikandar Lodī was preferred to his elder brother, Bārbak Shāh.⁸ The real fact, however, is that we know nothing of Mubārak Khān or his nephews, and no whisper about their claims has reached our ears. The position they occupied is altogether unknown, and their very existence is doubtful. Under the circumstances it is useless to consider them as rivals, in law or in fact, of the man who at any rate commanded the allegiance of the *amīrs* and the army.

(2) Sir Wolseley Haig's second point is that ' . . . it is possible that Muhammad himself left a son', and that this son was the boy enthroned in Delhi by Khvāja Jahān.

No contemporary or later historian except Firishta gives any direct or indirect support to this view. Khvāja Jahān's protégé is

¹ Translated by K. K. Basu, pp. 121, 123-6.

² Translated by B. De, Vol. I, pp. 239-43.

³ Vol. 1, translated by Ranking, pp. 321-4.

⁴ Translated by Briggs, Vol. 1, pp. 444-8.

⁵ Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Vol. II, pp. 638-9.

⁶ Baranī's account, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 124.

⁷ Baranī's account, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 124.

⁸ Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, Part 1, pp. 55-6.

described by Baranī as 'an unknown bastard', by the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī* as 'a youth of obscure origin', by Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad as 'a boy of unknown birth' and by Badāonī as 'an obscure child'. Firishta himself describes him as 'a boy of obscure origin', but later on suggests that he might have been a son of Muhammad Tughluq. It is difficult to prefer his testimony to that of all other writers.

Indeed, we have some positive, though indirect, evidence against the legitimacy of the boy. In the first place, Baranī describes a significant incident.¹ While suppressing a revolt in Gujarāt towards the closing part of the reign, Muhammad bin Tughluq said: 'If I can settle the affairs of my kingdom according to my wish, I will consign my realm of Delhi to three persons, Fīrūz Shāh, Malik Kabīr and Ahmad Ayyār, and I will then proceed on the pilgrimage to the holy temple'. There is no mention of abdication in favour of a son. In the second place, when the election of Fīrūz was made known, Khudāwand-zāda, daughter of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, claimed the throne for her son, saying: 'Whilst her son lived, how could any stranger sit upon the throne'? She did not refer to the claim of Khvāja Jahān's candidate, although she must have known whether her brother had left a son.

According to Sir Wolseley Haig, the fact that 'Afif himself says not a word suggesting that the child was supposititious', is a good point. But 'Afif says: 'When these proceedings and rumours (concerning Khvāja Jahān's plans) were reported to Sultān Fīrūz, he called a council of all the princes and nobles in his army. It was unanimously agreed that Sultān Muhammad Shāh had no son Where, it was asked, had Khvāja Jahān found the pretended son? All wise men spoke in the same strain, expressing their astonishment at the Khvāja's error' The *amīrs* might well have preferred a strong king to an infant, but why should they 'unanimously' deny the legitimacy of the boy? It may be said that the recognition of his legitimacy would have made it difficult for the *amīrs* to set aside his claim. But what could a helpless boy aided by an old man of ninety do against the powerful *amīrs* supported by the army? The rightful claims of Kāi Khusrav and Bārbak Shāh were set aside; why should the claim of Muhammad bin Tughluq's son be regarded as sacred and inviolable?

Sir Wolseley Haig's next argument is undoubtedly forceful. He says: 'Khvāja Jahān had been the most devoted of Muhammad's servants and had regarded Fīrūz as a son, and it is most improbable that he should have foisted on the people of Dihlī,

¹ Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 263.

as his dead master's heir, a supposititious child'. The conduct of Khvāja Jahān is mysterious; and I frankly admit that I cannot explain it. Perhaps it is best to say that it is a case of honest mistake, the origin of which cannot be traced. In any case, his conviction (for there is little doubt that he was honest and loyal) cannot be allowed to nullify the facts and inferences derived from all other sources.

'The situation in the capital', says Sir Wolseley Haig, '... was doubtless critical, but the veteran minister did not require the assistance of a puppet to enable him to cope with it'. But Khvāja Jahān required a name for which to fight—he had to invoke the authority of a legitimate ruler in order to invest his own proceedings with legality. Why should the people of Delhi obey him, if he did not represent the Sultān and exercise his delegated powers?

'Nor is there any reason why Khvāja Jahān should have despaired of the clemency of Fīrūz.' Against this point of Sir Wolseley Haig we may say that the 'veteran minister' who regarded Fīrūz as a son must have known how weak-minded he was. He must have suspected that Fīrūz would submit to the *amirs* who had placed him on the throne and who were not well-disposed to the old minister. In all probability Khvāja Jahān anticipated the fate which ultimately fell on him, and this is why he did not submit to Fīrūz until the last moment.

Next, Sir Wolseley Haig says: 'Nobody was more likely than Fīrūz to know whether Muhammad had left a son or not, and consultation with courtiers would have been unnecessary'. According to the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī*, Fīrūz spoke to his advisers in the following strain: '... if the late Sultān had any issue left I might have been in the know, and if he had any son he must have had placed him under my guardianship, for none was a better patron and a friend of his than I'. Fīrūz knew very well that Muhammad had left no son, but 'consultation with courtiers' was necessary on two grounds. In the first place, he had to make himself sure that Khvāja Jahān had no ally in the imperial camp and that none of the *amirs* recognized the legitimacy of the child. Secondly, he had to take the advice of his counsellors as to the best method of dealing with the situation.

Again, Sir Wolseley Haig refers to the fact that Fīrūz consulted the doctors of the law, and remarks: '... if it had been certain that the child was not Muhammad's, there would have been no necessity to consult them'. But Fīrūz, being an extremely orthodox man, may well have wanted to be sure of his own ground. Moreover, the verdict of the '*ulamā*' would, it may have been expected, remove the suspicion, if any, of his subjects.

I have tried to show that it is extremely difficult to accept the legitimacy of Khvāja Jahān's protégé.

(3) Sir Wolseley Haig's third point is this: 'Nothing that Muhammad may have said on his death-bed, so long, at least, as he retained possession of his senses, amounted to recognition of Fīrūz as his heir, though it is highly probable that he bequeathed to him the regency and exhorted him to do all in his power to extricate the army from its dangerous situation'. For this hypothesis he has given us no authority except his own.

Baranī's statement that Muhammad on his death-bed made Fīrūz his heir is to some extent discounted by his obligation as a court official, in both reigns, to represent the succession as being perfectly regular . . . This could easily be accomplished by representing a few kindly words spoken by a dying man as a nuncupative will.' But what about the testimony of 'Afif, who, as Sir Wolseley Haig himself says, 'wrote when Fīrūz had occupied the throne for many years and it was no longer necessary to justify an accomplished fact'? He says that during the early years of his reign Muhammad bin Tughluq kept young Fīrūz 'constantly near his person' and 'used to explain to him . . . all affairs of state'; that, later on, when Muhammad 'divided the territories of Delhi into four parts . . . he placed one part under the charge of Fīrūz Shāh, so that he might acquire experience in the art of government'; and that Muhammad 'used to keep Fīrūz Shāh continually at work in various matters' with a view to make him 'thoroughly versed in the duties of royalty'. If the story of nomination were untrue, 'Afif might have kept silence; but why does he dwell on Muhammad Tughluq's constant anxiety to train Fīrūz in the art of government?

Moreover, the speech of Fīrūz Shāh, which we have quoted above from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī*, clearly contradicts Sir Wolseley Haig's assumption that 'it is highly probable that he (i.e. Muhammad) bequeathed to him (i.e. Fīrūz) the regency'. The *amīrs* to whom Fīrūz delivered that speech were present in the imperial camp when Muhammad died, and they must have known if Muhammad had bequeathed the regency to Fīrūz. How, then, could Fīrūz tell them that 'if he had any son he must have had placed him under my guardianship'? Nor is it possible to dismiss the author of this work as a court official, for he wrote when the Tughluq Shāhī kings had ceased to rule in Delhi, but when it was not too late to ascertain the truth about them.

(4) Badāonī's story that Fīrūz once 'raised the banner of sovereignty' during the life-time of Muhammad, is regarded by Sir Wolseley Haig himself as 'apocryphal', but to him 'it suggests the existence of a legend to the effect that the succession of Fīrūz was

not regular'. It is difficult to understand why the story of Firūz Shāh's rebellion against his patron should suggest that the former's succession was not regular; Jehangir revolted against Akbar, but nobody ever regarded his succession as irregular on that ground. But whatever the meaning of the 'legend' may be, the important fact is that no other historian speaks of, or even alludes to, it. Baranī and 'Afif, being court historians, might have had a motive in suppressing it. But why are the authors of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī* and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* altogether silent on it? Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad mentions the current story about Muhammad bin Tughluq's responsibility for his father's death; it is strange that he should have considered it unnecessary to refer to the persistent 'legend', if any, about the irregularity of Firūz Shāh's succession.

(5) Sir Wolseley Haig argues that the real reason which led Firūz to 'exhibit a reluctance' to ascend the throne was his own belief that he was not Muhammad's heir. We have seen that the speech attributed to him in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī* conclusively proves that he had no such belief. But let us assume that Sir Wolseley Haig's argument is true. The best course for Firūz would then have been to take up the cause of the infant enthroned by Khvāja Jahān and to act as the regent in accordance with the true wish (as interpreted by Sir Wolseley Haig) of Muhammad bin Tughluq. He could thus save his own conscience and ensure the legitimacy of succession; the desire of the *amīrs* to have a strong ruler would have been satisfied, for Firūz himself would have been the *de facto* king. Why, then, did he go to contest the claim of the true heir of a patron of whom he regarded himself, even after the accession, as 'the slave'?¹ Why did he go to vanquish Khvāja Jahān whom he respected as his father? Why did the man who had to be 'forced on to the throne' (to quote Sir Wolseley Haig's own words) by the *amīrs* exhibit all on a sudden a mad desire to maintain his unsought for position by trampling alike upon principles of law and gratitude? The hypothesis which explains all the facts is that Firūz sincerely believed Khvāja Jahān's protégé to be supposititious and regarded himself as the true heir of Muhammad. He hesitated to accept the supreme responsibility; but when it was thrust upon him, he decided to do his duty at all costs. It was natural for him to refuse to allow 'an unknown bastard' to sit upon the throne of his family.²

¹ *Futuhāt-i-Firūz-Shāhī*. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 374.

² I am grateful to Dr. H. C. Raychoudhuri of the Calcutta University who has kindly revised the article.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND QUESTIONS

By SUSHIL KUMAR BOSE

(I) VĀKĀṬAKA KING PRAVARASĒNA I

Besides the two plates of Prabhāvati-Guptā, Chief Queen of the Vākāṭaka *mahārāja* Rudrasēna II there are four copper-plates mentioning the Vākāṭakas. These are (1) the Chammak, (2) Siwani, (3) Dudia Plates of Pravarasēna II, and (4) the Balaghaṭ Plates of Prithivīsēna II. All these plates present one common draft setting forth the genealogical table.¹ We shall consider one of these plates, the Chammak Plate, here, which has the following² :—

samrāḍ Vākāṭakānām mahārāja-srī-(śrī)-Pravarasēnasya sūnōh sūnōh. . . . Gautamiputrasya Vākāṭakānām mahārāja-srī-Ruḍrasēnasya sūnōr . . . Vākāṭakānām mahārāja-srī-Prithivīsēnasya sūnōr Vākāṭakānām mahārāja-srī-Ruḍrasēnasya sūnōr Vākāṭakānām mahārāja-srī-Pravarasēnasya

This preamble is a stereotyped feature of the other plates also. From all these records, we shall try and find out whether and when the Vākāṭakas were really paramount monarchs. Mr. Sur,³ after questioning the status of the Bhāraśivas, asks : ' Similarly is the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna I to be considered paramount sovereign because he celebrated four Asvamēdhas ? If so, why is he designated simply *mahārāja*, whereas Dēvagupta (= Chandragupta II) is styled as *mahārājādhirāja* . . . ?'. As I have noted above, in the dynastic list of all these copper-plates, Pravarasēna I is called *samrāḍ-Vākāṭakānām mahārāja*. The *sashrāṭ* of the Siwani plate has been corrected by Fleet into *samrāḍ*.⁴ The words *samrāṭaḥ* and *samrāḍ* occur respectively in Dudia and Balaghaṭ plates.⁵ But with Kielhorn⁶ we may quite reasonably take the words to stand for *samrājah*. Now Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar⁷ holds that Pravarasēna I has been called *samrāṭ* which never signifies a subordinate chief and refers us to the Balaghaṭ plate.

¹ Bhandarkar's List—Nos. 1703-1705, 1707, 1708.

² I.A., Vol. XII, pp. 239 ff.

³ Ind. Cult., Vol. I, p. 114.

⁴ C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 245 f.n. 5.

⁵ E.I., Vol. III, p. 260, *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 270.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 260, f.n. 7.

⁷ Ind. Cult., Vol. I, p. 312.

A little grammatical manipulation will, however, make the situation clear. The inscription to which he has invited our attention, goes on like this¹: *samrât(jô) Vâkâtakânâm mahârâja-srî-Pravarasênasya* Mr. Sur takes it to mean that Pravarasêna was the sovereign of the Vâkâtakas. But what of that? The Roman Pater familius was also the absolute sovereign in his own family. A very close examination of the language of the inscription will, however, show that this sort of interpretation can scarcely be maintained. The name Pravarasêna occurs in the sixth case-ending, and as such is to be taken in the genitive sense. *Samrât* and *Vâkâtakânâm* are not two different words as apparently taken by Mr. Sircar, but rather one word in composition. Fleet himself has taken this sense of the word and has said that the final *â* of *samrâd* (or possibly *î* of *samrât*), rather small and faint, stands below the line, just above the *mi* of *svami* in the next line.² Mr. Sur has put a wrong meaning into the word *Vâkâtakânâm*. It never means as has been shown by him, that the king is the king of a people called the *Vâkâtakas*. The proper idea is that the king belonged to the dynasty of the *Vâkâtakas*³; as in the case of the *Kadambânâm* and the *Pallavâna* the meaning is 'of the Kadambas and of the Pallavas.'⁴ I cannot do better than reproduce here the very pertinent observation of the late Dr. Kielhorn.⁵ 'Such passages have been hitherto translated as if the genitive *Vâkâtakânâm* were governed by the title *mahârâja . . .*; but it may be as well to state that from a grammarian's point of view such a construction would be objectionable.' The form as required by Mr. Sur, ought to have been something like '*. . . . mahârâjasya Pravarasênasya . . .*'. Since this is not the case, we have no other way than to say that it means 'Of Pravarasêna of (i.e. belonging to the dynast of) the Imperial Vâkâtakas'. The conjunction of the word *smrâd* with the word *Vâkâtakânâm* is a deliberate feature and is quite significant. Gautamiputra does not receive any appellation whatsoever. In the case of Rudrasêna, Prithivîsêna I, Rudrasêna II and Pravarasêna II, we have simply *Vâkâtakânâm* and not *samrâd-Vâkâtakânâm*. If Mr. Sur's argument is to hold water at all, he should explain why there is this absence of the word *samrâd* in all these cases. The above named kings were surely supreme among

¹ E.I., Vol. IX, p. 270, l. 4.

² C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 236, f.n. 5.

³ J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIX, p. 67.

⁴ E.I., Vol. I, p. 5, e.g. *Pallavâna Sivakhamdavamo Kadambânâm Kâkusthavarmâ* (I.A., Vol. VI, p. 26). We have similar instance of *Viṣṇukunḍinâm* in Chikkulla plates of Vikramendravarman II. (E.I., Vol. IV, p. 195.)

⁵ E.I., Vol. IX, p. 269.

their own clan or tribe. Apparently then, the significance is otherwise. We are to understand that at least in the time of king Pravarasēna I the Vākāṭakas had become overlords of the realm. The absence of the word *samrāt* in the case of subsequent kings clearly indicates that during their reigns the Vākāṭakas were no longer the dominant clan of the land and hence there was a consequent diminution in the prestige of the kings as well as of the tribe which did not any longer claim to be *samrāt* of the realm. How this supremacy suddenly disappeared after Pravarasēna I., we do not know. We have no information as to who was Pravarasēna's son and why his name has not been mentioned in the dynastic lists. We can at best conjecture that he did not become a king. Not a single word is written about him in the inscriptions. Gautamiputra comes in next as the grandson of Pravarasēna I.¹ This grandson also does not receive any royal title in the inscriptions. Probably he also never became a king; otherwise the titles appended to the names of other kings could not have been omitted in his case. Rudrasēna I, son of Gautamiputra, is the next real king after Pravarasēna I. We can reasonably ascribe a period of fifty years for two generations of which we have no account. During this gap of fifty years the Vākāṭakas must have fallen on evil days. Very likely they were deprived of all their political powers. Mr. Jayswal is inclined to think that the Imperial period of the Vākāṭakas continued right up to the end of the reign of Rudrasēna I, and he observes that it was 'the position of Pravarasēna the Vākāṭaka, which Samudragupta took over from . . . Rudrasēna described as Rudradēva . . .'.² The learned author goes on to say that Rudrasēna inherited the Bhārasīva empire as he is expressly called *Bhārasīvānām mahārāja*. But these views are absolutely without any foundation. Because he forgets that in the Balaghat plate the expression *mahārāja-srī-Bhavanāga dauhitrasya Gautamiputrasya putrasya Vākāṭakānām*, which ought to have occurred between *Bhārasīvānām* and *mahārāja* is erroneously omitted. Kielhorn himself has observed this.³ Rudrasēna I must have ruled over a people shorn of their imperial power. It may be noted that kings after Pravarasēna I drop out the epithet *samrāt-Vākāṭakānām*. There must have been some sort of break in the line after him and very probably for this reason we do not hear anything about the son and grandson of Pravarasēna I.

¹ Gautamiputra has been taken to be the son of Pravarasēna I by almost all the scholars. I have taken the natural sense of the inscriptions and think that *Sūnōh sūnōh* of Pravarasēna I refers to Gautamiputra.

² J.B.Ö.R.S., Vol. XIX, p. 5 ff.

³ E.I., Vol. IX, p. 270 f.n. 13.

The one serious objection against the imperial rank of the Vākāṭakas after Pravarasēna I is that in the same plates in which they are designated as *mahārājas*, Dēvagupta (= Chandragupta) is styled *mahārājādhirāja*. It is true that Pravarasēna I is also mentioned as *mahārāja*. But we shall see that *mahārāja* did not signify 'feudatory chief' in his time. Pravarasēna II was the *dauhitra* of Chandragupta II. The grandfathers, on the mother's as well on the father's side, ought to be contemporaries. Prithivīsēna of the Vākāṭakas and Chandragupta II of the Gupta lineage were thus apparently contemporaries. Their fathers, Rūdrasēna I and Samudragupta respectively, were similarly contemporaries. Between Rudrasēna I and Pravarasēna I there is an interregnum of about fifty years, as already shown above. Pravarasēna must, thus, have flourished at a time when the Gupta power was not in existence. We cannot definitely say what was the proper significance of *mahārāja* at this period. *Mahārājādhirāja* as an imperial title had probably not yet settled down. As a matter of fact, we have actual records to show that sovereign kings also used the title of *mahārāja*, at this period, to denote their independence. In the Mathura inscription, the names of Chandragupta and Samudragupta are not coupled with the gorgeous epithet of *mahārājādhirāja*, which they invariably assumed later on, but with *mahārāja rājādhirāja*, which, according to Prof. Bhandarkar, is an exact replica of *mahārāja rājatirāja* borne by the Kushans.¹ The import of the title *mahārāja* found associated with the name Pravarasēna I is different from that borne by the subsequent kings of his dynasty. It will be thus seen that at that period paramount sovereigns generally designated themselves *rājādhirāja* to denote their suzerain rank and also used *mahārāja* in conjunction therewith to denote their independent position. Hence *mahārāja* about the beginning of the Gupta period and earlier did not signify 'a feudatory chief'.

(2) PĀṬALIPUTRA IN THE TIME OF PATAÑJALI

Prof. Bhandarkar, in a recent issue of the *Indian Culture*, laments that the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali has been neglected by scholars though it is a mine full of historical information for the contemporary period. He also nourishes a hope that younger scholars would turn their attention to this close preserve. In the following lines an attempt has been made to collate together whatever the grammarian knew about the Imperial city of Pāṭaliputra.

In the entire book of the Mahābhāṣya, Pāṭaliputra is referred to as many as thirty times. Most of these references are by way of

¹ E.I., Vol. XXI, p. 3.

illustrating simply grammatical rules. These do not, therefore, help us much in squeezing out historical information. But there are some passages which, when properly understood, will yield some valuable information regarding contemporary things. Firstly I shall consider the situation of the imperial city. Megasthenes says that 'the largest city in India, named Palimbothra, is in the land where is the confluence of the river Erannobâos and the Ganges,' The Greek ambassador also tells us that the longest extension of the city was 80 stades (9½ miles). Situated as the city was on the confluence of the Śon and the Ganges, one wonders on which of the river banks it stood lengthwise. Scholars have already drawn our attention to Patañjali's illustration *Anūṣoṇam Pāṭaliputram*. On a more critical examination, this illustration throws new light on the subject. The passage under consideration is a gloss on *Pāṇini*. The sutra is *Yasya ch-âyâmah*. The lexicon meaning of *âyâma* is 'length'. The illustration of this length is given by Patañjali as *Anu-Ṣoṇam Pāṭaliputram*. We are then to understand that the imperial city had spread lengthwise on the Śon bank and not on the Ganges, as one might think from the present situation of Patna. So that according to Megasthenes the city extended about nine and half miles along the Śon and about one mile along the Ganges.

The Greek ambassador after seeing things for himself has left us the impression that the city was almost a modern one. An advanced municipal administration, which even maintained vital statistics, was in existence. Few of us are probably aware that at least during the time when Patañjali flourished there was, among the many other achievements of the city fathers, a very valuable guide-book for the capital. It is now a well-known fact that foreigners frequently used to visit the city. The maintenance of a city directory for the use of the state and also of visitors would be just the thing required for such an advanced city as Pāṭaliputra. While commenting on *Pāṇini*, IV. 3. 66. Patañjali says that the guide-book of Pāṭaliputra was called *Sukosalâ—Pāṭaliputrasya vyākhyâni Sukosalêti*. To come to the exact nature of this guide (*Vyākhyâni*), the following statement of Patañjali in that connection may be considered: *Pāṭaliputrakâḥ prâsâdâḥ Pāṭaliputrakâḥ prâkârâ iti*. We thus see that the book contained minutest details of the *prâsâdâs* and *prâkârâs* of the capital. What would *prâsâdâḥ* mean here? Of course, it certainly denotes the palaces of previous as well as contemporary kings. It may be noted, however, that *prâsâda* does not exclusively mean palaces only. It also means 'temples and shrines'. Patañjali himself is aware of this meaning as will be clear from his comment on *Pāṇini*, II. 2. 34. where he quotes: *prâsâdê*

Dhanapati-Râma-Kêsavânâm. The meaning is quite clear. The temples of Dhanapati, Râma (= Balarâma) and Kêsava are evidently referred to here. Regarding the *prâkârâ* of the city, it may be said that Megasthenes himself realized the importance of the ramparts of which he gives a graphic account : ' . . . that the city has been surrounded with a ditch in breadth 6 plethra (606 feet), and in depth 30 cubits ; and that its wall has 570 towers and 64 gates '. For a long time we had to remain in dark regarding the actual nature of this complicated structure. It was not till 1926-27 when systematic excavations were undertaken by Mr. J. A. Page at Bulandi Bagh,¹ some four miles east of Patna, that the remains of the original palisade of Pâtâliputra were discovered. It is now definitely known that this palisade was a wide wooden wall, consisting of two rows of upright timbers running west to east and each ten feet above the floor level. It was 14' 6" wide across the wooden uprights, which were spanned originally at the top by beams. It will be seen that the palisade was hollow inside to serve possibly as a passage. At places the palisade was decorated with toraṇas or gateways and also provided across it with large wooden drains. At places, again, openings were left into this wall which were filled up with earthen ramps affording access to the top of the palisade. It is no wonder that such a complicated structure as the palisade of this city was described in details in Sukosalâ the guide-book of Pâtâliputra. By the by, it may be asked why the guide-book of Pâtâliputra is called Sukosalâ ? Are we to assume that the kingdom of Kosala at any time was so extended as to include Pâtâliputra ? We would very much appreciate scholars enlightening us on this point.

Many scholars are doubtful as to where the Śuṅgas had their seat of government. The Divyâvadâna speaks of Pâtâliputra as the capital of the Śuṅgas. But since it is a later work its evidence is often questioned. From Patañjali, however, we learn that Pâtâliputra had a king, as when he says *râjña Pâtâliputarakasya*. The contemporaneity of Patañjali with the Śuṅga king Pushyamitra is established beyond all doubts. From that familiar passage—*iha Pushyamitraṃ yâjayâmah*—it can be concluded that Patañjali was himself a priest when the sacrifice of Pushyamitra was being conducted at Pâtâliputra, the capital of the Śuṅga king. Better evidence can be adduced if the proper connotation of ' *râjan* ', as it was known at this period, be critically examined. We have reasons to believe that at this period ' *râjan* ' was scarcely applied to a mere feudatory chief. It is well-known that the Mauryas at the apogee

¹ A.S.I. An. Rep., 1912-13, p. 80.

of their power assumed simply the epithet of 'râjan'. The mighty Aśoka had no charm for long and high sounding titles. The Śuṅgas succeeded the Mauryas and we can affirm that they also kept up the old traditional custom of signyfing overlordship by the simple epithet of 'râjan'. Most of the contemporary kings used the title of 'râjan'. Bhâgabhadra is mentioned as a 'râjan' in the Besnagar pillar inscription.¹ The Greek king Antialkides, from whose court Heliodorus came, is designated as *mahârâja*, apparently an Indian equivalent of the Greek Baselus. Bhâgabhadra, though spoken of as the saviour, still receives the epithet of 'râjan'. It was probably this intercourse with the Greeks and its consequent effect that later on Indian princes of power coupled with their names the title of *mahârâja*. In the Besnagar inscription² Bhâgavata is mentioned as *mahârâja*. Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that this *mahârâja* Bhâgavata of the inscriptions is the actual name of a king and identifies him with the ninth Śuṅga ruler Bhâgavata whose reign extended over 32 years. It is permissible to conjecture that before this monarch (surely at least up to the time of Bhâgabhadra) the Śuṅga rulers were spoken of as 'râjans'. In the Bârhut railings the Śuṅgas are depicted as 'râjans'. From all these considerations we arrive at the fact that Patañjali's *râjan* was not a feudatory chief but an independent king residing at Pâṭaliputra. Any such potentate other than the Śuṅga Pushyamitra is unknown to us. In all probability then the reference here is to the Śuṅgas and surely to Pushyamitra so that when the Divyâvadâna speaks of Pâṭaliputra as the capital of the Śuṅgas it only records the actual fact.

We generally know that the Śuṅga period was marked by an outburst of activity in the domains of art, literature and learning. The names of Vidiśa, Gonarda and Bârhut stand out prominent in this respect. Patañjali throws new light on this point. In the course of commenting on many sūtras of Pânini such as V. 3. 57. the grammarian says—*Sāṅkâsyakêbhyah = ch Pâṭaliputrakêbhyah = ch Mathura abhirûptarâ iti*. We cannot be definite as to what *abhirûpa* meant. In any case, whatever the meaning be, we see that a comparison has been instituted by Patañjali between the three cities and Mathura comes first from the point of view of *abhirûpatva*. Let the scholars decide whether the quality of learning or beauty was implied by *abhirûpa* in this case. Common sense tells us, however, that more learned men should pour in the capital than in Mathura.

¹ A.S.I. An. Rep., 1908-9, pp. 127-9.

² A.S.I. An. Rep., 1913-14, p. 190.

MR. K. P. JAYASWAL ON THE GUPTAS AND THE VĀKĀTAKAS¹ (II)

By (MISS) KARUNA KANA GUPTA, M.A.

In my former paper, I had made a summary review of Mr. Jayaswal's theories about the Bhārasīvas contained in his 'History of India, 150 A.D.-350 A.D.'. In this paper I propose to take up for discussion some of his remaining views, that is, his main theories about the Guptas and the Vākātakas.

His main theses about these two dynasties, by which he proposes to throw new light on their history, may be summarized as follows :—

(1) Rudrasēna I the Vākāṭaka and Rudradēva mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta are one and the same person (pp. 77, 141).

(2) The era of 248-249 A.D., known generally as the Chēdīor Kalachuri era, was in reality founded by the Vākātakas and most probably by Pravarasēna (pp. 110ff.).

(3) The passages in the Purāṇas, beginning with (1) *Vindhya-kānāṃ Kulē'-tītē*, etc. (Pargiter, *Dy. Kali Age*, p. 50) and (2) *Anu-Gaṅgām Prayāgañ-cha* (*ibid.*, p. 53), etc. describe successively the extent of the Vākāṭaka and Gupta empires. The different kings and dynasties mentioned in these passages are to be taken not as contemporaries of the Vākātakas and the Guptas respectively, as has hitherto been done (*ibid.*, pp. 73-74), but as the feudatories of these two imperial lines (pp. 83-90, 122-130).

(4) Samudragupta had to face several great confederacies during his career of conquest, of which he has left a record in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. Three great battles, in which the fate of India was decided, were fought by him, at Eran, Kausambi and Kolair Lake. At Eran, Rudrasēna the Vākāṭaka was defeated, and thus this was the most important of all the three. After it the Vākāṭaka empire of India passed to Samudragupta (pp. 132-141).

(5) The Allahabad Pillar Inscription also proves that Further India at that time, acknowledged his sovereignty (pp. 156-157).

(6) The early Gupta King Chandragupta I was a great tyrant and usurper. His misbehaviour led to his expulsion by the citizens of Pāṭalīputra, who rose in revolt against him in the cause of their

¹ The pages referred to in this paper indicate, unless otherwise stated, the pages of Mr. Jayaswal's Article published in the J.B.O.R.S., XIX.

former rulers. Chandragupta I had to die in exile in misery and despair. Samudragupta reconquered the city and won more favour by his reformed behaviour. But that the Guptas were never really liked by the people, is evident from Alberuni's statement about the Gupta era and also from several passages in the Purānas, i.e. Vāyū Purāṇa—verses 61-63, 64-68, 72-75, etc. (pp. 113-114, 117-118, 209).

Now let us take up his points one by one.

(1) The identity of Rudrasēna I, and Rudradēva was first suggested by Mr. Dikshit, and, even if not definitely established as yet, has certainly much to say in its favour. But Mr. Jayaswal's argument that since Rudradēva's name tops the list of the Āryāvarta Kings conquered by Samudragupta, he must have been Rudrasēna, the most important among the contemporary rulers, adds little strength to this theory. We have no ground to suppose that Hariṣēna adopted any definite principle in naming the conquered kings, instead of putting down their names at random. Mr. Jayaswal would also read a sense of break in the rule between the lines of Vākāṭaka inscriptions after Rudrasēna I (p. 17). But unfortunately this does not appear to us as self-evident.

(2) Mr. Jayaswal attributes the so-called Chedi era of 249 A.D. to the Vākāṭakas on the ground, that since all the great imperial dynasties immediately before and after the Vākāṭakas established an era, the Vākāṭakas too must have had an era of their own (p. 111). And since they rose to power towards the latter part of the 3rd century A.D., and most probably about 240-48 A.D., the era of 249 A.D. must have been founded by them (p. 111). But it is impossible to accept this view merely on the above grounds, when the era in question has never been associated with the Vākāṭakas, and the more so, when all the known Vākāṭaka records are found to be dated in regnal years. Mr. Jayaswal reads 'Yr. 100' on a coin attributed by him to Rudrasēna I (p. 73). But the decipherment is by no means definite, and according to our judgment his Vākāṭaka coins bear the same value as his so-called Bhāraśiva coins. Thus there is no indication of any era ever being used by the Vākāṭakas, much less of the era of 249 A.D. being started by them. And yet Mr. Jayaswal makes the Traikūṭakas Vākāṭaka feudatories, only because they use the era of 249 A.D. (p. 110)!

(3) The Purāṇic passages referred to by Mr. Jayaswal run as follows :—

(a) Vindhya-kānām Kulē'tite nṛpā vai Bāhlikās trayah,
Supratiko Nabhiraś ca samā bhokṣyanti trimsatim
Śākyamān ābhavad rājā Mahiṣinām-Mahīpatih
Puṣyamitra bhaviṣyanti Paṭumitrās trayodaśa

Mêkalâyām nrpāḥ sapta bhaviṣyant-ihā saptatim
 Kosalâyām tu rājano bhaviṣyanti mahābalāḥ
 Mēghā iti samākhyātā buddhimanto navaivatu
 Naiṣadhāḥ pārthivāḥ sarve bhaviṣyanti Manuṣṣayāt
 Nalā vaṁśa-prasūtās te Viryavanto Mahābalāḥ, etc. etc.

(Pargiter—Dy. K. Age, p. 51.)

(b) anu Gaṅgā Prayāgam ca Sākētam
 Magadhamstathā
 etān janapadān sarvān bhokṣyante
 Gupta vaṁśajāḥ
 Naiṣadhān yadukāś caiva Śaiśītān
 Kālatoyakān
 etan janapadān sarvān bhokṣyante
 Maṇidhānyajāḥ, etc.

(Pargiter, *ibid.*, p. 54.)

Now in both the cases, Mr. Jayaswal has made the respective contemporaneous dynasties feudatories of the two empires, by interpreting anew the construction of the Purāṇic statements. This becomes clear when a comparison is made between his and Mr. Pargiter's translations. Mr. Pargiter's translation of (b) runs thus :—

' Kings born of the Gupta race will enjoy all these territories, namely, along the Ganges, Prayāga, Sāketa and the Magadhas. Kings born from Maṇidhānya will enjoy all these territories, namely, the Naiṣadhas, Yodukas Śaiśitas and Kālatoyakas . . . ' etc. (Pargiter, p. 73).

But Mr. Jayaswal translates it in the following manner : —

' the Guptas will rule,

(a) the provinces of Anu-Gaṅgā, Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadhas ;

(b) [will rule, *bhokṣyante*, or will rule over *bhokṣyanti*] the Maṇidhānya provinces of the Naiṣadhas, Yodukas and Kālatoyakas ' etc. (p. 124).

Thus he takes the several kingdoms as three Imperial Provinces, governed in the name of the Guptas by the Maṇidhānyas, Dēvas (or as he suggests Prince Dēva, i.e. Chandragupta II—p. 127), and the Guhas. Similarly in passage (a) he takes Mēkalā, Kosalā, etc. as Vākāṭaka feudatory States, instead of independent kingdoms. But such a reading appears to be wholly forced and most unlikely. Even leaving aside the author's suggested identification of these States and rulers, of which he does not appear to give any reasonable ground, it is impossible to agree with his main theory, i.e. that

the Purānas contain full accounts of the Gupta and Vākāṭaka empires at their climax.

(4) As regards his suggested confederacies, his explanation is, that since Harisēna was a royal official recording his imperial master's conquests, his order of naming the conquered kings could not have been haphazard (p. 135). So far as present identifications allow, it is apparent that the principle followed was not one of geographical order. The kings must have therefore, formed confederacies and together met Samudragupta at particular places. To quote Mr. Jayaswal's own statement, 'From Erandapalli to Kānchi is a big jump. This (i.e. the fact that the kings of these states are mentioned in immediate succession) can be consistent only on the hypotheses that they were together at one and the same spot' (p. 138). So far we can only say, that the explanation may be held as probable IF Harisēna be credited to have possessed the same amount of historical sense which Mr. Jayaswal attributes to him. But we know what careless recorders the ancient Indian officials often were. They might not have inserted conquests not really undertaken by their kings. But it is too much to expect them to remember that they were 'composing history for all ages to come' (p. 135), when they were composing such praśastis, and consequently to adopt definite principles of treatment.

But Mr. Jayaswal does not stop even here. He gives us exactly the three confederacies with whom Samudragupta had had to fight, with their leaders and other details all complete. Next he proceeds to give us detailed accounts of the Battles of Eran, Kośambi and Kolair Lake, which according to him, must have taken place, only because they are natural battlefields! Then again he declares Eran to have been the scene of Samudragupta's victory over Rudrasēna, who fell there in battle, only because one panel discovered at Eran bears in relief a cremation-scene. It is absolutely certain, that there is not a single thing in the relief to indicate the identity of the body in question. It is impossible to accept such theories when they are not supported by one single fact.

As for the author's grouping of kings, we have only one question to ask. Even if we admit that Harisēna was recording kings as they were grouped under different confederacies, what led Mr. Jayaswal to declare that there were THREE alliances, instead of two? The division into Northern and Southern powers might seem natural enough. The Pallavas too, might have been the southern leaders, if the Vākāṭakas did head the northern confederacy. But why does Mr. Jayaswal make Mantarāja of Kurala form a separate group with Svāmidatta and Damana instead of taking him under the Pallava camp? And where does Mahēndragiri

of Pishtapura go? He does not come under any of these three groups. Did he fight alone, and thus form a sort of exception to the rule?

(5) Ll. 23-24 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription run:—*Saim-halakādibhiḥ* = *ca sarvva-dvīpa-vāsibhir* = *âtmanivêdana* = *Kanyôpayan-adāna* *âdi-upāya-sêvâ-kṛta* Mr. Jayaswal takes this to mean that 'the King of Sîmhala and all the other islanders (or Oceanic rulers) . . . made their submission and acknowledged Samudragupta as their Emperor . . . His India therefore embraced within its bounds Further India' (p. 156). Here too, the question is whether we are to take Hariṣêṇa as 'seriously' as Mr. Jayaswal has done. It would have been easier to accept Hariṣêṇa's statements if the islands were mentioned separately by name, as Sîmhala has been done. We cannot doubt that Sîmhala had come into some sort of relation with Samudragupta, because it is thus mentioned by Hariṣêṇa although we are still left in the dark as to the nature of the relation. But such sweeping statements as the submission of *all* islanders, we must continue to regard with much suspicion and place little or no value on them.

(6) Mr. Jayaswal's theory about the tyranny of the early Guptas and their expulsion, etc. etc. is based primarily on a drama called *Kaumudî-mahotsava*. This drama, of which neither the author nor the age is known, informs us, that a certain Caṇḍasêna, who had usurped the throne of Pāṭaliputra from the Varman Kings with the help of the Licchavis, lost his kingdom through his tyranny and died in exile. Mr. Jayaswal's present theory hangs entirely on the reference to the Licchavis and to the faint similarity of the name Caṇḍasêna to Candragupta. The method in which he shows how Caṇḍasêna could easily have been a corruption of Candragupta, is ingenious. But it would have been difficult to rely on the evidence of a mere drama even if the hero had been called Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty. Even then it would have been at best a mere probability. As it is, we can hardly accept his theory when the very identity of the hero is questionable.

Mr. Jayaswal seeks to support his theory by reading in ll. 7-8 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, a tragic tone of despair and last entreaty to Samudragupta on the part of his father, to revive the paternal kingdom. Combining these two evidences with Alberuni's statement, Mr. Jayaswal considers it sufficiently established, that the Guptas were tyrannical rulers. But the passage in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, referred to above, is full of gladness and joy. There is no despair in it save that of the rejected rival princes. As for Alberuni's statement, there must have been some basis behind it. But the tyranny that tradition attributed to the

imperial Guptas in Alberuni's time, might have referred in reality to other kings of the same dynasty, for all we know. As for the Purāṇic passages, referred to by Mr. Jayaswal, it will be clear to any one who cares to read them, that there the author is seeking to bring out the futility of *all* empires, ancient and modern, rather than express his disapproval of the rule of a particular dynasty. 'Vanity of vanities! All is vanity'!—this is the dominant cry of the Purāṇas—which neither excludes the Guptas nor lays any special emphasis on them.

In these articles, I have criticized Mr. Jayaswal's views only so far as they refer to the Bhāraśivas, the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas. Many other views, expressed by him in the course of his dissertation are also liable to similar objections. One of them—his theory about the Śāṅkāyanas—has already been ably refuted by Mr. M. Rama Rao in I.H.Q., March, 1934, pp. 158ff. I shall conclude this paper by referring to another. Mr. Jayaswal would identify the Kushān general Vaṇasphara with the Purāṇic Visasphāṇi (pp. 41-43). But Vaṇasphara's date is generally accepted as 1st century A.D., while Visasphāṇi, since he comes after Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra, is likely to have ruled in the 3rd century A.D.

FURNITURE

[MAN'S INDEBTEDNESS TO PLANTS]

By GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR

The common Indian term to denote furniture is Pāli *Senāsana* and Sanskrit *Śayanāsana*. The *Śayanāsana* or *Senāsana* is a compound consisting of two words,—*sayana* and *āsana*. When furniture is meant to be denoted in a collective sense we have the use of the form *Senāsanaṃ* or *Sayanāsanaṃ*; and where it is meant to be denoted in detail, we have the use of the plural form, *Śayanānyāsanaṇi*.¹ In the *Suśruta*, the *Rajavallabha* and the *Bhāvaprakāśa* we come across the use of *Śayyāsana* instead of *Śayanāsana*.²

In dealing with *Senāsanaṃ* *Buddhaghosa* says: the *Senāsana* is that which provides accommodation for sleep and rest. This stands as a general term for bedstead, seat and the rest (which go to constitute furniture, and structural or natural places for sleep, rest and comfort). It is, therefore, suggested in the *Vinaya-Suttavi-bhaṅga* that the term *Senāsana* signifies such things as—

Mañca—a couch or bed. Cf. *Vin.* IV, 39, 40, where 4 kinds are mentioned: *masāraka*, *bundikābaddha*, *kulīrapādaka*, *āhacca-pādaka*. *Masāraka* is a kind of couch or long chair. Its construction is described in *Vin.* II, 149; IV, 357, where it is said that it is made by boring a hole into the feet of the bed and putting through a notched end (*mañca-pāde vijjhitvā tattha aṭṭaniyo pavasetvā kato*); cf. also *Vimānavatthu Comm.* 8, 9; *bundikābaddha*—is a sort of seat or bedstead; see *Vin.* II, 149; IV, 40, 357; *kulīrapādaka*—a sort of bedstead; *Buddhaghosa* explains it as a bedstead with carved legs, especially when carved to represent animal's feet (*Vin. Texts*, III, 164); and *āhacca-pādaka* is a collapsible bed or chair, i.e. whose legs or feet can be put on and taken away at pleasure (by drawing out a pin)—*Vin.* II, 149; IV, 40, 46, 168, 169; see also *Vibhaṅga Comm.* 365; *Suttanipāta* 401; *Jātaka* III, 423; *Dhammapada Comm.* I, 89, 130; IV, 16; *Vibhaṅga Comm.* 20 and so on.

Piṭha—a seat, or chair, stool or bench. As in the case of *Mañca* four kinds are given at *Vin.* IV, 40=168; cf. also *Vin.* I, 47, 180;

¹ Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Sundarākāṇḍa*, VI, 41.

² *S.S.*, IV, xxiv, 81; for *Rajavalladha* and *Bhāvaprakāśa*, see below.

II, 114, 149, 225 ; *Āṅguttara* N. III, 51 ; IV, 133 ; *Vimānavatthu* I, discussed in detail at commentary 8. *Mañca-piṭṭha*—couch and chair—is mentioned at *Vin.* II, 270 sq. ; *Āṅguttara*, III, 51 ; and so on.

Bhisí—a bolster, cushion,—*Vin.* I, 287 sq. ; II, 150, 170 ; III, 90 ; IV, 279. Five kinds are allowed in a *Vihāra*, viz. *unṇa-bhisí*, *cola*, *vāka*, *tinu*, *paṇṇa*, i.e. bolsters stuffed with wool, cotton, cloth, bark, grass or talipot leaves—*Vin.* II, 150=*Vibhaṅga* Comm. 365.

Bimbohana—pillow ; cf. *Vin.* I, 47 ; II, 76, 150, 208, 209, 218 ; III, 90, 119 ; IV, 279 ; *Saṃyutta* II, 268 ; *Āṅguttara* III, 240 ; *Vibhaṅga* Comm. 365 ; *Visuddhimagga*, 70 ; *bhisí*—*bimbohana*—bolster and pillow, *Vin.* I, 47 ; II, 208 ; *Dhammapada* Comm. I, 416 ; *Vibhaṅga* Comm. 365.

Vihāra—a place of living, abode, a single room ; cf. *Vin.* II, 207, sq. ; *Dīgha* N. II, 7 ; a larger building for housing *bhikkhus*, *Vin.* I, 58 ; III, 47, etc.

Aḍḍhayoga—a certain kind of house ; cf. *Vin.* I, 58=96, 107, 139, 239, 284 ; II, 146.

Pāsāda—palace ; a building on high foundations ; cf. *Vin.* I, 58, 96, 107, 239 ; II, 128, 146, 236 ; *Dīgha* N. II, 21 ; *Āṅguttara* I, 64, etc.

Hammiya—a long, storied mansion which has an upper chamber placed on the top ; cf. *Vin.* I, 58, 96, 239 ; II, 146 ; *hammiya-gabbha*—a chamber on the upper storey. *Vin.* II, 152.

Guhā—natural cave ; according to *Buddhaghosa* (*Vin.* I, 58=*Vin. Text* I, 174) *Guhā* means ' a hut of bricks, or in a rock, or of wood '. Cf. *Vin.* I, 58, 96, 107 ; II, 146 ; III, 155 ; IV, 48 (cf. *Sattapaṇṇi guhā*) ; *Jat.* II, 418 ; VI, 574 ; *Vimānavatthu* 50.

Aṭṭa—a watch-tower ; cf. *Vin.* I, 140 ; *Dīgha Nikāya* Comm. I, 209.

Māla—open shed ; it may mean *mālaka* which ' is a space marked off and usually terraced '. In the *Mahāvihāra* at *Anurādhapur* there were 32 *mālakas* : *Dīpavaṃsa* XIV, 78 ; *Mahāvāṃsa* 15, 192.

Leṇa—cave dwelling ; cf. *Vin.* II, 146, where it is used as a collective name for five kinds of hermitage, viz. *vihāra aḍḍayoga*, *pāsāda*, *hammiya* and *guhā*. *Leṇa-guha*—mountain cave—*J.* III, 511 ; cf. also *Vin.* I, 206=III, 248, etc.

Veḷu-gumbha—bamboo grove ; cf. *Suttanipāta* Comm. 49, 75.

Rukkha-mūla—foot of a tree (taken as a dwelling). Commentary on *Dīgha Nikāya* I, 209, specifies this as ' *yam kiñci sanda-cchāyam vivittam rukkha-mūlam* '. Cf. *Āṅguttara* II, 38 ; IV, 139, 392 ; etc. *Vin.* I, 58, mentions ' *rukkha-mūla-senāsana* ' (having

one's bed and seat at the foot of a tree) as one of the 4 *nissayas*. Cf. also A. IV, 231.

Maṇḍapa—pavilion ; a temporary shed. Cf. Vin. I, 125 ; Visuddhi-magga 96, 300, 339 sq. Dhammapada Comm. I, 112 ; II, 45 ; Petavatthu Comm. 74, 171, 194 ; Vimānavatthu Comm. 173.

In short whatsoever the bhikkhus have recourse to as a resort, all that is called *Senāsanaṃ*. The difference, however, is that such structural or natural resorts, as vihāra, aḍḍhyayoga, pāsāda, hammiya, and guhā are regarded as *vihārasenāsanaṃ* (retreats for dwelling) ; such things of use as mañca, piṭha, bhisī and bimbohana go by the name of *mañca-piṭha-senāsanaṃ* (elevated fixtures or furniture used for sleep and rest) ; such things as cilimikā (cimilikā—carpet—cf. Vin. II, 150, IV, 40), cammakhaṇḍa (piece of skin), tiṇa-santhāra (grass mat) ; paṇṇa-santhāro (leaf mat) are distinguished as *santhata-senāsanaṃ* (furniture that can be spread and folded), and whatsoever resort (bamboo-grove, tree shade and the like) is used as occasional retreat, is called *okāsa-senāsanaṃ*. These four kinds of *senāsana* (dwellings, retreats, fixture or furniture), are all comprehended by one and the same term—*senāsana*.¹ Here we are just concerned with that kind of *senāsana* which corresponds with household furniture. The necessity or the utility of such *senāsana* is clearly set forth thus in the Suśruta, the Rajavallabha and the Bhāvaprakāśa² :—

The beds and seats (constituting the household furniture) are useful and indispensable as a means of relieving fatigue, inducing sound sleep, maintaining vigour and providing restful ease and comfort. It is definitely suggested that the furniture is no furniture if it fails to serve as a means to these ends.²

¹ Seti c' eva āsati ca etthāti senāsanaṃ, mañca-piṭhādinam etam adhivacanaṃ. Ten' āha : senāsanaṃ ti. Mañco pi senāsanaṃ piṭham pi bhisī pi bimbohanaṃ pi vihāro pi aḍḍhyayogo pi pāsādo pi hammiyaṃ pi guhā pi aṭṭo pi mālo pi lenaṃ pi velu-gumbo pi rukkha-mūlaṃ pi maṇḍapo pi senāsanaṃ. Yattha vā pana bhikkhū paṭikkamanti sabbam etaṃ senāsanaṃ' ti. Api ca vihāro aḍḍhyayogo pāsādo hammiyaṃ guhā ti, idaṃ vihāra-senāsanaṃ nāma. Mañca piṭham bhisī bimbohanaṃ ti idaṃ mañca-piṭha senāsanaṃ nāma. Cilimikā camma-khaṇḍa tiṇa-santhāro paṇṇa-santhāro ti idaṃ santhata-senāsanaṃ nāma. Yattha vā pana bhikkhū paṭikkhamantīti, idaṃ okāsa-senāsanaṃ nāmāti evaṃ catubbidham senāsanaṃ hoti. Taṃ sabbam pi senāsana-gahanena gahitam eva.—Sumaṅgala-vilāsini, Sāmāññaphala-suttavannaṇā, D. II, 66 ; P.T.S., part i, pp. 208-09 ; Pāli-English Dictionary—Rhys Davids and Stede.

² अनामिकाद्वरं दृश्यं पुष्टिमिद्रादतिप्रदम् ।

दुःखं अयासनां दुःखं विपरीतगुणं मतम् । S.S., IV, xxiv, 81.

The earliest record of household furniture is to be found in the Vedic texts where we get mentioned such articles as :

Akṣu—wicker-work.¹

Upa-barhaṇa—cushion or pillow.²

Upadhāna—cushion of a seat.³

Upastaraṇa—in the description of a couch—a coverlet.⁴

Talpa—a bed or couch⁵ ; it sometimes used to be made of udumbara wood.⁶

Paryaṅka—seat.⁷

Pīṭha—stool.⁸

Proṣṭha—a broad bench over which women lay down to sleep.⁹

Bhitti—mat of split reeds.¹⁰

Vahya—a couch or bed of a comfortable kind used by women.¹¹

Śaṅku—wooden peg.¹²

Śayana—couch.¹³

Śūrpa—a wicker-work basket.¹⁴

Spinning wheels—spindles and looms formed furniture in every house
' as women wove their own clothes '.¹⁵

सुखग्रथ्यासनं शेषं निद्रापुष्टिप्रदम् ।

अमानिल्लहरं शलं विपरीतमतोऽन्यथा ॥ राजवल्गवः ।

सुखग्रथ्यासनं हृद्यं पुष्टिनिद्राप्रदम् ।

अमानिल्लहरं हृद्यं विपरीतमतोऽन्यथा ॥ भावप्रकाशः ।

Cf. Atthasālinī, p. 80—Mañcapīṭhādisu yaṃ kiñci rajaniyaṃ phoṭṭhabba-vatthum (among beds and seats whatsoever is agreeable to sense of touch).

¹ R.V., I, 180, 5 ; A.V., VIII, 8, 18 ; IX, 3, 18.

² R.V., X, 85, 7 ; A.V., IX, 5, 8 ; XII, 2, 9, 20 ; etc.

³ A.V., XIV, 2, 65.

⁴ R.V., IX, 69, 5 ; A.V., V, 19, 12 ; Kauś. Up. i, 5.

⁵ R.V., VII, 55, 8 ; A.V., V, 17, 12 ; XIV, 2, 31, 41 ; Taitt. Saṃ. VI, 2, 6, 4.

⁶ Taitt. Brāh., I, 2, 6, 5.

⁷ A.V., XV, 3, 3.

⁸ Vāj. Saṃ. XXX, 21 ; Taitt. Brāh. III, 4, 17, 1.

⁹ R.V., VII, 55, 8.

¹⁰ Śat. Brāh. III, 5, 3, 9.

¹¹ R.V., VII, 55, 8 ; A.V., IV, 5, 3 ; 20, 3 ; XIV, 2, 30.

¹² R.V., I, 164, 48.

¹³ A.V., III, 25, 1 ; V, 29, 8.

¹⁴ A.V., IX, 6, 16 ; X, 9, 26 ; XI, 3, 4 ; XII, 3, 19 ; etc.

¹⁵ R.V., I, 92, 3. Cf. Āṅguttara-Nikāya III, 37, where the Buddha instructs the newly married daughters of rich householder thus—' Ye te bhattu abhantarā kamantā uṇṇā ti vā kappāsā ti vā, tattha dakkhā bhavissāma analasā '. See Vedic Index, 2 vols. ; Rig-Veda—Eng. transl. by Wilson, 6 vols. ; Rig-Vedic Culture by A. Das, pp. 193-197.

In the next stage we have certain definite statements in the Pāli Nikāyas and Vinaya texts enumerating certain typical articles of household furniture and indirectly throwing light on the actual state of things. All that they set forth is but a stock list of articles from the use of which the Buddha himself refrained, and of articles of which a restricted use was allowed in the case of the bhikkhus. Similar light may be obtained also from certain prohibitive rules in the Jaina canons regarding the use of such articles.¹

First, in connection with the statement in the Dīghanikāya (I, i, 15), we may note that the list supplied contains articles of luxury and comfort which were in use among certain sections of *religieux*, the Śramanas and Brāhmanas,² and from the use of which the Buddha himself refrained.³ The list contains such articles as :—

Āsandi—Moveable settees, high and six feet long. According to the commentary on Pācittiya 87 the height of chairs and beds should be limited to 8 great inches (aṭṭaṅgulapādakaṃ kāritabbaṃ sugataṅguleṇa aññatra heṭṭhimāya aṭṭaniya 'ti ṭhapetvā heṭṭhimaṃ aṭṭaniyaṃ). Cf. Jātaka I, 208, where a man lies down on an āsandi so as to be able to look up and watch the stars. The smaller āsandiko is allowed in the Buddhist order by the Vinaya II, 149; cf. also Vin. I, 192; II, 142, 163, 169, 170. The āsandi is selected, according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa III, 35, 105 (Eggeling), as the right sort of seat for the king in both the Vājapeya and the Inauguration ceremonies because of its height. In later days āsandi came to mean a four-footed bedstead—like bier carrying dead body. According to Ajita Kesa-Kambali's doctrine—*āsandi-pañcama purisā*—

¹ For such articles of furniture as seat (muktāsana, kāraṇata, pāda-puñchanādigata), stool, bed, pleasant seats, lofty beds, curtains, screens, couches, ceiling cloth, broom, basket, chamber-pot, chair with woven twine seat, etc. etc., see Uttarādhyaṇa, Lect. I, 22; VII, 8, 9; XV, 4; XVI, 1, 5; XVII, 2, 14; XXI, 22; XXIII, 17; XXIX, 31; XXX, 28; XXXV, 4; Sūtrakṛtāṅga, Bk. I, Lect. III, Ch. ii, 17; Lect. IV, Ch. ii, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 15; and Lect. IX, 21.—Jaina Sūtras, part ii, S.B.E. 45, Oxford, 1895.

² 'Yathā va paṇ' eke bhonto samaṇa-brāhmaṇā saddhā-deyyāni bhojanāni bhūñjitvā te evarūpaṃ uccāsayana-mahāsayanāṃ anuyuttā viharanti, seyyathidaṃ āsandiṃ pallaṅkaṃ gonakaṃ cittakaṃ paṭikaṃ paṭalikaṃ tūlikaṃ vikatikaṃ uddalomiṃ ekanta-lomiṃ kaṭṭhissaṃ koseyyaṃ kuttakaṃ hatthatharaṃ assattharaṃ ajina-ppaveniṃ kadali-miga-pavara paccattharaṃ sauttara-cchadaṃ ubhato-lohitakūpadhānam-iti vā iti evarūpā uccāsayana-mahāsayanā paṭivirato Samaṇo-Gotamo ti'. Dīghanikāya, i, 1, 15, Majjhima-śīla. This list also recurs at Aṅguttara III, 63, 3 (A.I. 181), Mahāvagga V, 10, 4; Cullavagga, V, 3, 37; VI, 8, 1; 13, 14.

³ Uccāsayana-mahāsayanā paṭivirato Samaṇo Gotamo-Culla-śīla, D. i, 1, 10.

besides the four men the corpse on the four-footed bier formed the fifth (*āsandi-pañcama purisā matamādaya gacchanti*—D. ii, 23; Majjhima Nikāya I, p. 575, D.N. I, p. 55). Here *āsandipañcama* means *āsandipañcamāti nīpanna-mañcena pañcama*; but according to Buddhaghosa the bier itself is the fifth: *mañco-c'eva cattāro mañca-pāde gahetvā t̥hitā cattāro purisā cāti attho*.

- Pallaṅka**—Divans with animal figures carved on the supports. Cf. Vin. II, 163, 170; Saṃutta I, 95; Jāt. I, 268; IV, 396; V, 161; Vimānavatthu 31; Petavatthu II, 12; III, 3; and so on.
- Goṇaka**—Goat's hair coverlets with very long fleece (of a pallaṅka)—cf. Vimāna Vatthu 81, Petavatthu III, 1; Aṅguttara I, 137=III, 50=IV, 394.
- Cittakā**—Patch work counterpanes of many colours. Citta-atharaka—a variegated carpet. Dīgha N. Comm. I, 256.
- Paṭikā**—White blankets; cf. Aṅguttara I, 137, 181; III, 50; IV, 94, 231, etc.
- Paṭalikā**—Woolen coverlets embroidered with flowers, usually combined with paṭikā. Cf. Vin. I, 192; II, 162; Aṅg. I, 137, 181; III, 50, etc.
- Tūlikā**—Quilts stuffed with cotton wool, or mattress. Cf. Vin. I, 192; II, 150; Aṅg. I, 181.
- Vikatikā**—Coverlets embroidered with figures of lions, tigers, etc. Cf. Aṅg. I, 181; Vin. I, 192.
- Uddalomī**—Rugs with fur on both sides; according to Vinaya I, 192=II, 163, 169, it is a kind of couch or bed (or rug on a couch).
- Ekantalomī**—Rugs with fur on one side. Cf. Vin. I, 192; II, 163; 169; Aṅg. I, 181.
- Katṭhissa**—A silken coverlets embroidered with gems. Cf. Vin. 192=II, 163; Commentary on Dīghanikāya I, 87.
- Koseyya**—Silk coverlets. Cf. Vin. I, 192, 281; II, 163, 169.
- Kuttaka**—Carpets large enough for 16 dancers. Cf. Aṅg. I, 181; Vin. I, 192=II, 163.
- Hatthathara assatthara rathatthara**—Elephant, horse and chariot rugs; *attharaṇa*—is a covering, carpet, cover or rug. Cf. Vin. II, 291; Aṅg. II, 56; III, 53, etc.
- Ajina-ppaveṇi**—Rugs of antelope skins sewn together to form a covering of the size of a couch. Cf. Vin. I, 192; it is described as *ajina-cammehi mañcappamāṇena sibbitvā katā paveṇi*—Dīghanikāya Comm. I, 87; Aṅg. I, 181.
- Kadali-miga-pavara paccattharaṇa**—Rugs of the skins of plantain antelope. Cf. Aṅg. I, 181=Vin. I, 192=II, 163, 169; it is mentioned in connection with *pallaṅka* in Aṅg. I, 137; III, 50; IV, 394.

Sauttara-cchada—Carpets with awnings above them. Cf. *Āṅg. I*, 181; *III*, 50.

Ubhato-lohitakūpadhāna—Sofas with red pillows for the head and feet. Cf. *Samutta II*, 267; *Milinda*. 366; *Āṅg. I*, 137, 181; *III*, 50; *Jāt. IV*, 201; *V*, 506.¹

Secondly, the injunction in the Vinaya Piṭaka allowing restricted use of domestic furniture, sets forth the following articles²:—

VI, 2, 3—Bedsteads made of laths of split bamboo (p. 164).

VI, 2, 4—A rectangular chair, an armed chair, a sofa, a sofa with arms to it, a state chair, a cushioned chair, a chair raised on a pedestal, a chair with many legs, a board (to recline on), a cane bottomed chair, a straw-bottomed chair,—were allowed to the Bhikkus by the Blessed One (p. 165).

VI, 2, 5—A low couch and a lofty couch.

VI, 2, 6—Carpet, mattress stuffed with cotton, cotton pillows, cotton—if it be of any of these three kinds: cotton produced on trees, cotton produced on creepers, cotton produced on *potāki* grass (p. 167).

VI, 2, 7—Bolsters of five kinds: those stuffed with wool, or cotton cloth, or bark, or grass, or talipot leaves, a bed coverlet, chairs and bedsteads covered (with upholstered cushions to fit them): coverings were bespattered with dye and coloured in patches (pp. 168, 169).

VI, 3, 3—Curtains (p. 173).

VI, 3, 5—Ceiling cloth to protect against snakes falling. Bamboos to hang your robes on and strings to hang robes on (p. 175).

VI, 3, 6—Moveable screens (p. 176).³

Then again in the Pātimokka we find mention of a bedstead, a chair, a mat, a stool apparently of wickerwork, or as the Vibhaṅga says, made of bark, of *muñja* grass, of *uśira* roots, or of bulrushes; bedsteads or chairs with removable legs (p. 34). In Pā. 53-54 we notice directions as to the constructions of bedsteads and chairs for a Bhikkhu are given. The Mahāvagga (I, 25, 15-16) mentions

¹ *Dighanikāya I*, i, 15; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Rhys Davids, S.B.B. II, pp. 11-13—High and large couches; *Pāli-English Dictionary*, Rhys Davids and Stede.

² For original texts, see the Vinaya Piṭaka in Pali, Vols. I-IV, Oldenberg.

³ *Cullavagga VI*. On Dwellings and Furniture. S.B.E. XX; *Vinaya Texts*, Part III, pp. 157-223; also *Cu. VIII*, 1, 3-5; and the foot-note 3 to *Cu. VIII*, 1, 4, pp. 278-279, S.B.E. XX.

carpets, chair, bedstead with movable supporters, spittoon box and a board to recline on—as bed-room furniture. The Cullavagga (V, 19) gives decorated divans as dining hall furniture. The floor of the bed-rooms and other halls used to be matted (Cu. viii, 1, 4-5). But their usual seat was mat and the great personages used variously ornamented mats and the royal seats used to be beautifully painted and enriched.¹

Thus we have a fairly exhaustive list of articles of household furniture which were in use among the members of the Buddhist Holy Order and among certain classes of Indian *religieux*, in a more or less restricted sense as early as the fifth or sixth century B.C., if not earlier. The Pāli texts and commentaries give us not only names but descriptions, and even details of material and make. The monks or the ascetics did not make them, these were generally made for them and given them as gifts, or procured from the funeral ground where these were left unused (*tena kho pana samayena saṃghassa sosāniko masārako mañco*, etc., *uppanno hoti*—Cu. VI, 2, 3-4). Moreover, when these articles were found in use among the ascetics and recluses, the general people of the time used to complain of a life of luxury and ease befitting the man of the world (*manussā vihāracārikam āhiṇḍantā passivā ujjhāyanti khīyanti vipācenti : seyyathāpi gihī kāmabhogino 'ti*). The description, therefore, is primarily a description of secular life,—the state of things which characterized the actual social life of ancient India, particularly the life lived by the aristocracy. On this head we have a clear evidence in the Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra giving a vivid description of typical articles of domestic furniture then in use among the fashionable people, the *Nāgarakas*.

The articles that Vātsyāyana first draws attention to, in the Nagaraka's apartment, are two couches with beds, soft and comfortable and spotlessly white, sinking in the middle, and having rests for the head and feet at the top and the bottom. At the head of his bed is a *kūrca-sthāna*, a stand, or perhaps a niche for placing an image of the deity he worships, besides, at the head there is also an elevated shelf serving the purpose of a table, whereon are placed articles necessary for his toilet in the early dawn. On the floor is a vessel for catching the spittle. On the wall, on *nāgadantakas* (brackets) are ranged his *viṇa*, a casket containing brushes and other requisites for painting, a book, and the garland of the Kuraṅṭaka flower. Not far from the couch, on the floor, is spread a carpet with cushions for the head, and besides, there are boards

¹ Buddhist Records of the Western World, I, ii, 6, p. 75.

for playing a chess and dice. Outside the room is the Nāgaraka's aviary where are hung cages of birds for game and sport.¹

1 “बाह्ये च वासगृहे सुसज्जेषुभयोपाधानं मध्ये विनतं शुक्रीतरच्छदं शयनीयं स्यात् । प्रतिशयिका च । तस्य शिरोभागे कूर्चस्थानं, वेदिका च । तत्र रात्रिशेषमनुलेपनं मास्यं सिक्क्यकरच्छदं सौमन्विक पुटिका मातुलुङ्गलवचखाम्बूलानि च स्युः । भूमौ पतङ्गः । नागदन्तावसक्ता वीषा । शिचफलकम् । वर्तिका समुद्रकः । यः कश्चित् पुस्तकः । कुरच्छकमास्राच । नातिदूरे भूमौ दृत्तास्तरणं समस्तकम् । चाकर्षफलकम् द्यूतफलकम् । तस्य वधिः प्रौढाशकुनिपङ्गराणि ।” Kāmasūtra, Sādhāraṇamadhikaraṇam, Ch. iv, 4, pp. 115-116—Mahesh Pal edition; see also Social Life—Chakladar, pp. 154-155.

PREHISTORIC TRADE-ROUTES AND COMMERCE

By PANCHANAN MITRA

It is very difficult to trace the trade-routes and channels of commerce in times of which we have no written records or literary tradition. We have mainly to rely on distribution of objects not made out of local materials and to trace the source of origin of the material and find out the route of its possible distribution through a survey of all the sites excavated in the intermediate zones. It is also very much possible that trade routes and migration routes would often coincide both being selected by man for his easiest convenience and carried through paths of the least difficulty.

In Palæolithic times we can speak of no trade-routes properly so-called for it is very doubtful if there was any trade as we understand by that term amongst hunting tribes when surplus products would hardly be available. But if any methods of preservation of food were known surely some means would be found to carry food from tribe to tribe and this would break the monotony of the food supply and the available food resources of each tribe. If Australians are taken to be a survival from a hunting mode of existence which was the only possible type of life in Palæolithic times and if Totemic organization has as one of its functions the raising of different types of food by different totem-bearing tribes then it seems that Palæolithic peoples might also have evolved some methods of barter or exchange between contiguous tribes.

Besides exchange of food from tribe to tribe within a limited area there would be also a great trade in rare products which would be prized for beauty as objects of vanity and serve for personal adornment or would be specially prized as being more durable and so highly more efficacious in the use as weapons of offence or implements to shape other objects. The use of sea-shells as necklaces would be very ancient in Palæolithic times and we know in Combe Capelle perforated shells have been found with the skeleton. 'Perforated shells of *Littorina obtusa* were extensively used as ornaments by the Aurignacians of some 30,000 years ago, especially on head dresses and other apparel as well as necklaces'. (MacCurdy, Human Origins, I. 157.)

We also know of the dispersal at least in one case of one type of specially prized flint, the bees-wax flint. 'De Saint-Venant who made a special study of the subject found Pressigny flints far away

from the centre of dispersal in Indre-at Loire to Brittany, Northern France, Belgium, Italy and Western Switzerland'. (MacCurdy, *Human Origins*, II. 159.)

In reading the accounts of travels of early explorers in North America such as Mackenzie we find that the Esquimaux in those tracts had regular depredatory raids on Chippewayan territory coming in search of good flint.

We can have some, if not definite, at least vague idea of the regular avenues of human communication from the fact that the migrations of Palæolithic peoples evidently came along well-defined tracts. It is very difficult to map out the routes as we cannot do yet till all the regions are thoroughly explored. But that the Neanderthal had some centre of dispersal and much more so the Cro-Magnons came from some region and spread in a regular fashion over the most of Europe cannot be denied.

The Palæolithic migration-routes in Europe are not very definitely traceable and yet we could see from the distribution of Chellean and Acheulean as contrasted with Mousterian two channels one the Pre-Mousterian spreading through Central Europe gradually to France, the other originating we know not where but apparently connected with the distribution area from Kenya across the Mediterranean in Africa and going further East right through Arabia into India. The distribution of the Neanderthal types in Galilee, Tabun and Skuhl, the Neanderthaloid character of the Rhodesian and Ngandoang skulls, the finding of Mousterian type of implements from Gobi desert not to speak of other parts like Egypt and Arabia and India from which they have been reported shows also the possibility of there having been one or more culture-centres and the spread therefrom along definite routes.

Morgan's map of the Early Palæolithic cultures in relation to the possible glaciated portions of the earth of that epoch shows that geographic factor was very important. The routes of migration then in Palæolithic times would obviously be those that would be availed of in later times with this difference that glaciation would make a great change in Northern latitudes and higher altitudes where the routes would have been much further south.

The origins of the Cro-Magnons have not yet been finally ascertained and yet if we map out the distributions of the different Palæolithic cultures and superpose them on one another certain interesting lines would obviously stand out. It is rather unfortunate that we cannot get the maps of the areas outside Europe so definitely as in the European zone and even in the latter horizon there are immense tracts that still await systematic survey. Taking up Prof. MacCurdy's maps of the distribution of the Chellean and

Acheulean, Mousterian and Upper Palæolithic cultures we find definite zones where the distribution is thicker and also well-defined area. We would leave aside the heavily dotted areas in France and England and study the distribution areas on the other side of the Mediterranean in N. Africa and Asia Minor. We find the Mediterranean coast of Syria, the North of Africa near Egypt and Gafsa in Tunis and another point near Gibraltar occurs in most of the cases. This shows that the centres of culture of the Old Stone Age or rather their channels of movement had fixed definite tracts when a large area is taken into consideration. It is true that in the Chellean and Acheulean distribution we miss the African site opposite Gibraltar but Gafsa, and Adlun or Antelias, Egypt, East Africa and South Africa seem to have been occupied by Early Palæolithic, Mousterian and Aurignacian men-so the route round the Mediterranean lay more likely through the North of Africa for on the European side we miss the Balkans definitely in Chellean and Acheulean times and Central Europe comes in with many sites in Mousterian and Aurignacian cultures. On the other hand if the ethnographic connections with the Bushman paintings and cave-art of Palæolithic France and Spain have any basis we may be permitted in thinking of dispersal of peoples in Southern Europe in connection with the cultures of Kenya and Cape Colony. Similarly if the Esquimaux as Boule thinks are comparable with the Yellow(?) Chancelade races of France the retreat of these races must have followed the same tracts as those of the Reindeer across the North of Europe.

With the advent of Neolithic times and its pottery, agriculture, domestication of plants and animals grew the sense of property and surplus materials were available for exchange. The mining of beeswax flint has already been referred to.

'The geographic distribution of obsidian is likewise easily traceable because of its color and its association with volcanic regions; it is confined in Europe to limited areas in France (Cantal) Bohemia, Hungary, the Greek Archipelago, and in Italy (vicinity of Naples). Neolithic traffic in obsidian is traceable in Italy and the Greek Archipelago.

The frequency with which one encounters ornaments and implements of jade or nephrite in Neolithic stations of Europe can be explained only on the ground of its being an object of barter. Heinrich Fischer was obviously wrong in supposing all jade and jade ornaments to be of Asiatic origin. Although the occurrence of jade in nature is much more limited geographically than the Neolithic distribution of jade objects, G. F. Kunz in 1899 found at Jordansmuhl (Silesia) a single mass of jade large enough to have met the needs of Neolithic man over the whole of Europe. Jade in Europe can thus

be accounted for without making a draft on Asia, but commerce is the logical explanation of its Neolithic dissemination.

A very important line of evidence bearing on prehistoric commerce is furnished by amber. During the Neolithic Period amber continued to be rare except in the Baltic region. It has not been reported from the kitchen-middens, but northern sepulchres dating from the later epochs of the Neolithic have yielded many amulets and ornaments of amber. Symbolic axes and hammers of amber have been found in various northern stations (Bornholm, Vester-Gottland and Bohuslan). The first Bronze age merchants who carried metal wares into the North brought back amber which thereafter became an important articles of commerce throughout Europe.¹

The nature of Neolithic trade is not yet fully understood as is more and more apparent from a study of tribes who have not had any metals. Neolithic man had very much complex life and the need was always present of exchange of one kind of commodities for another. The sphere of exchange might have been usually a very narrow or a restricted one or it might have been widespread. The different strands of Neolithic culture have not yet been clearly differentiated. All the different items of Neolithic culture may have had a long history and separate centres of origin and dispersal. The domestication of plants and animals shows really that the origin lay somewhere very far from the centres of culture in Europe where we find them at times almost side by side as in the early Lake Dwellings. So every item of culture of Neolithic times has a different history and the routes by which they travelled are bound to throw some light on the prehistoric route. Wheat, Barley, rye, linen, the pig, the horse, the cattle had been domesticated and had been some objects of value and importation before they were locally raised from the foreign imported stock. So also would have been different objects of basketry and matting which must have preceded and persisted in times to be used as objects of every day use or clothing even prior to weaving proper. But these perishable objects would leave no vestiges archæologically. That is why our history of prehistoric trade has to begin with the tale of the metal and precious stones. True it is pottery is imperishable and someday the whole question of origin and distribution of handmade and the later wheelmade pottery may be cleared up. The wheel itself made such a difference to transportation in the old world as we know from its contrast with the New world—has its history been clearly traced except leading to the usual wrangle between Egyptologues and Sumerologues as to the priority in one place or another. Elliot

¹ Prof. G. G. MacCurdy—Human Origins, Vol. II, pp. 159-160.

Smith however much he might be decried against opened some of the studies by a study of prehistoric boat designs—from Scandinavia to the Pacific regions. Sea-borne traffic however slow and primitive it might have been did and could exist among primitive peoples. A Neolithic invention might have upset the economic structure of a tract and led to considerable barter and trade and resulted in one tribe becoming rich with that wealth which would have been considered valuable no matter whether it was cowry shell or some staple food. The complexity of the processes would have led to specialization and careful guarding of the secrets for a good long time when it would be a trade monopoly of a particular primitive guild. Man was a great wandering animal and if here was a common cradle from which he had travelled to the furthest extremities even in Eolithic times with the canoe or sledge and still more the wheeled vehicle he would have not only migrated once in awhile but also moved to and fro and carried on barter and trade in a crude way. The picture drawn by Prof. Cleland of Neolithic life is somewhat different. 'The Neolithic peoples no longer wandered from place to place but had fixed places of abode with crude but not uncomfortable huts and villages. They were nearly or quite self-supporting; they made their own cloth, manufactured their own pottery, raised crops, and supplied their larders with meat from their own flocks supplemented by what they could get by hunting. Under conditions such as these, there was little incentive for trade. Each village was sufficient for itself. If a village was situated in a region deficient in flint or rocks needed for stone hammers and axes, it might be necessary to go long distances for it, or to secure it by barter. Small quantities of amber in the Lake dwellings of Switzerland must have been secured by trade from neighbouring tribes and there is evidence that tribes in Eastern Galicia gave flint to the people of the Baltic coast for amber. Trade such as this was chiefly confined to the community or the cultural circle, and had little effect on the general culture of the time.'¹

About amber trade in the Neolithic age Navarro writes :—'The evidence is not at present sufficient to warrant the assumption that there was a transcontinental trade in amber prior to the Bronze Age. If Northern amber was finding its way to the Mediterranean before that epoch it must have come by the sea. A maritime route between the British Isles and the Iberian peninsula was it is generally admitted in existence in very early times. The idea of building megalithic tombs was probably brought into these islands from

¹ H. F. Cleland : Commerce and Trade routes in Prehistoric Europe (Economic Geography, Vol. III, p. 233.

Spain by way of Brittany and the introduction of the flat axe seems to have come from the same direction. In spite of the sporadic occurrence of natural amber on the East coast of England, it is not improbable that in these islands also as Montelius has shown that as far back as the Late Stone Age, a lively commerce existed over the North Sea between England and Scandinavia. The possibility of Northern amber reaching the Iberian peninsula is not therefore as strange as it might seem at first glance. Amber occurs on two chalcolithic sites: twice at Alcala (South Portugal) and once at Los Millares (South Eastern Spain). It has been also found on two early sites in the East Mediterranean region.¹

CHALCOLITHIC TRADE RELATIONS IN THE EAST

Long before the copper and Bronze ages set in Europe there was a great ferment and cultural interrelationships and evidently trade in the early chalcolithic centres in Asia. V. Gordon Childe² in his several works is trying to trace the connections of the far-spread cultures in times of the early invention of metals and slightly prior to them. From ethnographic considerations it is certain that some sort of primitive navigation sufficient to take men of a very lowly palæolithic culture across the Banda deep into Australia is extremely ancient. The presence of Azilo-Tardenoisian fishers on the island of Oronsay at a time when it was submerged 25 feet more than to-day has the same implications. The Syrian coast and presumably also the shores of Little Africa were all occupied by fishing tribes in Upper Palæolithic times. Such may very well have ventured upon short coastal voyages. The hoe cultivators of the interior in the course of their expansion would impinge upon the maritime communities. Mutual accomodation might result in a new economy based upon cultivation plus fishing. The communities of the coast, their numbers augmented by the improved food-supply thus assured, would then participate in the work of propaganda and colonization, this time by maritime routes.

It is not irrelevant to recall how early voyagers were supplied with foodstuffs. The sailors sent by Necho to round Africa took a stock of grain with them in their ships. During the bad season, they beached their vessels, planted grain and awaited the harvest before proceeding. At least on the Nile by the time of the new Kingdom cattle were transported by boat from Nubia to Lower

¹ J. M. de Navarro—Prehistoric Routes, etc. (Geographical Journal, Vol. LXVI, 1925), p. 483.

² See specially Ch. X, New Light on the Most Ancient East—the oriental prelude to European Prehistory (London, 1934).

Egypt. On the Aegean the transportation of a horse by water is depicted on a Minoan seal. The propagation of a culture by sea-ways, including the transportation of cereals and even animals is by no means incompatible with quite early means of navigation.'¹

In prehistoric Egypt the earliest evidences of trade are to be found in Badarian culture—the oldest agriculturists perhaps. They lived in regular villages and were skilled in polishing hard stone, weaving basketry, potmaking and the carving of wood bone and ivory. In addition they were acquainted with copper. They had some trade being plentifully supplied with marine shells from the Red Sea for necklaces and of malachite probably from Sinai for eye-paint.²

Near the Fayum there was almost a cognate culture which also had a plentiful supply of shells from the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.³

In early predynastic Egypt 'Foreign relations were more extensive and regular than before. Besides copper and malachite from Sinai and gold from Nubia, obsidian and lapis lazuli from Western Asia, coniferous woods from Syria and perhaps emery from Naxos found their way to upper Egypt. Perhaps to facilitate such intercourse the Egyptians had evolved a very serviceable boat made out of bundles of papyrus lashed together. It gave support for two square cabins amidships and was propelled by seven or eight pairs of oars, the steersman standing sheltered by a bow of the stern. Boats of this type are never depicted with sails spread while the later "foreign" barques are thus represented. With the same trade might be connected the elaboration and widespread of those alphabetiform signs that appear scratched on our vases, signs whose original is ultimately to be sought in palaeolithic marks.'⁴

In the second predynastic civilization we find some elements struck deep into the Asiatic soil in connection with the Osiris legends and the chief port that lay in the Western delta in the harpoon nome. It is through the medium of the latter that Egypt came into contact with Crete and probably some Syrian influences too were transmitted across the sea across this channel. In any case, in one Predynastic grave was found a miniature celt pierced for suspension as an amulet: a type very common in Crete and Syria.⁵

Coming to a little later time, just in the early beginnings of the Dynastic cultures in Egypt we find the trade relations were becoming

¹ The Most Ancient East, pp. 231-232.

² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

more wide-spread. 'Copper ore must be mined in Sinai, gold in Nubia, and cedar woods for the royal tombs was imported from Paros and from Asia came obsidian, now in quantities sufficient for the manufacture of vases, lapis lazuli, and other stones.

Direct proof of protodynastic intercourse with North Syria is afforded by the French excavations at Byblos where a flint knife, alate theriomorphic palette a vase in the form of a camel and other articles of indubitably Egyptian provenance have been unearthed. Corresponding proof of trade along the Red Sea is afforded by the late Predynastic cemetery at Ras Samudai containing Late Predynastic vases and slate palettes. The multitude of Red Sea shells and protodynastic graves and town sites indicates the regularity of trade in this direction, and the *Tridacna* shell that begins to appear in Crete about this time must have come by way of Egypt.

Certain or problematic Mesopotamian contacts have been thought to exist on the evidence of devices and artistic motives that constituted permanent elements in Mesopotamian civilization by the Proto Dynastic Egyptians.'¹

Coming to what Childe calls the first Prediluvian culture or rather the Elamite culture of Susa I and Al Ubaid we find that 'Commercial relations of some sort were sufficiently well established to bring obsidian in abundance from Armenia to the banks of the Kerkha and Southern Babylonia together with bitumen from the wells near Hit. Lapis lazuli from Central Persia or Afghanistan has been found at Susa I, and at Eridu, at Tell Kaudini in Baluchistan.'²

Quite an advance is marked in the Second Prediluvian civilization of Mesopotamia and Elam with the invention of writing and the harnessing of animal motive power who extended their trade relations essential to an existence on an alluvial plain till they exchanged goods with Anatolia and Egypt.³

'The same pictographic writing as was current at Jemdet Naser was in use in Southern Mesopotamia as tablets from Umma and Urshow though the cities of its cribs have not yet been reached by excavations . . . Writing wheeled vehicles seem all purely Mesopotamian . . . Egyptians and Babylonians were no longer who at best bartered their manufactures for the gleanings of barbarous Beduins or sent out occasional expeditions to win copper in Sinai or the Taurus. The products of the Babylonian industries were being marketed on the Nile; the fabrics of Egypt were in use in Elam. Caravans were travelling up and down the Euphrates across the deserts; ships were sailing between Syria and the delta.'⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

² *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

With the rise of Sumer as a factor in the intercourse in this region we find the coming in of very distant Indus valley regions in the horizon of the trade. 'Egypt and Sumer were civilized countries, whose citizens were not restricted to the external relations of direct or indirect barter or to the planting of mining colonies. In each country there existed specialized craftsmen who whether free or servile, were emancipated from the bonds of the primitive clan and would gravitate in accordance with purely economic laws to the centres where trade and wealth were concentrated. At the time Sumer was the focal point, and thither would come artificers from other lands bringing with them their native crafts and inventions . . . The first prosperity of Sumer was bound up with Indian intercourse . . . The regularity and intimacy of the intercourse with India is proved by the occurrence of Sumerian sites of objects imported from the Indus valley, the oldest indisputable instances in the world of manufactured goods of precisely defined provenance being transported for long distances from the centre of their fabrication. At Umma Lagash, Ur, and Kish, in the last two instances in Pre-Sargonic deposits, have been found rectangular stamp-seals of steatite in some instances glazed, which agree precisely in shape, material, and design with those found in great abundance in the ruins of prehistoric cities in the Indus valley. Then in the archaic tombs Mackay found beads of cornelian etched with patterns by an elaborate process. Such beads, to which Ur has now yielded parallels are in Mesopotamia confined to this one period, but in India they are common and enjoyed a long popularity. Finally from al Ubaid come fragments of vases made from a rock, identified as the "pot-stone" which is still used in India for the manufacture of vessels. The survival of such scraps is some indication of the liveliness of commercial intercourse between the two distant lands.'

Thus the direct intercourse between Sumer and Sindh is attested by the importation into the former region of typical Indian products, particularly seals. A possible reflex of the traffic in India is the bitumen used for the damp-courses at Mohenjo Daro. But it cannot be positively asserted that the material itself came from Babylonia in view of local supplies available in the Suleiman ranges and west in Baluchistan. None the less commercial relations between the two mature civilizations is proved to the hilt . . . The figurines from Mohenjo Daro are certainly identical with the ethnic types from Sumer in features and dressing of the hair. The daggers from Harappa belong to the same tanged family as the Sumerian but to a more primitive stage. The Indus and the Sumerian beakers have

¹ *Ibid.*, pp 198-199.

the same family likeness. The cylindrical vases of silver from Mohenjo Daro invites comparison with the alabaster vessels of the same shape from Ur and Susa. The Sumerian and Indus toilet sets are in the principle identical, and each show the same peculiar construction of the looped head. Artistic devices like the use of shell inlays connect the two regions strikingly. Motives like the trefoil and the rosette, even religious themes such as monsters are common to both countries. It is fantastic to suggest that the wheel and carts had been independently invented in both lands.¹

'Thus perhaps commerce with India explains the rapid concentration of wealth and also of ideas in the Tigris-Euphrates valley. The cities of Babylonia throughout history have owed their prosperity to their position at junctions of the great overland trade routes to India and Inner Asia on the one hand and to Syria and the Mediterranean on the other, with the maritime route to India and Abyssinia.'²

We find trade of this early period quite extensive. 'The accumulation of wealth and the aggregation of population in great cities obviously intensified the demand for all sorts of raw materials, luxury articles like spices and precious stones, no less than necessities like copper and timber. The same circumstance would stimulate an intellectual ferment and a spirit of adventure to which the histories of Greece or Venice offer parallels. The Egyptians apparently colonized Byblos in early dynastic times. Semitic merchants were established in Cappadocia, working the mines to supply the Babylonian market before the rise of the dynasty of Agade. The first impetus to Minoan civilization in Crete was given by a colony of Egyptianized Libyans, plausibly regarded as refugees from the conquering Menes. Ships flying the standard of a predynastic Delta nome anchored in Cycladic ports. A partial transplantation to Phoenicia of South Arabian maritime culture is a legitimate inference from traditions . . . And so trade goods of Egyptian or Babylonian ancestry are to be found in the islands of the Aegean on the Anatolian coasts and far away in Macedonia. From Egypt were derived amulets in the form of claws, of flies, of the papyrus sceptre, of the dove or falcon and toilet articles such as palettes and tweezers. The jewelry of East Crete and the smaller islands includes articles such as gold rosettes and diadems whose prototypes have recently come to light at Ur. At Troy we find filigree work reminiscent of that of Ur, and using the spiral too, and ear-rings with flattened ends at Kish. The last-named type eventually made its way right up the Danube to the tin-lodes of Bohemia where it is associated with other

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

² *Ibid.*, p. 217.

Babylonian forms, the raquet pin, a pin with knot head, and later with eyelet pins with shafts engraved in Kish patterns . . . In another direction beyond the Caucasian passes and on the great caravan routes that traverse Central Asia similar trade-goods are found. Gold vessels of archaic Sumerian style were unearthed in a tumulus near Astrabad in Northern Persia. As far away as Turkestan the third settlement at Anau in the Merv oasis yielded figurines model-carts, wheel-made vases, copper daggers and sickles, stamp seals, and fayence and lapis beads all suggestive of western influence. The word trade if invoked is quite significant to explain such phenomena.'¹

BRONZE AGE AND EARLY IRON AGE TRADE IN EUROPE

Montelius the great Swedish prehistorian in his paper on *Der Handel in der Vorzeit*² first accumulated all the elements of cultural similarities to be found between Northern Europe and the South in the Prehistoric ages. 'Um 2000 v.Chr. Geburt und bis ins dritte Jahrtausend hinein-wir viele Zeugnisse dafur finden, dass der Norden bereits damals in Verbindung mit dem Suden stand.' He goes on to describe the 'Becherahnlichen' clay vessel and stone axes of middle European types in Sweden. He similarly shows the Italian type of Bronze dagger from Mecklenburg, a Bronze sword of Austrian type from Denmark and an Italian Bronze axe from Scania.³ Similarly in the Swedish fibulæ with spirals he traces a southern influence. Similarly in the ornament motives on the pottery 'Ein Beispiel hierfür ist der Mäander der in der ersten Jahrhunderten von Chr.Geburt oft auf nordischen Tongefassen vorkommt, und der sich auch nordischen Bronzegefassen findet, die aus dem Jahrhundert vor der Grundung Roms stammen'.⁴ Further the metals are adduced as another example of connection. 'Eine weitere Folge der Verbindung unserer Vorfater mit andern Landern und noch ein Beweis dafur, dass solche Verbindungen bestanden, haben wir in den Metallen, die wahrend der behandelten Zeit hier zu Verwendung kamen. Diese sind namlich nicht von den nordischen Volkern entdeckt worden, sondern diese haben sie erst durch den Verkehr mit andern Volkern kennen gelernt'.⁵

H. F. Cleland has given a very detailed illuminating map of the trade-routes of Europe in Prehistoric times. He gives a list of seven principal routes in his map :

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

² *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* (II Band 1910).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

I. *Route I.*—‘The sea was used as early as the new stone age and it is possible that mariners from the Mediterranean reached Great Britain, Ireland and as far north as Denmark before metals were known probably before 3000 B.C. In the early Bronze Age mariners were attracted to Denmark by the amber to Ireland by the gold, to Cornwall by the rich deposits of tin and copper. When the Irish gold deposits were exhausted trade with Ireland practically ceased and civilization stagnated or decayed. Cornwall was the principal source of tin for 3000 years and the metal was transported, largely as bronze across the English channel to Gaul and thence to the Mediterranean and elsewhere. There was also a trade between Great Britain and Denmark. Marine trade with Denmark became unimportant after the opening of the land-routes, specially the important Elbe route (*Route II*). When metallic iron came into use, land routes became less important and sea trade increased because of the widespread distribution of iron ore.

Route II.—The Elbe route (the Elbe Moldau, Inn, Adige) and route III were the most important thoroughfares in prehistoric times. The Elbe route was first used about 1800 B.C. and continued in use until after the beginning of the Christian era. Along it amber was transported to South and exchanged for the Bronze of Bohemia and the manufactured Bronze weapons and vessels of Italy. The civilization of the Bronze Age in Europe which was far from barbarous was largely due to the ideas and wares carried over this route by traders. When salt was mined at Hallstatt and Salzberg in the early Iron (and doubtless in the Bronze) Age, it was probably carried long distances, to Bohemia on the North, which is destitute of salt, and East and west along the great Danube route (*Route VII*).

Route III.—The Vistula, Oder, March route became important when the amber of East Prussia was rediscovered early in the Age of Iron and along it a brisk trade was carried on beginning about 700 B.C.

Route IV.—The Vistula Dneister route to the Black Sea was opened when Greek colonies were established on the Black Sea.

Route V.—The Rhone-Rhine route became an important artery of commerce specially after the establishment of the Greek colony at Marseilles and along it the arts and crafts of the South were carried to the North. But it had been used many centuries before this.

Route VI.—A route of some importance which led into Italy passed along the Upper Rhine, over the St. Bernard pass and down the Ticino to the bronze workers of the Po valley.

Route VII.—The Danube valley has been populous since early Neolithic times; along to there have been repeated movements of

peoples and trade-routes have traversed it. The salt of Hallstatt and Salzberg and the iron workings of the early Iron Age give it a greater importance than it previously had.

Other routes.—The Seine Loire and other rivers in France, the Werra Fulda Saale in Germany and other stream valleys were used for local trade.¹

Finally the trade and commerce in the Bronze and early Iron Ages centres more or less round amber, an object of great value and perhaps of medicinal properties to the prehistoric peoples of Europe. Navarro has made an excellent study of it which he summarizes thus:—

‘During the Stone Copper (and Bronze) ages northern amber was finding its way as far south into Central Europe as Bohemia, where its appearance is sporadic.

During the Middle Bronze Age, Southern and Western Germany seem to have played a larger part in the amber trade than Italy . . . There is not at present sufficient evidence for warranting an assumption that northern amber was reaching Crete and Greece during the Bronze Age by way of Russia.

- During the Bronze age the amber trade with Italy, though important was not so intense as that with Central Europe.

During the first of the early Iron Ages a lively amber traffic was still maintained with Central Europe, while with Italy this commerce was greatly intensified. Trade relations from circa 700 B.C. became more highly organized.

Southern amber was imported into Switzerland during the Hallstatt and La Tene periods . . . Three-quarters of the specimens of the Early Iron Age amber found in Italy and subjected to chemical analysis, contain a sufficient percentage of succinic acid to warrant our assuming them to be of northern origin.

Prior to the seventh century amber frequently occurs in the burials of the second Bonacci period in the Bologna region. As the Eastern Route had not then opened it must have reached the latter area by way of the Central System. The sudden increase of amber antiquities about the middle of the seventh century may have been due in part to the opening of the Eastern route, Italy being then supplied from the East Baltic as well as the Jutland deposits . . . As Italy became imbued with Greek classical culture amber went out of fashion. The trade with Central Europe lingered on but it was not as lively an intercourse as during the Hallstatt period. The traffic along the Eastern route with Bosnia and Croatia seems to

¹ Herdman F. Cleland—Commerce and Trade routes in Prehistoric Europe (Economic Geography, 1927, p. 235).

have continued more or less undisturbed down to the Roman Imperial epoch.¹

We happen to know a good deal of these prehistoric Europeans, mainly owing to the labours of scholars in the field. But trade and commerce are not unknown in distant sea-scattered islands. Perhaps the most intrepid sea-voyagers were the Polynesians who scarcely emerged out of a very complex Neolithic civilization and yet had covered thousands of miles in open sea in outrigger canoes. Studies of the ancient legends of the Polynesians from various islands have made us recover the names of some of the brilliant sea-captains worthy to be placed beside Cooks and Magellans. They entered the Pacific somewhere in the middle of the second century A.D. One great chief Irapanga is recorded to have sailed from some Indonesian islands to Hawaii at that time. About the seventh century the Polynesians had visited Fiji, Navigator, Marquesas, Sandwich, Tonga, Paumotu, Society, Austral and Cook Archipelagos and possibly the New Hebrides. From 10th to 16th centuries extensive voyages were undertaken between Tahiti and various islands including Kermadec and New Zealand and Marquesas and Hawaii and even the far off Eastern Islands. Hui-Te-Rangi roa perhaps shares with Commander Byrd the exploration of the Antarctic as early as the 7th century A.D. Toi is said to have made his voyage to Chatham islands and thence to New Zealand about 1100 A.D. The Hawaiians used to visit the Marquesas and Society groups and an old time Hawaiian seafarer is said to have made four voyages to Tahiti, 2300 miles distant. One Uenga is said to have in the 12th century started from Savaii, in the Samoan group and sailed to Tonga (480 miles S.S.E.) thence to Vavau (150 miles N.N.E.) and then he reached Tongareva (900 miles N.E. of Savaii) then sailed to Rimatara (780 miles S.S.E.) thence to Fakauu (480 miles N.N.E.) and then to Tahiti whence he went back home again.²

Similarly the voyages of the Malays and the carrying of their culture to the far off Madagascar is well known though the details have yet to be recovered but the cultural traits in Madagascar derived from the Malays have been studied so well by Linton.

Caravan routes still carry on some of the old old time-worn trade routes. In the Real Lexicon der Urgeschichte some tracts of Northern Africa have been studied as to the primitive trade and

¹ Prehistoric Trade-routes between Northern Europe and Italy as defined by the amber trade by J. M.de Navarro (The Geographical Journal, Vol. LXVI, No. 6, Decr., 1925, pp. 501-502).

² *Vide* Elsdon Best—Polynesian Voyagers (Dominion Museum Monograph, No. 5, 1923) also Percy Smith-Hawaiki (4th edn., 1921).

barter by these caravan routes. 'Die Karawanenhandel folgt sowohl alten Seiten wie alten Wanderwegen.'

The caravan routes from India to Asia Minor are the same as that followed by Alexander the Great in his invasion in the 4th century B.C. So also the routes between China and Central Asia and Europe had existed since prehistoric times. 'The avenue between China and the West of which we know the most is the classical road which still survives and is commonly known as the Imperial highway. It leads in our time from the Peking-Hankow railway (which links the capital and Yangtse valley) past Hsi-ngan, the greatest of the ancient capitals of China and on across the provinces of Shen-hsi and Kansu as far as Ngan-hsi, near the jade gate of classical times, the Chinese taking off point for the West in all the great ages. From Ngan-hsi the road has taken different entries into Central Asia, according to the conditions of different times and the extent of the power exercised by China over outer nations. This was the road followed in one or other of its variants by the Chinese armies which set up their standards as far away as the Pamirs and Samarcand by the Buddhist pilgrims going to Northern India and by the Western adventurers like the Polos and Benedict Goes.'¹

Thus it is by very different lines of enquiries that we can get a complete picture of the trade in the old times prior to history. We have to trace the history of roads of navigation and even such studies as the culture dissemination from Central America to distant parts of North and South America may lead us to new trails. Then alone we can get a picture of interchange of commodities in the hunting stage if possible but very likely in the nomadic stages and surely in amongst communities where agriculture has set in. The dynamic conditions which lead to quickening of the activities and relations abroad at times and again mysteriously slackens them at a decadent period have got to be found out by a study of these. Trade is the circulatory system in a social organism. When the body is growing the circulatory channels become deepened and widespread. With the shrivelling of the organism again the channels become constricted. It is an index of the growth of a group and it has to be seen that even the most primitive material culture in a state of expansion would not start inter-tribal exchanges and might have its

¹ Owen Lattimore—The Desert Road to Turkestan (Boston, 1929).

There were similar sea-routes from the sea-coasts of Bengal and Orissa to Orissa and Java and China coasts as known to us definitely from Fa Hien and Yuan Chwang's return travels or regular Arab-Indic trade between Africa, India, and Arabian sea and Persian gulf routes as we know from the Periplus.

ramifications far-flung. Migrations may precede as well as succeed routes which have been casually opened up by a casual traveller returning with a valuable or new commodity by exchange or primitive presentation system from abroad.

Trade was slower in the slower means of transport existing in early times. But the Polynesians are an object lesson and show what could be done by the veriest primitive sea-craft which was known as early as Neolithic times at least. The different means of transport, different primitive economic systems again made a lot of difference to the trade. The object of common value whether a cowrie shell or cattle (fee from feoh, cattle, also pecunia cattle) or the yellow metal supposed to have magic properties in early times or whale teeth whenever found indicate trade conditions. Barter even of excess food of one type for food of another type between communities might have been very much more in use than known in latter times amongst Totemic communities. Art products had an enormous value in settling intertribal relations in primitive communities and who knows if the Magdalenian batons de commandement did not serve the same purpose as Polynesian whale teeth and stood for bodily transfer of the prestige from one group to another.

PARASITOLOGY IN THE ATHARVA VEDA

By RULIA RAM KASHYAP

An attempt is made in this article at giving a rational interpretation of those passages of the Atharva Veda which deal with the Krimis. It is not intended to discuss the meanings of those passages as propounded by the previous commentators, nor to support the explanation given by quotations from scientific treatises, as both these will lengthen the article unnecessarily. However, if any of the learned readers requires this information same will be supplied.

These passages may be termed the 'Krimihsúktas' on the bases of the subject dealt with therein. There are only three full Súktas dealing with this subject. These are Atharva Veda, Kānda II, Súktas 31 and 32 and Kānda V, Sūkta 23.

Apart from these the word क्रिमिः occurs only twice in all the four Vedas, viz. Atharva Veda, Kānda XI, Sūkta 11, Mantra 10 reading :—

“अथो सर्वं श्वापदं मच्छिका दृष्यतुः क्रमिः ...”

which means

‘ may the leaping and jumping common housefly . . . ’

and Atharva Veda, Kānda XII, Sūkta I, Mantra 46 reading :—

“यस्ते सर्पो ... क्रमिर्जिन्वत् पृथिवि ...”

which means :—

‘The creeping snake that propells itself forward in contact with the ground’

These two examples may be taken to illustrate the statement made in Nurukta Naigama Kānda, Adhyāy 6, Khanda 12 reading as under :—

“क्रमिः ... क्रमतेर्वास्यात्स्रगकर्मणः क्रामतेर्वा ॥”

and meaning :

‘The word क्रमिः is derivable from the root giving क्रमति and meaning “creeping along or propelling oneself forward.” Also it may be derived from the root giving क्रामते or क्रामति (and meaning leaping up or jumping).’

The housefly is an instance of the leaping up, jumping Krimih and the snake that of a crawling, creeping Krimih which moves by propelling itself forward.

Another very similar word bearing more or less the same meaning and often used as a synonym for क्रमिः : is the word

कृमिः occurring only once in all the four Vedas, in Yajura Veda, Adhyay 24, Mantra 30 as under :—

“ नीलङ्गोः कृमिः ”

which means :—

‘ ... a worm or small insect (as food) for the Indigo-visitor (insect) ... ’

In these stray references then the word कृमिः is used to qualify a house fly or a snake in the sense of a jumping and leaping up insect or a crawling, creeping creature which moves by propelling itself forward. The word कृमिः has been used to denote a worm or small insect serving as food for another insect such as the Indigo-visitor.

Having thus dealt with the stray references the Krimih-Súktas can next be taken up. What does the word Krimih stand for in these Súktas? Veda itself should be allowed to interpret this Vedic word. Says Atharva Veda, Kānda V, Súkta 23, Mantra 3 :—

“ यो अक्ष्यौ परिसर्पति यो नासे परिसर्पति ।

दतां यो मथ्यं गच्छति तं कृमिं जम्भयामसि ॥ ”

which means :—

‘ We kill that Krimih which moves into the place between a couple of teeth and even into a tooth itself, which crawls into the nostrils, or which creeps along into the eyes by propelling itself forward towards them.’

Illustrating, as it does, the above referred to Nirukta interpretation, it furnishes us with two very important diagnostic characteristics of a Krimih. These are :—

- (1) A Krimih is something which can creep along, crawl, move or propell itself forwards towards a definite direction.
- (2) A Krimih is something which we have to kill. It is necessarily destroyable.

Again it is stated in Atharva Veda, Kānda II, Súkta 31, Mantra 5 that :—

“ ... ये अस्माकं तन्वमाविविशुः सर्वं तद्दन्मि जनिम कृमिीणाम् ॥ ”

meaning :—

‘ ... I destroy the whole generation of Krimis which have entered the various parts of our bodies ’.

This gives us two more distinguishing features for a Krimih, which are :—

- (3) Krimis have a generation or race as well, i.e. they are necessarily living organisms. Moreover, the need for destroying them is emphasized upon here as well.
- (4) They enter the organs of the bodies of the human beings from without. In other words they live outside too but therefrom they make their way into the human frames somehow.

Regarding the size of the Krimis Veda states :—

(१) “ दृष्टमदृष्टमदृष्टम् ... क्रिमिन् ... ॥ ”

Atharva Veda, Kānda II, Sūkta 31, Mantra 2 :

meaning :—

‘ I have killed the visible and the invisible Krimis . . . ’

(२) “ ... दृष्टांश्च ब्रह्मदृष्टांश्च सर्वांश्च प्रमृशन् क्रिमिन् ॥ ”

Atharva Kānda V, Sūkta 23, Mantra 6 :

meaning :—

‘ . . . Injuring the visible and the invisible ones and in fact destroying all the Krimis.’

(३) “ ... दृष्टश्च हन्यतां क्रिमिरुतादृष्टश्च हन्यताम् ॥ ”

Atharva, Kānda V, Sūkta 23, Mantra 7 :

meaning :—

‘ . . . The visible Krimih may please be destroyed as also the invisible one.’

These references furnish us with another very important point regarding the Krimis. This is regarding their size. It runs :—

- (5) The Krimis may be visible to the naked eye or they may be altogether invisible to the unaided eye.

Veda was not unaware of the microscopic invisible Krimis revealed by modern scientific appliances. This fact is fully borne out by the insistence on the destruction of the invisible Krimis in the Vedas. Three references to this effect have been given above but the fourth one is still more emphatic. In the No. (२) given above we have only an amplification of the previous half of that very mantra which running as under :—

(४) “ उत पुरस्तात् सूर्य एति विश्वदृष्टो अदृष्टहा । ... ”

Atharva, Kānda V, Sūkta 23, Mantra 6 :

means :—

‘ . . . Seen by all, the sun rises in the east, killing the invisible ones . . . ’

and adding to it the above given half :—

‘injuring the visible and invisible ones and in fact destroying all the Krimis,’

would suffice to convince every seeker after truth that Veda really means the invisible Krimis here ; otherwise there would be no sense in the use of the word ‘invisible’ twice in one and the same mantra.

Combining all the five deductions into one will give a correct idea of what the word Krimih stands for in the Krimih-sūktas as those deductions are based upon actual quotations from these very Sūktas. Thus the following definition of a Krimih is arrived at :—

‘A Krimih is a living organism capable of running into generations or races. It can move, crawl or creep or propell itself forward towards a definite direction too if it so chooses. It lives outside but therefrom enters the human organisms too somehow. It is therefore destroyable and has to be entirely got rid of. By virtue of its size it may be visible to the naked eye or absolutely invisible to the unaided eye.’

It need hardly be added that another name for such an organism is a ‘parasite of man’. This scientific term can safely be taken as a correct rendering of the Vedic word Krimih especially as used in the Krimih-sūktas. Any parasite naturally causes some disease in the body of the host. Therefore it is briefly termed a ‘disease germ’ or even simply a ‘germ’. We shall therefore use either of these three terms in our explanation of the Sūkta as and when convenient.

The germ-destroying action of the sun has already been referred to previously in the evidence No. (8) for the deduction No. (5). The particular germs that are successfully destroyed by the sun are the invisible ones as is evident from the double use of this word in the same Mantra, viz. Atharva, Kānda V, Sūkta 23, Mantra 6.

The last two Mantras of the 31st Sūkta and the first Mantra of the 32nd of Kānda II, Atharva Veda, discuss this subject in detail, and may therefore be studied together with advantage. The last but one Mantra of the 31st Sūkta reads :—

“अन्वान्नां शोर्षस्थमथो पार्श्वेयं क्रिमोन् ।

अवस्त्वं अध्वरं क्रिमोन् वचसा जम्भयामसि ॥”

Atharva Kānda II, Sūkta 31, Mantra 4 :

and means :—

‘By means of Vacha we kill the germs residing in the small intestine, brain and nervous tissue or ribs and side walls of the lungs. (We also destroy the germs) that are as if

fallen down and those which make one prone towards indecent actions.'

A discussion on individual words of the mantras will follow a literal translation of the Mantra-trio referred to above and at present being translated. This Mantra beautifully describes the human abodes of the invisible disease germs or Krimís.

The next Mantra similarly describes the abodes of these invisible germs outside the human body. It reads :—

“ वे क्रिमयः पर्वतेषु वनेध्वोषधीषु पशुष्वप्लवन्तः ।

वे अस्माकं तन्वमाविविशुः सर्वं तद्दन्मि जनिम क्रिमौणाम् ॥ ”

Atharva, Kānda II, Sūkta 31, Mantra 5 :

and means :—

‘ I destroy that whole generation of germs who have entered the organs of our bodies (but originally resided) on hills and mountains, in forests, on plants, in animals and even in water.’

Having thus described the abodes of human parasites both in the human body and outside Veda next sums up in the next Mantra reading :—

“ उद्यद्भ्रादित्यः क्रिमौन् हन्तु निम्नोचन् हन्तुरग्निभिः ।

वे अन्तः क्रिमयो गवि ॥ ”

Atharva, Kānda II, Sūkta 32, Mantra 1 which means :

‘ May the rising sun destroy the disease germs and the setting one too do the same by means of its rays—the germs that have penetrated below the surface layer of the soil.’

This Mantra-trio thus beautifully summarises the human abodes of the invisible germs, as also their natural abodes outside the human frames. It, in the end, discusses the continuous efforts of the sun to eradicate them and thereby to diminish disease. It would therefore not be irrelevant to quote here some examples of the invisible germs by discussing the individual words of the Mantras giving the abodes of the germs.

I. अन्वान्त्राः—Anvāntryaṅ is some one who resides in the अन्वन्त्र which may be taken to be अणु+अन्त्र meaning ‘narrow and intestine’. In medical books ‘small intestine’ is the term applied to the narrower part of the intestines. There is a special disease germ which is killed by the gastric acid or other juices in the stomach but thrives quite undisturbed in the alkaline juices of the small intestine if it happens to tide over the stomach portion somehow.

Naturally this would be the germ referred to by the name **अन्वान्त्र** in this Mantra of the Krimih-Súktas. Modern science names this germ Cholera Vibrio as its shape is like a minute curved rod and it causes the wellknown disease Cholera. Outside the human body this germ is met with in contaminated water or food contaminated with such water and thus it exemplifies the Vedic words, **अप्लवन्तः** and **ओषधीषु** of the next mantra. From there it enters the human stomach when man swallows contaminated water or food. Thus it fulfils the Vedic condition “**ये अस्माकं तन्वमाविविशुः**” put down in the same Mantra. If thus swallowed on empty stomach (when there is very little gastric juice present there) it is liable to pass on into the small intestine quite hale and hearty and quite uninjured by the juices of the stomach. If, however, it is taken on a full stomach the ample gastric juice present destroys it and does not allow it to pass, in a living condition, into the small intestine. In the former condition it thrives in the small intestine and is thus **अन्वान्त्र** and causes a disease, i.e. Cholera and is worth being destroyed. The sun's rays dry up the moist substratum in which it thrives outside the human frame and ultimately kills all the germs in that substratum. Thus the Cholera Vibrio not only fulfils the ordinary characteristics of a Krimih but at the same time fulfils the specific conditions for being an **अन्वान्त्र** and, **ओषधीषु**, **अप्लवन्तः** and also the condition laid down in “**ये अस्माकं तन्वमाविविशुः**”.

II. **श्रीर्षण्यं**:—Shírshanyaṅ is that which resides in the head or brain. Naturally it implies germs living upon the tissues of the brain and nerves. These parasites cause diseases like lunacy and mania.

III. **पार्श्वेयं**:—Párshteyan is that which attacks the **एष्टि** which is a name for the side walls of the lungs and ribs supporting them. The well known ‘disease of the side’ called ‘Bakkhiká Dard’ in the Punjabi language is ‘Pneumonia’ of the modern medical science. The germs referred to as living in the side walls are obviously the Pneumococci of Pneumonia.

IV. **अवस्त्रावं**:—Avaskavan means fallen below and also that which causes a disease in which the patient's whole body resorts to involuntary leaps and jumps. This disease is the Tetanus and the germ causing same is the Tetanus bacillus. The disease is characterized by forceful involuntary stimulation and contraction of the muscles of the whole body especially the extremities, and the germ is characterized by being met with in ordinary dry soil wherefrom it enters any wound that the human foot may happen to have been inflicted upon previously. Thus the word **अवस्त्रावं** is very

suggestive as to the germ and the disease it causes by entering the human body.

V. **अध्वरं**:—Vyadhwaran means वि+अध्वरं reverse of Yajnas or noble deeds. It thus implies germs causing diseases which upset the moral balance of the human patient and make him inclined towards the committment of ignoble deeds or indecent action. Such germs are the Gonococci and the Spirochaeta pallida, causing Gonorrhœa and Syphilis respectively. Under the effect of these deadly foes the human society is every day going from bad to worse and all well-wishers of the human race are trying their level best to eradicate them.

VI. **वे क्रिमयः पर्वतेषु**:—The disease germs met with on hills and mountains. An example is met with in the germs of a troublesome fever prevailing in Gujhandi, a small town, in Northern Bengal, situated on the dry Vindhyaçal hills. In external characters it more or less resembles malaria but it is more or less a local malady restricted to those dry hills.

VII. **वनेषु**:—In the forests of Assam is met with the black fever termed 'Kala-azar'. Germs causing such ailments are hinted at by this word.

VIII and IX. **ओषधीषु** and **अशु**:—These two words have already been illustrated under the heading I, **अन्तान्त्रं**.

X. **पशुषु**:—In the animals are to be met with germs of some serious human diseases. A parasite of man is swallowed by him in wrongly cooked, measly pork, another in uncooked beef and a third in improperly treated fish. All the three are difficult to be got rid of once they have caught hold of the human intestines. The ancient Indians were wise in condemning beef as an article of diet and so was the Prophet Mohammed in similarly condemning pork.

According to the Vedas the sun is constantly trying to eradicate these germs from morning till evening and is successfully destroying them, the invisible ones in all their forms and the visible ones in their spore or cyst forms in which they are usually met with outside the human body or the bodies of their animal hosts. We should assist the sun in this job by adopting methods for the entire annihilation of the race or generation of the disease germs—the parasites of man—the Krimis referred to in the Vedas.

The ending Mantra-half, of the Mantra-trio discussed fully in the preceding pages, reads as under :—

“... वे अन्तः क्रिमयो गवि ॥”

Atharva, Kānda II, Sūkta 32, Mantra 1 :

and translated above as under :—

‘ . . . the germs that have penetrated below the surface layer of the soil.’

has been translated by Achárya Sáyaṇ as under :—

“ कुत्रत्वान् क्रिमौन् इति तत्राह । ये क्रिमयः गवि ।
जातावेकवचनम् । गोशरीरेषु अन्तः मध्ये सन्ति ।
तान् क्रिमौन् इति पूर्वत्र सम्बन्धः ॥ ”

Sáyaṇ’s commentary on the Atharva Veda, Kānda II, Anúvák 6, Súkta 32, Mantra 1.

It clearly shows that Achárya Sáyaṇ takes this Mantra-fragment to mean ‘ the Krimís in the body of the cow ’. In the विनियोग or application given as introduction to his commentary on this Súkta he also refers to this fact by the words :—

“ ... गोक्रिमिभैषज्यकर्मणि ... गोनामेत्याह असाविति ... ”

which also means that the Súkta is to be used for curing the cow of its Krimís.

Our justification for translating as above is to be met with in :—

“ ... गौरिति पृथिव्या नामधेयं ... ”

Nirukta Naigama Kānda, Adh. 2, Khanda 4 :

meaning—

‘ the word गौः is also a name of the earth ’ but Achárya Sáyaṇ’s simple translation of the word गौः into a ‘ cow ’ helps us immensely at this juncture. It acts as a very suggestive hint for the proper understanding of the next mantra which reads :—

“ विश्वरूपं चतुरक्षं क्रिमिं सारङ्गमर्जुनम् ।
शृणाम्यस्य पृथौरपि वृक्षामि यच्छिरः ॥ ”

Atharva, Kānda II, Súkta 32, Mantra 2.

and means :—

‘ I cut off and crush and reduce to a fine powder the head, sides (and in fact the whole body) of this parasite, which though colourless is yet spotted (on the head), is all-formed, and possesses four organs functioning to save it from being destroyed.’

Modern Science has described the life history of such a parasite of man. In its mature form it is met with in the human host but the embryonic form termed Cysticercus is met with in the bovine species.

It is all formed in the sense that it has a more or less rounded head, narrow thread like neck, whence backwards the body gradually becomes thicker and wider ultimately assuming the ribbon form. The segments when mature are longer ; when immature they are broader. Thus practically all forms of shape are exhibited by the parasite.

It is Chaturaksh not in the sense of being four-eyed as translated by the previous scholars but in the sense of being possessed of four Akshas or organs that do not allow it to get perished. These are its four suckers which it has at its anterior end on the four sides of its head. It is these suckers which fix it into the intestinal wall. So long as these suckers are so fixed the parasite is quite safe and goes on developing and shedding the last segments full of fertilized ova which passing out with the human faeces go on reproducing the parasite. Once suckers lose hold, off goes the head from the intestinal wall and by means of purgatives, etc. the parasite can then be easily got rid of by its human host ; it has to leave him and pass out with his faeces and naturally perish. Suckers are thus its real saviours from destruction and are Akshas in the true sense of that word (अ=not, क्षि=to be destroyed). Moreover, these suckers are fixed in the wall of the intestine, therefore, they, so to say, pervade the intestinal wall and enjoy an abode there. In this case the word, अक्ष would be derivable from अक्षुष्यात्. Both the root meanings of the word चतुरक्ष thus give the correct zoological interpretation.

Undoubtedly it is a parasite of man, living in his intestine and causing disease.

Spotted it is in the sense that round the suckers coloured spots are met with.

It is colourless or white as almost all the internal parasites usually are. This is due to the dark environment in which they live where eyes or colour would be of no use and is therefore usually not developed. The segments as they leave the body are definitely stated to be white.

Regarding the special mention of the head as the organ that must be crushed we might state that it is the head which possesses the capacity for redeveloping the whole posterior portion. Therefore unless the head is got rid of the worm is there in its full vigour and the patient is in reality as sick as ever. Therefore does the Veda insist so much upon the destruction of the head. Sides may be taken to signify the remaining portions of the body, thus simply meant to emphasize upon a thorough destruction of the parasite as a whole.

The scientific name of the parasite described above is *Tænia Saginata*, popularly known as the Beef-Tape-Worm. Its other names are *Tænia mediocanellata* and the 'Unarmed' Tape worm.

The next three mantras of this Sūkta, viz. Atharva Veda, Kánda II, Sūkta 32, Mantras 3, 4, and 5, are almost identical with Mantras 10, 11, and 12, respectively, of Atharva Veda, Kánda V, Sūkta 23. We shall therefore take these up together later on.

The Mantra following, which is also the last Mantra of the present Sūkta, runs as under :—

“ प्र ते ष्टणामि ष्टङ्गे याभ्यां वितुदायसि ।

भिनद्धि ते कुषुम्भं यस्ते विषघानः ॥ ”

Atharva, Kánda II, Sukta 32, Mantra 6 :

and means :—

' I utterly destroy your horny hooklets—(their) double (circle), by means of which you cause your specific irritation. I break open your most destructive organ, the storehouse of your (living) venom.'

This Mantra is very instructive. Whereas in its first half it describes the specific differentiating character of another closely related parasite, in the latter half it gives the most important common feature of the two species. The Pork Tape Worm named '*Tænia Solium*' differs from the beef tape worm mainly in the possession of a double circle of horny hooklets surrounding a central protrusion from the anterior end termed rostellum, behind which the four suckers like those of the Beef Tape Worm are met with on the four sides of the head. Other differences amongst the two species are only minor.

Ordinarily a ष्टङ्ग is translated as a 'horn'. These hooklets have the shape of a horn in being curved and pointed. Moreover they fulfil the conditions laid down in Yaska Nirukta Naigama Kānda, Adhy. II, Khānda 7, in the following manner :—

- (1) They protrude from the head.
 - (2) They are protruded for the protection of him who bears them, as they penetrate into the intestinal wall, fix the parasite into the same and thus help the suckers in saving the parasite from destruction.
 - (3) These, themselves too, do dwindle and break and medical men try their level best to disentangle these after which they must perish as also the remaining portions of the body of the parasite.
- and (4) They take the support of the intestinal wall.

The Pork Tapeworm passes its embryonic stage in the muscles of the pig exactly as the Beef form does in the muscles of the ox.

In both the segments become maturer as we proceed towards the posterior end and in fact the end segments are merely store-houses of ripe fertilized ova enclosed in the greatly distended uterus. When it is remembered that every segment contains a great number of ova, each ultimately capable of infecting a human being and causing disease there, one immediately realizes that every such ripe segment is veritably a store-house of poison—actually living venom, capable of reproducing itself enormously. He then feels the supreme necessity of destroying everyone of them. They are then realized to be really destroyable (कुषुम्भ from कुषुभ क्षत्रे) store-houses of poison (विषघान). The word वितुदायसि describes the specific irritation, itching, etc., caused by these parasites in the human host.

Exactly as the two mantras just discussed specifically describe the Tæniæ—Saginata and Solium, so does Atharva Veda, Kānda V, Sūkta 23, Mantra 9, describe another important parasite of man. It says :—

“ त्रिशीर्षागं त्रिककुदं क्रिमिं सारङ्गमर्जुनम् ।

शृणाम्यस्य पृष्टौरपि वृक्षामि यच्छिरः ॥ ”

and means :—

‘ I cut and crush and reduce to powder the head and sides of the colourless parasite with a floating head and three raised papillæ. It creeps along and travels far and wide.’

This Mantra immediately precedes the three Mantras, common to both the Kāndas and referred to above which insist on a complete annihilation of the whole race of parasites. This Mantra, therefore, is technically quite as important as the Tænia mantras.

The word त्रिशीर्ष need not compel the interpreters to imagine a hypothetical three-headed imaginary being as it can equally well mean ‘one with floating head’ (तरतेः त्रिः). This is a specific diagnostic character as its opposite ‘a fixed head’ is the characteristic of the Tæniæ. Against same the parasite now under discussion possesses a head which floats free in the juices of the intestine and is not fixed into its wall.

Similarly the word त्रिककुद does not signify the three-humped but one possessed of three raised surfaces or projections from the body. The parasite under discussion bears three papillæ or raised lips round the mouth and is thus really त्रिककुद .

Being a parasite of man it is a क्लिभिः.

Being more or less colourless it is अर्जुन, i.e. greyish white or pinkish.

Although it usually inhabits the small intestine, it wanders far and wide reaching even the nose, ears, and throat. Its very wandering habits thus give it the specific name सारङ्ग, i.e. सरति गच्छति च meaning 'creeping along it changes on its position and travels over great distances'.

Another Mantra more or less dealing with this parasite exclusively is the last Mantra of this Sūkta. It states :—

“ सर्वेषां च क्लिमीणां सर्वासां च क्लिमीणाम् ।

भिनदस्यध्मना शिरो दहान्यग्निना मुखम् ॥ ”

Atharva : Kānda V, Sūkta 23, Mantra 13

and means :—

‘Of all the male and female parasites, I fatally injure the mouth and benumb the head as if fire had burnt their mouths and a stone crushed their heads.’

This is simply a poetical way of emphasizing upon making the mouth and head of the parasite functionless as if the papillæ and brain get fatally affected it would then be easy for the parasite to be got rid of by means of purgatives etc.

Such a parasite is named *Ascaris lumbricoides* in the descriptive text books of Zoology and Parasitology and is popularly known as the common ‘Round Worm’.

Another parasite, belonging to the same class Nematodes, also fulfills the conditions laid down in the Mantra “त्रिशीर्षाणं ...” Atharva, Kānda V, Sūkta 23, Mantra 9, discussed above in detail, with the following slight amendments in the above description :—

(1) It is अर्जुनम् because it is white.

(2) It is सारङ्ग because though usually inhabiting the small intestine, it often wanders downwards so much so that it may even wriggle out of the anus—the excretory aperture.

In all other respects as well it fulfills the conditions laid down in that Mantra but it does not confirm to the Mantra “सर्वेषां ...” Atharva, Kānda V, Sūkta 23, Mantra 13, because in its case the male automatically dies after impregnating the female and passes out with the fæces.

The Mantra preceding, however, beautifully describes a specific character of this parasite. It reads :—

“ हतासो अस्य वेष्टसो हतासः परिवेष्टसः ।
अथो वे क्षुब्धका इव सर्वे ते क्रिमयो हताः ॥ ”

Atharva : Kánda V, Súkta 23, Mantra 12

and means :—

‘ Its inner and outer (egg) coats have been destroyed and even all the parasites who were yet in the form of embryos have been entirely annihilated.’

The real purport of this Mantra becomes manifest to us when we read in the Parasitological literature that the Nematode worm, under discussion now, does possess eggs having three coats each, of which the middle coat falls short of the two ends, through either of which the larva may hatch out. Veda requires the egg coats—the inner and the outer both, as well as the larva or embryo within, to be all entirely destroyed.

This Nematode worm possessing such eggs and all the other characteristics given in the “ त्रिशोर्ष ... ” Mantra is, in the Parasitological literature, named, *Oxyuris Vermicularis* (the ‘ Thread Worm ’, ‘ Pin Worm ’, or ‘ Seat Worm ’).

In the case of *Tænia* too has the Mantra “ हतासो ...,” just interpreted above, been formulated by the Veda in the form of Atharva Veda, Kánda II, Súkta 32, Mantra 5, where, with reference to the *Tænia*, it means :—

‘ The egg-shells and the walls of the ripe segments, containing them, have been destroyed as also all the parasites who were yet in the form of embryos.

This difference in interpretation is borne out by a reference to the context. In the case of the Chaturaksh *Tænia* parasites the eggs have a shell and further they leave the host while still enclosed in the segment containing them. Therefore the two coats round the embryos are the egg-shell and the segment wall, whereas in the case of the त्रिशोर्ष *Oxyuris*, eggs leave the host singly, i.e. unenclosed in any other organs, and therefore the only coats requiring to be destroyed are their own coats. This justifies our differently interpreting the identical Mantras occurring in the two Kándas as done above.

Atharva Veda, Kánda II, Súkta 32, Mantra 4, is identical with Mantra II of Súkta 23 of Kánda V of the same Veda and runs as under :—

“ हतो राजा क्रिमिणासुतैषां स्यतिर्हतः ।
हतो हतमाता क्रिमिर्हत भ्राता हतस्वसा ॥ ”

and means :—

‘ The king of the parasites has been killed. Their minister or guardian too has been destroyed. All the parasites have been killed as also their mothers, brothers, and sisters.’

Apparently this is only a poetical way of emphasizing upon the supreme importance of killing all the young and old, thick and thin, mature and immature forms of the parasite in question.

Atharva, Kánda II, Súkta 32, Mantra 3 is identical with Mantra 10 of Súkta 23 of Kánda V of the same Veda and runs :—

“ अत्रिवद् वः क्रिमयो हन्मि कण्ववञ्जमदग्निवत् ।
अगस्त्यस्य ब्रह्मणा संपिनष्मग्रहं क्रिमोन् ॥ ”

Meaning :—

‘ By means of the knowledge imparted by Agastya do I annihilate the parasites. O parasites ! I kill you, as do Attrih, Kaṇvah and Jamadagnih.’

Here it appears necessary to find out the relevant meanings of the words Agastyah, Attrih, Kaṇvah and Jamadagnih, अगस्त्यः is अगस्तेरपत्यं and, अगस्तिः is अगं अस्यति इति . Again अगं means न गच्छति इति, i.e. a fixed parasite like the Tænia and अस्यति means क्षिप्यति, उन्माटयति or उन्माद्य दूरीकरोति meaning disentangles and thus removes. Thus, अगस्तिः would mean a physician who can rid the patient of his old well-established parasites even. Agastyah is his son who has inherited from his father some useful formulæ for destroying parasites. Therefore do others too destroy the disease germs by applying Agastyan formulæ.

अत्रिः is one who has freed himself from all the three sorts of troubles, who as if eats into the very root cause of all troubles. Thus he can quite easily destroy the parasites too. Yáska Nirukta Naigama Kánda Adhy. 3, Khanda 17, supports the first derivation by saying : “ अत्रिर्न त्रय इति ॥ ”

कण्वः is one whose fame is sung far and wide (कण्व शब्दायैः and कण्व गतौ in Dhátupátha आदिगण roots अणादयः and ज्वरादयः respectively). Naturally in connection with the Krimih Súktas it should mean one reputed for removing parasitic diseases.

जमदग्निः is one reputed for kindling the sacrificial fires correctly. Yáska Nirukta Daiv. Kánda Adhy. 1, Khanda 24, says : “ जमदग्नाः ... प्रज्वलिताग्नाः ... ॥ ” Naturally in the Krimih Súktas fires can only mean fumigation fires meant to disinfect the lungs or other organs of a

patient or his house and other articles. Therefore, Jamadagnih in this connection would mean the physician well versed in the destruction of parasites by fumigation and allied processes.

We have discussed these words at length but it was absolutely necessary to do so in order to remove the misunderstanding usually caused by taking them to mean the seers who preceded the formulation of the Krimih Suktas.

Having thus described the Mantras dealing with the two species of *Tænia*, with *Ascaris* and with *Oxyuris*, and also discussed the Mantra-Trio common to both the texts, we may now take up a Mantra and a half which according to the philological mode of thought deals with *Ascaris* and *Oxyuris*. This Mantra and a half runs as under :—

“ ... अस्मिन्नुत्सर्वाञ् ऋलुनान् क्रिमौन् वचसा जम्भयामसि ॥ २ ॥

अस्मिन्नुत्सर्वाञ् ऋलुनान् क्रिमौन् वचसा जम्भयामसि ॥ २ ॥

शिश्यान्शिश्यान् नि तिरामि वाचा यथा क्रिमौणां नकिरच्छिष्यते ॥ ३ ॥”

Atharva Kānda II, Sūkta 31, Mantras 2 and 3

and means :—

‘ By means of Vacha we kill all the *Ascaris* type parasites and the *Oxyuris* type ones. By means of a strong germicide I kill the *Ascaris* ones, making all the old and young, mature and immature ones, paralysed; the remaining evil ones do I scatter about and destroy by means of Vacha, so that none of the parasites lags behind.’

Now about the evidence in support of this rendering. *Sushruta Saṃhitā* mentions गच्छूपादाः amongst the parasites met with in the human fæces (*Sushruta Saṃhitā*, English translation by Kunjalal M.R.A.S., Vol. III, Page 339, lines 1 and 2, year 1916 Edition). In the Hindi translation by Pt. Ravi Datta this word has been translated as गिच्छोहा (2nd Edition, year 1894, page 716, line 23). In the Punjab गच्छोवा is the name of the Earth-worm which bears a superficial resemblance to *Ascaris* in its external shape which alone is visible to all and sundry. Thus the superficial resemblance of the words गच्छोवा, गच्छूपाद and अस्मिन्नुत्सर्वाञ् is the only evidence in support of the above rendering of the word, अस्मिन्नुत्सर्वाञ् into an *Ascaris*. External appearance too does support this rendering.

Similarly does Charak mention शालूनिवाः amongst the parasites met with in the human fæces. Pt. Ravi Datta translates it into

Hindi too as शालूगिक (see Charak with Ravi Datta's Commentary, page 92, lines 10 and 24, year 1911 Edition). शलुन् is the word used by the Veda. In the Punjabi language one of the faecal parasites is termed a चलूना. Its characteristic is the itching sensation about the anus and it mostly infects children, which characteristic and the superficial resemblance of the words शलुन्, शालूगिक and चलूना support the rendering of these into an Oxyuris.

The strong germicide, for these parasites, termed महान बघ, in the Veda would be something like Kabila used by the native physicians of the Punjab or Santonin used by the modern scientists. It is some strong antidote for these nematode worms which kill most of them and paralyzes others. The few that are left behind are got rid off by administering Vacha which according to Kirtikar and Basu is Acorus calamus, Linn. H.F.B.I., VI, 555. Roxb. 296. They have illustrated this plant as per Plate No. 1008 and described it as fully as they could on page 1349, line 29, and onwards till the end of page 1352, of the year 1918 edition of their famous work, Indian Medicinal Plants, Vol. II. On the basis of various authorities, they describe the rhizome of this plant as insectifuge, especially for fleas on page 1350, lines 17-19, as an insecticide on page 1351, lines 21-22, and for removing fleas from water . . . and also as being given to fowls for the same purpose on page 1352, lines 12-14.

In this way Veda requires all the parasites to be got rid off entirely.

The remaining Mantras of Sūkta 31 of Kānda II of the Atharva Veda may now be taken up. The 1st Mantra reads as follows :—

“ इन्द्रस्य या मही दृषत् क्रिमेर्विश्वस्य तर्हणी ।

तया पिनष्णि संक्रिमौन् दृषदा खर्षा इव ॥ १ ॥ ”

and means :—

‘ Like grams on a grind-stone, I crush the parasites, by means of the mighty grinding wheel of Indra—the Solar Disc—the destroyer of all forms of parasites.’

The writer happened to throw some brown ants on an old dusty brown wooden packing case lying in bright sunshine on the afternoon of May 1st, 1935, say, at about 2 P.M. He was surprised to find them roasted up only in a few seconds. More or less non-plussed by this strange phenomenon he repeated same three or four times. Every time the ants were roasted up only in a few seconds. The writer at once grasped the meaning of the above Mantra. The Solar Disc is really the mighty grinding stone of Indrah, from its superficial resemblance to the stone of an Átta Chakkie. Moreover

it crushes all forms of parasites into a fine powder sooner or later. A natural phenomenon as well supports this view. It consists of the strange reduction in the number, of mosquitoes visiting the sleeping humanity at night in their beds in the Tropics, after the mid-summer months of June and May or July ; and of the strange increase in their number after a rainfall. This is due to the strong sunshine destroying them in large numbers. Indra's mighty grinding wheel then is the Solar Disc which sheds strong sunshine all round and thereby destroys the disease germs so swiftly.

This is the natural interpretation of this Mantra. One more interpretation is possible as well. Same too is given hereunder, being very suggestive and in harmony with the Mantras that follow. This interpretation is suggested by Mantras like the following :—

- (१) “कैरातिका कुमारिका सका खनति भेषजम् ।
द्विरख्ययीभिरन्भिभिर्गिरीयामुपसानुषु ॥ १४ ॥
- (२) आयमगन् युवा भिषक् पृच्छिहापराजितः ।
स वै स्वजस्य जम्भन उभयोर्दृष्टिक्स्य च ॥ १५ ॥
- (३) इन्द्रो मेहिमरन्धयन्मित्रश्च वरुणश्च । वाता पर्जन्योभा ॥ १६ ॥
- (४) इन्द्रो मेहिमरन्धयत् पृदाकुं च पृदाकम् ।
स्वजं तिरस्त्रिराजिं कसयीलं दध्नीनसिम् ॥ १७ ॥
- (५) इन्द्रो जघान प्रथमं जनितारमहे तव ... ॥ १८ ॥”

Atharva Kánda X, Súkta 4, Mantras 14-18.

These Mantras apparently describe Indrah as a young physician, expert in the science of snakes and scorpions. He is referred to as approaching a hilly hunter's daughter who is digging out a medicinal herb on a mountain table-land near the foot of the mountain crest. Apparently the word Indrah here stands for a physician, as also do the words Mittrah, Varuṇah, Vátah and Parjanya. Another instance where Agnih is described as a physician is met with in the Atharva : Kánda V, Súkta 29, Mantra 1, which reads as under :—

“पुरस्ताद् युक्तो वच्चा जातवेदोऽग्ने विद्धि क्रियमाणं यद्येदम् ।
त्वं भिषक् भेषजस्यासि कर्ता त्वया गामन्त्रं पुरुषं सनेम ॥”

In this Mantra Agnih is addressed as a physician who manufactures medicines and administers them to patients.

In the light of these Mantras it would be only reasonable for the Vedic student to translate the word Indrah, occurring in the Krimih Súktas, into a physician. In that case his मही दृषद् would not be

the grinding wheel but the medicine by which he crushes the parasites into their finest particles according to the derivation, “दीर्यते यथा वा दृषत्,” of the word दृषत्. Now the question arises as to what is that parasiticide of the physician Indrah, which destroys all the forms of parasites. This is replied to in the next Mantra which reads :—

“दृष्टमदृष्टमदृष्टमथो कुरूमदृष्टम् ।

अस्यादून्त्सर्वाङ्गुलान् क्रिमौन् वचसा जम्भयामसि ॥”

Atharva : Kānda II, Sūkta 31, Mantra 2.

and means :—

‘ I have killed the visible and the invisible ones. I have also destroyed the Thigh-borer. By means of Vacha do we kill all the Ascaris and Oxyuris types.’

Apparently this Mantra names the strong germicide of Indrah, as Vacha, by stating that the visible, invisible, the thigh-borer, and the Ascaris and Oxyuris types can all be killed by means of this single drug. This point is also emphasized upon in the next two Mantras. One of them reads :—

“अस्यादून् हन्मि महता बधेन दूना अदूना अरसा अभूवन् ।

शिश्यानशिश्यानं नि तिरामि वाचा यथा क्रिमौणां न किरच्छिद्यते ॥”

Atharva : Kānda II, Sūkta 31, Mantra 3.

and means :—

‘ I kill the Ascaris types by administering a strong germicide so that their mature and immature forms get paralyzed ; then I clear off the remaining evil ones by means of Vacha so that none of the parasites survives my treatment.’

and the other reads :—

“अन्वान्नां प्रीर्षण्यमथो पाष्टैयं क्रिमौन् ।

अवस्त्वं व्यध्वरं क्रिमौन् वचसा जम्भयामसि ॥”

Atharva : Kānda II, Sūkta 31, Mantra 4.

meaning :—

‘ The cholera germ (of the small intestine), the germs of the brain and nervous tissue diseases, the pneumococci (of the sides and lungs), the tetanus bacilli (which keep fallen down and cause jumping of the whole body), the gonococci and syphilis germs (making one prone to

indecent actions)—(all of these) germs do we destroy by means of Vacha.'

This germ destroying action of Vacha is also mentioned in the following Mantra :—

“अस्येन्द्र कुमारस्य कृमिन् धनपते जहि ।

हता विन्वा अरातय उग्रैण वचसा मम ॥”

Atharva : Kánda V, Súkta 23, Mantra 2.

meaning :—

‘O wealthy (physician) Indra ! kindly destroy the parasites infecting this lad. All (your) enemies have been killed by my strong Vacha.’

This Mantra from the Krimih Súkta itself, conclusively proves that translating ‘Indrah’ into a physician who has specialized in Parasitology and his मही दृषत् into Vacha would not be out of place at all, because when, according to this Mantra, the guardians, of a lad suffering from parasites, go to the wealthy Indrah, they request him to cure their child of his Krimís and he encourages them by the words ‘(Dear Sirs, do you not worry any longer). (Believe) all (your) enemies—the parasites of this lad) to have been actually killed by my strong (smelling) Vacha’. In this connection it is interesting to note that Uragandha (strong-smelling) is one of the epithets of Vacha according to Bháva Prakásh and Indian Medicinal Plants. The former too describes it as a parasiticide as under :—

“वचोयगन्धा ... कफोन्मादभूतजन्वनिलान् हरेत् ॥”

“वच उग्रगन्धा ... यह वच के नाम हैं वच उग्रगन्धवाली ... और भूतदोष कृमि तथा वायुनाशक होती है ॥”

Bháva Prakásh, 1st Vol., 1st Part, Page 174, Shloka 122, lines 23, 25, 27, 28, and 29 of the text with Kali Charan’s Hindi Commentary of the year 1894 edition.

As regards the Indian Medicinal Plants, page 1349 of its 2nd Vol. may be referred to for the name Uragandha amongst the names of Acorus Calamus (Vacha).

These Mantras thus leave no doubt that Indra’s Mahi Drishat means (1) the Solar Disc, and (2) Vacha ; Indra himself being the sun in the former case and the parasite-specialist in the latter.

What a pity that Achárya Sáyana always translated Vacha into a Mantra (being composed of words or speech only) in his commentary on these Mantras of the Krimih Súktas. The word Kurú occurring in Mantra 2, Súkta 31, Kánda II, has been translated into

a Thigh-borer in the preceding discussion. This requires amplification. Achárya Sáyana, in his commentary on this Mantra, first reads the word कुह्वरम् as कुरोरम् and then translates same into a जाल or more or less a network of the parasites inside the body of the patient. We, on the other hand, simply split the original word : कुह्वर into its actual parts कुर and ऊर . In Dhátupáth of Paṇini तुदादिर्गणः roots व्रश्चादयः we read “कुर छेदने” and ऊर occurring so often in the Vedas means ‘ a thigh ’ ; combining the two we have interpreted the word कुह्वर as the Thigh-borer. This parasite is known to the laymen in our own parts under the name ‘ Nárva ’ and its scientific name is Dranunculus medinensis (Filaria medinensis, Guinea worm, Medina worm). Its main characteristic is that ultimately it comes to lie under the skin of the patient and then bores through it on the foot or leg or near about and then may also leave the body of the host if properly handled.

Thus in the preceding pages light has been thrown on the following points :—

- (1) The meanings of the words कृमिः and क्रिमिः.
- (2) The germ-destroying action of the sun.
- (3) The Vedic reference to some bacterial parasites of man.
- (4) The Vedic description of the two species of Tænia.
- (5) Ascaris Lumbricoïdes, Oxyuris Vermicularis, and Dranunculus medinensis, as described in the Vedas.
- (6) The methods by which all forms in all stages of Nos. 3, 4, and 5 must be got rid of.
- (7) The technical meanings of the words Indrah, Drishat, Vacha, Mahán Badha, etc.
- (8) The supreme importance of destroying all the types of the disease germs.

In doing so, Súktas 31 and 32 of Kánda II of the Atharva Veda have been commented upon wholly and Súkta 23 of the Vth Kánda of the same Veda only partially. Thus out of the Krimih Súktas only Mantras 1, 4, 5, 7, and 8 of this Súkta 23 remain uncommented upon as yet. These however deal with a number of parasites mostly causing the various types of leprosy, and for the proper translation of these Mantras no clue is available except the structure of the words by which they are named or hunting out some philological resemblance if any amongst the names of the Krimis as given in the ancient Indian Medical books—Charak, Sushruta, etc. We therefore for the present keep a discussion of these parasites and these Mantras pending for some future date.

Parasitology is dealt with in some other Súktas as well in the Vedas but as the word Krimih is not used there, we have thought it better to discuss them separately.

It is now for the readers to judge the merits of a study of the Vedás by specialists in various branches of the Modern Sciences, to illustrate which we have dealt with the subject of Parasitology in the Vedas in the foregoing pages.

A VANISHED SAKYAN WINDOW¹

By MRS. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

The other day I was talking with a man engaged in the work of excavating the venerable Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, once a proud and famous fane. He showed me fragments sifted from spadefuls of earth. Some were mere scraps of folded strips of lead. These, he said, had gone round the windowpanes of painted glass : an inference from the useful lowly casing to the past existence of works of beauty they had held up to view. And I saw in them a sort of parallel to the opening and concluding words in many Buddhist Suttas, for instance these : *cattāro me puggalā santo samvijjamānā lokasmiṃ*, with the echoing close : *ime kho cattāro . . . lokasmiṃ ti*. ' There are, there exist in the world four men . . . ' And not four only.' We find, in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya categories, that this somewhat emphatic opening is used for three, four, five, six, seven, eight, ten men. In this peculiar window-casing, now used, now discarded for a less emphatic predication, there had once been, it seemed to me, a windowpicture now broken and lost. Will there not have been a reason why some of these many categories, ranging from ones to elevens, should have begun in this way, while the greater number did not ?

You may say : But have we not here, in every case, the actual window surviving with the one framework or the other ? Have we not, in every case, the substance of the Sutta as well as its opening and its close ?

Yes, it is true that we have a window, many windows. But we have to account for a peculiar ' framework ', differing from the majority of such. Why should a certain number of Suttas begin (and usually close) with this distinctive insistence upon actual real existence : *santo samvijjamānā lokasmiṃ* ? Compare this with other similar openings to categories : *ekapuggalo loke uppajjamāno uppajjati* ; *dve me puggalā dullabhā lokasmiṃ* ; *tayo ca assasadassa desesāmi tayo ca purisasadasse* ; *asappurisañca vo desesāmi asappurisenā ca asappurisatarañca* ; *cattāro puggalā* ; *idh' ekacco puggalo . . . : pañcahi dhammehi samannāgato bhikkhu bhattādako ca hoti okāsapharaṇo ca . . . ; khattiyā . . . brāhmaṇā . . . gahapatikā . . . itthi . . . corā . . . samaṇā . . . kiṃ adhippāyā . . . and the rest . . .* I do not anywhere

¹ I present the following to readers of *Indian Culture* by kind permission of the Editors of *Festschrift Winternitz*, 1933.

else find that distinctive insistence. Under the 'one' there is insistence of a kind, but it is only on the fact of happening, whether of a *sammāsambuddho*, or of an eminently bad or good man.

Is there then anything in the content of Suttas having this peculiar opening to explain why the 'men' in them are stated with iteration to be, to exist? For that matter you may say that I am insisting on an emphasis where there is really none worthy of comment. Is not *santo samvijjamānā lokasmiṃ* only a variant in the predication that there are such men in the world?

I venture to think the emphasis is there. Consider! As the sceptical view about the reality of the 'man' went on growing among Sakyans, the matter of real existence will have become of great importance, and with it the question of truth in affirmation will have been often raised. Herein the words *vijjati*, *samvijjati*, as supplementing affirmation by terms belonging to *ās* and *bhū*, play a part. If we open our *Dīgha-Nikāya* we come quickly on to such a combination. On p. 3 (P.T.S. ed.) we read: *Iti pi etam abhūtam, iti pi etam ataccam, natthi c'etam amhesu, na ca pan' etam amhesu samvijjatīti*: 'This is neither fact nor real; among us it is not, among us it is non-existent'. Again, in assertions of possible happening we find *vijjati* combined with *avakāsa*, e.g. as to there being opportunity or place (*thānam*) for something to happen.¹ Once more, in later assertions of ultimate reals and unreals we find the verb *samvijjati* used (during an indefinitely long preceding interval) in a category of things under this aspect. Namely, the 8th chapter of the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, on *paññatti*, takes any name to be sixfold according as it is

- a naming of something existing (*samvijjamāna*),
- a naming of something non-existing (*asamvijjamāna*),
- a naming of something non-existent by something existent (*vijjamānena avijjamāna*),
- a naming of something existent by something non-existent (*avijjamānena v.*),
- a naming of something existent by something existent,
- a naming of something non-existent by something non-existent.

Literally, as we know, (*sam-*)*vijjati* means 'is not found'. This for an age, thinking and speaking with a certain degree of scientific caution, falls short of 'does not exist'. I judge however, that the word in the foregoing instances did not so fall short, but was tantamount, at least in an unqualified context, to 'is', 'exists'.

¹ E.g. *A. I.*, p. 26.

Let it then be granted that there is a certain emphasis on actual existence in Suttas beginning with the phrase *santo samvijjā-mānā lokasmim*. Does then the content of these Suttas justify the need of such an emphasis ?

Let us first look closer into the range and relative frequency of its occurrence. Of the Four Nikāyas I do not find it in the First or Third. I find it thrice in the Second (Majjhima, Suttas 51, 60 and 94), in the category of the man who torments himself, others, both or neither. In the Fourth I find it 57 times, as follows :—

Ekaniṭṭhā	..	..	0
Duṭṭhā	..	..	0
Tikaṭṭhā	..	..	13 times,
Catukkaṭṭhā	..	..	36 times,
Pañcakaṭṭhā	..	..	3 times,
Chakkaniṭṭhā	..	..	once,
Sattakaniṭṭhā	..	..	once,
Aṭṭhakaṭṭhā	..	..	twice,
Dasakaniṭṭhā	..	..	once.

57 times.

Thus more than half of all the occurrences are in the categories of the Fours. The occurrences in the Threes amount to more than all the rest (Fours excepted) put together ; and the Fours-occurrences are nearly 3 times as numerous as those in the Threes. Hence there may have been a strong tradition associating this opening sentence with some teaching concerning 'men' under four heads or aspects, and a tradition, less strong associating such teaching with three heads or aspects.

In the Fifth Nikāya I have nowhere (at least as yet) found a single occurrence. In the Third Piṭaka we find the opening only where we should expect, namely, in the Puggala-paññatti, which is practically a sifting of *puggala*-statements out of the Aṅguttara. It occurs however only ten times : 9 in the Fours section and once in the Fives. It has become practically a monopoly of the Fours.

I return now to the matter of the content of Suttas with the distinctive opening. And I have to confess that they contain nothing which seems to merit such a beginning. They are like other Suttas starting with just such a *puggalā*, but without the *santo*, etc., considered with respect to this or that complex of states or ways. They are not specifically concerned with his being, on that or any other account, real. Our windows here are not showing us anything which is essentially true, essentially real about every man. They depict man as exceeding manifold. He has indeed become a peg on which to hang a bundle. The Fours-Suttas are, as we might

expect, much occupied with giving us this manifold in terms of the four alternatives of affirmation and negation of Indian logic, early and later. Thus, 'men' are either walking towards their own good (*attahitāya paṭipannā*), or that of the other man, or towards both or neither.¹ It is a very excellent feature, this exploring the Many in the man. But it does not seem to call, in some such exploring, not in others, for the distinctive opening which is the framework of those 57 Suttas.

But about one of these Fours-Suttas there is a notable association—an association not with the peculiar opening, yet with the meaning, the emphasis explicit in that opening. It has this opening in the *Āṅguttara* (*Catukka-nipāta*, pp. 95-99)—it is the Sutta to which I have just referred—but when we meet with the allusion to the Sutta in the *Kathāvatthu* (I, i) we find just the word *atthi*:—*atthi puggalo attahitāya paṭipanno*. And the reason why the Sutta is cited has nothing to do with the contents: walking towards his own good, etc. It is cited solely in connection with the first two words: the man exists.

In the First Debate of the *Kathāvatthu*, the earliest, the longest, the most critically momentous number in the whole work, we have, as we know, the Defender of the reality of the 'man', as an entity not to be merged in body or mind, arguing with a member of the current majority, in the Saṅgha at Asoka's capital, Patna, who were known for a period as Analysts or Vibhajjavādins. Five times* does the defender call to his aid the tradition that the Bhagavan, unassailable for his truthfulness, taught in terms of the man as real. He did not teach, that the man was only 'to be got at' (*upalabbhati*) or ultimately known as, being so many *dhammas*, physical and mental. When he said: 'There is the man who is walking towards (or practising for) his own good', and so on, he meant just what he said.

This appeal to authority, recurring as it does, five times amid the defender's other arguments for man's essential reality, is, as stated, so different from what we might try to make him say, is, as stated, so apparently lacking in cogency, that readers' sympathies have tended to side with the orthodox attack. Is it not perhaps wiser to see that something here has been lost or has been changed? Why does he appear as making out so meagre an argument for his side, the side which sought to uphold the great tradition of what the Founder had really said?

¹ I should be glad to correct here a wrong quotation of the *Majjhima* in our *Points of Controversy* (AUNG and RHYS DAVIDS), pp. 16, n. 2., 401. The *Majjhima* does not give the Sutta there cited. I return to it presently.

* §§ 74, 136, 147, 157, 236.

We forget, if we say this, that the defender of the *puruṣa* is not here in these debates to speak for himself. His victorious opponent holds the floor, and can make the man evicted say pretty much what he chooses. This may, it is true, have been a more restrained 'chooses' when the debate was compiled. The only surviving records say, that Moggaliputtatissa, president of the Revisionist Council, 'recited the compilation' (*pakaraṇam*) of the debates, for the crushing of other men's teaching in future. But it is conceivable, that this debate (with possibly the next few also) was actually held in presence of the Council and who knows how large a company beside. We have the debate only as put, after the event, into a fixed form of wording, learned and repeated orally till writing came in; carried either orally or in writing to Ceylon, a country which had no religious tradition of the '*Tat tvam asi*'. We have to see it finally as committed to writing in Ceylon, with God knows how much more editing, editing which would naturally strengthen only the special pleading of the attack. But when the oral debate came to birth, the defenders of the 'man' were still present and vocal. The voting which ousted them had not yet taken place. They were officially still undefeated. And this presence of them has survived in our text to this extent:—whenever the Bhagavan's affirming of the man is adduced, the Defender (in the Commentary: *puggala-vādin*) is shown both as attacking and as having the last word. The Analyst (called in the Commentary *sakavādin*) is never shown as countering the attack till the very end of the debate. He too has to hear himself called 'refuted, yea, well refuted'. It is not till we come to the Appeals to Authority, that he counters the '*atthi puggalo*', and also the '*ekapuggalo*' (of Aṅguttara I, 22) '*uppañjamaṇo uppañjati*' with a few sayings asserting non-existence of the man in what sentient experience yields. The isolated recurrence to logical debate at the end, as a second Appendix, occurs, I believe, nowhere in the other debates. It amounts to an attempt to show, that the man is more than can be put into any one word.

Anyway, this last tag of debate gives the Commentator an opening for a peroration on the distinction which his day had come to draw between conventional and ultimate truth (*sammuti-paramatthasaccam*). Had it emerged in the culture of Asoka's time, we can imagine how the Analyst would have trotted it out, so convenient a weapon has it since become, for both Hīnayānist and Mahāyānist. That it is not used by the Analyst is good evidence for its later emergence. We see it beginning in the Milindapañha.¹ The Commentator bases his peroration on a text from a Dīgha-

¹ Mln. 160.

Suttanta,¹ but it is inapt to support any assertion beyond this: that names, words are in themselves no guarantee of essential truth. The reality of the 'man' has a surer foundation than the expression of it in words. It is an inexpugnable conviction, not to be upset or confirmed by appeals to verbal expression, however high the traditional authority assigned.

I come back for a moment to the words in which the defender makes his appeal. Namely, that he does not use the distinctive opening of the 'four men as being, existing in the world, who', etc.; he begins simply with *atthi puggalo*, and then for some lost reason adds, not four alternatives about *hita*, but just the one qualification: *attahitāya paṭipanno*.² This form, too, is maintained in the 'Appendix' of appeals to authority. This leads us to ask, whether the word *atthi* can convey any emphasis as to reality?

I am dealing with a time prior, in India, to the written book, hence an equivalent to our 'italics' is out of the question. But the voice could convey emphasis; so to some extent could the form of the sentence. Thus we have the response to such questions as 'Is there then a way?' in the surely emphasized words: *atthi maggo, atthi paṭipadā*...³ The question itself may have been emphasizing fact or not fact: *atthi deva ti; natthi nibbānaṃ*.⁴ So here, since no confirmation of existence can be got out of the *attahitāya paṭipanno*, it is only possible to see any point in the citation, if we see some traditional stress on existence conveyed by the *atthi*. For that matter the reference may have been to an ancient Saying by the founder which had nothing to do with the alternatives on *hita* given in Dīgha and Aṅguttara.

We have now found five fragmentary features in our digging, which may be tabulated as follows:

- (1) a peculiar opening to certain Suttas, so worded as to stress the real existence of that about which things are predicated: *santo samvijjānā lokasmiṃ*;
- (2) no apparent justification, in the things predicated, for the stress;
- (3) the stress does not refer to 'man', but to men, usually three or four, who are identified with specific dispositions or ways;
- (4) a much stressed association asserted between one of the Suttas, having, in two books that peculiar opening, and the alleged feature in the founder's teaching, that the

¹ D. I, 202 (Poṭṭhapāda).

² M. II, 130, 212.

³ E.g. S. V, 7; A. i, 180, etc.

⁴ Mln. 326.

'man' really existed *quâ* 'man', not merely *quâ* complex;

- (5) the Sutta so associated is (apparently) cited partially, not with the peculiar opening, but with just the word *atthi*, an opening in which there may, or there may not be stress on real existence.

Can we from these fragments reconstruct our 'window'?

No, we cannot, if we see our fragments as pieces of synchronous work. If we place them in historical perspective, I incline to think we can.

Firstly, as to (1) and (5): we can imagine the first Sakyans expounding their teaching about the 'man': *purisa*, *attā*, his nature, life and destiny, with an *atthi*, long before there will have been a business of drawing up numbered categories: *dve*, *tayo*, etc. At the same time the use of *atthi* will not have stressed real existence. Why should it? They had as yet no need to do so. Only a mad teacher would have queried that the man was real. (There is no ruling out the *attā* in the 'Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta'. There is only a warning not to see the 'man' in the tools.) On the contrary, they taught at a time when the reality of 'me' and of 'thee' had been immensely strengthened and deepened by an accepted cult of immanent divinity.

But be it never overlooked, that this wrong 'seeing' became before long a growing danger. The Sāṅkhya vogue of distinguishing the mindways from the very 'man', and of analyzing these was an ever-increasing prepossession. The rich variety in man's inner world was emerging: the thinking rather than the thinker. And the sovereign man himself was tending to fade out of the picture. Kauṣītaki had uttered a warning as to this.¹ It was not on the 'man', on whom the attention of later teachers was bent; it was on that plurality of his inner world which they were coming to call *dhammā*: no longer just 'things', but 'things-as-knowable', as to be experienced, *Vorstellungen*, *Werte*, worthings, values.

We may see this shifting of interest going on in the mass of the Suttas in the Aṅguttara. Attention here and there is still retained for the man, not men; for the man who is twofold, threefold, manifold. E.g. the man as trainer with four methods, the man as warrior in four ways, the man who is more worthy (*sappurisataro*) or less so, on four grounds, etc. But mainly it is less the man that we find, it is more the men: one man per attribute or disposition. It is the many as such that is preoccupying these

¹ Kauṣ. Up. 3, 8.

later teachers ; the many things rather than the unitary phenomenon of the nature, the growth, development, werden, *bhava* of the man.

I am not saying that the earlier teaching never had recourse to heads two, three, four . . . Did not the teaching begin with a two : *dve antā* (converted into a ' three men ' in the *Aṅguttara*). I say only, that the ' man ', being more impressive than the many men, I can rather hear them teaching about him in the form we may see surviving in the early *Abhidhamma Mātikās* :—in the *Vibhaṅga* on the *khandhas*.¹ The ' man ', it is true, has here been made to give way to a resolution of him into five groups of *dhammā*. But each of these is analyzed into a unity which is *duvidhena*, *tividhena*, *catubbidhena*, etc., and beneath each of these sections we get *atthi* this, *atthi* that. I suggest that we may here have a mode of categorizing at least as old in traditional form as the arithmetical progression of the *Aṅguttara* lists. And it is just possible, that this form may have served for that teaching about the *purisa* or *attā*, the seeking whom was the first public injunction of the *Śākyamuni*. In this way : whereas the man is ever One, he may be considered *-vidhena*, under more than one aspect : *atthi kāyo*, *atthi cittaṃ*, *atthi viññānaṃ* : man as having body, as having mind, as surviving death. (In the *Vibhaṅga viññānaṃ* has become merged in *cittaṃ*, in *manas*, and so it has remained in Buddhism ever since ; but for the first *Sakyans viññānaṃ* meant the man as persisting beyond this life.)

Here then is at least a conceivable reason for the association of certain *Suttas* about the man in triplets with insistence on the reality of him, an insistence which the growing tendency to merge him in mind may have led to the buttressing of him, by conservative editors, with the words *santo saṃvijjamāno*. But whence the buttressing of a much larger number of *Suttas* about the man as fourfold ?

I see herein a possibility of man's relation to ' the other man ' having been included. Man was not to be rightly understood, rightly categorized out of relation to his fellowman. That this relation as an integral part of true religion was in and of the expansion made by Gotama in the brahmanical teaching of his day is for me strikingly attested by the rejoinder ascribed to him when conversing with his friend, the king of Kosala. The king, possibly also the queen, as is recorded, have been apparently listening to a chaplain's discourse from the *Upaniṣadic* teaching on the preciousness of the (Divine) self who is the man. Ay, is the *Śākyamuni's* rejoinder, but since that holds good for each man, each woman, see that

¹ P.T.S. ed., pp. 12-61, esp. p. 16.

you hurt not the fellowman,¹ in whom also is That Most Holy Thing. So run the records in words which, in spite of the woefully deteriorated values shown in the Commentary, have retained the worth held in Gotama's day. *Atthi pare*, he is saying, and hence *atthi parahitam*. Is it not perhaps significant, that the *attahitam* and the *parahitam* are the subject of the one Sutta selected by the Defender of the Man, in his appeal to the Founder's having taught the reality of the man? Have we not perhaps here that original *catubbidhena puriso*?

I may say here that I use *puriso*, not *puggalo* intentionally. We do not know when this oddly ugly word *pudgala*, *puggala* came to be substituted for the older *purisa* or *pulisa*, or *puruṣa*. I have not come across any inquiry into the matter. It appears in the Aṅguttara categories as mainly, but not wholly ousting *puriso*, moreover it occurs as a compound of the two: *purisapuggalo*, bridging as it were the traverse. We find this used with appreciation, e.g. Aṅg., I, 130, with depreciation, *ibid.* 32; Saṃy. IV, 307, 309, with both, *ibid.* I, 206; Aṅg. I, 173, 189; III, 349. And it is especially associated with the stock description of laity and saṅgha, with reference to the Way as fourfold. A rehabilitation of *puggala* as not just 'male' but as 'handsome male', belongs only, I believe, to mediæval Sanskrit. For the Pali Commentator the word *puggala* has a very worsened exegesis, viz. *puṇ-gala*: hell-crier or -swallower, revealing to us how set the monastic teaching became on blotting out the ancient lofty implication of *Puruṣa*, and on showing what a 'rotter' the man was when bereft of his divinity. Our translations lose all this change in values. 'Person', 'Mensch' are not essentially derogatory. Almost we need some such word as our slang term 'bloke'!

But no protest against the change over from *purisa* to *puggala* survives. Mainly ancient scriptures record, not the doing, but the done! In older Sayings we have the man conceived as revealing in his essential nature the promise of a Becoming of infinite worth, to be realized in the Way (*mārga*, *yāna*) of the worlds. In younger Sayings we have the man only to be conceived as a complex such as he is seen to be on earth, and the perfect Becoming of him attainable only as the waning out of that complex. In the opening words *santo samvijjamānā lokasmim* I see an intermediate and vain attempt made to stem the shrinkage in the concept of the man, and buttress the transcendent reality of him:—an attempt made, we may imagine, because of one of two alternative conditions. Either there was a temporary renaissance of the older teaching on the Man and his reality, resulting in revision of sayings (or writings) here and

¹ S. I, 175, Ud. V, 1.

there ; or, when the Sayings came to be written (at first probably in India), the immense work was placed in different hands, under separate supervision, and a conservative believer in the man's reality may have been in charge of at least portions of the *Āṅguttara*, another of certain *Suttas* of the *Majjhima*.

These are unproveable suggestions, but they suggest nothing very improbable.

Such is my adumbrated reconstruction of this vanished window. In the curious, distinctive opening I see a vanished tradition of a teaching in which the 'man' was the central theme : the man as in a long way wayfarer towards becoming that who he potentially is. The man as taught under three and under four heads, or aspects : —*vidhena*. The man in all this as the one very Real Thing that we can know. The man as fading before the growth of the many, the manifold of his inner world of *manas*, which was coming to engross Indian preoccupation. The man's reality as fading, but as reinstated by that distinctive opening. The tradition of the older teaching of the man being appealed to by the defender of it, reduced to fighting, his back to the wall, for what had been the very heart of it.

I am aware that, in view of the prevailing acceptance of the monastically edited Pāli scriptures, this attempted reconstruction stands as a very Sebastian in vulnerability. Nothing has been cited that can be called more than at best contributory evidence, but the number of such surviving scraps, and hence their cumulative worth are not, in the history of Buddhism, a negligible fact. It will only be, when we have taken fully into account the many 'left-ins' of the Pāli scriptures, now so much overlooked by both Buddhists and writers on Buddhism, that we shall begin to build up a worthy history of a great religious movement.

PLOTINUS AND INDIAN THOUGHT

By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

It is very natural that constant efforts should be made to establish a definite connection between Indian thought and the teachings of Plotinus. The similarities between the views of the Neo-Platonic philosopher and those current in Indian philosophy are undeniable, and there is always in the case of likenesses the temptation to assign the similarity to derivation by borrowing. It is a perfectly legitimate suggestion, but there must be set on the other side the probability that the human intellect can produce similar results in Greece and India independently. The gravamen of proof lies on those who assert derivation. The problem is not rare in the case of modern literary works where claims of plagiarism are made. Mere similarity is never regarded by English Courts as of decisive importance ; they require either proof *ab extra* of the use of the work alleged to be copied, or the existence of such detailed similarities as can be accounted for only on the theory of deliberate copying though proof of this by other evidence is not available. In the case of Plotinus we must apply analogous criteria, and the difficulty of establishing borrowing in modern times must lead us to expect that in his case evidence of a cogent character will be very hard to adduce. It is interesting therefore to deal with the new presentation of the case for Indian influence presented by Dr. Jean Przyluski in a very ingenious article on Indian Influence on Western Thought before and the during the Third Century A.D.¹

Dr. Przyluski accepts the burden of showing how Indian philosophy could directly influence western thought at a time when ancient philosophers were incapable of understanding the Upanishads and other Indian treatises. It should be remembered, he argues, that a philosophic doctrine is not only transmitted by formal precepts ; it may also be communicated by example. Words may be completed, may even be superseded by action. The former part of this thesis is beyond dispute ; the latter is open to more serious question, and the argument requires close consideration. The Greeks, we are told, from the time of the expedition of Alexander were deeply impressed by the impassibility of Indian ascetics, and we are reminded of the gymnosophist Kalanos, who refused to accompany Alexander to Egypt, and voluntarily ascended the funeral

¹ Reprinted from the *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. i, No. 1.

pile. It is suggested¹ that Pyrrho, head of the Sceptics in the 3rd century B.C., chose as his ideal the imitation of this indifference imperturbable even in presence of death. Here, however, it is not a question of actions superseding words. What is recorded of Pyrrho is merely that, if he sought solitude and laboured to become a good man, it was because he had never forgotten the words of the Indian who reproached Anaxarchos with being incapable of teaching others to be virtuous and with frequenting too assiduously the palace of the kings. Of Pyrrho's admiration of the death of the sage we have no evidence whatever, and there is nothing in his attitude towards philosophical questions to suggest that suicide of this kind was regarded by him as logical.

The next example of suicide gives us as little help. It is that of Zarmanos—presumably a Śramaṇa—of Barygaza, who accompanied the embassy of the Indian king Pandion (or Porus) to Augustus, but after initiation at Eleusis gave himself alive to the flames. It is stated by Nocolas of Damascus, who claims to have met at the sanctuary of Daphne near Antioch on the Orontes, that he decided to end his life, fearing lest, if life were prolonged, some unforeseen disaster might befall him, whereas hitherto he had enjoyed unbroken prosperity. Dion Cassius attributes his action either to his being of the breed of the Sophists or the desire to make a display of himself before Augustus and the Athenians. The inscription on his tomb attributed the act to the national custom of the Indians. The real cause of his action must remain obscure; it may be explained by the love of noisy publicity which he shared with the Sophists. It may again be related to the famous legend of the suicide of Croesus.² Or possibly it may be due to the motive of edification, to show that philosophy leads to perfect detachment. But what is clear is that this last explanation did not impress contemporary opinion as it does not appear in the Greek explanations then current. Greek literature shows that the Greek world knew vaguely of the Brahmins and Gymnosophists, but this is very far from proving any real knowledge of Indian philosophy, and still less value attaches to the admitted fact that some believed that philosophy originated among the barbarians; there were barbarians far better known to the Greeks than the remote and fabled Indians.

These facts, therefore, leave the issue of Indian influence on Plotinus in its former position. They do nothing to strengthen the view that Plotinus drew inspiration from Indian sources, and it is therefore necessary to treat the matter strictly from the evidence

¹ Victor Brochard, *Les sceptiques grecs*, pp. 74, 75.

² Picard, *R.H.R.*, 1933, mars-juin, p. 144.

available in his specific case. It is suggested that new light can be derived from the discovery in Egypt of Manichean documents contained in papyri discovered by peasants of Medinet Madi in the Fayum, now in the possession partly of the Berlin Museum, partly of Mr. Chester Beatty. The most important point revealed in the treatises discovered, two of which are by Mani himself, is that he definitely asserts that even in his adolescence he received his divine mission from the living Paraclete who descended on him and spoke to him, enabling him to understand the mysteries of the strife between light and darkness, of the creation, and of the destiny of man. In the last year of Ardashir I, the first Sassanid king (221-41 A.D.) Mani asserts that he crossed over in a ship to the country of the Indians, and preached to them the hope of life. As soon as Ardashir, who seems to have suspected his teaching, died and Sapor succeeded, Mani returned by sea from India to Persia, whence he went to Babylonia, and eventually was received with favour by the new king. It follows from these facts with certainty that Mani, the founder of a strictly ascetic cult, had a direct knowledge of the Hindu doctrine of renunciation. But we can hardly speak with M. Fr. Cumont¹ of Mani's connection with 'Buddhist India'. At the date in question to speak of India as Buddhist is clearly an assumption of very doubtful character. What is much more important is that Dr. Przuluski seems to misinterpret the evidence as to the effect of Indian on Mani, when he writes, 'In 241, after a voyage to India, the Iranian apostle assumes the role of official reformer and begins his propaganda'. What we know, as recorded by Dr. Przuluski himself, is quite different from this. Mani tells us that the divine mission was given to him in adolescence, and we cannot suppose that he waited until his visit to India to receive the impulse to preach. Dr. Przuluski himself tells us that 'the zeal of the innovator seems to have disturbed the monarch. Mani deemed it prudent to leave.' Moreover, Mani himself says that he preached to the Indians the hope of life. That means that he went to India as a reformer, not that after a voyage to India he assumed the rôle of official reformer and began his propaganda. All that we can say is that after his return from India the new monarch was more favourable than the old, but how far Mani's doctrines were influenced by his stay in India is a matter demanding detailed investigation and proof which is as yet lacking. The most definite suggestion seems to be that of M. Cumont,² who points out that the 'Manichean doctrine steeped in Hindu asceticism was propagated in the Thebaid exactly at the time of the birth there of Christian monasticism.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

² *Ibid.*, p. 189, n. 1.

The idea is irresistible that its exaltation of renunciation acted in some way on the development of this spiritual movement, which drew so many anchorites into the solitary places of that country'. But the proof remains to be made that Manichean doctrine was steeped in Hindu asceticism.

Of Plotinus we know that from the age of 28 he was a pupil at Alexandria of the Platonist Ammonius, and that, eager to gain a direct knowledge of the philosophy practised among the Persians and held in honour among the Indians, he attached himself at the age of 39 to the army of Emperor Gordian, then about to attack the Persians. It is suggested that it was the fame of the reformer Mani that drew Plotinus to Persia. But the suggestion is implausible, for it encounters serious chronological difficulties. In 241 Mani left Persia for India, where he preached; we cannot suppose that his stay was very brief if we assert that Indian thought exercised a deep influence on him; he returned to Persia only after he heard of Ardashir's death, and we do not know how long it took for him to secure the ear of Sapor. Some time also must be allowed for his fame to penetrate to Egypt, and we may very seriously doubt if Plotinus's motive for contemplating a journey to Persia with the Emperor's army in 242 can possibly have been to meet Mani. If this had been the case, we should probably have been told so directly instead of having a vague reference to the philosophy practised in Persia and held in honour among the Indians. Moreover, if he had really been animated by this desire, why do we hear no more of his project of studying Persian philosophy at first hand, and why did he in 243 establish himself at Rome instead of remaining in the east in order to be in touch with the new religion of which he is supposed to have learned while in Egypt? There is no very obvious explanation of these facts other than that his eastern venture had brought him little that was satisfactory, just as the campaign itself of his Emperor proved a failure.

This negative result is important, because it leaves us, as before the new discoveries as to Mani, with the mere fact that Plotinus at one time was interested in studying Persian philosophy. That he derived anything from that source remains wholly unattested by external evidence, and the internal evidence¹ remains wholly inadequate to establish the thesis proposed. We are reminded that the philosopher later in life dreamed of founding in Campania a city of sages where he might retire with his disciples; 'the Platonic city has become a convent; it is probably the best and the most

¹ Chr. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, iii. 415-39, already indicates the chief points on which reliance can be placed to establish the possibility of borrowing.

diverting illustration of the difference between Platonism and Neo-Platonism'. This new idea,¹ it is suggested, is made clear if a Buddhist factor is introduced into the development of the Platonic doctrine. But no such hypothesis is necessary or probable. The divergence between Plato and Plotinus in their ideals is amply accounted for by the history of Greece and of Greek thought in its extension to the east after the date of Plato.

What then, we are left to ask, is the essential feature of the views of Plotinus which compels us to look to India to find an explanation for its presence in his philosophy? The mysticism of Plotinus, we are assured,² had a character of its own which distinguishes it radically from that of all the Oriental religions which were in vogue at that time. It is distinguished from all other philosophic systems and from all the religions of its age by the almost complete absence of the idea of a mediator or of a saviour destined to bring man into relationship with God. It is the soul herself that in her progress becomes the intelligence, and having reached the end of her journey is no longer separated from the one. So we find at the very centre of the thought of Plotinus an alien element which defies classification. The theory of the intelligence as a universal being resembles neither Greek rationalism nor the popular piety of contemporary religious circles. It is, therefore, necessary to look to the religious speculations of the Indians which at the epoch of Plotinus were established and had been for centuries in the Upanishads and had retained all their vitality.

Ingenuous as this is, Dr. Przyluski adds to it the further suggestion that Plotinus attained knowledge of this Indian speculation from Manicheanism, whence his luminous spirit was able to separate, in order to reject them, the dualistic tenets and to retain only the mysticism, peculiarly Indian. He learned thus the Indian ascetics' ideal of renunciation of the world and of complete indifference: man is an autonomous power capable of self-deliverance by raising himself to the divine plane without the aid of the gods or a mediator. Certainly, if one contemplates the confused mass of Manichean tenets, it would indeed demand a luminous spirit to separate out this doctrine from the chaos; indeed the task would be impossible, unless Plotinus is assumed to have attempted it on the basis of a similar philosophy, but we cannot seriously believe that the eager spirit of Plotinus could be illuminated by the Indian doctrines which are asserted to be included in the confused medley of doctrines of Mani.

¹ Emile Bréhier, translation of the *Enneades*, i, p. xi.

² Bréhier, *La Philosophie de Plotin* (1928), pp. 113ff.

On the other hand, we have the indubitable fact that successive generations of students of philosophy, both those who are indifferent to and those familiar with the great achievements of Indian thought, have found it perfectly easy, despite the loss of records, to explain the genesis of the thought of Plotinus from that of Plato and of Aristotle. The weight and value of his philosophy in their view rest on the fact that he is the genuine continuer of the Platonic tradition, and they reject the view that he represents an alien influence on Greek thought. There is nothing, they hold, that is not a legitimate development of that thought, and that cannot be accounted for without reference to external sources of inspiration. On the whole this view seems incapable of refutation. Parallelism between Plotinus and Indian thought we may readily recognize, for thought is one and greatness is denied neither to Greece nor India, but of real borrowing there is no sign of proof.

The absence of any idea of a mediator or a saviour from the Philosophy of Plotinus is far from supporting derivation from India, for it is attached directly to the Platonic tradition, and it strongly suggests that Plotinus borrowed nothing from Manicheism or from Persian philosophy in general. The idea of the autonomy of the soul, and its final union with the one after its wanderings, is essentially Platonic. In the items suggested as extraneous there is in fact the essence of Platonism, and we may be sure that it was not necessary for Plotinus to seek in Persia a liberating power to make him the creator of a new philosophy. Indeed his system hardly merits the epithet 'new'; rather is it a brilliant reworking of traditional material into a whole acceptable to the acute minds of his day, and meeting with their philosophical demands. Plotinus, of course, may have learned vaguely in Egypt of Indian thought, though all proof is lacking, but from it he would gain only confirmation of his established faith which is rooted in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle.

MISCELLANEA

SRI-PRTHIVI-VALLABHA

In the Omgodu (No. 2) of the Pallava King Siṃhavarman (Ep. Ind., XV, 246), the Pallavas have been referred to as *Vallabha* which is the same as *śrī-vallabha* of Siṃhavarman's Mangalur grant (Ind. Ant., V, 154). It is interesting to note that titles like *śrī-vallabha*, *pr̥thivī-vallabha*, etc., were adopted by individual Cālukya kings of Badami, who were sometimes referred to as *vallabha-rāja*. The Cālukya antagonist of Pallava Narasiṃhavarman has been called *vallabha-rāja* in the Udayendiram (No. 2) grant (*Ibid.*, VIII, 273; cf. *jetā bahuśo vallabha-rājasya*, etc.). In the Samangadh inscription (*Ibid.*, XI, 111), the Cālukya contemporary of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga II has been called *Vallabha*. In the Yevur and Miraj grants (*Ibid.*, VIII, 12-14), the Cālukyas themselves refer to the greatness of their family as *Vallabharāja-lakṣmī*. These are only a few of the examples.

We do not definitely know whether the Cālukyas appropriated the title of the Pallavas. It is however certain that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings who succeeded the Cālukyas in the sovereignty of the Deccan appropriated the title and were known as *Vallabharājas*. Arabic travellers of the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. mention a powerful dynasty of the Balharās who ruled at Mānkīr. According to R. G. Bhandarkar (Bom. Gaz., I, ii, 209), *Balharā* is an Arabic corruption of *Vallabharāja* and the Balharās of Mānkīr are no other than the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta. 'Vallabharāja should, by the rules of Prakrit or Vernacular pronunciation, become Vallabha-rāy, Ballaha-rāy, or Balha-rāy. The last is the same as the Balharā of the Arabic' (*loc. cit.*, also pp. 387ff.).

Dr. Ray Chaudhuri of the Calcutta University has pointed out to me that the full form of the title *Vallabha* is *śrī-pr̥thivī-vallabha*, 'lord of *śrī* (wealth) and *pr̥thivī* (earth)'. Now, Śrī and Pr̥thivī are the well-known consorts of Lord Viṣṇu whose *dhyāna* is as follows :

Udyat-koṭi-divākarābham = anisaṃ
Śaṅkhaṃ gadāṃ paṅkajam |
Cakraṃ vibhratam = indirā-vasumatī-
Saṃśobhi-pārśvadvayam ||

Indirā (= Śrī) and Vasumatī (= Pr̥thivī) are to be conceived as always adorning the sides of Viṣṇu who is their husband (Ind. Cult., I, 439).

It is interesting in this connection to note the fact that the Pallava kings who issued the Sanskrit charters were all Vaiṣṇavas in faith. They refer to themselves as *parama-bhāgavata*, *bhagavat-pād-ānudhyāta* or *bhagavad-bhakti-sadbhāva-sambhāvita-sarva-kalyāna* and their inscriptions begin with the adoration *jitam bhagavatā*. The dedication of 200 *nivartanas* of land (595 acres according to Kauṭilya, but 148·6 acres according to a commentator) by the Pallava crown-prince Viṣṇugopa to the god Viṣṇuhāra, as mentioned in the Uruvupalli grant, also supports this view. The title Vallabha (or Śrī-vallabha) which is the same as *Śrī-pṛthivī-vallabha*, a title of Viṣṇu, seems to show that these Pallava kings who were Vaiṣṇavas in faith thought themselves to have been incarnations of lord Viṣṇu.

The Early Pallavas were political successors of the Ikṣvāku dynasty the later members of which line were staunch Buddhists. It is therefore interesting to note that the Pallava kings of the Sanskrit charters boast of having been *Kaliyugadoṣ-āvasanna-dharm-oddharaṇa-nitya-sannaddha* which seems to refer to the fact that they were determined to purify their Brahmanical faith from the influence of heretical doctrines like Buddhism. We, however, cannot fail to notice in this boast the claim for being compared with Viṣṇu. There seems to be an analogy between these kings' upholding Dharma from the *Kaliyuga-doṣa* and Viṣṇu's upholding Pṛthivī from the *Pralaya* during his Varāha incarnation.

In this connection I should like to refer also to the description of two inscriptions at p. 94 of the Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1922-23 : ' No. 661 of 1922 is engraved on the portal of the north niche in the Varāha cave, and consists of the name Śrī-Simmaviṇṇa-Pottrāthirāja in the Pallava-Grantha characters. The niche below this inscription contains the seated figure of a king with a high crown (*kīriṭa*), and chest and ear ornaments, flanked on either side by a standing female figure representing by their crown his queens No. 662 of 1922 cut on the top of the corresponding niche on the south side of the main cave, and opposite to the image of Simhaviṣṇu referred to above, consists only of the name Śrī-Mahendra-Pottrāthirāja. The niche contains the standing image of a king distinguished by his crown and ornaments. His half raised hand points towards the shrine of the god evidently—whither he appears to be leading the nearer queen by her right hand. The above two inscriptions serve as labels to show whom the images represent . . . ' H. Krishna Śastri identifies (A.S.I. Mem., No. 26, p. 4) this Simhaviṣṇu with Narasiṃhavarman-Simhaviṣṇu I and Mahendra with his father Mahendravarman I.

Both these kings have two queens each. This equality in the number of queens of both the father and the son is doubtful. It is

also doubtful that these mighty kings remained satisfied only with two wives in India where a large number of queens is a speciality to royal harems in all ages. The presence of two queens with the king in the above case seems therefore conventional. Do the two queens symbolically represent Śrī and Pṛthivī attending the king who was a successor of the Śrī-pṛthivī-vallabhas ?

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

LAKSHMAÑASENA

The present discussion is based on the copperplate grant from Sundarban, which is dated in the Śaka year 1118-1196 A.D.¹ The inscription, in question, records the grant of a village in Pūrva-Khāṭikā² by a 'sāmantarāja' named Maḍommanapāla, who was hostile to the suzerain ruler, no doubt a Sena King.

The question is: whether it was Lakshmañasena or one of his sons, who was seated on the throne of Gauda in 1196 A.D. In either case he must be identified with Minhāj's Rāe Lakhmanīah.

Maḍommanapāla could not be a 'vipakshasāmanta' till the 14th year of Viśvarūpasena's reign, for the Bay of Bengal formed the eastern limit of the kingdom of the Sena King.³ Besides, as compared with the inscriptions of Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena the present inscription shows a more developed stage of the alphabet.

We know from the inscriptions of Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena that the two reigns covered at least 15 years. Consequently Lakshmañasena's reign came to an end in the earlier part of the last quarter of the 12th century A.D.

The date of the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyār, as has been pointed out by Dr. Blochmann,⁴ cannot be taken as earlier than A.D. 1198-99, by which time Lakshmañasena, son of Vallālasena, was dead. Evidently, Rāe Lakhmanīah cannot be identified with him.

In other words, we are inclined to believe that Lakshmañasena was dead long before the Muhammadan conquest of Bengal, and that A.D. 1119 is the approximate date of the death of Vallālasena and the accession of Lakshmañasena.

¹ I.H.Q., Vol. X, pp. 321ff.

² Cf. Khāḍī is mentioned as a bhakti in the Barrackpur Grant of Vijayasena and as a Vishaya in the Sundarban copperplate of Lakshmañasena.

³ Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 142.

⁴ J.A.S.B., Vol. XLIV, Part I, pp. 275ff.

But the Sena power had been weakened in the time of Lakshmaṇasena, as is shown below.

In the Mādhānagar Grant we find a description of his conquests :

- (1) He, when a Kumāra, conquered the Gauḍa King, possibly one of the last of the Pālas who for sometime after the extinction of their Imperial power retained possession of a portion of Bengal.
- (2) He, when a Kumāra, conquered Kaliṅga.
- (3) He defeated the king of Kāśi in battle, possibly after his accession to the throne.
- (4) He subdued Kāmṛūpa, possibly after his accession to the throne. Again, in the inscriptions of his sons we are told that he erected pillars of victory at Benares and Allahabad and on the shores of the southern ocean.

The Despara inscription contains the information that Vijayasena 'quickly made the king of Gauḍa to flee, drove away the king of Kāmṛūpa and defeated the king of Kaliṅga'. But it seems that he was not able to retain his conquests for long. Because his grandson Lakshmaṇasena had to reconquer them.

The question that we have to consider here is: how far Lakshmaṇasena was able to consolidate the victory attained.

We have a number of inscriptions of Ānantavarman Choḍagaṅga,¹ the powerful Eastern Gaṅga King whose empire extended from the mouth of the Ganges in the north to the mouth of the Godāvāri in the south. Three of them are worth mentioning here. The earliest of them, which is issued from Kaliṅganagara and dated Śaka 1003=A.D. 1081, gives the information that the king used the title of Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati. The second grant, which is issued from Sindurapora and dated in the Śaka year 1040=A.D. 1118, records the migration of Kāmārṇava I, grandfather of Ānantavarman Choḍagaṅga, from Gaṅgāvādi (Mysore) to Kaliṅga, his worship of the God Gokarṇeśvara on Mahendragiri and the defeat of king named Bālāditya, which resulted in the conquest of the Kaliṅga country. As regards Ānantavarman Choḍagaṅga, it states that he 'first replaced the fallen lord of Utkala in his kingdom in the Eastern region and then the waning lord of Veṅgī in the Western region and propped up their failing fortunes'. The last line of the inscription gives the information that the King Ānantavarman Choḍagaṅga considered himself to be 'decorated with the rank of entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkala'. The third grant, which

¹ History of Orissa (R. D. Banerji), Vol. I, pp. 248-54.

does not give any information of historical interest, is issued from Kaliṅganagara and dated in the Śaka year 1057=1135 A.D. Again, according to a votive record from Mukhaliṅgam Ānantavarman Chodagaṅga was alive and ruling in the Śaka year 1069=1148 A.D.

These facts point to the conclusion that Lakshmaṇasena must have invaded Kaliṅga before 1118 A.D. But his power did not last long there, as is evident from the grant of Ānantavarman Chodagaṅga issued in that year.

The expedition to Kāmrūpa was no doubt unsuccessful, otherwise the event would surely have been mentioned in the inscriptions of Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena.

The king of Kāśī defeated by Lakshmaṇasena must have been a member of the Gāhaḍavāla family, and possibly Vijayachandra, son of Govindachandra. The Gāhaḍavāla King Govindachandra seems to have conquered the whole of Magadha. In A.D. 1126 (V.S. 1183) he was in a position to grant a village in the district of Patna to a Brāhmaṇa.¹ Again, in A.D. 1145 (V.S. 1202) he advanced as far as Monghyr.²

Lakshmaṇasena could not also retain his power in Magadha. Western Magadha seems to have passed, as is evident from the Tārachandī inscription of the Mahānāyaka Pratāpadhavalā of Jāpila, which is dated V.S. 1225=A.D. 1168, into the hands of a Gāhaḍavāla King,³ and possibly Jayachandra, who was reputed by the Muhammadan writers to be the greatest king in India and was known to them as king of Benares. Govindapāladeva of Magadha,⁴ who, perhaps taking advantage of the struggle between the Senas and the Gāhaḍavālas, became an independent king in A.D. 1161 but lost within a few years of his reign a part of his territory, continued to rule at some other place, and very likely at Nālandā, till he was conquered by Muhammad Bakhtyār in 1199 A.D. Aśokacalla of Bodh-Gayā became an independent king in 1170 A.D.

Lakshmaṇasena died about A.D. 1170, by which time the Sena power had become confined to Bengal. In the hands of his weaker successors it apparently lost further ground. Provincial Governors began to break away. Maḍommaṇapāla, Governor of Pūrva-Khātikā, declared his independence in 1196 A.D. And thereafter the Muhammadans conquered Western and Northern Bengal. The Sena dynasty came to an end with the occupation of Lakhanawaṭī by Muhammad Bakhtyār in 1200 A.D. Scions of the family,

¹ J.A.S.B., Vol. XXVII, p. 243.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 98.

³ Mem. A.S.B., Vol. V, pp. 107-8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-12.

however, continued to rule as local chiefs at Vikrampur¹ and at Bodh-Gayā.²

S. N. CHAKRAVARTI.

PALI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHĀLUKYA (SŌLANKĪ) KUMĀRAPĀLA, DATED V.S. 1209

This inscription has been inscribed on a pillar, in the 'Sabhā-maṇḍapa' of the temple of Sōmnāth at Pali, a town, situated 20 miles south-east of Jodhpur. It was first noticed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society, Wc., 1907-08, p. 45. It is dated the 4th day of the dark half of second Jyēshṭha, V.S. 1209. The year being a Shravaṇādi it corresponds to 13th May, 1153 A.D. It consists of twenty lines and covers a space of 1'7" × 1'6". The characters belong to the northern type of alphabets, and as regards orthography it is needless to write anything as its middle part from lines fifth to twentieth has peeled off. Though this state of the inscription has deprived people of the knowledge about the object of the inscription, yet the matter which has escaped the hands of time has preserved very valuable information for the history of the Rāṭhōr rulers of Marwar.

The first seven lines of the inscription state that in Vikram Samvat 1209 (1153 A.D.) the town of Pali was under the kingdom of (Sōlankī-Chālukya) Kumārapāla³ of Aṇahillapāṭan (Gujrat), who subdued the king of Shākambhāri (Sambhar), and his feudatory Bāhaḍadēva was in charge of the place (Pali). Most probably he might have been a Chauhān Rajput related to Chauhān Ālhaṇadēva

¹ '... Sunārgānu, near Bikrampur, continued to be a place of refuge for those who were discontented at Gaur, and was not finally reduced for a long time after the overthrow of Rāe Lakhmaniah, who had a son, Madhob Sen, who had a son, Sū Sen, who by Hindus is considered the last ruler.' Raverty, Vol. II, p. 558 and note 1.

² The Jāniligha inscription of L.S. 83=A.D. 1202 proves that Gayā continued to be in the possession of a scion of the Sena family, Jayasena, who was the son of Buddhasena. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. IV, p. 266.

Again, Madhusena of the Bauddha Pañcharakshā, who has been taken by some to be the last Sena king reigning at Vikrampur, has now been connected with the Buddhist kings of Bodh-Gayā, Buddhasena and Jayasena. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXIX, 1933, No. 1, pp. 23ff.

³ He ruled from V.S. 1199 to 1230 (1142 to 1173 A.D.).

of Kiradu as an inscription¹ of the same year (V.S. 1209=1152 A.D.) found at Kiradu states that Chauhān Ālhaṇadēva was a favourite of Kumārapāla and had acquired the possessions of Kiradu, Raḍadhara, and Shiva due to his favour. From the death of king Kumārapāla, about V.S. 1230 (1173 A.D.), the power of the Chālukyas began to decline. The inscription² dated V.S. 1319 (1262 A.D.) of Chauhān Chāchigdēva states that his (Chāchigadēva's) father Udayasimha, who was a great-grandson of the aforesaid Ālhaṇadēva, held an independent sway over Nadol Jalor, Mandor, Bahadmer, Ratnapur, Sanchor, Surachand, Raḍadhara, Kher, Ramsin, and Bhinmal. We have got four inscriptions of this Udayasimha ranging from V.S. 1262 to V.S. 1306.

All this prove that in the beginning of the thirteenth century of Vikrama era, Pali was under the rule of the Chālukyas and then it passed away to the Chauhāns as is evident from the situation of the towns mentioned in the Sundha inscription of V.S. 1319. It never remained under Palliwāl Brāhmans and therefore Rāo Sīhā, the founder of the Rāthhōr dynasties of Jodhpur, Bikaner, Kishangarh, Idar, Ratlam, Sitamau, Sailana, Jahabua, etc. had no occasion to murder the Brāhmans of Pali treacherously to usurp the town, as is stated by Lt.-Col. Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān* (Vol. II, pp. 942-943). There he has written :—

‘ At this period a community of Brāhmans held the city and extensive lands about Pali, from which they were termed Paliwal ; and being greatly harassed by the incursions of the mountaineers, the Mers and Minas, they called in the aid of Siahaji's band, which readily undertook and executed the task of rescuing the Brāhmans from their depredations. Aware that they would be renewed, they offered Siahaji lands to settle amongst them, which were readily accepted ; and here he had a son by the Solankani, to whom he gave the name of Asvatthama. With her, it is recorded, the suggestion originated to make himself lord of Pali ; and it affords another example of the disregard of the early Rajputs for the sacred order, that on the Holi, or Saturnalia, he found an opportunity to “ obtain land ”, putting to death the heads of this community, and adding the district to his conquests. Siahaji outlived his treachery only twelve months, leaving his acquisitions as a nucleus for further additions to his children.’

But his unauthentic statement cannot stand before the Pali inscription reproduced below :—

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, p. 45.

² *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 78.

TRANSLATION

१—ऊं सं. १२०६ दि. ज्येष्ठ वदि ४ अद्येह पल्लिकायां श्रीमदण्डिल-	
२—पाटकाधिष्ठित समस्त राजावलौ विराजित परमभट्टारक महारा-	
३—जाधिराज परमेश्वर उमापतिवरलब्धप्रौढप्रतापनिजभुजविक्रमरणांग-	
४—गाविनिर्जितघाकंभरौभूपालश्रीमत्कमारपालदेवकल्याणविजयरा-	
५—ज्ये तत्पादपद्मोपजीवि --- --- --- श्रीकरणादौ सम-	
६—स्त पौरारपारपथ	अद्येह श्रीमत्पल्लिकाधि-
७—ष्ठित समस्तश्री	विराजमानश्रीवाहडदेव प्रति-
८—पत्तौ	नेत्र प्राला
९—गौजा	समक्षं जावेरक्ष
१०—घर्म	तस्य का
११—	विंश
१२—	नकरणी-
१३—	हराजेक
१४—	करापितो
१५—	श्रीमदूल
१६—	भावि
१७—	यत् गाति तन्व
१८—ते	दत्तहर
१९—यितः	रक ।
२०—से सूत्र० केश्वरगोन	

BISHESHWARNATH REU.

THE SUNDARBAN PLATE OF DOMMANAPĀLA

We have read with interest the above note by Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar in Vol. I, pp. 679-682 of this *Journal*. Dommanapāla's family is said to have come from Ayodhyā. Mr. Sircar says that this 'Ayodhyā should be sought for in the Deccan'. But why go to a distant and imaginary Ayodhyā? Was there no Ayodhyā in the neighbourhood of Sundarban? The principal settlement of the Dākṣiṇātya Vaidika Brāhmaṇs of Bengal is in the Diamond Harbour Sub-division of the Twenty-four-Parganas, where the plate has

been found. Their tradition is that they came from Utkala, i.e. Orissa. In fact Halāyudha, the *Dharmādhikāra* of King Lakṣmaṇasena, in his *Brāhmaṇa-Sarvasva*, says that the Utkala and the Pāścātya Vaidika Brāhmaṇs read Vedas, but do not know their meaning. Here Utkala, no doubt, refers to these Dākṣiṇātya Vaidikas, who alone of the Bengal Brāhmaṇs are said to have come from Utkala. We think that like these Brāhmaṇs of the locality, Dommaṇapāla's family might have come from Utkala. In fact there is a very ancient village named Ayodhyā, some six miles from the capital of the Nilgiri State, on the border of Mayurabhañja, in Orissa. Mr. N. N. Vasu in his *Arch. Sur. of Mayurabhañja*, Vol. I, pp. 87-91, says that it contains ruins of a fort, and of about 100 temples. According to the old Pāṇḍās of the place, no place in the whole of Orissa is so rich in ancient monuments, temples, and images, except Bhubaneśvara.

Further Mr. Sircar thinks that the word *muktibhūmi* means 'death-bed'. We, however, think that it means the place where Dommaṇapāla was *mukta* (delivered of) *garbha* (mother's womb), i.e. his birth place. The word *svīya* which is prefixed to *muktibhūmanu* clearly indicates it.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

KAUŚIKĀ OR KAUŚIKI

In my article 'Kauśikā and Kusiara' published in the *Indian Culture* of January 1935, I stated that the river 'Kauśikā' mentioned in the Nidhanpur inscription of Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarupa, must be the river Kosi in the Purnea district of Bihar although the correct Sanskrit name of the river may be 'Kauśiki' and not 'Kauśikā'. I also supposed that either the person who engraved the inscription, in the early part of the seventh century, wrongly spelt 'Kauśiki' as 'Kauśikā' or Pandit Vidyāvinod who discovered the copperplates and deciphered the inscription misread 'Kauśiki' as 'Kauśikā'. Judging from the fact that the Greek writers of the Mourya period named this river 'Cosoagus' and even Rennell in 1783 named it 'Cosah' in his map of Bengal and Bihar, I came to the conclusion that probably this river was popularly known as 'Kauśikā'. It now appears that my conclusion was correct.

Mr. Harihara V. Trivedi in his article 'Studies in Ancient Geography' published in the latest issue of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (December, 1934) gives the names of rivers, mountains,

cities, etc. as found in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. According to him, 'Kauśikā' is mentioned in Chapters LVII and LVIII of this Purāṇa as a river rising from the Himavat mountain. There is no doubt that the reference is to the present Kosi river. Now Mr. Trivedi has used Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerji's edition of the Purāṇa published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* in 1862. In the Bangabāsi Press edition of this Purāṇa however the reading is 'Kauśiki'. I have not yet been able to find out what the name is in other editions but I take it that Dr. Banerji's edition is an authoritative one. Thus we find that the Sanskrit name of the river Kosi had at least two variants viz. 'Kauśikā' and 'Kauśiki' and that therefore neither the engraver of the inscription can be accused of wrong spelling nor Pandit Vidyāvinod's reading can be regarded as incorrect.

The result is that the river 'Kauśikā' mentioned in the inscription cannot but be the modern Kosi and that the 'Śuśka Kauśikā' which was on the boundary of the lands donated by Bhāskaravarman must have been the *Burhi* or *Mara* Kosi shown in Buchanan's map prepared in 1809. The donated lands were therefore within the modern district of Purnea or in Morung to the north of this district. The location of the donated lands within the district of Sylhet is absolutely impossible. The controversy on this point should now be considered as ended.

K. L. BARUA.

ASVAMEDHA BY THE FEUDATORIES

A controversy is going on, in the pages of this *Journal* (Vol. I, pp. 115 and 311), over the question whether a feudatory prince could or could not perform a Horse-sacrifice. In this connection we are giving a bit of information, which we have just lighted upon.

The *Harivamśa* says that Vasudeva, father of Kṛṣṇa, was born as an *aṁśa* or part of the great sage Kaśyapa. He lived on this earth *goṣu* 'among the kine' or in Gokula on Mount Govardhana, not far from Mathurā. There he was engaged in cattle-rearing (*goṣv-ābhirataḥ*) and was a *karadāyakaḥ* 'tax-payer or tributary' to Kāṁsa.¹

1

तदस्य कश्यपस्यांशखेजसा कश्यपोपमः ।

वसुदेव इतिख्यातो गोषु निवृत्ति भृतको ॥ ३१६९

गिरिजोवर्द्धनो नाम मथुरायास्त्वदूरतः ।

तत्रासी गोष्वाभिरतः कंसस्य करदायकः ॥ ३१७०

(हरिवंश, ५६ अध्याय ।)

On the death of Kaṁsa, his father Ugrasena was installed on the throne of Mathurā. This, of course, did not make any change in the position of Vasudeva. His son Kṛṣṇa, although a divine person, a great politician and possessor of great wealth, having relationship with many royal families, was never a real king. He was nominally initiated as a king by brothers Kratha and Kaiśika in the city of Vidarbha, just to enable him to sit among the kings assembled at the *Svayamvara* (choice of husband) ceremony of Rukmiṇī, the daughter of King Bhīsmaka of Kuṇḍina.¹

The family then removed to Dvārakā, for fear of Kālayavana. While there, Indra one day came to Kṛṣṇa to confer on the destruction of *asura* Vajranābha of Vajrapurā, who wanted to make war with Indra. Kṛṣṇa replied that his father Vasudeva had just then been engaged in the great sacrifice of *Aśvamedha* but he assured Indra that the demon will be killed as soon as the sacrifice is completed.²

It will be seen that Kṛṣṇa was never a great king or emperor and that his father was not even an independent ruler. At best he was a tributary. And if this Vasudeva could perform an *Aśvamedha*, we do not quite understand why a feudatory prince could not do it.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

ARJUNA MIŚRA

Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh in his learned note on Arjuna Miśra, the celebrated commentator of the great Epic, Mahābhārata, in the April issue of the *Indian Culture*, tries to fix the date of this commentator on the strength of the genealogy of Arjuna Miśra in the *Vārendra Kulajīts* in which Arjuna Miśra stands as the 25th

According to the *Ghaṭa-jātaka*, Kaṁsa made a gift of the village of Govardhamāna for the maintenance of his sister and her husband.

¹ *Ibid.*, Ch. 108.

²

श्रीरक्षसिन्धो देव वाजिनेधो महाक्रतुः ।

तस्मिन् दत्ते बन्धनाभं पातयिष्यामि वासव ॥ ८५७१

× × × ×

वाजिनेधे च संप्राप्ते वसुदेवस्य भारत ।

तस्मिन् यज्ञे वर्त्तमाने प्रवेशार्थं दुरीक्षितौ ॥ ८५७४

(हरिवंश, १५० अध्यायः ।)

descendant. He refers to the Manhali charter of king Madanapāla, son of Rāmapāla-deva to a Campāhiṭṭiya Brāhmaṇ named Vateśvarasvāmi-Śarman. Some land was granted according to this charter for reciting the Mahābhārata to Queen Chitramatikā-devī of king Madanapāla (c. 1140-1161 A.D.) in the eighth year of his reign. Mr. Ghosh observes: 'It will be seen from the genealogy given above that the donee Vateśvara was the grandson of Vatsa Campati's son Paja or Prajāpati, while Arjuna Miśra was ninth in descent from him. So the latter was six generations later than the former. At the rate of 25 years per generation Arjuna Miśra must have lived in about (1147+150=) 1297 A.D. Arjuna Miśra mentions Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, the well-known commentator of the *Manusamhitā* and the Mahābhārata. So the latter cannot be later than the 13th century.'

Though family genealogies serve as landmarks in the reconstruction of the darker side of Indian History, their value for exact chronology, unless corroborated by other independent evidence, is problematical. They may, however, well serve as useful starting points for putting forward different hypotheses. Mr. Ghosh himself states in his foot-note on p. 707 that 'there is something wrong in the genealogy of these first Kulins'. In the next foot-note he remarks: 'For some reason or other Śaunaka's name has been left out, possibly because his line became extinct. But his name and that of his son, as known from a copper-plate grant, have been added hereto and therefore printed in italics.'

These remarks of Mr. Ghosh about a genealogy on the strength of which he tries to arrive at the date of Arjuna Miśra make us more suspicious about its value for purpose of chronology. At best it may serve as a rough guide in this dry desert of chronology. Then again the computation of generations at the rate of 25 years per generation resorted to by Mr. Ghosh, supposing that some names have been omitted in the genealogy, makes confusion worse confounded. The date of Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, the well-known commentator of *Manusamhitā* and the Mahābhārata mentioned by Arjuna Miśra may be more useful to us if his date could be accurately determined. Mr. Kane¹ makes the following remarks about the date of Sarvajñanārāyaṇa: 'The commentator Nārāyaṇa is certainly earlier than 1600 A.D. as his commentary is cited by Bhaṭṭoji in his commentary on the *Caturviṃśatimata* (*vide*, p. 61 of the Benares Sanskrit Series edition, 1907). A MS. of Nārāyaṇa's commentary was written in 1497 A.D. and he appears to have been quoted by Rāyamukūta in 1431 A.D. (Jolly in R. und S., p. 31). He is later

¹ *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 157.

than Govindrāja and flourished between 1100 and 1300 A.D. Raghvānanda mentions by name Medhātithi, Govindarāja, Nārāyaṇa and Kullūka and so is later than about 1400 A.D.' In the list of authors on Dharmaśāstra Prof. Kane remarks :—

‘ गारायणसर्वश्र a. of मन्वर्थविदिति Com. on मनुस्मृति of कामधेनुदीपिका, of शुद्धिदीपिका. As रायमुकुट (1431 A.D.) mentions him he is earlier than 1400 A.D. (vide Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84, p. 62).’

It will thus be seen that the limits 1100 and 1300 for Sarvajñanārāyaṇa's date are too wide to be relied upon in arriving at Arjuna Miśra's date.

Mr. Ghosh observes further about the patron of Arjuna Miśra :—

‘ Satyakhāna was the patron of Arjuna Miśra. We have not been able to trace who he was. But the first part of his name “ Satya ” indicates that he was a Hindu grandee under the Pathan Sultans of Bengal. These kings used to grant the title of Khan to the Hindus as well as Muhammedans, while the Mughals reserved it for the latter only. He was probably a Varendra Brahman, high official or Zamindar, under the Sultan Nasiruddin Bughra Khan (1283-91 A.D.) son of Ghiasuddin Bulhan and father of Muizzuddin Kaikubad, emperors of Delhi.’

I agree in general with Mr. Ghosh in his statement that the first part of the name *Satya Khan* indicates that he was a Hindu grandee and that the second part is a title bestowed upon him by some Muhammadan ruler of Bengal. As regards the identification of this Satya Khan I venture to put forth the following hypothesis tentatively :—

It is extremely probable that औसखान the patron of the पाठक अर्जुनमिश्र is identical with another औसखान the patron of गोवर्द्धन पाठक, the author of पुराणसर्वश्र a MS. of which has been fully described by Rajendralal Mitra.¹ This MS. (No. 2068) is on palm leaves in Bengali characters and consists of 325 folios. It is dated Śaka 1677 (A.D. 1755). Its place of deposit was Viśe (post Dengapada) in Rajashahi Zila as stated by Rajendralal Mitra. Its appearance was very old and it was a fairly correct MS. It belonged to one Babu Lakshmikanta Ray. Mitra remarks about this MS. that it is ‘ A miscellany made up of extracts from the purāṇas with comments thereon, on history, geography, civil polity, various forms of worship, etc. by गोवर्द्धन पाठक. It was compiled under the auspices of a Bengali Zamindar of the name “ औसख ” who had the title of खान, in the year 1396 Śaka.’

¹ *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VI, 1882, Calcutta, pp. 132-33.

The MS. has the following colophon :—

“ एतत्पुस्तं समाप्तं जनपदविदितं कारितं सत्यखानै-
 दानै मानै विधानैरनुदिनमधिकं पण्डितान् पूजयित्वा
 सर्वस्नानं पुराणं परमशुभकरं भूषणं भूतलेऽस्मिन्
 आचन्द्रार्कश्चक्रास्ताद्रसनवज्जतभुक्चन्द्रसंस्था शकाब्दे
 श्रीमद्गौडमहोमहोपतिपतिप्राप्तप्रसादोदयः
 पुण्यः प्राक्तनकर्मणोऽतिपद + + + श्री खानाश्रिता ।
 पश्चात् श्रीशुभराजखान पदवी लम्बाधरामखले
 जीयान्धर्मधुरन्धरः कुलधरो धीरो गभीरो गुणैः ॥
 पुराणसर्वस्वमिदं प्रयत्नादकारि गोवर्द्धन पाठकेन
 मनोरमं पुण्यवतं जनानां श्रीसत्यखानस्य यशः प्रधानं ॥
 इति पुराणसर्वस्वं समाप्तं शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः १६७७ ”

The above extract furnishes us with the following particulars :—

(1) As stated in the first verse of the colophon, the work *Purāṇasarvasva* was composed in Śaka 1396 (= A.D. 1474).

(2) The work was composed under the orders of “सत्यखान” (कारितं सत्यखानैः—where the plural is used as a mark of respect like आचार्यैः). Satya Khan adored many pandits by giving them presents (दानैः) and bestowing other honours (मानैः) on them, coupled with the performance of religious rites (विधानैः). It is possible that these pandits were employed to help गोवर्द्धन पाठक to compile this compendium of Purāṇas and that they were publicly honoured (जनपदविदितं) on the completion of the work.

(3) The 2nd verse of the colophon gives us particulars about the patron Satya Khan. He is called धर्मधुरन्धर and कुलधर, ‘protagonist of religion and family’. He obtained the favour (प्राप्तप्रसादोदयः) of the Lord of the king of Bengal (गौडमहोमहोपतिपति). The expression गौडमहोमहोपतिपतिपति may be interpreted in two ways. If the compound is dissolved as “गौडमहोमहोपतिः एव पतिः” it will mean only the king of Bengal. If it is dissolved as गौडमहोमहोपतेः पतिः it will mean ‘the Lord of the king of Bengal’ and in that case we shall have to suppose that the expression has a reference to the sovereign ruler to whom the king of Bengal owed allegiance.

The last two lines of the 2nd verse of the colophon state that Govardhana's patron got the title खान from one 'श्रीशुभराजखान' (पञ्चाव् श्रीखानाङ्गिता श्रीशुभराजखानपदवी लब्धा).

The expression "श्रीशुभराजखान" has possibly a reference to a Muhammedan king of Bengal belonging to the House of Raja Kans¹ that came into power in A.D. 1409, in which year Raja Khan, Zamindar of Bhatuarah dethroned and killed Shamsu-d-Din Ilyas Shah and placed his own son (?) *Shiabu-d-Din* on the throne of Bengal. I wonder if the expression "शुभराजखान" contains any reference to 'Shiabu Rajakāns' (शुभ) being a sanskritized form for *Shiabu*. But this is only a conjecture for the present.

The following points stand out prominently from what has been said above re. the MS. of *Purāṇa Sarvasva* of Govardhana Pathak :—

(1) His patron was a Hindu landlord by name सत्य or श्रीसत्य.

(2) That this सत्य (or श्रीसत्य) was the patron of other pandits besides गोवर्द्धन पाठक and that he was very much interested in the purāṇas.

(3) That this patron सत्य (or श्रीसत्य) obtained the title through some Muhammedan king of Bengal, most probably belonging to the house of Raja Kāns ruling at the time, i.e. in the latter half of the 16th century (before A.D. 1474).

I am inclined to identify the two सत्यखानs, one the patron of Arjuna Miśra and the other the patron of Govardhana Pāthaka on the following grounds :—

(1) Both these writers refer to their patrons in an identical manner. Arjuna Miśra uses the expression "श्रीमतः सत्यखानस्य" while Govardhana uses the expressions "सत्यखानैः" and "श्रीसत्यखानस्य".

(2) Both these writers are पाठकs. Arjuna Miśra's father is called "भारताचार्य पाठकराज" while Arjuna Miśra is called भारताचार्य in the colophons of the MSS. of his Mahābhārata commentary. Govardhana also uses the expression "गोवर्द्धन पाठकेन" with regard to himself.

(3) Then again both these writers belonged to the same province, viz. Bengal. Arjuna Miśra gives the name of his village in the words "वारेन्द्र-चम्पाहेट्टीय" while Govardhana refers to "गौडमहो" in his work as pointed out above. The only MS. of *Purāṇa Sarvasva* comes from Raja Shahi, a district of Bengal.

¹ Duff; *Indian Chronology*, pp. 314, 241.

(4) Both these writers appear to have prospered in the latter half of the 15th century, i.e. between 1450 and 1500 A.D. While a MS. of Arjuna Miśra's commentary on the Mahābhārata is dated A.D. 1534,¹ Govardhana gives the date of his work Purāṇa Sarvasva as A.D. 1474. It is possible that both these writers were contemporaries.

(5) The title खान indicates Muhammedan influence and we know as a matter of fact that Bengal was under the rule of Muhammedan kings of the house of Raja Kāns which came into power in A.D. 1409.

We accept Mr. Ghosh's statement that the Muhammedan kings of Bengal used to grant the title of खान to the Hindus as well as Muhammedans while the Moguls reserved it for the latter only. Our only difference is that while Mr. Ghosh considers सत्यखान to have lived under Sultan Nassiruddin Bughra (1283-91), I am inclined to believe that he lived under the house of Raja Khan that came into power in A.D. 1409.

In the present note I have tried to supplement to a certain extent the information about Arjuna Miśra and his genealogy given by Mr. Ghosh. If my hypotheses about the identity of Arjuna Miśra's patron Satya Khan enables Mr. Ghosh to reinterpret his genealogical data in a new way the problem of Arjuna Miśra's date may be brought nearer its solution.

P. K. GODE.

AN OLD SITE IN BENARES

In the southern part of the city of Benares, just beside the Unfiltered Waterworks, in one of the lanes leading from the main road to the Ganges, is a well, known as the Lolārka-kunḍa, popularly called the Lalārak-kunḍ. On the sixth day of the bright Bhādra, which is sacred to the Sun,² Hindu women visit the place by thousands and offer worship here. A special feature of the well is that its water can be approached by flights of steps going down to the bottom on three sides. As the well is situated within a hundred yards of the Ganges, it may be suspected that it was once connected with the river. Some of the stone-walls of the staircases are

¹ *Mahābhārata* (Virāṭaparvan) edited by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, 1915. See Introduction, p. 6, foot-note.

² Kielhorn, *Festal Days of the Hindu Lunar Calendar, Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVI, p. 182.

decorated with images of gods, all however utterly defaced. The temple of Tulasīdāsa, the great poet, stands at a slight distance, and the confluence of the Asī and the Ganges is visible from the spot.

Some interest attaches to the black-stone inscription fixed on the wall near the well. The inscription is written both in the Devanāgarī and Bengali scripts and runs as follows :—

गुप्तं लोलाककुण्डं प्रकटितमकरोद्भवसोपानद्वन्दै-
 क्षीणानारायणो राट् शिवसुतसुतजः प्रस्तुरैभ्येष्टकाद्यैः (?) ।
 तदायादो हरेन्द्रात्मज इह सुमतिर्भूपतिः सन् विहारे
 तद्(द्व)स्तं चारु चक्रे पितुरभिलसितेः सिद्धये श्रीशिवेन्द्रः ॥
 सम्वत् १६०० भद्रि ता० २५ ।

'King Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, the great-grandson of Śiva (or the grandson of Śivasuta), repaired with stone and bricks the Lolārka-kunḍa, which was lying covered, with beautiful flights of steps. His inheritor, the illustrious Śivendra, who was the son of Harendra, being landlord in Bihar, constructed the beautiful well (again), after it has fallen into ruins, to fulfil the desire of his father. (Vikrama) year 1900, Bhādra 25 (August, 1843).'

The Bengali version of the inscription contains the additional date, राजसका ३०४, सन् १२५० साल, meaning 'royal year 334, Bengali year 1250'.

Another inscription of the same individual is found on a resting verandah in the north-eastern corner of the well.

These facts, however, do not establish the antiquity of the site, had we not had an accidental reference to a Lolārka temple at Benares on the bank of the Ganges in the Bangawan copperplate inscription of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra, dated 1208 (A.D. 1151).¹ The inscription says that the Paṭṭamahādevī Mahārājñī Gosaladevī, the queen of Govindacandra, bathed in the Ganges at Vārānāsī near the temple of the god Lolārka and granted a village to a Brāhmaṇa coming from Pāṭaliputra. The relevant portion of the inscription may be reproduced here :—

... समस्तराजप्रक्रियोपेत-सर्वालंकारविभूषित-व(प)[ट्ट]महादेवी-महाराज्ञी-श्रीगोसल-
 देवीभिः श्रीमद्वारायस्यां कार्त्तिकीपर्वणि देव-श्रीलोलाकसन्निधौ (धौ) गङ्गायां स्नात्वा ...

We need not doubt that the temple of the god referred to here must have stood very near the well now known as Lolārka-kunḍa.

¹ Bhandarkar, *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 281.

This identification allows us to have some idea about the area of the old Benares. From some of the Gāhaḍavāla records, e.g. the Rawian grant,¹ we find that the Ādikeśava-ghaṭṭa, near the confluence of the Varuṇā and the Ganges to the north of Benares (still bearing the same name), was then regarded as a part of Benares. And the foregoing lines show that the southern boundary of the city extended at least up to the confluence of the Asī and the Ganges. So that the traditional derivation of the word Vārāṇasī from the river-names Varuṇā and Asī² though perhaps fanciful, was not far from the truth.

AMALANANDA GHOSH.

SOME MISTAKES IN MR. K. P. JAYASWAL'S 'IMPERIAL HISTORY OF INDIA'

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has rendered good service to the cause of Indian History by publishing his learned English commentary on the historical section of the *Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa*. The work has been, on the whole, carefully and brilliantly done. But a few mistakes have inadvertently crept in. Of these some are as follows :—

1. Mr. Jayaswal thinks that Vāravatī was washed away towards the end of the seventh century. He bases his opinion on the following account in the MMK : 'Having occupied Valabhī, there will be the first king and his numerous successors with the names Prabha and Viṣṇu : the numerous kings will be Yādavas (606-8). The last (T.) amongst them will have the name Viṣṇu whose "capital with its citizens, and the king himself were washed away by the sea owing to the curse of the Ṛṣi. The Vāravatyas (T.; S. Dvāravatyas) then disappeared and sunk in the sea"'³ (609). Here Mr. Jayaswal appears to have regarded Viṣṇu as a local Yādava chieftain of the seventh century. But actually he is none other than the great Yādava hero Kṛṣṇa, in whose time the Yādavas were, according to both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, destroyed by the curse of Ṛṣis, and the city of Dvāravatī was engulfed soon after by the sea. It may also be remarked that in this case the MMK uses not its usual future but the past tense, suggesting thereby that it referred not to a recent but to a very

¹ *Ibid.*, No. 222.

² E.g. *Agni Purāna*, ed. Ānandāśrama, cxii, 6.

³ *An Imperial History of India*, p. 25.

old event. This conclusion is made certain by the following verse in the section on ancient kings :

यातवा वारवत्याञ्च रिबिशापास्तमित्रा तदा ।

कार्तिकः कार्तवीर्योऽसौ दशरथदाशरथी पुरा ॥¹

Here the first line mentions the same event as that described in the extract from the MMK given above. We might therefore conclude that Vāravatī, which is obviously identical with Dvāravatī, was washed away not in the seventh century, but many centuries before Christ, in the time of Viṣṇu or Śri Kṛṣṇa.

2. Finding one Viṣṇu mentioned as the ancestor of Harṣa, Mr. Jayaswal takes for granted that he was identical with the Emperor Yaśovarman-Viṣṇuvardhana. His opinion may, however, be questioned on the following grounds :—

- (a) The reading विष्णुप्रभवौ is doubtful, Ven. Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana gives ब्राह्मणप्रभवौ as the right reading.*
- (b) Bāṇa describes the ancestry of Harṣa. Had the Emperor Viṣṇuvardhana been connected even remotely with his patron, the poet would have surely mentioned his name, and perhaps added to our knowledge by giving some details about his life. Viṣṇuvardhana flourished only about fifty years before Harṣa, and could not have been a forgotten figure by Bāṇa's times. The silence of this loquacious poet, therefore, goes strongly against the identification proposed and accepted as valid by Mr. Jayaswal.
- (c) Harṣa's inscriptions too do not refer to Viṣṇuvardhana. Had Harṣa been his descendant, he would have proudly begun his inscriptions with his name, and not with that of Naravardhana who is described as a mere Mahārāja.
- (d) Mere identity of names is no sure ground for the identity of two persons.

3. Mr. Jayaswal makes some novel statements regarding Yaśodharman. He states, for instance, that this emperor bowed his head only to *Sthānu*, the presiding deity of Thāneśvara. That Yaśodharman was a devotee of Śiva is well-known. But the statement in the Mandasor inscription that 'he bowed his head only to Sthānu' has reference to his enemy Mihirakula, and not to

¹ *Ibid.*, Sanskrit Text, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, p. 45.

Yaśodharman. As little justified is the assertion that the forefathers of the governor Dharmadoṣa, the brother of the author of the dated Mandasor inscription ' must have served under the Guptas, for the present master Viṣṇuwardhana was *atmavaṃśa*, his own lineage, the very first ruler in his family'. Here Mr. Jayaswal's interpretation of the word आत्मवंश is surely novel. That the word means merely ' his family ', and that Viṣṇuwardhana was descended from a family of rulers will be clear, if we read the following verses of the inscription :—

1. आजौ जितौ विजयते जगति पुनश्च श्रीविष्णुवर्धननराधिपतिः स एव ।
प्रख्यात औलिकरलाङ्कन आत्मवंशो येनोदितोदितपदं गमितं गरौयः ॥ ६ ॥
2. तस्य प्रभोर्वंशकृतां नृपाणां पादान्त्रयाद्विश्रुतपुण्यकीर्तिः ।
भूतः खनैभूतजितारिषट्क आसीद् वसौयान् किल षष्ठिदत्तः ॥ १० ॥

In the second of these verses, we find it clearly stated that षष्ठिदत्त, the founder of the Naigama family was a servant of the kings, the founders of the line of ' that lord ', that is, Yaśodharman. In the first verse this line is said to be famous, *aulikara* was its emblem.

Some other mistakes too can be pointed out. But we end this short note by noting a discrepancy in Mr. Jayaswal's reckoning. He puts Rājyavardhana I of Thāneśvara in c. 530 A.D.¹ According to the Bānskherā copperplate of Harṣa, he was the son of Naravardhana, who must have reigned about 10 years earlier, that is, in c. 520. Now, how is this date to be reconciled with that of Yaśodharman (c. 532 A.D.) who is believed to have been the progenitor of the Vardhana line. Should we put the descendant first and the progenitor next? Let Mr. Jayaswal himself suggest a way out of this difficulty.

DASHARATHA SHARMA.

CANDRADVĪPA

In reviewing the ' Kaulajñāna-Nirṇaya and some minor texts of the School of Matsyendranātha ' by Dr. Probodh Chandra Bagchi, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has very briefly but conclusively pointed out that Candradvīpa is different from Sundwip (I.C., I, p. 724). Professor Bhandarkar observes, ' the kingdom of the Chandra family was Chandradvīpa with its capital at Vikramapura. This

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

also may afford some clue to the identification of Chandradvîpa where Matsyendra flourished.'

If it is not meant hereby that the tract around Vikramapura might also be known as Candradvîpa at the time of the Candras (which most probably is not meant), the allusion is certainly to Bâklâ-Candradvîpa, 'which included the whole of the modern zil'ah of Bâqirganj with the exception of Mahalla Salimâbâd' (J.A.S.B., 1874, p. 206).

I proposed sometime ago the 'Bhâratavarṣa' (1340 B.S., Kârtika, p. 739) that the name of this Chandradvîpa was not derived from the Candra family. The traditional founder of this place, which was originally an island (dvîpa), is Candragômin of Varêndra (c.f. Indian Logic, Mediæval School, by S. C. Vidyâbhūṣaṇa, Cal., 1909, pp. 121-22), a disciple, rather than a rival, of Candrakîrti, the author of the Madhyamaka-vṛtti (Catalogue Du fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale, par P. Cordier, Troisième Partie, pp. 343 and 428). The Tangyur contains the translation of a work of Candragômin himself, entitled 'Śântihôma' (*Ibid.*, II, p. 362), in which he is explicitly called 'Dvaipa' or 'belonging to a dvîpa'. This would have been altogether impossible had the personal history of one of North Bengal not been, somehow or other, connected with an island, and this renders it likely that the background of the tradition has had a historical basis. As such, the name of Candradvîpa would appear to be as old as about the middle of the seventh century A.D., and since the conjecture of another place with the same name in about the same region would but be an absurdity, this Candradvîpa (the ancient name of modern Bâkhargañj) is likely the place where the celebrated Matsyendra flourished, if he flourished in a Candradvîpa of Bengal.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.

DÔMMAṆAPĀLA AND DHARMAPĀLA : ALLEGED SOUTHERN ORIGIN

Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar inclines to think (Ind. Cult., I, 679-82) that the family to which Dômmanapâla, as he reads the name of the donor of the recently published Śundarban copperplate inscription, belonged, was of South Indian origin, on the grounds of (1) the nature of the name of the donor, (2) the use of the Śaka era in the inscription, and (3) the representation of the Nṛsinha-mūrti on the plate. But :—

- (1) apart from the fact that we have names like Mammaṭa, Hammîra, etc. in the history of North India, the name-ending ' Pâla ' is not a common feature in South India ;
- (2) the Śaka era came to be used in Bengal about the date of the inscription, as is clearly evinced by the Dâna-sâgara and Adbhuta-Sâgara of Vallâlasêna, although his ancestral home was in Karnâṭa, and more particularly by the Saduktikarnâmrta, of Śrîdharadâsa, which was finished only nine years after the inscription was incised ; and
- (3) if even the 24 variant forms of Viṣṇu, to which the Nṛsimha-mûrti belongs, had really their origin in the Jaina convention of the 24 Tîrthamkaras, and the Kanarese country were the *only* region in India principally influenced, through all ages, by Jainism. Would it be correct to premise, on this ground, any connection of the donor of the Sundarban Plate with the Kanarese country ? Would it not, in that case be rather too risky to assign the origin of all, who ever pay any homage to any image of the 24 variant forms of Viṣṇu, to that country !

Labouring under the same idea, Mr. Sircar raises the question— ' Did the line of Dharmapâla come from the South ? ' ' The southern Sûrya-vaṃśa (*dakṣinadr̥ṣo vaṃśe mihirasya*) ' he has it, ' may refer to the dynasty ' etc. But the term '*dakṣiṇa*' as in the above Sanskrit text from the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadêva, does not necessarily mean ' south ' but rather ' right ', and there is no play upon the word. If Mr. Sircar takes the trouble of going through the Mahâbhârata and the Purâṇas, he will find them abounding in expressions that the Sun is the right, and the Moon is the left eye of Hari (or sometimes of Mahâdêva), and that is the context to which reference has been made in the above passage. In indicating that the Pâlas of Bengal belonged to the Sûrya-vaṃśa, the court-poet of Vaidya-dêva evidently desired to indicate their Kṣatriyahood, and not that they hailed from Ayôdhyâ, or from the Madras Presidency. Similarly, Soḍḍhala, in his Campu-kâvyâ, only wanted to imply that the Uttarâpathasvâmî Dharmapâla, was a Kṣatriya, and nothing more, when he set down that he belonged to the Mândhâtrvaṃśa.

There is yet another point, no less amusing, which Mr. Sircar has suggested. The very name Dômana of a Vaidya possibly suggests, as he wants us to believe, that a section of the Bengal Vaidyas originally came from Southern India !! I knew of a person,

named Dômana Prasâda, belonging to the Suvarṇa-Banika caste. Would it justify Mr. Sircar in holding that a section of the Suvarṇa-Banikas of Bengal, must have also originally come from the Deccan! A class-fellow of mine bore the name of Dômana Candra Ghose. Does his name prove anything beyond it? Are the pages of the *Indian Culture* the place for indulging in such a linguistic quibble?¹

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.

DONATED LAND OF THE NIDHANPUR CHARTER OF BHĀSKARAVARMAN OF KĀMARŪPA

Three plates of the above grant were published in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 65-79. The learned editor therein concluded that the donated land lay somewhere in North Bengal, not far from Karṇasuvarṇa, from where the charter was issued. Disagreeing with him, we have pointed out that it cannot be anywhere than in Pañcakhaṇḍa in Sylhet, where the plates were discovered (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. VI, pp. 60-71). This view of ours has since been accepted by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 44 and *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, p. 137). Dr. K. M. Gupta, Professor of History, Sylhet College, gave some additional evidence and came to the same conclusion as ours (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. VII, pp. 743-46). We had no knowledge, till we visited Sylhet and Silchar, some 2 years ago, that we had been anticipated by a gentleman of the locality. He is Mr. Ram Tarak Bhattacharyya, a practizing Muktear at Silchar. He was kind enough to present us with a pamphlet on the subject, which he published so far back as 1919 A.D. We shall in this paper try to give some additional evidence in support of our view.

I. BHĀSKARAṬĒGARĪ

The above word occurs twice in the Bhāṭerā copperplate Inscription of Govinda-Keśavadeva (c. 1049 A.D.), edited by Prof.

¹ The Board of Editors felt justified in publishing Mr. Sircar's note, as it went, in their opinion, to suggest and establish the correct name of the donor of the grant Dômmanapâla. The name read as Śrī-Maḍommanapâla by the two learned editors of the Śundarban Plate was absolutely misleading. The determination of the correct spelling of the name alone, apart from other considerations, is a notable point of advance which is in no way less important than the first correct reading of the name of king Khâaravela by Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji in the Hâthigumphâ Inscription.—B. M. B.

K. M. Gupta, Sylhet, Assam (*E.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 277-286). It is stated in line 31 that some land was granted in this place. Again, line 37 records the grant of some land in the west of this place, with the river Kāliyānī in the north. In identifying the place, Prof. Gupta says that it 'is evidently a village in Teṅgrā mouja.' The Professor does not particularize any village. His reason for this identification, it seems, is the similarity in sound of Teṅgari and Teṅgrā. Teṅgrā is the name of a species of fish, after which many villages are found to be named in Bengal, such as Teṅgrākhālī, etc. We shall presently see that it has nothing to do with Teṅgari, which has got quite a different meaning.

The name Pañcakhaṇḍa, where the plates have been found, is not as old as the plates. It is rather a modern name. Mr. Upendra Chandra Guha, who has written a history of Cachar, says that it is a name given to a group of five *parganas* in the early Moghul period (*Dacca Review*, June 1913). Mr. Achyutacharan Chaudhuri, the historian of Sylhet, says that before the coming of the Brāhman in Pañcakhaṇḍa, it was known as Teṅgair, because a tribe of *Kukis* named Tengari lived there. This old name is not lost to tradition. Pañcakhaṇḍa grows very good pineapples. It was known as 'Teṅgarī ananas', but nowadays it has come to be known as 'Jaldub ananas', according to the name of the *thana* in which Pañcakhaṇḍa is situated (*Śrīhaṭṭer Itivṛtta*, Vol. II, Pt. III, *Khaṇḍa* I, p. 131).

Mr. Chaudhuri has apparently taken the word Teṅgari to be a *Kuki* word, but, in fact, it is not so. It is a *deśi* word meaning *sthala*, as 'tekkaram ca thale || 3 || tekkaram sthalam (Hemachandra's *Deśināmamālā*, Pischel and Büller). It has got variant readings—*temkkaram*, *tikkaram*. *Teka*, *tikkara*, *ṭikari*, *ṭikara*, *teṅgara*, *teṅgarī*, all seem to be the variations of one and the same word. In Bengal *Teṅgara* and in Mahārāṣṭra, *Teṅkara*, mean a hilly country. The Bhowāl *paragana* in the Dacca district, which is hilly, is even now called *Teṅgara*. It is no wonder, therefore, that Pañcakhaṇḍa, which is hilly in nature, should go by the name of Teṅgarī or Teṅgara.

We find that the old name of Pañcakhaṇḍa was Teṅgarī. The copperplates granted by Bhāskaravarman were unearthed here in Teṅgarī. We hope, we shall not be wrong, if we presume that this Teṅgarī or Pañcakhaṇḍa was known as Bhāskaraṭeṅgarī, in memory of its renewer Bhāskaravarman. If there is any force in our argument, we may with confidence say that the donated land was nowhere else than in Pañcakhaṇḍa, the find spot of the plates.

We have seen above that the land granted in the west of Bhāskaraṭeṅgarī had, as its northern boundary, the river Kāliyānī. But at present we find in its place the river Kuśiyārā. So it would

not be wrong, if our identification is correct, to presume that the river Kuśiyārā changed its old channel in the east of Pañcakhaṇḍa and this was actually the case. We shall see presently that it passed through the channel of the ancient Kāliyānī, retaining its name Kuśiyārā for a considerable distance, and then assumed the name of Bibiyānā, which is, no doubt, a name of the Muhammadan period. The poor Kāliyānī (modern Kālñi) has been allowed to retain its name only for a comparatively shorter distance, before it lost itself into the Bherāmonā or Dhaleśvarī. We shall also see that the river Barāk met with the same fate, in the hands of the formidable Kuśiyārā.

2. ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF KUŚIYĀRĀ¹

In the Nidhanpur inscription, the eastern boundary-river is called Kauśikā, but in the locality we find the river Kuśiyārā. How to account for this change in the name? Professor Gupta has made a very intelligent suggestion about the origin of the latter name. He says—'The name Kuśiyārā may have resulted from a combination of the names Kośikā² and Barāk, names of the same river at two different places (Kośī + Barā = Kuśiyārā).' (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 743 n). The probability of this suggestion will at once be apparent, if one looks at the course of the river Barāk. Rising from a hill in Manipur, it passes through Manipur and the Cachar district and enters the Śylhet district near Badarpur. After a run of about 7 miles from here, it bifurcates into two branches. The northern branch is called 'Surmā' and the southern branch, 'Kuśiyārā' or Barāk. This latter branch again bifurcates into two, near Bāhādurpur. The northern course is called Bibiyānā and the southern course re-assumes its original name of Barāk and falls into the Dhaleśvarī (*Śrīhatter Itivṛtta*, Vol. I, Pt. I, Ch. II, p. 11). Kuśī is the shortened form of Kauśikā and Barā, of Barāk. This Kuśī and Barā have given the present name of Kuśiyārā. The cause of this compound name seems to be that the main course of the Barāk passed through the channel of the Kauśikā.

3. OLD COURSE OF KAUSĪKĀ

In the inscription again, we find that the Kauśikā formed the eastern boundary, but at present we find the river Kuśiyārā flowing

¹ In our previous paper on this subject, we spelt the name as Kuśiārā, following the ordinary phonetic system of spelling of Indian names by European officers. The correct spelling is surely what has been given now. We find that this spelling has been adopted in the survey of India office map No. 83 $\frac{11}{7}$, and also by professor Gupta. It is written in Bengali as কুশিয়ারা

² Professor Gupta reads the name of the river as 'Kośikā' and not as 'Kauśikā'.

north and west of Pañcakhaṇḍa. It was not always so. Mr. Guha says: 'The area under present Panchakhandā was only a few centuries ago on the right bank of the Kusiara as indicated by the Revenue Survey Map. The river used to flow into the Hakaluki Haor in those days.' (*Dacca Review*, June, 1913.) What we have said here, and what we have remarked about the preceding topic, will leave no doubt that Kuśīyārā is the ancient Kauśīkā, mentioned in the inscription.

This is supported by H. Reynolds, who says that 'the Kusiara, on leaving the Surmah, flows for 12 miles in a westerly direction to Karimgunge, where the Natia Khal, formed by the junction of the Purān Kusiara, and Laṅgai meets it'. (*Principal heads of the History and statistics of the Dacca Division*, 1868 A.D.) A comma has been put after 'Purān', which is apparently a printing mistake, for the maps show that the Naṭiā Khāl near Karimgunge is formed by two and not three channels.¹

Mr. Ram Tarak Bhattacharya, of whom we have spoken above, writes:—'There still exist two dried up rivers, viz. North-Gāṅgnī in the north, and West-Gāṅgnī in the west of the high land of Pañcakhaṇḍa. These names are also seen in the government papers. There is also the dried up Kuisārā (local pronunciation of the Kuśīyārā). Āṅgārjure (Kumār ṭilā, i.e. potters' hillock) bears evidence of the ancient potters' settlement. Garden of Jārul (Skt. Jāṭalī) trees is also seen in that direction. Khāsāmaujā and Kha'sdīghi (tank) still exist in the north-west corner in a filled up state, which is probably Vyāvahāri Khasoka's tank.' (*Pañcakhaṇḍa O Tāmraśāsana*, read before the sixteenth annual sitting of the Śrīhaṭṭa-Vaidika-Samiti on 28-12-1919 A.D.)

What do all these facts go to disclose? They disclose—

- (a) The present Pañcakhaṇḍa was the donated land.
- (b) Pañcakhaṇḍa is a comparatively modern name given to a group of five *parganas* in the Moghul period.
- (c) Its ancient name, even before the coming of the Brāhman, was Teṅgarī, meaning hilly country. It consists of several *ṭilās* or hillocks. *Kumbhakāra-gartta* (potter's quarry) given as the north-west boundary of the donated land also testifies to the existence of these hillocks. Reynolds says—'Potter's clay, of fair quality, is found near the sandy "tilas" (hillocks) north of the station and in other parts.' (*Hist. and Stats. of Dacca Dn.*, p. 285.)

¹ This Purān Kuśīyārā is in the east of Pañcakhaṇḍa, and thus tallies with the inscription.

- (d) After the renewal of the Charter by Bhāskaravarman, it came to be known as Bhāskarateṅgarī, in his memory.
- (e) The name of Mayūrasālmali, given in the Charter, remained confined to that document, and in course of time, was forgotten.
- (f) In about the eleventh century, a river named Kāliyānī passed by the north of Bhāskarateṅgarī, flowing east to west.
- (g) Ancient Kauśikā (not Kauśikī or Kosi in the Purnea district) flowed by the east of Teṅgarī.
- (h) The river Barāk, sometimes afterwards, flowed through the channel of the Kauśikā, and assumed the combined name of (Kuśī+Barā) Kuśiyārā.
- (i) Some time after the eleventh century, the Kuśiyārā changed its course and flowed through the channel of the Kāliyānī. Its old course came to be known as the Purāṇ Kuśiyārā, shown in the Revenue map. It must have changed its course even before, as the Śuṣka (dried up) Kauśikā, mentioned in the Charter, indicates.

We hope, we have been able to satisfactorily prove our point. Some points, against our identification, have already been met by others and ourselves, and need not be re-capitulated here.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

THE OLD-JAVANESE LEXICON

Dr. Van der Tuuk published his monumental *Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsche Woordenboek* in four volumes during 1897-1912. These were followed, eleven years later, by Dr. Juynboll's dictionary, entitled *Oudjavaansch-Nederlandsche Woordenlijst*. While the publication of these lexicons has greatly facilitated the study of Old-Javanese language and literature, recent researches of Dutch and Indonesian scholars have also made them inadequate in many respects. Some rare words not found in their dictionaries have come to light through the publications of recent years and a detailed comparison of them or their roots with those of other dialects in South-east Asia has enabled us to understand their proper significance. For the compilation of a comprehensive Old-Javanese dictionary which is yet a *desideratum* it is necessary to prepare lists

now and then to supplement the lexicons of Dr. Van der Tuuk and Dr. Juynboll, particularly the lexicon of Dr. Juynboll which is more suitable for all practical purposes. After duly acknowledging my indebtedness to Dutch scholars, I furnish below a list of some rare Old-Javanese words which I have come across in different Old-Javanese documents. In the arrangement of words below I have taken into consideration the initial letter of the root and opposite these words I have referred to the places where these words are found.

A

Mangapus : √ *Apus*.

Spinning (*TBG*, 74, p. 288).

Mangarah : √ *arah*.

What is packed up (*TBG*, 74, p. 288).

B

Mabasana : √ *basan*.

The sale of clothes for the lower part of the body (*TBG*, 74, p. 288).

Bëbënëran : √ *bënënr*.

Maintain order (*KO*, IV, 2 b, 5 ; *Pararaton*, p. 109).

Brat :

Weight (*TBG*, 65, p. 228, f.n. 31).

C

Celeng :

Boar (*OJO*, p. 203, inscr. LXXXIII).

D

Durgga :

Strong (*TBG*, 58, p. 338).

E

Ewëh :

Hindrances (*KO*, VII, 6 b, 5 ; Kern, *V.G.*, VI, p. 209).

G

Garwai :

Ground-measurement (*TBG*, 65, p. 231 ; *OJO*, XII, 3).

Gulungan : √ *gulung*.

For transport (*TBG*, 74, p. 288).

H

Sakahawat : $\sqrt{\overline{hawat}}$.
Region (TBG, 58, p. 338).

K

Kapas :
Raw cotton (TBG, 74, p. 288).

L

Lirih :
A kind of measurement (KO, V, 6 b, 1).

Lwih :
More (TBG, 74, p. 288).

Lwihakèn : $\sqrt{\overline{lwih}}$.
Exceed, go outside (TBG, 65, p. 238).

M

Moghakèn : $\sqrt{\overline{mogha}}$.
To be bewildered (KO, VII, 6 b, 4 ; Kern, V.G., VI, p. 309).

P

Pakṣa :
Fortnight (KO, XIX, 1 b, 3).

Payu :
Discharging organ (KO, II, 9 b, 1 ; Kern, V.G., VI, p. 296).

Paḍat, °*ḍət* :
Dry fish (TBG, 74, p. 288).

Maparimwangi :
Furnished with unguents and perfumes (TBG, 74, p. 286).

Maparivāra :
Under the protection of. From Skt. *parivāra* (TBG, 58, p. 338).

R

Rakaki :
The Hon. elder (TBG, 58, p. 338).

Parāna : $\sqrt{\overline{rāna}}$?
Manorial rights (TBG, 74, p. 286).

S

Sangka :
The remaining, residue (TBG, 65, p. 233).

Masayang : $\sqrt{\text{sayang}}$:

The sale of copper-works (*TBG*), 74, p. 228).

Soni : $\sqrt{\text{sa} + \text{uni}}$?

Contents (*TBG*, 74, p. 228).

Sosorohan : $\sqrt{\text{sorah}}$?

To make (*KO*, IV, 2 a, 5 ; *Pararaton*, p. 109).

W

Kamalir : $\sqrt{\text{walir}}$?

Jetty-sheds (*TBG*, 74, p. 285).

Watës :

Boundary (*Kern*, *V.G.*, VII, p. 35, pl. IV, b).

Wehën :

To be immersed (*KO*, VII, 6 b, 2 ; *Kern*, *V.G.*, VI p. 309).

Wlah :

Bamboo (*KO*, II, 10 b, 4 ; *Kern*, *V.G.*, VI, p. 297).

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR.

SYMBOLOGY OF THE AŚŌKA PILLAR CAPITAL, SĀRNĀTH

The capital, the best specimen of the Mauryan art, which originally crowned the Aśōka Pillar, stands at the centre of Room No. 1, Sārnāth Museum. It measures 7 feet high, is of 'bell-shaped' type, reeded perpendicularly, with a circular abacus supporting four lions set back to back with a crowning wheel which originally adorned the whole design symbolizing *dharmachakrapravartana* 'the turning of the Wheel of the Law'. The four addorsed lions have their mouths open and their tongues slightly protruded. The hair of the manes, the muscles and thews are boldly and cleverly treated and the general appearance of the capital is singularly striking. On the abacus are carved four animals in high relief, viz., an elephant, a bull, a galloping horse and a lion between four *chakras* (wheels). Speaking of the technique of the composition Sir John Marshall remarks : 'The four crowning lions and the reliefs are wonderfully vigorous and true to nature and treated with that simplicity and reserve which is the key-note of all great masterpieces of plastic art. India certainly has produced no other sculptures equal to them.'

The proper significance of the Sārnāth capital is still a subject of controversy. Mr. Bell observes that these four symbolical

animals carved on some moonstones in Ceylon are those connected with the Anotatta Lake.¹ The same animals are also found on certain pillars at Anurādhāpura² and we find the Sārnāth capital also bears the very four figures.

According to Dr. Bloch these four figures symbolize the gods Indra, Śiva, Sūrya, and goddess Durgā, whose *vāhanas* (vehicles) these animals are, indicating their subordination to the Buddha and his Law.³ Dr. Vogel, however, remarks that these animals—the four noble beasts (*mahājānēya*) of the Buddhists are merely decorative.⁴ Mons. Jean Przyluski in his article *Le Symbolisme du Pulier de Sarnath*⁵ compares the symbolism of the Sārnāth pillar with the great cosmic pillar, of which this is a reproduction of a reduced scale. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni also identifies the tetrad of Sārnāth as a representation of the Anotatta Lake of the Buddhist texts, 'in which the Buddha used to bathe. It was also with the water of this lake that his mother, *Mahāmāyā*, was bathed before her conception. The lake had four mouths guarded by these very four animals.'⁶ But to me it appears that the symbology on the capital conveys a different meaning altogether and I venture to interpret the symbols as follows :—

The so-called 'Bell' is not really a bell but an inverted lotus with sixteen petals. The lotus flower has been used as a religious symbol among the Hindus from the very ancient times. Its probable origin might have been in the octagonal diagrams used for meditational purposes as a form of the heart, *hritpundarika*, in which the Supreme Being was to be meditated upon; it is also asserted in some of the Upanishads that the heart is of the form of a lotus and in it resides the soul. Next, we find that the word *padma* or lotus is associated with a particular kind of yogic posture of sitting known as *padmāsana*, which literally means 'the lotus-seat'. Buddha during the time of his meditation was believed to be in that particular posture, and Buddha's seat has all along been symbolized as an open lotus. Moreover, the lotus as a religious symbol has been used

¹ *Archl. Survey, Ceylon*, 1896, p. 16.

² *Ceylon Journ. of Science*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 13.

³ *Z.D.M.G.*, Vol. LXII, 1909, pp. 653f.

⁴ *Cat. of the Museum of Archy. at Sarnath*, 1914, p. 29, f.n.

⁵ *Etudes d'Orientalisme* published by Le Musée Guimet, Tome II, 1932, pp. 48ff.

⁶ *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath*, 5th Edition, 1933, p. 40.

Were these not four animal-faced gargoyles? Vincent A. Smith in his *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, has taken the four animal figures to represent four quarters or directions; while Barua (Gaya and Buddhagaya, Vol. II) takes them each to symbolize the Buddha himself.—B. C. L.

as the origin or conception of Buddha in the form of his mother, Māyādevī. Subsequently, in later days, Buddhists invariably used the lotus as the seat of all gods and goddesses.

Hence the base of the capital being in the form of a lotus is very significant, as the capital is really the symbolic presentation of the great religious event of Buddha's appearance and the promulgation of his wonderful *dharma* which was first preached at Sārnāth. Upon the 'bell-shaped' lotus there is an abacus having four figures, namely, an elephant, a bull, a galloping horse and a lion, each separated from the other by a disc or wheel (*chakra*) with 24 spokes. These four symbolical animals probably represent the four principal events of Buddha's life. The elephant stands for the conception of the Great One, as in a dream, just before her conception, his mother, Māyādevī, saw a white elephant entering her womb. The next symbol is the bull, which represents the Zodiac sign Taurus, and which was on the cusp of the Ascendant when the nativity of Buddha occurred. The third symbol of a galloping horse depicts Buddha's Great Renunciation. It was on the renowned horse, Kaṇṭhaka, that he left the imperial city at the dead of night and went far away in search of truth; and lastly the fourth symbol, the lion, represents probably the Great Master himself, Lion of the Śākya race, Śākya-siṃha. The four wheels with 24 spokes represent the *dharmachakras*, the Wheel of the Law, that Buddha set rolling to the four quarters of the globe. The 24 spokes that sustain the wheel stand for the 24 modes of the principal causal relations¹ treated of in Buddhist Philosophy.

Next, the top of the capital. It is surmounted by lions set back to back with gaping mouth as if in the very act of roaring. The composition beautifully represents the roaring lion of the Śākya race, as according to the *Chūla Sīhanāda Sutta of Majjhima Nikāya* he addressed the monks as follows:—'*Idheva Bhikkhave samano, idha dutiyo, idha tatiyo samano, idha chatuttho samano, suñña parappavāda samanehi annati. Evameva bhikkhave samma sīhanāda nadatha*', which means, 'We have in our midst a recluse, yes and a second, third and fourth recluse who are empty and heretical—no true recluses!—in these words let your indictment ring out like a

¹ These are:—(1) *Hetupachchayo*, (2) *Ārammanapachchayo*, (3) *Adhipatipachchayo*, (4) *Anantarapachchayo*, (5) *Samanantapachchayo*, (6) *Sahajatapachchayo*, (7) *Aññamaññapachchayo*, (8) *Nissayapachchayo*, (9) *Upanissayapachchayo*, (10) *Purejātapachchayo*, (11) *Pachchhājātapachchayo*, (12) *Asevanāpachchayo*, (13) *Kamma-pachchayo*, (14) *Vipākāpachchayo*, (15) *Āhārapachchayo*, (16) *Indriyapachchayo*, (17) *Jhānapachchayo*, (18) *Maggapachchayo*, (19) *Sampayuttapachchayo*, (20) *Vippayuttapachchayo*, (21) *Atthipachchayo*, (22) *Natthipachchayo*, (23) *Vigatāpachchayo*, and (24) *Avigatāpachchayo*.

lion's roar.¹ The four lions may therefore be taken as representing monks proclaiming the glories of the Buddha and his teachings to the four cardinal points.²

The wheel which originally adorned the capital as a crowning feature consisted of 32 spokes. It represents symbolically the Great Master himself, the very embodiment of his own *dharmā*, having 32 signs of a Great Superman (*Mahāpuruṣha lakṣhaṇa*). These are given in the Lakkhaṇa Sutta of Dīghanikāya.³

BHAVATOSH MAJUMDAR.

A NOTE ON THE KINGS AND EMPERORS OF DELHI

During my tour in Rajputana in search of Jain MSS. I came across in Bikaner, a MS. consisting of few leaves in possession of a Jain priest, describing briefly the rulers who ruled at Delhi. I got it copied and the copy is in my collection. The original MS. was written during the reign of Emperor Akbar as noted at the end. Beginning with the tradition of the origin of the name Delhi it enumerates the names of kings and emperors up to Akbar. Its chronologies do not tally with the current history but its special feature lies in the fact that the MS. enumerates not only the years, months and days but even hours (*Gharhis*⁴) of the reign of every sovereign. They are put in several tabulated forms. The text is in Rajasthani Hindi and follows the Jain Script. There is no mention of any author or scribe, but it must obviously have been a work of some Jain monk. We often find that the Jain priests especially the Swetambar monks used to collect and keep record of important historical facts and this is one of such instances.

I shall now present the reader with a summary of the text and the chronological tables. These tables contain many inaccuracies

¹ *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, p. 42.

Such was indeed the conventional representation of *sihanāda* in Buddhist art-symbolism. Cf. Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Pl. XLVII, 7, and Barua's description of the relief in *Barhut*, Bk. VI—*Jātaka* scenes, p. 122.—B. C. L.

² There may be no other meaning than that of a skilful device to support the wheel.—B. C. L.

³ *The Sacred Books of the Buddhist*, Vol. III, pp. 14f.

⁴ One *Gharhi* is equivalent to 24 minutes, 60 *gharhis*=one day.

but the same are likely to be found interesting to the students of history.

SUMMARY

In the golden age Śaṅkarpati, i.e. Lord Mahādeva ruled Bhārat-khaṇḍa in the Jambudwīpa surrounded by salt sea. In the kali age, the capital became Delhi and the attribute of God head was attached to the kings ruling there. The Pāṇḍavas ruled there for three thousand years. Then came Śaṅkhyodhwaja belonging to the race of Ram Chandra and defeated king Jadho and ascended the throne. The battle was a fierce one where many soldiers on foot and on horseback, camels, elephants, and chiefs were killed. He became emperor and ruled for 44 years but afterwards was killed in a battle with Vikramāditya. He captured the throne and the capital was transferred from Delhi to Ujjain. Vikramāditya's dynasty lasted for 792 years and Delhi was a desolate city during this long period.

At this time Bilan Deva, belonging to 'Tunwar clan was king of Dhar. His priest's son learnt *Jyotiṣa Śāstra* in Benares and got the title of *Jag Jyotiṣi*, i.e. astrologer of the world. On returning home he sought for an auspicious moment which came after 12 years. He communicated the result to Bilan Deva and told him that he would make him Emperor of Delhi. He advised him to prepare a gold pole 21 fingers in length weighing 7 tolas and in that moment the pole was to be fixed underneath the throne stone. The pole would reach the head of Vasukī and Delhi would never be lost to his family. The king discharged him with valuable rewards. He accordingly struck the golden pole on the 13th day of the new moon in the month of Vaiśākha 792 V.S. during the ascendancy of the Star Abhici which reached the head of Vasukī in the 7th nether world. His courtiers told him that there was no truth in such exaggeration of the astrologer. To satisfy himself the king took out the pole and was surprised to find it besmeared with blood. He at once sent for the priest and told him the whole story. The astrologer much regretted the foolishness of the king and again asked him to fix the pole at once. He did so but found it little slack, i.e. 'Dhile' and thence the capital was named 'Dhilli' or 'Dilli'. The priest then told the king that he could foresee the future. His generation would rule only for some time and Chohans would next succeed. Here follows table No. I with names of 19 kings occupying 385 years 2 months. The last king Palirāj was invaded by Bishaldeva Chohan with a large army and was killed in the battle. Bishaldeva became victorious and ascended the throne of Delhi in V.S. 1117 on the 2nd day of the full moon of the month of Chaitra.

His dynasty ruled for seven generations extending over a period of more than 161 years. This is shown in table No. II. The last king Prithwirāj married Sanjogitā by force which much enraged Śaṅkar Set. The latter invited the ruler of Ghazni for retaliation. At last Shah Ghorī, king of Ghazni, after fighting for 4 years defeated Prithwirāj and took out his eyes. He ascended the throne in 1277 V.S. and his dynasty ruled for 13 generations extending over a period of 180 years. Last but one was Alauddin, the great emperor, who was succeeded by his son Sultanuddin who reigned only for 6 years 6 months 9 days 8 gharhis and died without any issue. These 13 emperors are shown in table No. III. The next emperor Kutubuddin ascended the throne in 1397 V.S. on the 7th day of the full moon of Āṣār. His dynasty ruled for 10 generations as shown in table No. IV. Then came the Lodhis and ruled for 4 generations as shown in table No. V, when Timur invaded. Afterwards Babar and Humayuna ruled for 15 years. Then came Akbar who was still reigning.

TABLE NO. I.

Hindu Kings

	Name	Year	Month	Day	Gharhi
1.	Raja Anangpala ..	19	5	3	9
2.	„ Gangeya ..	21	3	3	9
3.	„ Prithaka ..	19	6	19	11
4.	„ Sahadeva ..	20	7	20	15
5.	„ Rudradatta ..	15	3	9	3
6.	„ Indradatta ..	14	4	9	9
7.	„ Narapala ..	26	7	11	9
8.	„ Bachharaja ..	21	2	13	11
9.	„ Birapala ..	21	6	5	11
10.	„ Gopala ..	20	4	4	9
11.	„ Tolande ..	19	3	15	9
12.	„ Goprend ..	25	10	10	16
13.	„ Richhapala ..	16	4	3	1
14.	„ Kunwarapala ..	28	3	11	9
15.	„ Anangapala ..	19	6	19	10
16.	„ Tejapala ..	24	1	6	11
17.	„ Mahupala ..	15	3	17	11
18.	„ Mukdanta ..	12	9	16	0
19.	„ Paliraja ..	22	3	6	17

TABLE NO. II

Hindu Kings

Name	Year	Month	Day	Gharhi
1. Raja Bilandeva ..	18	I	4	9
2. ,, Gangeya ..	25	2	3	II
3. ,, Paharhi..	19	I	5	I
4. ,, Jasmu ..	17	4	2	9
5. ,, Biharhde ..	14	4	8	0
6. ,, Jagadeva ..	13	I	5	I

TABLE NO. III

Patshahs

Name	Year	Month	Day	Gharhi
1. Kutubdin ..	4	2	10	II
2. Asirdin ..	4	4	11	19
3. Mahamad Hadi ..	27	3	15	7
4. Tungal Shah ..	0	5	3	7
5. Khabak Shah..	0	8	15	15
6. Doulat Khan ..	7	7	18	I
7. Khidar Khan ..	8	8	I	0
8. Gamar Khan ..	11	10	19	10
9. Mahamad Shah ..	12	I	I	7
10. Alahvirad ..	0	3	I	9

TABLE NO. IV

Pathan Kings

Name	Year	Month	Day	Gharhi
1. Shah Gazni Gori ..	14	5	17	13
2. ,, Samsadin ..	2	3	13	15
3. ,, Kutabadin ..	20	3	7	27
4. ,, Peero ..	31	3	11	17
5. ,, Ahmad ..	3	2	11	17
6. ,, Alauddin ..	31	9	I	27
7. ,, Mishradin ..	21	0	5	27
8. ,, Ashridin ..	21	6	I	27
9. Samsadin Khurad ..	I	6	15	12
10. Jalaldin ..	6	6	6	10
11. Rukdin ..	0	6	3	6
12. Alaudin ..	19	3	15	11
13. Sultandin ..	6	6	9	8

TABLE No. V
Lodi Kings

Name	Year	Month	Day	Gharhi
1. Ajin Alaudin ..	7	I	8	I
2. Vayah Khan ..	3	2	9	5
3. Shah Sikandar ..	18	I	6	I
4. Hirkhan Lodi ..	2	0	0	I

PURANCHAND NAHAR.

“KAUSIKĪ AND KUŚĪARĀ”

(Critical Remarks)

Rai Bahadur Sreejut Kanaklāl Baruā in his article with the above heading, published in *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3, has made some statements which require critical examination. I should state at the outset that the Rai Bahadur deserves our thanks for the earnest zeal with which he has devoted himself to the subject of ancient history of Assam at an advanced stage in life when ordinary people would yearn for ease and rest ; he is moreover saddled with an onerous and responsible duty which can afford him but scanty leisure for literary pursuit. His contributions, therefore, are not free from pitfalls that could only be avoided by a wider range of study and a more careful scrutiny of matters dealt with.

I agree with the Rai Bahadur that ‘Śuskka Kausikā,’ in the Nidhanpur inscription of Bhāskara-Varman, could not be the Kuśiārā of Sylhet: the latter is a river that has currents even now, whereas the Kausikā earned the adjective ‘Śushka’ about 1300 years ago; and there is moreover no dried forsaken bed of the Kuśiārā to justify the identity. But I am unable to accept his theory, that some dried bed of the Kośī in Behar was the Śushka Kausikā, as correct. The Kausikī (and even the modern name Kośī) ends in ‘long ī’ and never in ‘long ā’, and that is a decisive proof against the identity of (Śuska) Kausikā with Kausikī. I said so already in my review of the Rai Bahadur’s ‘*Early History of Kāmarūpa*’.¹

¹ *Vide*, p. 593, Vol. X, No. 3, *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

In the article under criticism, the Rai Bahadur states that the writer of the Nidhanpur Grant Inscription perhaps wrongly spelt 'Kauśikī' as 'Kauśikā'.¹ Nay, he goes so far as to premise that the decipherer of the plates (i.e. my humble self) may have misread 'Kauśikī' as 'Kauśikā' 'by overlooking the upper portion of the 𑀓 which may have been very nearly obliterated in an inscription, 1300 years old'.² He also says that the original plates 'have not yet been read by any other scholar.'³ In fact the plates concerned were read simultaneously by Dr. Rādhāgovinda Basāk who published his reading in the *Dacca Review*—in June 1913⁴ whereas my first reading was published in the *Bijayā* in Āshāḍha, 1320 B.S.

The word 'Kauśikā' occurs thrice in the boundary-record—as will be seen from the Rai Bahadur's quotation⁵—so neither the writer (or the inciser) of the inscription, nor the decipherer thereof, could make a mistake three times: moreover the word occurs once again in the inscription (just two lines above the boundary-record) in 'कौशिकोपचितक क्षेत्र'⁶ which, if the word was कौशिकी, would have been 'कौशिक्युपचितक क्षेत्र'

But the Rai Bahadur seems to be so sure of the mistake, that the Government of Assam—apparently at his motion—'have taken steps to obtain possession of the plates and to get the same correctly read by the Government Epigraphist'.⁷ Here the Rai Bahadur has overlooked—or probably has no knowledge of—the fact that my readings of all the available plates of Bhāskara Varman's Nidhanpur grant—had been carefully gone through by Dr. Sten Konow and Dr. Hirānanda Śāstri (the Government Epigraphists in charge of *Epigraphia Indica*) before they were published in that journal and that the original plates (except the 3rd one—which was unavailable, but a photograph whereof was sent) were forwarded to the learned Editors who got the facsimiles prepared thereof, and published them along with my readings (as scrutinized by them).⁸

¹ P. 424, Vol. I, No. 3, *Indian Culture*.

² Footnote 1, p. 424, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3. [It is very amusing to find the Rai Bahadur's taking for granted that '𑀓' and '𑀔' were of the same forms about 1300 years ago as at present!]

³ *Ibid.*, p. 425.

⁴ A reference to this article will be found in Dr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd edition.

⁵ P. 422, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3.

⁶ *Vide Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*, p. 25, l. 18.

⁷ P. 425 (footnote 1), *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3.

⁸ *Vide Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, No. 13 (Edited by Dr. Sten Konow); and Vol. XIX, Nos. 19 and 40 (Edited by Dr. Hirānanda Śāstri).

And this assumption of my mistaken reading of the Nidhanpur grant is due to my error in reading 'क्रोचञ्ज' for 'क्रोडाञ्ज' in an inscription dated about five centuries after Bhāskarvarman's time. As regards this error Rai Bahadur writes: 'Mr. K. N. Dikshit who subsequently obtained possession of the original plates detected this misreading (J.R.A.S., Vol. II, No. 1, p. 26).¹ But Mr. Dikshit had got the plates by him more than a year *previously* and then kindly lent them to me for about a week only, within which time I had to decipher and also to translate their contents.'² In p. 26, J.A.R.S., Vol. II, No. 1, the Rai Bahadur wrote as follows:— 'Pandit Vidyabinod (i.e. myself) has now informed me that the correct reading according to Mr. K. N. Dikshit is Kroḍanja'. So that, as soon as I could know the mistake, I wrote to the Rai Bahadur congratulating him on his rightly conjecturing my reading of the name as incorrect and identifying the same with Koranja. Soon after I wrote an article headed 'Śrāvastī in Kāmarūpa', wherein I showed the effect of the correction which, along with the recent discovery of 'Bai' in Bogra, led me to change my opinion about the location of Śrāvastī in Kāmarūpa—and I appended a chart to my article showing the correct situation of Karanja, Baigram, and others that were in Śrāvastī which, therefore, belonged to Paunḍra Vardhana (Gauḍa) and not to Kāmarūpa.³

The error occurred in the reading of Dharmapāla's grant No. I, which had never been read before by any other person: Dharmapāla's grant No. II and Indrapāla's 2nd grant had been published by me only in a vernacular journal. These three grants ought to have been published with English translations in *Epigraphia Indica*—and the Rai Bahadur should have legitimately moved in the matter.⁴ These three grants are with Mr. K. N. Dikshit and I do not know if he has as yet published any of them.

¹ Footnote 1, pp. 424-425, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3. [J.R.A.S. is the Journal of the Assam Research Society, Edited by the Rai Bahadur himself].

² The word wrongly read was a meaningless proper name which it is very difficult to read correctly, especially when the work is done single handed and in a hurry.

³ The article was published in J.A.R.S. (Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 82-84)—The name of the writer and the chart were unfortunately omitted. The chart however has been utilized with necessary modification by the Rai Bahadur and appended to his article under criticism. [The chart will be found facing page 132, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3.]

⁴ To the credit of the Rai Bahadur I must state here that he has appended English translation of both the grants of Dharmapāla to his *Early History of Kāmarūpa*: and if he has omitted Indrapāla's 2nd grant, it is probably because the important i.e. (genealogical) portion of it is exactly the same as in Indrapāla's first grant which had been published by Dr. Hørnle in J.A.S.B.—Part I, 1897.

Now to return to Kauśikā : the Rai Bahadur has quoted Dr. Buchanan's report on the course of the Kosi ; in it the said gentleman states that the Pandits of the locality ' allege that in times of remote antiquity the Kosi passed south-east by where Tajpur is now situated, and from thence towards the east until it joined the Brahmaputra, having no communication with the Ganges '. and the Doctor certifies that ' the opinion seems highly probable '.¹ Did the Rai Bahadur consider the probability of such a course— notwithstanding Dr. Buchanan's certificate ? Between the Kośī and the Brahmaputra, there is not only Mahānandā (as mentioned by Dr. Buchanan) but also the Karatoyā : and how could the Kośī preserve its integrity and escape being merged into these intervening rivers ? I have no objection however to the Kauśikī's penetrating somehow into the precincts of Kāmarūpa and getting here a slightly changed named as Kauśikā, if it were a possibility ; in that case the land granted would have lain *within* Kāmarūpa though bounded on the east by Kausikā and not necessarily within Mithilā, as stated by the Rai Bahadur.

In explaining the boundary of the Nidhanpur grant by a diagram, the Rai Bahadur says, ' Probably during the Mahābhūta Varman's reign ***** the Ganginik was the running river ' Kauśikā '.² I am again in disagreement with the Rai Bahadur whose statement has not been supported by any argument. On the other hand, in his diagram the Śushka Kausikā and the Ganginikā are shown as parallel arcs. If the running Kausikā on the west when divested by its currents could be styled Ganginikā—a common name for currentless and dried beds of rivers—why should not the Śushka Kauśikā have got the same title ? The mention of the Ganginikā in the east, as well as in the west, would have never been objectionable : nay, it would have shown clearly that both the currentless dried beds belonged to the same whilom river.³

PADMANATH BHATTACHARYYA, VIDYABINOD.

¹ P. 422, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3.

² P. 423, *Indian Culture*—Vol. I, No. 3.

³ The diagram, I should say by the way, is not free from inaccuracy : the Ganginikā and the Śushka Kauśikā were not parallel : The upper part of the Ganginikā was *ब्रह्मपुत्रात्* (bending towards the east)—whereas in the diagram it has been shown as if bent *westward*. The Kumbhakāra Gartha (the potter's pit) is mentioned in the north-west boundary, *before* Ganginikā, but the diagram does not show that. In fact Ganginikā that became western boundary of the grant, took a sudden turn towards east and thus was located to the east of the potter's pit at the north-east of the plot of land granted.

KAUSIKI AND KUSIĀRĀ

(A Rejoinder)

Pandit Vidyavinod supports my view that the river 'Kausikā', mentioned in the Nidhanpur inscription, cannot be the Kusiārā river in Sylhet but he disputes the identity of Kausikā with Kausiki (Kosi). In the last issue of the J.A.R.S. (Vol. III, No. 1), I have pointed out that the Sanskrit name of the Kosi, as given in certain editions of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa and the Ādi Purāṇa is Kausikā and not Kausiki. Hence I conclude that the Sanskrit name of the Kosi had two variants, viz. Kausikā and Kausiki. The reading 'Kausikā' in the Nidhanpur inscription can therefore be taken as correct and I have already apologised to the learned Pandit for my doubting the correctness of his reading. The Pandit has evidently been offended because I suggested that his reading may be incorrect and he has therefore devoted the greater part of his contribution to prove that his reading is correct. I am sincerely sorry that I gave him offence.

If the learned Pandit will refer to Dr. Buchanan's map of Puraniya he will find that the dead channels of the Kosi called Burhi Kosi and Mara Kosi are to the east of the present Kosi but within the modern district of Purnea. The '*Śuska Kausikā*' mentioned in the Nidhanpur inscription was, therefore, in all probability, between the Mahananda and the modern Kosi. Buchanan mentions that, according to some local Pandits of his time, the Kosi, in the remote past, fell into the Brahmaputra. We need not however go into such a dim past. It is sufficient for our purpose that the Kosi had some dried up beds, till the time of Dr. Buchanan, to the east of the present river and that one of them was probably the '*Śuska Kausikā*' mentioned in the inscription.

The diagram in my article was meant to show that both the '*Śuska Kausikā*' and the '*Ganginikā*' were running from north to south with a bend towards the east. None of them could, therefore, possibly be identified with the Kusiārā which is a river running practically from east to west.

K. L. BARUA.

INDRAMITRA AND BRAHMAMITRA

(A Rejoinder)

This Journal Vol. I, pp. 696-97, contains a paper by Mr. Anil Chandra Banerjee which is a reply to mine called 'Indramitra and

Brahmamitra' and published above on pp. 506-7. As a reply it is a deplorably weak defence of Dr. Raychaudhuri. I, therefore, did not deem it fit to give it a rejoinder. But a young friend of mine, who, I think, still continues to be a member of the Archæological Department, saw me some time ago and provoked me to a reply.

Mr. Banerjee says: 'In the Bibliographical Index to Dr. Raychaudhuri's book (3rd Ed., p. 442) we are referred to Sir John Marshall for pp. 271 f. of the text in which the statement in question is made'. Now, if any scholar turns to p. 270 of Dr. Raychaudhuri's book, he no doubt finds the statement that 'names of two Mitra kings, Brahmamitra and Indramitra, are found engraved on two rail pillars at Bodh Gayā....,' but there is absolutely no reference given in support of this asseveration. Sir John Marshall is no doubt mentioned, but at the end of that page, and, in connexion with Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra of the celebrated Garuḍa Pillar Inscription at Besnagar, and here we are referred only to his *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 11/n. On page 271 there is no mention of Brahmamitra and Indramitra by Dr. Raychaudhuri. And yet Mr. Banerjee most sonorously says that Dr. Raychaudhuri has made his statement on the authority of Sir John Marshall as noted in the Bibliographical Index. In fact, the only authority that he has adduced is Sir John Marshall's note in the *Archæological Survey Report* for 1907-8, p. 40. But if any scholar opens this book at p. 40, he will find that Sir John Marshall bases his statement upon the authority of Bloch. Bloch, however, does not speak of Indramitra but of Indrāgnimitra. Evidently therefore Sir John's *Indramitra* is a misprint for *Indrāgnimitra*. If Dr. Raychaudhuri had taken trouble to consult this Archæological Volume, he would have found it out himself.

Mr. Banerjee refers me to *Cunningham's Coins of Ancient India*, p. 40, for Indramitra. But have I said anywhere that the name Indramitra cannot be found on coins? Surely irrelevancy cannot go further. Again, Mr. Banerjee says that 'Bloch's reading of the name on the pillar as Indrāgnimitra (A.S.I., A.R., 1908-9, p. 147) is at least doubtful'. What does, however, Bloch say on that page? He says: 'From the two almost identical inscriptions (Cunningham, l.c. plate X, Nos. 9 and 10) we learn that this noble lady Kuraṅgī was a wife of Indrāgnimitra, whose name is met with again in another mutilated inscription on one of the railing pillars where he appears to have had the title 'king' (Rāño: Gen. sg.) added before his name'. Does not this sentence clearly show that according to Bloch the name of 'Indrāgnimitra' appears in *three* inscriptions and that though it is mutilated in one, *it is not so at all in the other two*. Again in Para. 5 of his reply Mr. Banerjee says that whereas one of the editors of *Indian Culture* is well-informed in regard to Brahmamitra,

one of the other two editors does not show very intimate knowledge of the contents of the *Archæological Survey Reports*. I do not quite understand the propriety of this statement. Is it not enough, if one editor points out where the name Brahnamitra occurs? Why are the other editors necessarily bound to show off their knowledge?

It will thus be seen that Mr. Banerjee's reply to my criticism of Dr. Raychaudhuri's statement is anything but relevant and convincing. It is insincere, because he says, e.g. that Dr. Raychaudhuri at p. 270 of his book cites authority for the occurrence of the name of Indramitra on Bodh Gayā rail pillars, although he knows that Dr. Raychaudhuri does not. It is in bad taste, because he tries to sling mud on one of the Editors of this Journal. Let me, however, assure Mr. Banerjee that scholars of a much higher calibre than Dr. Raychaudhuri have fallen into blunders. Some years ago I distinctly remember the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee of international fame being criticized in the 'Calcutta Review' for having in one of his reports spoken of Taj Mahal as being situated at Delhi. Dr. Raychaudhuri also speaks of the 'Patna Statues' being exhibited in the Bhārhut Gallery of the Indian Museum (loc. cit., 3rd. Ed., p. 145) in the year 1932 when the 3rd edition of his book was out. Will the Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, tell us where they are at present and whether they were so in the Bhārhut Gallery in 1932 or even in 1930-1931?

JYOTISH CHANDRA GHATAK.

REVIEWS

SUCCESSORS OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS IN THE EASTERN DECCAN, by Dines Chandra Sirkar, M.A., 9½ × 6 ; 1+1, ii, 127 pp. Reprinted from the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XXVI. Calcutta University Press, 1935.

In this very interesting monograph Mr. Sirkar gives us a connected account of the rulers who succeeded the Śātavāhanas in eastern Deccan. After asserting that the Āndhras were a people who were subordinate to Aśoka Maurya, the author relates how the Śātavāhanas occupied the Āndhra-deśa in the second century A.D., how they were ousted by the Ikṣvākus before A.D. 250, and how the latter were followed by the Bṛihatphalāyanas and the Pallavas. The power of the Pallavas—whose rise is placed in the fourth century A.D. (pp. 6, 13)—was broken by the Śālanikāyanas and the Ānandas of Kandarapura. The collapse of the Śālanikāyanas is attributed to the Viṣṇukundins who were the predecessors of the Cālukyas (pp. 101, 103). The delineation of the complicated events that followed the break-down of the Śātavāhanas till the conquest of Veṅgi by the Cālukyas, so ably done by Mr. Sirkar, may be said to be a distinct contribution to the early history of eastern Deccan. In presenting to us the importance of the Ikṣvāku period, especially from the point of view of Buddhism (pp. 29-30), the genealogy of the Ananda kings, the Śālanikāyanas, and the Viṣṇukundins, and the full tenor of the phrase *hiraṇyagarbha*, Mr. Sirkar has further claims to our sincerest thanks. It must be said that in many places he has considerably improved upon the conclusions arrived at by previous writers on the subject.

This admirable monograph has, however, some statements on which there may still be division of opinion. For instance, the assertions relating to the rise and religion of the Pallavas (p. 13), the later date which is given to Mayūrasarma of the Kādāmbas (Preface, and p. 19), the attempt made to disprove the theory hitherto held concerning the occupation of Veṅgi by the Cālukyas in the middle of the seventh century A.D. (pp. 99-101, and 101, n. 1), and the averment that Candragupta I 'began to rule in 320 A.D.' (p. 75)—all these may not evoke universal assent. The identification of Trikūṭa with Triparvata (p. 114) where we are told the Kādāmbas ruled, and the conjectural derivation of the word Mahārāṣṭra from Mahārāṭhikas (p. 79—to which, by the bye, scholars in Mahārāṣṭra still cling tenaciously)—are inadmissible. It is unfortunate that the learned author has dismissed the Pallavas in a few words (p. 7). This explains why one does not find any thing concerning some of the early Pallavas whose names are associated with Amarāvati.

Nevertheless it is with pleasure that we acknowledge the arduous nature of Mr. Sirkar's work, and that we heartily congratulate him on the admirable manner in which he has outlined the history of the successors of the Śātavāhanas in eastern Deccan. Mr. Sirkar's work is indispensable to students of early Indian history.

B. A. SALETORÉ.

CULTURAL FELLOWSHIP IN INDIA

ما قصه سکندر و دارا نخوانده ایم از ما بجز حکایت مهر و وفا میسر

'I have not read the story of Alexander and Darius,
Ask me not of tales except of Fidelity and Love.'

In these memorable words the great Persian poet, Hafiz, sums up his attitude towards formal history. According to him history chronicles and emphasizes the stories of wars and sieges, intrigues and plots, hatred and fanaticism, rapacity and bloodshed. But human activities have not been confined to these things alone. Where is the chronicler who will write of the less glamorous but more enduring glories of peace, the march of civilization, or the episodes of trust and confidence, friendship and love. These things are either ignored or thrown into the background giving the totally wrong impression that mankind has never been able to shake off its animality. The Future naturally takes on the colour of despair. The history of India has suffered the most by such injudicious treatment. Too often has emphasis been laid on its apparent diversity of blood, colour, language, dress and manners and oftener still the underlying unity of thought, outlook and feeling have been lost sight of. It is high time that facts should be studied in their true perspective. Mr. Atulananda Chakrabarti's treatise on Cultural Fellowship in India is, therefore, a welcome contribution to the subject. He has demonstrated how beneath the endless diversities the Indian peoples possess a fundamental unity that transcends them all. Points of contact are many and they have been made plainly visible. Mr. Chakrabarti has done a real service to the country by compiling this book whose one aim is to promote better understanding between community and community.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

KANNADA WORKS

1. Kanmareyāda Kannaḍa athavā Kannaḍara Mūla sthāna. By Śankar Bālakṛiṣṇa Jōshi. Manōhara Grantha Prakāśa Samiti, No. 1. 7" 4½"; iv + 110 + vi, with a bibliography and a map. Dharwar, 1933. Price, 12 As. Paper cover.

2. Mahārāṣṭra Mūla. By the same author. The same series, No. 2. The same size. ii + 54, with a map and a bibliography. Dharwar, 1934. Price, 9 As. Paper Cover.

The above are two very interesting monographs which suggest a new line of enquiry in the history of Western India. In the first entitled 'Forgotten Kannaḍa or the Origin of the Kannaḍigas', Mr. Joshi has attempted to prove that Kannaḍa—which he derives from *kaṇ-nuḍi* (p. 6)—embraced a wider area and included more races than the territory and people who are now associated with the name Karṇāṭaka. According to the author, such people like the Kurubars,—whom he distinguishes from the Kurumbars,—the Maleyars, the Gollars, the Holeyas, the Haḷabas, the Billavars, the Kuṇbis, and the Tumbuligas (pp. 33-46) were of Kannaḍa consanguinity. Although the writer has made short work with the origin of some of the above races, yet it must be admitted that the main part of his contention, *viz.* that a great part of the land to the north of the Godāvāri was purely Kannaḍa in origin and culture (pp. 12-32, 60 seq.), seems to be in more sense than one quite accurate.

One idea from the above monograph (p. 51), he takes up for a detailed treatment in his next work called 'The Origin of Mahārāṣṭra'. The central theme in this brochure is that Varhād was the cradle of Mahārāṣṭra, the word Mahārāṣṭra itself being nothing but a translation of the word Varhād, and Marhāṭa or Marahaṭṭa being only variants of one and the same form (p. 47). Here is a bold bid for originality which scholars would do well to ponder over. A short history of the word Mahārāṣṭra from Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* down to the sixteenth century A.D. given at the end of the book adds to its value.

We heartily welcome these little works written in chaste and convincing Kannaḍa; and we trust that this very able writer will give us in future a more

detailed treatment of some of the interesting suggestions he has thrown in his works. We wish him every success in his future undertakings.

B. A. SALETORÉ.

THE SONG OF THE LORD, by Dr. Edward J. Thomas, D.Litt., M.A., the Wisdom of the East Series.

This is a prose translation of the *Bhagavad Gītā* by Dr. E. J. Thomas. The work is included in the Wisdom of the East Series. The editors of this welcome series are Messrs. L. Cranmer Byng and S. A. Kapadia. They have planned this series with the noble object of bringing together West and East in a spirit of mutual sympathy, goodwill and understanding.

The *Bhagavad Gītā*, i.e. the secret and cherished doctrine preached by the Lord, is one of the greatest books of the world. A devout study of it, even in a translation, will be profitable to everybody. *Bhagavân* is the Divine and *Arjuna* the human spirit. Their conversation is eternal :—

जीवात्म-परमात्मानौ नरनारायणवभौ ।

नारायणो वासुदेवो नरसैवार्जुनोऽकथः ॥

(*Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa*, 30, 22.)

The introduction gives the beginner all the information that is necessary for his equipment. The translation is literal, and as often happens in the case of literal translation, it is not always easy to understand. Some of Dr. Thomas's renderings are better than the usually accepted ones, e.g. लोकसंग्रह (III, 20, 25). संग्रह is opposed to निग्रह and is rightly translated 'doing good'. This interpretation is not opposed to the explanation given by *Śaṅkara* and other commentators, for उपकार (संग्रह) of the people is best secured by keeping them in the path of righteousness (धर्म). I note here another interesting interpretation of Thomas, नमस्= created (II, 17), which cannot be lightly set aside, though XVIII, 46, would seem to support the ordinary interpretation better.

There are numerous passages where Telang's translation (Sacred Books of the East) appears to be better. And this is probably due to the fact that he did not neglect *Śaṅkara*, *Madhusūdana*, *Śrīdhara* and *Nilakanṭha*. I am quite prepared to accept the hypothesis, so ably expounded by Telang (and also by Thomas) that the author of the *Gītā* probably had no definite system, and that to interpret him according to the strict monism of *Śaṅkara* which might not have existed at the time, when the *Gītā* was written is unscientific. Still I am definitely of opinion that if the editors of the Wisdom of the East Series would have printed Telang's translation with occasional improvements, they would have done the right thing.

I note a few points that are capable of improvement :

P. 23 : 'Drupada, brother of Draupadī'; 'brother' is a slip for 'father'.

'Kṛpa, king of the Panchālas.' Kṛpa was the brother-in-law of Droṇa. He was brother of Kṛpī, the mother of Aśvatthāman.

P. 25 : धर्मक्षेत्र= 'field of right' is quite good, but 'field of righteousness', 'holy ground' or 'holy field' (Telang) would have given a clearer and less ambiguous idea to the beginner.

नमस्त्रिषोऽथ भीमता=by the wise disciple. Telang's 'talented pupil' is better.

I. 7. संज्ञार्थं= 'for the sake of naming them' does not yield any sense; 'that you may know them well' (Telang) is slightly better.

I. 8. Saumadatti=son of Somadatta, named *Bhūriśravas* (Svāmī). Telang and Thomas read 'तथैव च' for 'जयद्रथः'; the ordinary reading of the Indian editions. तथैव च, however, is noticed as a variant by *Madhusūdana*.

I. 36. पापम्=evil. Telang's 'sin' is better.

II. 5. अर्थकामान् might be taken either as an adjective to गुरुन् or as a noun in apposition with भोगान् not as 'who desire my good'.

II. 11. श्च has been translated by 'sorrow' and 'grieve' in the same sentence; it would be better to use 'grieve' in all the three places. पण्डित in this śloka is not 'sage' but rather 'learned man' (Telang). पण्डिताः=विवेकिनः (Svāmī); पण्डिताः=शास्त्रज्ञाः (Śankara, on the strength of Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Up. III, 5, 1).

II. 13, 15. धीर=धीमान्, equal according to Śankara and Svāmī and they are right. 'Steadfast man' looks more literal.

II. 14. मान्सास्यर्गाः—According to some modern interpreters, मान्सा=matter, very much as Thomas understands it. Śankara and Svāmī understand by मान्सा, 'sense-organs'.

II. 18. This is a difficult verse and neither Telang's, nor Thomas's rendering seems to convey the intended arguments:—

अन्तवन्त इमे देहा नित्यस्योक्ताः शरीरिणः ।

अनाशिनोऽप्रमेयस्य तस्माद् युध्यस्व भारत ॥

'These perishable bodies are said to belong to the eternal indestructible and undefinable self which is in the bodies, therefore fight.' The argument seems to be this: because the self is indestructible, therefore you need not be afraid of killing or of being killed. That all bodies are अन्तवन्तः (perishable) is known to all; it is not विधेय, as is suggested by the form of the Sanskrit verse; but it is उद्देश्य. The real विधेय is the eternity of the self. The intended conclusion is 'युध्यस्व'. The premise may be the eternity of self or the perishableness of body or perhaps both. In the above translation I have adopted the first alternative, but the following verse of *Śānti-parva*, 224, 6—

अन्तवन्त इमे देहा भूतानाञ्च सुराधिप ।

तेन श्च न शोचामि नापराधादिदं मम ॥

would support the second alternative. See *Madhusūdana's* Commentary.

III. 35A. त्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात् । This is a well-known and oft-quoted line. It is unfortunate that many people, including Dr. Thomas, misunderstand it. गुण=अप्रधान् or अज्ञ; therefore Svāmī explains 'विगुणः' by 'किञ्चिद्दङ्घनीनोऽपि' and 'स्वनुष्ठितात्' by 'सकलज्ञसम्पूर्णा कृतान्'. This verse occurs also in *Gītā* XVIII, 47A. Compare Manu X, 97.

वरं स्वधर्मो विगुणो न पारय्यः स्वनुष्ठितः ।

Where Bühler's translation, as usual, is correct. That Svāmī and Bühler are right will be evident when it is remembered that विगुण is contrasted with स्वनुष्ठित and must therefore mean दूरनुष्ठित, i.e. किञ्चिद्दङ्घान्याऽपि कृतः. Now the question arises may not अज्ञानि produce religious demerit? To this it is replied स्वभावनियतं कर्म कृष्णं नाश्रीति किल्बिषम् (XVIII, 47B).

There is another different but allied dogma taught in the *Gītā*—

सद्यज्ञं कर्म कौन्तेय स दोषमपि न त्यजेत् (XVIII, 48).

Certain works seem lower (i.e. involving some lowering on even sin) than others. If every body should forsake his *apparently* lower work and run after what is *socially regarded* as higher work, certain necessary social services would suffer; therefore the *Gītā* teaches the dignity of all work. Do the duty of your station or status with your whole heart: that is the way to your self-realization. This is the teaching of the general body of Hindu *Śāstras*. Co-ordinate with this is the dogma—

रङ्गावतरणश्चैव तथा रूपोपजीवनम् ।

मद्यमांशोपजीव्यश्च विक्रयं लोहचर्मणोः ।

अपूर्व्विणा न कर्मण्यं कर्म लोके विगर्हितम् ।

हानपूर्व्वं तु त्यजतो मद्यान् धर्मं इति श्रुतिः ॥ (*Santiparva*, 294, 5-6.)

Arjuna was a *Kṣatriya*, his duty was to fight the unrighteous enemies. But killing (fighting) is a sin (स दोषः)? Yes, it is a sin ordinarily, but not always and for every body. For a man in *Arjuna's* position it is a duty to kill. It is unfortunate that so many should have thought the substance of this dogma (XVIII, 48) is what is taught in III, 35A and XVIII, 47.

VANAMALI VEDANTATIRTHA.

PARSI LAW, by Framjee A. Rana, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, Kathiawar.

The author of this compact little volume on the personal law of the Parsis, is a legal practitioner in a district in Western India where cases under Parsi Law are matters of daily and common occurrence. The Statutory Law of Marriage and Divorce and of Intestate Succession is all that constitutes the personal law of the Parsis of India, and the author has dealt with this in a satisfactory and up-to-date manner. The author's elaborate notes on the definition of the term 'Parsi' and as to what constitutes a 'Parsi' according to the two most important decisions on the subject in *Sir Dinshaw Petit v. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejibhoy*, 33 Bom. 509; 11 Bom. L.R. 85, 538, 539, and in the Privy Council Case *Saklat v. Bella*, 28 Bom. L.R. 161 are so concise and complete.

The author has well explained the concept that a 'Parsi is born; he is not made'. You cannot conceive of a Parsi who is not a Zoroastrian, nor of a Zoroastrian who is not a Parsi, and this subject is elaborately dealt with on the subject of 'Juddin Conversion' or Conversion from other religions into Zoroastrianism. The very idea of conversion into Zoroastrianism from other religions is repugnant to Parsi Law and to Parsi Religion, and a person converted into Zoroastrianism is not entitled to have access into the sacred precincts of the Fire Temple nor can he claim a right that his body shall be consigned to the Tower of Silence. Such a person cannot also claim to be entitled to any benefit from the Religious and Charity Trusts of the Parsi Community. Another interesting feature is a nice and exhaustive index.

The Book has an interesting Foreword by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. J. Wadia, of the Bombay High Court.

MANACKJEE C. H. RUSTOMJEE.

AN EARLY HISTORY OF KAUSĀMBĪ, by N. N. Ghosh, M.A., with an introduction by Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, published under the auspices of the Allahabad Archæological Society, 1935. Pp. i-xxxv + 1-120. 10 Plates and 2 Maps. Price Rs. 4.

In this monograph the author has treated of the following topics relating to Kausāmbī :—

- (1) Antiquity and Importance of Kausāmbī.
 - (2) Kausāmbī in the time of the Buddha.
 - (3) Udayana's conversion to Buddhism and the date of his reign.
 - (4) History of Kausāmbī from Udayana's death to the 3rd century B.C.
 - (5) Kausāmbī in the second century B.C. and in the first century B.C.
 - (6) Kausāmbī during the Kuṣāna rule.
 - (7) Kausāmbī in the 4th, 5th and 7th centuries A.D.
 - (8) Kausāmbī from the death of Harṣavardhana to the 11th century A.D.
- and (9) Identification and Archæological importance of Kausāmbī.

The author has done well by supplying a map at the end together with some interesting illustrations concerning Kausāmbī. An Index has been given for the convenience of the readers. Mr. Ghosh has tried his best to collect as many references as possible but I find that he ought to have utilized the following materials in his chapter on Kausāmbī in the time of the Buddha. Buddha's activities in the city of Kausāmbī are noteworthy. The Buddha while dwelling at Ghositārāma at Kausāmbī entered the city for alms. Then he left Pārileyyaka forest (Saṃyutta Nikāya, III, pp. 94-95). Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja said to the Buddha while he was dwelling at Ghositārāma at Kausāmbī that he had obtained Arhatship. Some Bhikkhus approached the Buddha and asked him the reason of his attaining Arhatship. The Buddha replied that he did obtain Arhatship by meditating on three senses, viz. Satindriya, Samādhindriya, and Paññindriya (S.N., V, 224). Again we read that the Buddha delivered a sermon on sekha (learner) and asekha (non-learner) while dwelling at Ghositārāma at Kausāmbī (S.N., V, 229-230).

The teachings of the Buddha and his disciples had a remarkable influence on the minds of the Kosambī people. Some of the Kosambians entertained a great respect for the Buddha and the Buddhist faith and were converted to Buddhism; while others went so far as to enter his Order and attain Arhatship. Take the case of Gavaccha the Less who was born as a Brahmin at Kosambī and hearing the Exalted One preach, entered the Order. At this time the Kosambian bhikkhus had become quarrelsome. Gavaccha did not take part in the discussion on either side. He praised the Buddha, developed insight and attained Arhatship (Psalms of the Brethren, p. 16).

From the Mahāvamsa we learn that the venerable Yasa is said to have fled from Vaiśālī to Kosambī just before the assembly of the Second Buddhist Council (Mahāvamsa, Tourner, p. 16). Yasa, son of Kākandaka, came to Kosambī and there he convened a meeting of the Bhikkhus and delivered a discourse on Dhamma, Vinaya, etc. (Vinaya Texts, III, 394).

From the Jātaka we learn that Kosambī in the kingdom of Vatsa was ruled over by a king named Kosambika. Once a robber committed robbery and being chased, left the bundle near the door of an ascetic named Maṇḍavya and escaped. When the owner of the property came there he took the ascetic to be the robber and brought him before the king. The king without enquiry said 'Off with him, impail him upon a stake'. The stake of Acacia wood did not pierce the ascetic's body, so a new stake was brought but this too did not pierce him. When the king found him innocent he ordered the stake to be drawn out but despite all efforts the

stake did not come out. Then at Maṇḍavya's suggestion the stake was cut off with the skin. Thenceforward he was called Maṇḍavya with the peg. The king saluted the ascetic and asked his pardon and settled him in his park. The above account illustrates the use of stakes for the punishment of criminals. Capital punishment not by hanging but by putting a criminal on a stake was inflicted by the king on a culprit for a light offence (Jāt. IV, Cowell, pp. 17-19). Two Paribbājakas, Maṇḍissa and Jāliya went to the Buddha while he was at Ghositārāma at Kosambī and asked him whether the soul and the body were the same or different. The Buddha replied 'They are neither the same nor different'. He then delivered to them a sermon contained in the Sāmaññaphala sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. Buddha while at Ghositārāma at Kauśāmbī (Kosambi) delivered a discourse on Dhamma, Vinaya, etc. while speaking about the offences committed by the bhikkhus. The Master laid it down as a precept that the drinking of intoxicants was an offence requiring confession and absolution (Jātaka, I, pp. 206-207) after discoursing with the brethren at Kosambī (Kauśāmbī).

Ānanda's activities at Kosambī should be noticed. He delivered several sermons on twelve nidānas, nirvāṇa, etc. (Saṃyutta Nikāya, II, 115 foll.). He had a talk with a householder named Ghosita on the difference of dhātu (*Ibid.*, IV, 113-114). Sāriputta and Upavāna also lived at Ghositārāma at Kosambī. They had a discussion on the subject of the realization of seven bojjhaṅgas (supreme knowledge) leading a person to happy living in the present existence (Saṃyutta Nikāya, V, 76-77). Paribbājaka Saṇḍaka with his 500 followers was living at the cave of Pilakkha. Ānanda met him and gave him instruction on the folly of agnosticism (M.N.I., 513).

Besides these references there are many noticed in my work 'Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, Vol. I' (pp. 115 foll.) published in 1924.

May I enquire whether there is any famous country by the name of *Kururathā* mentioned by the author in p. 17 and p. 118 (Index) of his book? I like to draw the author's attention to the Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. III (Māgandiyavatthu), p. 193, where the word 'Kururathā' occurs, which means 'in the kingdom of the Kurus' and not *Kururathā* as mentioned by the author who seems to have misunderstood it. The reference given by the author on p. 38 as footnote no. 6 (D.N., II, p. 167) is wrong. There is nothing in that page of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya to substantiate the statement made by the author that the Bhaggas were a republican people. The book has been very carelessly written as it is full of mistakes and misprints, e.g., Charpenthier (p. 29 f.n.), Āsvaghoṣa (p. 62, Index also), Pāli Piṭakās (p. 5, Index also), Nagābhata (Index), etc.

The inscriptional data bearing upon the part played by the citizens of Kosambī, both monks and householders, in the erection of Buddhist monasteries, have not been unfortunately dealt with *properly*.

It should be noted that the author himself credits his friend Tripiṭakācārya Rāhula Sankrityāyana for the identification of the Bhagga country with the Mirzapur district and Suṃsumāra Hill with Chunar Hill—which, however, cannot be accepted as finally established.

The book under review seems to be uninteresting and it needs a thorough change of the manner of treatment in order to make it readable and useful to scholars.

B. C. LAW.

KĀMARŪPAŚASANĀVALI by Padmanath Bhattacharya, published by the Rangpur Sāhitya Parishad, B.S. 1338; pp. VIII, 1-45 and 1-214, and 13 plates. Price Rs. 6.

Mr. Padmanath Bhattacharya, who is one of pioneers of historical researches in Assam, has edited in this volume in Bengali, 10 copper-plates and a rock

inscription, all of ancient Kāmarūpa and belonging to the period 7th to 12th centuries A.D. The records are as follows :

(1) Nidhanpur copper-plates of Bhāskaravarman; (2) Haiyungthal copper-plate of Harjjaravarman; (3) Tezpur copper-plates of Vanamālavarman; (4) Nowgong copper-plates of Balavarman; (5) Bargaon copper-plates of Ratnapālavarman; (6) Soalkuchi copper-plates of Ratnapālavarman; (7) Gauhati copper-plates of Indrapālavarman; (8) Guakuchi copper-plates of Indrapālavarman; (9) Śubhāṅkarapāṭaka copper-plates of Dharmmapālavarman; (10) Pushpabhadra copper-plates of Dharmmapālavarman; and (11) Tezpur Rock inscription of Harjjaravarman, dated in the Gupta year 510 i.e. 829 A.D.

Most of these records are important landmarks in the early history of Assam and have been edited already in various journals. Mr. Bhattacharya has done well in bringing them together in the form of a *corpus*, which will prove indispensable to all serious students of Archæology of the easternmost province of India. The author has given an account of the kings of Kāmarūpa who issued the documents, in the introduction to the book, which is full of information. The texts are in Nāgarī characters and the notes and translations are in Bengali. The notes, we must say, are worthy of an erudite Sanskritist like Mr. Bhattacharya. The book has also an excellent index.

The Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata, the Harivaṁśa and the Vishṇupurāṇa mention the city of Prāgyjotisha but not Kāmarūpa, although in Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa both the names are mentioned side by side. The name Kāmarūpa also occurs in the list of frontier kingdoms in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. According to the Pauranic chronicles the first king of this kingdom of Prāgyjotisha was Naraka whose son Bhagadatta ruled after him, and Bhagadatta's son and successor was Vajradatta. The kings of Assam whose copper-plates have been published in this volume all trace their descent from this line. The limits of their kingdom are still somewhat obscure and its first capital Prāgyjotisha has not yet been located, but there is no doubt that the river Karatoyā formed the western boundary; so that Kāmarūpa must have included the District of Rangpur which is now in Bengal.

The Nidhanpur copper-plate of Bhāskaravarman, who was a contemporary of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang (643 A.D.) and is mentioned in the latter's account, gives the genealogy of his dynasty. This genealogy on the whole agrees with that recorded on a broken seal of Bhāskaravarman found at Nālandā and noticed in 1920. Mr. Bhattacharya duly notes this fact, and the reviewer would add that similar seals, some of them in a better state of preservation, have since been discovered at the same site. Besides the account of the Chinese traveller, Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* refers to Bhāskaravarman. He appears to have made peace with King Harshavardhana, and against their common enemy Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, their joint forces were directed. It seems that Bhāskaravarman was able to drive away Śaśāṅka from Gauḍa at least for some time. The Nidhanpur copper-plate, which was issued from Karnasuvarna in Bengal, is itself an indication of this fact. Mr. Bhattacharya points out that although found at Nidhanpur in the District of Sylhet, the document had presumably no connection originally with that region. The grant of land recorded in it was made in Chandrapurī-vishaya which the author points out was situated to the west of the Tistā river in the Rangpur District.

After Bhāskaravarman the kingdom seems to have been seized by a person named Śālastambha. Harjjaravarman and his son Vanamālavarman of this line may be placed in the 9th century A.D., and Balavarman, a grandson of Vanamāla, probably ruled in the 10th century. Their capital was Hārūpēsvara on the Brahmaputra, which the author locates at or near Tezpur. It was by the

side of Kāmākūtagiri which probably represents the low hill outside the town of Tezpur. Harshavarmman of the copper-plate of Vanamāla, a descendant of Sālastambha, is placed in the 8th century A.D. and identified by the author with Harshadeva whose daughter was married to a prince of Nepal, as stated in a Paśupati-nātha temple inscription of 759 A.D.

The last king of the family of Sālastambha was Tyāgasimha after whom the kingdom of Kāmarūpa passed into the hands of a new dynasty founded by Brahmapāla. Altogether the names of seven kings of this dynasty have been recovered from the copper-plates published in this volume. Their names ended in 'Pāla' and they ruled from the latter part of the tenth to the end of the 12th century A.D., when the neighbouring province of Bengal was held in possession by a dynasty which also styled itself as 'Pāla'. Whether the Pālas of Kāmarūpa represented a collateral branch of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal requires investigation. The capital of the Pāla kings of Kāmarūpa was not Hārūppeśvara, but Durjjayā, as mentioned in the copper-plate grant of Ratnapāla, and it appears to have been also somewhere in the Brahmaputra valley. In the time of Dharmmapāla, the capital was shifted to 'Kāmarūpanagara'. There is considerable uncertainty about the location of this city. But the author is of opinion that it was not situated in the Brahmaputra valley, since there is no mention of the river Lauhitya (i.e. Brahmaputra) in connection with this city in Dharmmapāla's copper-plates, while the older capitals, viz. Hārūppeśvara and Durjjayā, are described in the earlier records to have been on the bank of that river. The author is of opinion that this Kāmarūpanagara should be identified with the remains of Kāmtā near Cooch Behar.

One of the kings of Kāmarūpa whose name does not occur in these copper-plates is Jayapāla, mentioned in the Silimpur inscription. This record is referred to by Dr. R. G. Basak to the 11th century A.D., on palaeographical grounds. According to the present author, however, Jayapāla must have flourished considerably later, sometime in the 12th century, and was either the son or the grandson of Dharmmapāla. Towards the end of the 11th and in the 12th century, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa was overrun by the later Pālas of Bengal and the Sena Kings, Vijayasena and his grandson Lakshmanasena, and finally Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar entered Kāmarūpa in 1206 A.D. with a large army which met with complete disaster. There is an inscription on a rock near Gauhati (at Kānāvāḍṣi) which records that the Turushkas (i.e. the Muhammadans) came to Kāmarūpa in the Śaka year 1127 (1206 A.D.) and were destroyed. An earlier allusion to the Muhammadans is probably contained in the term *Tāyika* of the Bargaon plate of Ratnapāla. The Tājikas mentioned in some of the contemporary copper-plates of Northern India must have been identical with the Tāyikas.

As its contents show, the book throws interesting light on a little-known period of the history of Assam and will serve as an important book of reference. Although we cannot agree with the author in all his theories and interpretations, there is no doubt he has made a most useful contribution. It may be hoped that the publication of this book will prove as an incentive to the younger generation of Assamese scholars. But it should be remembered that the reconstruction of the history of Assam cannot be made only with the help of a few copper-plates. The Brahmaputra valley should be thoroughly explored, the capitals of its ancient kings definitely located and also, what is of far greater importance, the culture remains of the ancient peoples of Assam adequately brought to light by scientific excavations.

IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1935.

1. Bu-ston's History of Buddhism and the Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra by E. Obermiller.

The author records certain corrections and additions to the printed text of his translation of Bu-ston's history and replaces the hypothetically reconstructed names by the actual forms according to the original sanskrit text of the Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra edited by MM. Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstri.

2. The Punch-marked Coins : A Survival of the Indus civilization by C. L. Fábri.

In this interesting article Dr. Fábri draws attention afresh to the early coinage of India as a survival of prehistoric Indian civilization and opines that the punch-marked coins preserve a number of pictograms and symbols of the prehistoric seals of the Indus Valley.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, March, 1935.

- A Story of Vikrama's Birth and Accession by M. B. Emeneau.

After giving a short preliminary account of the various sanskrit versions and plan of the Vetālapañcaviṃśati the author classifies all the interpolations made therein and indicates the rationale of their insertion. The commentary on a few passages and critical notes have been appended to this paper.

Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIII, Pt. 3, December, 1934.

1. Date of Pallava Śivaskandavarman by D. C. Sircar.

The author has tried to prove that the rule of Pallava Śivaskandavarman began in about A.D. 300, and that Vijayaskandavarman of the British Museum plates, who is generally identified with Śivaskandavarman, ruled possibly a little later than Śivaskanda.

2. The Nāgarāja of the Bhāvaśataka by Dasharatha Sharma.

The author doubts the identification of the Nāgarāja of the Bhāvaśataka with Gaṇapati Nāga, the ruler of Padmāvati, as made by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his History of India, A.D. 150 to A.D. 350.

3. A Note on a Pāla Image of Gaṇapati at Kumbhakonam by S. K. Govindaswami.
4. The Danes in India by V. Srinivasan.
5. Bengal under Jehangir Baharistan-i-Ghaibi of Mirza Nathan by Sri Ram Sharma.

6. The Downfall of Mir Qasim by Nandalal Chatterji.
7. The Army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh by Sitaram Kohli.

The New Review, Vol. I, No. 3, March, 1935.

An Introduction to Sāṃkhya by Michael Ledrus.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XI, No. 1, March, 1935.

1. The Nyāyavārttika of Uddyotakara and the Vādanyāya of Dharmakīrti by Andrew Vostrikov.
2. The Eastern Cālukyas by D. C. Ganguly.
3. A Sanskrit Version of Kem-nā Mazdā by Pinakin Trivedi.
4. Ādisūra by Pramode Lal Paul.
5. A Study of Smṛti Passages in the Mahābhāṣya by Amalananda Ghosh.
6. The Smṛti-chapters of the Purāṇas by R. C. Hazra.
7. The Conception of Soul in Jainism by Jagdish Chand Jain.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XX, September and December, 1934.

1. Prōlavaram Grant of Kāpaya Nāyaka (with plates) by M. Somasekhara Sarma.
This new set of copper-plates is a record of Kāpaya Nāyaka who flourished in Andhradeśa in the middle of the 14th century.
2. Early Signed Coins of India by K. P. Jayaswal.
In this critical study of later Maurya coins and Śuṅga coins Mr. Jayaswal has assigned dates to the kings of the Maurya, the Śuṅga and the Kānvāyana dynasties.
3. An Old Rājasthānī Manuscript by P. C. Chaudhuri.
4. Sanskrit Restoration of Yuan Chwang's Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi-Śāstra by Tripitākācārya Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana.
5. A Dialect of Bhojapuri by Udai Narain Tiwari.

The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. IX, Part I, January-March, 1935.

1. Antiquity and Evolution of Art in India by C. Sivaramamurti.
2. The Chronology of the Eastern Cālukyas—by M. Somasekhara Sarma.
3. Some Rare Metres in Sanskrit—by A. Venkatasubbiah.
4. The Nāmpali Grant of Yuvarāja Rājendra Varma, Gaṅga Year 314—by K. A. Nilakantha Sastri.

5. A Note on the Harahā Inscription and Kālidāsa—by Dasharatha Sharma.

In this article Mr. Sharma has shown by putting side by side the parallel passages from the works of Kālidāsa and the Harahā Inscription of 555 A.D. that the poet had become fairly famous by that date, and that his works were intensively studied and copied by people aspiring to poetic fame in the middle of the sixth century.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. IX, Part I, July, 1934.

1. Genealogy and Chronology of the Pallavas—by Govind Pai.
2. Two New Copper-plate Inscriptions of Vijayāditya VII of the Eastern Chālukyan Dynasty—by R. Subbarao.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. I, 1935, No. 1.

Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule, as evidenced by inscriptions by B. Ch. Chhabra.

The Visva-Bharati Quarterly, Vol. I, Part I, New Series, May–July, 1935.

1. The Conception and Development of Śūnyavāda (Doctrine of Voidness) by Kshiti Mohan Sen.
2. The Similes of Dharmadāsa—by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya.
3. Gaṇapati—by Haridas Mitra.

The Young East, Vol. 5, No. 1, Spring, 1935.

1. Mahāyāna Būddhism and the Layman by Beatrice Lane Suzuki.
2. Ti-Sarana or the Three Refuges by Dr. Cassius A. Pereira.

The Calcutta Review, Vol. 55, No. 2, May, 1935.

1. Early Indo-Persian Literature and Amīr Khusrav by Anil Chandra Banerjee.
2. The Civilization and Culture of the Indo-Europeans by Mani Lal Patel.

The Hindustan Review, Vol. LXVI, No. 363, May, 1935.

Ajanta and the Unity of Art by Captain W. E. Gladstone Solomon.

Man in India, Vol. XV, No. 1, January-March, 1935.

1. Some Reflections on Indian Castes by Nagendra Nath Ghose.
2. A Few Fasts, Festivities and Observances in Orissa by Narayan Tripathi.

INDIAN CULTURE

(Journal of the Indian Research Institute)

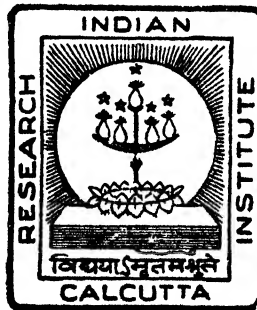
Edited by

DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR,
M.A., PH.D., F.A.S.B.

BENI MADHAB BARUA, M.A., D.LITT.

BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

OCTOBER



1935

Published by

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

HONORARY GENERAL SECRETARY, THE INDIAN RESEARCH

INSTITUTE, 55, UPPER CHITPORE ROAD, CALCUTTA

OPINIONS ON THE "INDIAN CULTURE"

Dr. W. Stede.—The new magazine is a very admirable undertaking, embodying the best product of intellect of our Indian colleagues and fellow students. I cannot but pay the highest tribute of admiration to this new publication.

Dr. F. O. Schrader.—... admirable ... shows the high standard which is expected of a scientific journal and astonishes one by the richness of its contents.

Mons. Louis Finot.—... full of interesting matter and forebodes a bright future. My best congratulations for this success!

Dr. Barnett.—The October number of *Indian Culture* is a most admirable one.

Dr. M. Winternitz.—I congratulate you and your collaborators on the publication of No. 3 of *Indian Culture* which is again full of interesting matter relating to various branches of indology.

Dr. Louis de la Vallée Poussin.—... contains many good things. I am much interested by the remarks of Prof. Winternitz on the Sramana-Literature. It is the most interesting and useful journal for philosophy and history.

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

Dr. J. Przyluski.—... Fine Journal

Dr. Th. Stcherbatsky.—A splendid issue.

Mr. Charles E. A. W. Oldham.—It is indeed very kind of you to have sent me a copy of the first issue of your new quarterly journal entitled *Indian Culture*. You have assuredly deserved well of your country by your unsparing devotion to the promotion of research into the history of its past.

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

Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda.—I congratulate you on the excellent character of the new oriental journal you have started. It is a high class magazine with articles of very superior quality.

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

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (Vol. IX, Part I, July 1934).—This very admirable periodical will be welcomed all over the country by all those who are devoted to the promotion of research into the ancient History of India and her great culture. It is a quarterly Journal and deals with topics relating to Indian History, Geography, Art, Archæology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Religion, Folklore, Philosophy, Ethnology, Anthropology, etc. etc. from the earliest times down to the medieval period. The excellent character of this new Journal and the high standard of articles published in it, and the enterprise and devotion of the group of the Bengali scholars seem to make *Indian Culture* rightly and completely fill the great void created by the unfortunate discontinuance of the great epoch making journal, the *Indian Antiquary*. This new Journal, three numbers of which are before us, shows itself to be first class scientific periodical by the richness of its contents. Like the *Indian Antiquary*, it is hoped that this Journal also will be an impartial forum to all devoted and inspiring workers under the capable editorship of the distinguished and veteran savant Dr. Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, who is assisted by willing and brilliant scholars like Dr. Barua and Dr. Bimala Churn Law. We heartily congratulate the management of the Journal on the high standard of excellence that is attained and hope that by means of unsparing devotion it will be maintained. There is no doubt that its appearance is a valuable addition to the number of scholarly journals published in India to-day. We wish it all success.

MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY BOARD

DR. SIR BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL, KT., M.A., PH.D., D.Sc.
SIR D. B. JAYATLAKA, KT., M.A.
SIR SHAAFAT AHMAD KHAN, KT.
DR. SURENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A., PH.D.
DR. PRASANNA KUMAR ACHARYA, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.
DR. LAKSHMAN SARUP, M.A., D.PHIL.
MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT GOPINATH KAVIRAJ, M.A.
DR. RADHA KUMUD MUKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., P.R.S.
DR. PANCHANAN MITRA, M.A., PH.D.
MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA KAVIRAJ GANANATH SEN, M.A., L.M.S.
MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA KULAPATI KUPPUSWAMI SHASTRI, VIDYAVACHASPATI, M.A.
RAO BAHADUR K. A. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A.
PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTHA SHASTRI, M.A.
DR. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALLA, PH.D., BAR.-AT-LAW.
PANDIT HARGOVIND DAS SETH.

RULES

The Journal, which is a quarterly one, will be issued annually in four parts in July, October, January, and April. The inland subscription is Rs. 6 (including postage) and foreign subscription is 10 shillings (including postage) per annum payable in advance. Each copy is priced at Rs. 2 (inland) and 3s. 6d. (foreign). The rates of advertisements may be ascertained on application to the Managing Director at 55, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta, to whom all remittances should be sent. Any change of address should be promptly intimated to him. In case of non-delivery within a fortnight from the approximate date of publication, the office should be informed at once. Any one paying Rs. 100 at a time as a life-subscriber of any particular series of publications of the Institute will get free copies of the Journal. Luzac & Co., London, Otto Harrassowitz, Germany, and the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depôt, Lahore, are the selling agents.

The Journal deals with topics relating to Indian history, geography, art, archæology, iconography, epigraphy, numismatics, religion, literature, philosophy, ethnology, anthropology, folklore, etc., etc., from the earliest times to the mediæval period. **Contributors are requested to send articles, notes, reviews, etc., type-written, addressed to the Editors at No. 43, Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta.** They are further requested to add or alter in the galley proofs but not in the page proofs. The Editors reserve to themselves the right to accept or reject the whole or portions of the articles, notes, reviews, etc. The rejected contributions are not returned to authors if postage is not paid. Books for reviews, Journals for exchange, etc., should be sent to the Editors at No. 43, Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta.

(or Ocean of Indian Chemistry, Medicine and Alchemy)

Compiled in Sanskrit with English translation in 3 volumes.

Price Rs. 6 each volume.

Opinions :—

Edward Peters, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A. :—

I consider you are performing *one of the world's greatest good works to-day* in making available this marvellous ancient wisdom of India *which is the only source and store-house of real knowledge*. I shall anxiously await the publication of the remaining volumes of your priceless work.

Prof. M. Winternitz of the Prague University :—

It is an interesting contribution to our knowledge of Hindu Chemistry, Alchemy and Medicine. I shall make a mention of your great work in the revised edition of Vol. III of my History of Indian Literature.

Albert G. Ingalls, Associate Editor, "Scientific American" :—

These books have been given a special place in the library of the Journal, reserved for works which are eminently worthy of preservation for the edification of future editors.

To be had of all the principal booksellers of the world and of the author, and of the Indian Research Institute Book Depôt, 55, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.

BHUDEB MOOKERJI, M.A. (triple), Rasacharya,
Sankhya-Vedanta-tirtha,
(Ayurvedic Physician),
20, Grey Street, Calcutta.

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, LEIPZIG, Germany

The leading Oriental Book Dealer

on the European Continent

Largest stock of books dealing with Oriental subjects (Languages, literature, art, archaeology, religion, history, etc.), published in any country of the world, especially the Orient.

LITTERAE ORIENTALES

Issued every three months, being a bibliography of new Oriental works, having come out in Germany and all foreign countries and in the East.

Important catalogues printed recently:

INDIEN Part I: Political and cultural history, archaeology, Indian religion, comparative science of language, Indian linguistic. 3312 nos.

INDIEN Part II: Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit literature, New Indian languages, 4007 nos.

All catalogues are sent gratis on application.

MOTI LAL BANARSI DASS

Oriental Booksellers and Publishers, Saidmitha, Lahore

IMPERIAL HISTORY OF INDIA—by the Greatest Living Authority on Ancient Indian History, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal M.A.—based on the old Sanskrit texts. This History of Ancient India has matters which settle many controversies. Worth possessing. 1934. Rs. 8.

HISTORY OF INDIA (150 to 350 A.D.) by the above Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. The so-called Dark Period is disclosed as a Bright Period of Hindu History. It is a very substantial contribution to the Early History of India. *Only very few copies remain more.* Rs. 10.

LAND SYSTEM IN SOUTH INDIA (800–1200 A.D.) by Dr. K. M. Gupta. The work brilliantly sets forth a chapter of the social and economic history of Ancient India. Rs. 10.

STUDIES IN PHILOSOPHY by Prof. H. M. Bhattacharya. Worth possessing. Rs. 3-8.

ESSENTIALS OF ADWAITISM by Dr. R. Das or a free English translation of Naisyakarmyasiddhi. Rs. 5.

SADUKTIKARNAMRITA of Shridhardass critically edited for the first time by the late MM.Pt. Ramavtar Sarma, M.A., with an historical introduction of 150 pages by Dr. Har Datt in English. *Best Sanskrit Anthology.* Rs. 10.

PHYSICAL CULTURE by Dr. Jai Chand. This is a well-written book upon an important subject based on Vedic System of Yoga and interpreted in the light of Modern Knowledge. It is decidedly an advance over all other systems known to the world. Re. 1.

NIRUKTA translated into English by Dr. L. Sarup, M.A. Rs. 8.

Comm. of **SKANDA** and **MAHESWARA** on Nirukta critically edited for the first time by Dr. L. Sarup, M.A. Complete in 3 vols. Rs. 16-4.

INTRODUCTION TO PRAKRIT for mastering Prakrits by Dr. A. C. Woolner. Rs. 3.

NAISHADHA CHARITRA of Sri Harsha completely translated into English for the first time with critical notes, copious extracts from several unpublished commentaries, valuable introduction, comprehensive appendix and a vocabulary by Principal K. K. Handiqui, M.A. *Every portion of the book bears upon it the stamp of great erudition and wide research.* Rs. 12.

ANCIENT INDIAN COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST, Vol. I—Champa by Dr. R. C. Majumdar with several illustrations, inscriptions, and a map. Highly appreciated all over the world. *This is the glorious chapter of Hindu History.* Rs. 15.

ANCIENT INDIAN COLONY OF SIAM by Dr. P. N. Bose. An up-to-date history of Siam with illustrations. Rs. 3-8.

KAMA KALA (in English) lays bare to the modern man in a modern tongue the vital secrets of sex which the Ancient Hindu Sexologists like *Vatsyayana* had expounded in their world-famous writings. With 30 very beautiful Half-tone and tri-colour illustrations. Rs. 5.

VAISNAVA PHILOSOPHY with special reference to Gaurangite cult by Prof. G. N. Mullik. Rs. 8.

HEYAPAKSHA OF YOGA by Dr. Pathak. Rs. 7-8.

MAHAVIRACHARITA critically edited by Macdonell and Todarmall. Rs. 10.

PHONOLOGY OF PANJABI by Dr. Banarsi Dass Jain. Rs. 5.

PRINCIPLES OF INDIAN SILPASASTRA by Dr. P. N. Bose. Rs. 3-8.

KANVIYA SATAPATHA BRAHMAN critically edited for the first time by Dr. Caland. Rs. 10.

JALMINIYAGRIHYASUTRA text, com., and English trans. by Dr. Caland. Rs. 6.

KAUTILYA ARTHA SASTRA critically edited with com., intro., and notes by Drs. Jolly and Schmidt. Rs. 10.

Besides above we keep in stock all kinds of Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Hindi, Avesta, and Books on Ancient Indian History, and supply to the world at the shortest notice. Big catalogue containing 5,000 items with latest supplements sent free on application with 4 annas stamps for postage.

HOW TO BECOME A MASTER OF ENGLISH

There is not a walk in life in which a mastery of the English language will not bring advancement, a larger income, wider influence, and make the road to success smoother and surer.

Whatever your Business or Occupation, you need a command of the English language to be successful. Whether you are a doctor, a lawyer, a merchant, a salesman, a clergyman, a teacher, a student or a clerk, a command of English will bring you to the forefront and lack of it will be a drag on your onward climb. You need good English in every relation of your life and it will help you, as no other single thing can, to reach the goal of your desires and achieve success.

Here is the way to gain a new command of English in a few weeks. Mr. Grenville Kleiser, who is a leading authority on English and Speech and the best known teacher of English by correspondence, has discovered a new method of mastering the English language. His Correspondence Course, that has been taken up by more than

1,00,000 persons all over the world, enables you to become a Master of English by the easiest system of study and in the shortest time possible. It teaches you by post in your spare moments at home, how to—

- Add Thousands of Expressive Words to your Vocabulary ;
- Use the Right Word in the Right Place ;
- Avoid All Mistakes of Grammar and Idiom ;
- Develop Originality of Expression ;
- Write Tactful, Forceful Letters, Essays, Advertisements, Articles, Stories, Sermons, etc. ;
- Increase Your Power of Persuasion ;
- Win Higher Promotion and Pay ;
- Become an Engaging Conversationalist ;
- Make Yourself Welcome in Good Society ;
- Be a Person of Culture, Power and Influence in your Community.

Master Writers Have Praised This Course.

Enthusiastic endorsements of this remarkable Course have been written by such masters of English as John Burroughs, Mary Roberts Rinehart, Booth Tarkington, Irwin S. Cobb, Rupert Rughe, Ellis Parker Butler, who know the ins and outs of the literary craft and who can appreciate, as no amateur can, the vital importance of mastery of English. All lines of business, all trades, all professions, arts and sciences are represented among the thousands of Mr. Kleiser's students. Just half an hour a day results in surprising progress.

Everyone who wants to have a command of words and consequently a command of men and of circumstances, to impress men of affairs, to write in a clear, bold, vigorous style that carries conviction and to possess power and personality, should enrol himself for the Grenville Kleiser Correspondence Course at the earliest opportunity. Full particulars can be had FREE OF CHARGE. Drop a post card for them to The Tutorial Institute, Head Quarters, Delhi, 75 or

**POST THIS COUPON
TO-DAY.**

THE SECRETARY,

THE TUTORIAL INSTITUTE,

HEAD QUARTERS, DELHI, 75.

Please send me full particulars of the Kleiser Correspondence Course for attaining Mastery of English.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

Age.....Occupation.....

JUST OUT!

JUST OUT!

ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES, VOL. II

By DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

It deals with a connected and systematic history of the twenty tribes from the earliest time to the end of the Hindu period, e.g. the Vaṅgas, Suhmas, Gauḍas, Puṇḍras, Sindhu-Sauvīras, Surāṣṭras, Mūlakas, Mekalas, Daśārnas, Kārūsas, Ambaṣṭhas, Mālavas, Yaudheyas, Sibis, Kekayas, Ābhiras, Trigarttas, Vāhlikas, Niṣādas and Niṣadhas.

Price Rs. 1/8/-; Foreign price 3s. 6d.

To be had of the Author, 43, Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta; and Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London.

OPINIONS AND REVIEWS

Dr. L. D. Barnett.—An excellent and most useful work. I am again your debtor.

Dr. E. J. Thomas.—It is a worthy successor to your former work and with its multitude of valuable references and facts will be an important contribution to our geographical knowledge of India.

Mrs. Rhys Davids.—It must have meant a lot of work but you gave ungrudgingly.

Dr. Sten Konow.—You give us the results of your research work in a clear and perspicuous style and we have every reason for being thankful to you for what you have done.

Dr. M. Walleser.—It is of the utmost interest for me and I am sure I shall learn a great deal from it.

Mr. E. J. Rapson.—It is a useful summary of geographical information and I shall no doubt often be glad to refer to it.

Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.—I welcome your book as a very useful help in connection with our planned "Archæological Atlas of Greater India".

Mr. Charles E. A. W. Oldham.—It is a valuable compilation full of useful references helping towards the location of these ancient tribes—a matter of much importance for the understanding of the history of their times.

"*Calcutta Review*", November, 1934.—Dr. Law's work fills a long-felt want. No serviceable study, at once concise and comprehensive, of the tribes included in his book had hitherto been available. There is no doubt that this book along with its predecessor will prove indispensable wherever knowledge is sought of the ancient Indian tribes.

Journal of Indian History.—Dr. B. C. Law has made a special study of ancient Indian Tribes, the Kṣatriyas and other tribes from the earliest times.... We congratulate the earnest scholar of this little volume for giving us a useful book, being short studies on a great subject.

Oriental Books, Indian and Persian Art, MSS., Bronzes, etc.

INSPECT OUR GALLERY OF ORIENTAL ART.

All the books prescribed for students at the School of Oriental Studies and the Universities are kept in stock.

Just Published

TEACHINGS FROM THE BHAGAWADGITA.

Translation. Introduction, and comments by Hari Prasad Shastri.

8vo, cloth, pp. 80

Price 3s. 6d. In paper covers 2s.

BOOK OF RAM.

The Bible of India. By Mahatma Tulsidas. Rendered into English by Hari Prasad Shastri.

Cr. 8vo, limp gilt cloth, pp. 143.

Price 5s. In paper covers 3s. 6d.

THE MAWAQIF AND MUKHATABAT.

Of Muhammad Ibn 'Abdi' L-Jabbár Al-Niffari, with other fragments. Arabic text, edited for the first time, with translation, commentary and indices, by Arthur John Arberry, M.A.

Roy. 8vo, buckram, pp. xvii, 276, 218.

Price 65s.

("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series: New Series, IX.)

WALKER (JOHN).

Folk Medicine in Modern Egypt. Being the relevant parts of the *Tibb al-Ruhha*, or Old Wives' Medicine of 'Abd al Raḥmān Ismā'il. With 3 illus. and 1 facs.

8vo, cloth, pp. 128.

Price 7s. 6d.

Gratis on Application

**CATALOGUE OF BOOKS ON ARABIA, ISLAM
ARABIC TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS, ETC.**

LUZAC & CO.

Oriental and Foreign Booksellers.

46 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.

(Opposite the British Museum.)

MYSORE ECONOMIC JOURNAL

The only Journal of its kind published regularly on the 7th of each month for over twenty years. Has a number of contributors and reviewers attached to it. Bright and topical in its contents, it has ever stood out for progressive and suggestive comments on public affairs and well being. Sir Roper Lethbridge called it the 'Most admirable Journal'. Annual subscription Rs. 6.

FROM THE BOOK DEPARTMENT, books on economic matters can always be ordered. The following books are available for sale from stock:—

PLANNED ECONOMY FOR INDIA by Sir M. Visvesvaryya, K.C.S.I., LL.D., price Rs. 6.

MADURA SOURASHTRA COMMUNITY by K. R. R. Sastry, M.A., F.R.-Econ.S., price Re. 1.

INDIAN CASTE SYSTEM by C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., F.R.Econ.S., price Re. 1.

STUDIES IN RURAL ECONOMICS by S. Kesava Iyengar, M.A., price Rs. 8.

TOWARDS NATIONAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY by Dr. P. J. Thomas, M.A., B.Litt., Ph.D., price As. 4.

MYSORE GAZETTEER (5 VOLUMES) Edited by C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., price per set Rs. 30, can also be had in parts at prices varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 8 per volume.

Postage extra in all cases.

Apply to Manager, "Mysore Economic Journal", 19, Gundopunt Buildings, Siddicutta, Bangalore City.

PRAKRITI

(The Journal of Science in Bengali)

Edited by

DR. SATYA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., F.Z.S., M.B.O.U.

Published every two months with highly **INSTRUCTIVE** and profusely **ILLUSTRATED CONTRIBUTIONS** by **SPECIALISTS** on all branches of **SCIENCE**.

LIBRARIES, COLLEGES and EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS must not do without it.

The Journal now in its **ELEVENTH YEAR** has an ever-increasing *role of Usefulness*, specially in view of the proposed *Change in the Curriculum* of studies envisaged by our University.

AMONG OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Acharya Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray.
Prof. Dr. Nil Ratan Dhar, D.Sc., F.I.C.,
I.E.S.
Dr. Satya Prasad Roy Choudhuri,
D.Sc.
Dr. Snehamay Dutt, D.Sc.
Dr. Sukumar Chandra Sarker, D.Sc.
Dr. S. N. Sen, Ph.D., Meteorologist.
Dr. Sukumar Ranjan Das, M.A., Ph.D.
Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A.
Dr. Ekendra Nath Ghose, M.Sc., M.D.,
D.Sc.

Dr. Sunder Lal Hora, D.Sc., F.L.S.,
F.Z.S.
Dr. Himadri Mookerjee, D.Sc.
Dr. S. R. Bose, M.A., Ph.D.
Prof. Girija Prasanna Majumder, M.Sc.,
B.L.
Mr. Nikunja Behari Dutt, M.R.A.S.
Prof. Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A.
Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.Sc., Ph.D., Eco-
nomic Botanist to the Government
of Assam.

Annual Subscription : Rupees Four.

Single Copy : Annas Ten.

Apply to the **MANAGER, PRAKRITI,**
50, Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta.

If you want to be in touch with the

MIND OF INDIA

Read

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

An Official Publication of CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY



YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION

Rs. 7-8 only

HALF-YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION

Rs. 4 only

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of general interest.

YEAR BEGINS FROM OCTOBER

Subscription may begin from any month.

For Free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to:—

THE MANAGER, THE CALCUTTA REVIEW



The wide circulation of the "*Review*" ensures a very wide

ADVERTISING

Area. Our roll of subscribers is fully representative and one can reach the Indian Intellectual Public of all ranks and classes by advertising one's articles in these pages.



SPECIAL PUJA ISSUE IN OCTOBER

Why miss this Opportunity?



Write to

HOME TAGORE & Co.,

SOLE ADVERTISING AGENTS

The "*Calcutta Review*" Office, Senate House,

CALCUTTA

THE NEW REVIEW

PUBLISHED IN CALCUTTA SINCE JANUARY, 1935

is one of the international group of Catholic Journals of general interest, conducted by the Society of Jesus, for the educated public.

The Journal takes a keen interest in the comparative study of the traditional philosophies of India and Europe, and in India's cultural achievements.

Publishes the studies of experts on the present problems of India in the fields of Religion, Philosophy, Literature, History, Education, Art, Science, and Economics.

Reviews literary productions in the more important vernaculars and in Sanskrit.

The monthly issues of THE NEW REVIEW contain more than 100 pages in Royal 8vo. size.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES, PAYABLE IN ADVANCE :

<i>Inland</i>		<i>Abroad</i>
Rs. 12	12 months	£1
Rs. 6	6 months	12s.
Re. 1	1 month	2s.

Obtainable through any booksellers, or through the Publishers,

MACMILLAN & CO., LTD.,
CALCUTTA, BOMBAY, MADRAS, LONDON.

THE JOURNAL

of the GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

A six-monthly Journal devoted to the investigation of Indian cultural influences abroad and specially in Eastern and South-Eastern Asia.

Contents of Vol. I, No. 1:—J. Przulski—Indian influences on Western thought before and during the third century A.D.; C. O. Blacden—The use of the *Visarga* symbol in some of the languages of Greater India; R. C. Majumdar—The Sailendra Empire; V. Bhattacharya—Depung,—the Monastic University of Tibet; H. B. Sarkar—An Old-Javanese Inscription from Ngabean of the Śaka year 801; *ibid.*—Two notes on the Cultural contact between Java and Bengal; D. P. Ghosh—Early Art of Śrīvijaya.

Contents of Vol. I, No. II:—G. Coëdès—On the origin of the Sailendras of Indonesia; R. C. Majumdar—The struggle between the Sailendras and the Cholas; J. Przulski—Indian colonisation in Sumatra before the seventh century; H. B. Sarkar—An Old-Javanese Loan-record of the Śaka year 833; E. Obermiller—*Sūnyatā* and its different interpretations; H. Meinhard—Ancient Indian Culture in Bali: etc. etc.

Published twice a year—in January and July. *Vol. II, No. 1 just out.* Annual subscription Rs. 4/- only exclusive of postage. Agents outside India—Messrs. Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.

To be had of the GREATER INDIA SOCIETY'S OFFICE
21, Badur Bagan Row, P.O. Amherst Street,
CALCUTTA.

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT WORKS

by

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA KAVIRAJ GANANATH SEN, SARASWATI, M.A., L.M.S.

PRATYAKSHA SHARIRAM

A Text-book of Human Anatomy in Sanskrit
written on Ayurvedic lines

(With elaborate English and Sanskrit Introductions containing a History
of Ayurveda generally and of Hindu Anatomy particularly.)

Written in *lucid classical and easy Sanskrit* incorporating all ancient knowledge and nomenclature and illustrated with numerous diagrams and half-tone blocks, it is not a work of translation or transliteration but has been declared a “**perfectly original masterpiece**” by learned Scholars, not only of India, but also of Europe and America. *It has been recommended as a text-book* for all Ayurvedic students and practitioners by the 5th All-India Ayurvedic Conference, 1913, and adopted as such in *Ayurvedic Schools and Colleges—all over India*, e.g. Delhi, Lahore, Pilibhit, Poona, Bombay, Trivandrum, Madras, Calcutta, etc.

Complete in 3 Volumes—the 1st and 2nd Volumes of which are already out. Price, 1st Volume (cloth-bound), 3rd Edition, Rs. 5; 2nd Volume Rs. 6; 2 Volumes bound together Rs. 10; 3rd Volume is in the Press. Postage extra.

SIDDHANTA-NIDANAM

A Text-book of Ayurvedic Pathology and Symptomatology
in Sanskrit (with Author's own Commentary)

This is a work of unique importance as it not only embodies all the informations found in Mádhyava Nidánam and the Nidanasthanas of Charaka, Sushruta and Bagbhatta but also *puts facts in a new light* interpreting the Sutras of the Rishis in a truly scientific manner. Besides, unlike other works of Nidánam, it contains a thorough exposition of the theory of *Vayu, Pitta* and *Kapha* in a way acceptable to all physiologists of the present day.

Complete in 3 Volumes—the first of which is out. Price of 1st Volume—**Rs. 2.** *For students*—Rs. 1-8.

Other Volumes in the Press.

PUBLISHED BY

KALPATARU AYURVEDIC WORKS,

Chittaranjan Avenue, N. Calcutta

SELECT OPINIONS ON PRATYAKSHA SHARIRAM BY M.M. GANANATH SEN

Dr. A. F. Rodolf Hornle, M.A., Ph.D., C.I.E. (*Author of "Studies in Hindu Medicine"*):—"With great difficulties, you have grappled with considerable skill and success.... Fine classical Sanskrit.... A very creditable performance."

Dr. C. H. Tawney, M.A., Ph.D. (London):—"You are throwing new light upon an important subject....it will benefit your countrymen materially."

Dr. H. Oldenberg, M.A., Ph.D. (Gottingen):—"Very interesting and valuable."

Dr. H. A. Hare, M.D., B.Sc. (*The celebrated Medical author of America*):—"Your work will be an acquisition to the Library of the College of Physicians, United States."

Lt.-Col. J. T. Calvert, M.B., M.R.C.P., I.M.S. (*Principal, Medical College, Calcutta*):—"A valuable asset not only to the student of Ayurvedic Medicine but also to antiquarians....much appreciate the difficulty and almost Herculean amount of labour."

Lt.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar, I.M.S., F.L.S. (Retd.):—"A work of real utility....does credit to your great learning and spirit of research."

Sir Subrahmanya Iyer, K.C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D., LL.D.:—"Most valuable work.... All India must feel grateful to you for the service you are rendering to the cause of Ayurvedic Medicine."

Lt.-Col. Dr. S. P. Sarbadhikari, M.D., C.I.E.:—"It is a magnificent oriental addition of exquisite grace and absolute correctness to the anatomical library of the present day of which your countrymen will feel proud and which not only Indian but even European savants will readily welcome."

Dr. Sir Bhala Chandra Krishna, Kt. (Bombay):—"A very valuable production, extremely useful for Ayurvedic practitioners. The masterly manner in which the author has dealt with history of Ayurvedic Medicine deserves the highest praise."

Dr. A. Mitra, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S. (Eng.):—"You deserve the highest praise for your valuable work and the thanks of the whole medical world are due to you. For I believe that the Medical man's education will be incomplete if he has not read your book."

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Chitradhar Misra (Principal, Sanskrit College, Darbhanga):—"Evinces wonderful command of Sanskrit, great erudition and genuine research of the author."

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhusan (Principal, Sanskrit Dept., Hindu University, Benares):—"The elegance of your diction, the perspicuity of your style and the chastity of your language and above all the depth of your research are exceedingly charming."

Pandit Lakshmiram Swami Ayurvedacharyya (Ex-President, Calcutta Session of the All-India Ayurvedic Conference):—"An epoch-making production in the field of Ayurvedic literature. Calcutta should be proud of it." (*Presidential Speech, 1914.*)

Works of Panini Office

An Academy of Ancient Sanskrit Literature

IT is not too much to say that a large number of English-educated Hindus, unacquainted with Sanskrit possess very little knowledge of their Scripture.

While the Christians and the Mohammadans are generally well-acquainted with their religious scriptures, the Hindus alone are ignorant of their Sacred Books. To remove this WANT, the Pānini Office has been publishing translations of various Sacred Books of the Hindus. This series has brought the scriptures of the Hindus to the door of the rich and the poor alike.

UPANISADS

1. **Isa, Kena, Katha, Prasna, Mundaka, Mandukya** Upanishads with Madhava's commentary; by RAI BAHADUR ŚRĪSH CHANDRA BASU Rs. 7/8.
2. **The Brihadaranyaka Upanishad** with Madhava's commentary by RAI BAHADUR ŚRĪSH CHANDRA BASU Rs. 12/.
3. **Aitareya Upanishad** with Madhava's commentary Rs. 4/8.
4. **Taittiriya Upanisad**, end of Vṛigu Valli Re. 1/8.
5. **Kausitaki and Maitri Upanisads** Rs. 6/-
6. **Studies in the first six Upanisads** according to Śankara Rs. 4/-
7. **Philosophical Teachings in the Upanishads** Rs. 3/-

DARSANAS or System of Hindu Philosophy.

1. **Aphorisms of Yoga** by Patanjali with the commentary of Vyâsa and the Gloss of Vâchaspati Miśra, by RAMA PRASHAD Rs. 7/8.
2. **The Yoga Sastra** or a treatise on Practical Yoga consisting of
 - i Introduction to Yoga Philosophy Re. 1/8.
 - ii Śiva Samhitâ Re. 1/8.
 - iii Gheranda Samhitâ Re. 1/8.
 - iv Hatha Yoga Pradipikâ Re. 1/8.

TOTAL Rs. 6/-

3. **Vedanta Sutras** with Baladeva's commentary of Govinda Vashya and Prameya Ratnavali Rs. 14/-
4. **Studies in the Vedanta Sutras**, (Vol. XXII, part II) Rs. 3/-
5. **The Vaisesika Sutras of Kanada**, with the commentary of Śankara Miśra and extracts from the Gloss

of Jayanârâyana and Chandrakânta Rs. 7/8.

6. **The Nyaya Sutras of Gotama** Rs. 8/-
7. **The Mimansa Sutras of Jaimini** Rs. 23/-
8. **Introduction to above** Rs. 48/-
9. **Siddhanta Darsanam** Rs. 3/-

PURANAS

1. **The Matsya Puranam** Rs. 20/-
2. **Brahmma Vaivarta Puranam** Rs. 17/8.
3. **Narada Pancharatram** Rs. 6/-
4. **Devi Bhagvatam** Rs. 25/-

ARTHA SASTRA or NITI SASTRA ; Hindu economics, politics and Sociology

1. **Sukraniti**; by PROF. BENOY KUMAR SARCAR Rs. 6/-
2. **The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology**; Book I, first edition out of print; second edition ready for the Press Rs. 16/-
3. **The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology**; Book II Rs. 6/-

INDIAN LAWS—Yajnavalkya Smṛiti

- i **Acharya Adhyaya**; with the commentary, Mitâksarâ, and notes from the Gloss of Bâlabhâṭṭi, translated for the first time into English with copious explanatory and critical notes Rs. 15/-
- ii **Vyavahara Adhyaya, Dayabhag** (Inheritance) Rs. 3/-
- iii **Prayaschitta Adhyaya** Rs. 10/-

HISTORICAL

1. **Max Muller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature** Rs. 10/-

2. **Panini and his place in Sanskrit Literature** by GOLDSTÜCKER
Rs. 5/-

HINDU RELIGION

1. **The Daily Practice of the Hindus** Rs. 3/-
2. **Catechism of Hindu Dharma** Rs. 2/-
3. **Gita Teachings** Re. 1/8.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION

1. **Chinese religion through Hindu eyes ;** by PROF. BENOY KUMAR SARCAR Rs. 6/-
2. **The Bible in India** Rs. 2/-

SCHOOL PRIZE BOOKS

1. **Folk Tales of Hindusthan** by SHEIKH CHILLI Rs. 4/8.
2. **Griffith's Scenes from Ramayana** Re. 1/8.
3. **Griffith's Specimens of Old Indian Poetry** Re. 1/8.
4. **Dean Milman's Nala & Damayanti** Re. 1/8.
5. **Waterfield's Indian Ballads** Re. 1/8.
6. **Nizami Laili and Majnun,** by SURGEON JAMES ATKINSON of E. I. Co.'s service Re. 1/8.
7. **Benjamin Babington's Adventures of Gooroo Noodle** As. 10/-
8. **Life of Srish Chandra Basu** Rs. 2/8.

WORKS

of

Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retd.)

"There is no Eastern country which has so many talented men in so many walks of life as India. Men like Tagore Sir J. C. Bose Major B. D. BASU, the historian of India : to name only a few out of scores—would be highly distinguished in any European country, All of these should be respected and appreciated by us Englishmen and Europeans as working on a plane of absolute equality with ourselves"—*The Changing East*, p. 23. Mr. J. A. Spender, long Editor of the *Westminister Gazette* ; London, 1927.

Written by—

- 1.—**Rise of the Christian Power in India** Rs. 15/-
2.—**India Under the British Crown** Rs. 10/-

- 3.—**The Consolidation of the Christian Power in India** Re. 1/8.
4.—**The Colonisation of India by Europeans** Rs. 2/-
5.—**Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries** Rs. 2/8.
6.—**History of Education in India under the rule of the East India Company, Second Edition** Rs. 2/8.
7.—**Story of Satara** Rs. 10/-
8.—**My Sojourn in England** Rs. 2/-
9.—**Diabetes Mellitus and its Diabetic Treatment, fifteenth edition** Rs. 2/-
10.—**Culture** Rs. 2/-
11.—**Indian Medicinal plants. First Edition** Rs. 275/-

Edited by—

1. ***Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*,** describing the decline and downfall of the Moghul Empire in India, translated from the Persian by GENERAL BRIGGS Rs. 3/8.
2. ***History of Nadir Shah*,** JAMES FRASER. A very rare work Rs. 3/-
3. ***History of Shah Alum*,** by W. FRANKLIN. Rs. 3/-
4. ***History of the reign of Tipu Sultan*,** translated from the Persian, by COLONEL MILES Rs. 3/-
5. ***Private Journal of the Marquis of Hastings*** Rs. 3/-
6. ***Decoitee in excelsis*** or spoliation of Oudh by the East India Company. By MAJOR BIRD Rs. 3/-
7. ***Empire in Asia.*** How we came by it. A book of confessions. By W. M. TORRENS, M.P. Cloth, gilt letters Rs. 4/-
8. ***The Government of India under a Bureaucracy.*** By JOHN DICKINSON, Jun. Rs. 2/-
9. ***The Native States*** As. 4/-
10. ***The State and Government of India under its native rulers*** As. 4/-
11. ***The Company and the Crown.*** By HON. T. J. HOWELL-THURLOW Rs. 3/-
12. ***Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown towards India.*** By Mr. M. Ludlow Rs. 3/-
13. ***A few words on our financial Relations with India.*** By Major Wingate As. 6/-
14. ***Origin of the Pindaries.*** First published in London, 1818. Cheap reprint Re. 1/8.

THE HIDDEN FEAR

By W. J. Ennever

FEW things which I have encountered in the course of my life have impressed me more than the prevalence of what I here call "*the hidden fear.*"

It is a fear which is not openly confessed: indeed, in many cases those who suffer from it are not conscious of its existence, even though its deterrent effects are constantly experienced. But nevertheless it is a very real fear which has far-reaching consequences.

Actually, this "hidden fear" of which I speak is at the root of what is termed "inferiority complex." It is probable that the more scientific term misleads a good many people, and that is why, for the present, I prefer to discuss it as "the hidden fear."

I have met with it in men whom none would suspect of an "inferiority complex"—they themselves would scorn the suggestion. Nevertheless, they are afflicted and handicapped by a "hidden fear" which prevents them being all that they might otherwise be. I have been honoured with the confidences of men and women of recognised eminence in many fields of human activity—statesmen, men of letters, actors, and members of the legal and medical profession—who have in the course of conversation revealed the existence of a fear which, consciously or unconsciously, dogs their progress.

The "hidden fear" is, however, much more in evidence with those whom I may term "the rank and file" of business and the professions, and, in my opinion, it is this which in the vast majority of cases is responsible for failure and mediocrity.

Here I will state an opinion which I firmly hold, and which every year, every day almost, tends to confirm. It is that *the normal man or woman possesses capacities and abilities far greater than they themselves believe.*

I make that statement quite seriously, for it is based upon my observation of some thousands of cases during my thirty years' work at the Pelman Institute.

A reader of these words may exclaim impatiently, "Oh! but that cannot apply in my case. I know myself: I know my own powers and my own limitations." Probably he does: but he has never sought to discover the cause of his "limitations." I venture to

say that the cause is, in almost every case, a hidden fear of some sort—a doubt, self-distrust, fear of opinion, timidity, dread of novelty or any departure from settled habits. It is impossible to catalogue all the varieties of the hidden fear, but these are some of the more prevalent, and until they are abolished a very real limit is set to the possibilities of progress.

They limit progress because they deter a man from exerting himself to the full extent of his capabilities. He does not really believe in his own abilities beyond a certain point, and, not believing, he does not try. He may be ambitious, but his fear of failure holds him back from the attempt to climb. And yet, if his fear, his doubt, his indecision, were to be analysed or subjected to the questionings of *reason*, they would vanish like a mist before the rising sun.

And, once again, I speak from long experience. I have known innumerable cases wherein those who have come to the Pelman Institute as confessed mediocrities, or even as positive failures, have subsequently made rapid progress, achieving what hitherto they had thought to be beyond their powers. The power had been in them all along, but it was held back by the "hidden fear."

That is why I say emphatically that most people possess far greater abilities than they credit themselves with; but as those abilities are unrecognised and not put to use, they remain in a lowly station instead of rising, as they well might, to the highest.

Nobody has ever been asked to take Pelmanism "on faith." I should, indeed, be very sorry if a single man or woman ever took the Course without being first completely satisfied that it is a thoroughly sound, scientific, and practical means of developing those latent powers of the brain which, called into activity, never fail to make all the difference between real success and—mediocrity.

A copy of the "Science of Success" (48 pp. illustrated) in which many people speak of Pelmanism from personal experience and which contains the opinions of Pelmanism contributed by a number of the most distinguished men and women will be sent free on application.

The Pelman Institute. Indian Headquarters Delhi 75.
Branch 102/75, Clive Street, Calcutta.

INDIAN CULTURE

Vol. II

OCTOBER, 1935

No. 2

CONTENTS

	ARTICLES	Page
NOTES ON THE SAKAS.		
By DR. STEN KONOW, PH.D.		189
ART NOTES FROM DHANAPĀLA'S TILAKAMAÑJARI.		
By MR. C. SIVARAMAMURTI, B.A.		199
TREATMENT OF RĪTI AND GUṆA IN THE DHVANYĀLOKA.		
By MR. PRAKAS CHANDRA LAHIRI, M.A.		211
THE PSYCHOBIOLOGICAL FACTOR OF SORROW (DUKKHA) AS THE FUNDAMENTAL PROCESS OF ORGANIC EVOLUTION.		
By DR. PANCHANAN MITRA AND MR. S. SIRCAR		225
THE APOCRYPHAL BRAHMA-PURĀṆA.		
By MR. RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA, M.A.		235
THE SIEGE OF CHITORE, 1533-35 A.D.		
By MR. GOLAP CHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A.		247
THE BENGALI COMMENTATORS ON THE AMARA-KŌṢA.		
By MR. NALINI NATH DASGUPTA, M.A.		261
FURNITURE—II (MAN'S INDEBTEDNESS TO PLANTS).		
By MR. GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR, M.Sc., B.L.		271
CONVEYANCES (MAN'S INDEBTEDNESS TO PLANTS).		
By MR. GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR, M.Sc., B.L.		277
THE THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM.		
By DR. S. K. DE, M.A., D.LITT.		291
PISCHEL ON CHARACTERISTICS OF PRĀKRIT LANGUAGES.		
By DR. BATAKRISHNA GHOSH, D.PHIL., D.LITT.		309
ASPECTS OF NIRVĀṆA.		
By DR. B. C. LAW, PH.D., M.A., B.L.		327
MISCELLANEA		
'ALĀ-UD-DĪN KHALJĪ'S DECCAN EXPEDITIONS.		
By MR. ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.		349

	<i>Page</i>
NOTES ON THE MĀLAVAS.	
By MR. JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH	352
MAHIPĀLA OF THE CHAṆḌAKAUŚIKAM.	
By MR. JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH	354
PĀṆINI AND THE YAVANAS.	
By MR. NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A.	356
KOLĀṆCHA, THE FATHERLAND OF THE RĀḌHĪ AND THE VĀRENDRA BRĀHMAṆAS.	
By MR. JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH	358
BENGALI POET LAKSMĪDHARA AND BHOJADEVA.	
By MR. JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH	360
FURTHER HISTORICAL DATA FROM PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA.	
By DR. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D.	362
INDRAMITRA AND BRAHMAMITRA (A REPLY TO A REJOINER).	
By MR. ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.	363
THE CUSTOM OF PRIVILEGED THEFT IN INDIA.	
By MR. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.	366

REVIEWS

BADLĀPUR-ĀMCAGĀM.	
By DR. B. A. SALETORÉ, M.A., PH.D., D.PHIL.	371
HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT: VOL. I, BENGAL (FROM RAM- MOHUN TO DAYĀNANDA 1821-84)	
By MR. NIHARRANJAN RAY, M.A.	372
DHOLĀ-MĀRŪ-RA-DŪHĀ—AN OLD RAJASTHANI LOVE-BALLAD.	
By MR. PURAN CHAND NAHAR, M.A., B.L.	372
A BUDDHIST BIBLIOGRAPHY.	
By DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.	374
EARLY BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES.	
By DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.	374
THE WILD TRIBES IN INDIAN HISTORY.	
By DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.	375
DIRECTIONAL ASTROLOGY OF THE HINDUS AS PROPOUNDED IN VIMSHOTTARI DĀSA.	
By MR. P. C. RAY	375
THE KĀṬHA UPANISAD.	
By MR. B. C. MAZUMDAR	377
A PAGEANT OF ASIA.	
By MR. ATUL K. SUR, M.A.	378
THE HILL BHUIYAS OF ORISSA.	
By MR. ATUL K. SUR, M.A.	380

CONTENTS

xvii

	<i>Page</i>
THE BRIHADĀRANYAKA UPANISAD. By MR. RAJENDRA NATH GHOSH'	381
THE PADYĀVALI OF RŪPA GOŚVĀMI. By RAI BAHADUR KHAGENDRA NATH MITTER, M.A.	382
A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, VOL. VII, KĀVYA MANUSCRIPTS. By MR. KALIRANJAN MUKHERJEE, M.A.	383
IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS.	387

**For
NEAT AND PROMPT
PRINTING SERVICE**



Ring up B.B. 3460

or Call at

**THE SREEKRISHNA
PRINTING WORKS**

259, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta

You will never have dissatisfaction

NOTES ON THE SAKAS

By STEN KONOW

In *Indian Culture*, I, pp. 275 ff., Professor Bhandarkar has discussed the dvandva compound *śakayavanam* 'Śakas and Yavanas' at the hand of the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini II, iv, 10 *sūdrānām aniravasitānām* ' (a dvandva compound) of (words denoting) Śūdras that are not *niravasita* (is singular)'. Patañjali takes *niravasita* to mean 'excluded', and raises the question what this means. It cannot, he says, mean 'from Āryāvarta', because we say, e.g. *śakayavanam* (though Śakas and Yavanas live outside of Āryāvarta). Nor can we supply 'from *āryanivāsa*', i.e. according to Bhandarkar 'the Aryan settlements', because we cannot say *caṇḍālamṛtapam* (though Caṇḍālas and Mṛtapas are not excluded from such settlements). If we think of 'excluded from sacrifices', there is the same difficulty, because we say, e.g. *takṣāyaskāram* 'carpenters and blacksmiths' (though these castes are excluded from sacrifice). The only satisfactory explanation is, according to Patañjali 'debarred from the dish', i.e. such compounds must denote Śūdras that are not considered so unclean that they would make dishes permanently unfit for use by the Aryans, if they were to eat from them.

From this passage Bhandarkar draws the following conclusions about the position of the Śakas in Patañjali's time: (1) they were considered to be Śūdras, and thus not only Aryanized, but also Brahmanized; (2) they were not living in Āryāvarta, but; (3) in Aryan settlements, 'not only in the Aryan towns, but also in the Aryan villages and hamlets'. They must therefore have come into social contact with the Aryans, and their standing was so high 'that they (4) were entitled to the performance of a sacrifice', and (5) 'could interdine with the twice-born castes' 'without permanently defiling their utensils'. 'They were like the Yavanas living together with the Aryans in the various Aryan settlements. In other words, we may take it, (6) that they like the Bactrian Greeks had carved a tiny kingdom for themselves. This is a point of great importance, because here the evidence is clear that in the time of Patañjali, that is, between 184 and 148 B.C., the Śakas like the Yavanas had established their power, if not in Āryāvarta proper, certainly in the north-west portion of India'. 'They must have migrated into the north-west of India not as late as 75 B.C. as has hereupto been assumed, but as early as 175 B.C., as is clear from the passage from Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya.'

These conclusions go against everything which we thought were established. But as they are due to a scholar of very high standing, many people will accept them as necessary. I am not, however, quite convinced that the argument is conclusive.

It is not necessary to consider whether Patañjali has grasped the real meaning of Pāṇini's *aniravasita*. We are only concerned with Patañjali's interpretation. And it may be questioned whether we can draw other inferences from his words than that the Śakas were, in his days, looked upon as Śūdras, and that they were not settled in Āryāvarta. The dvandva *śakayavanam* has been mentioned in order to show that *aniravasita* cannot mean 'not established outside of Āryāvarta', and it is not, in my opinion, necessary to apply the remaining tests to it.

This point need not, however, trouble us in the present connexion. We may, for the sake of argument, accept Bhandarkar's implication.

As to the first point, that the Śakas must have been not only Aryanized but also Brahmanized, because they are called Śūdras, it is perhaps possible to entertain some doubt. The Yavanas, who are mentioned together with them, were also 'Śūdras' and must have been considered as such even in earlier times, simply because they were not Aryans. Still we read in Aśoka's 13th rock edict that Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas were not found among them, and we have not, so far as I know, the slightest indication to the effect that these Yavanas, and still less the Śakas, had become Brahmanized in the meantime.

The second point, that the Śakas were not living within Āryāvarta, is not subject to doubt. But it is perhaps less certain that Bhandarkar is right regarding the third one, when he says that they were living together with the Aryans in the various Aryan settlements and must therefore have come into social contact with them. Patañjali tells us what is to be understood under the term *āryanivāsa*, viz. villages, hamlets, towns and *saṃvāhas*. It is therefore quite justifiable to assume that *āryanivāsa* means 'such dwelling-places as the Aryans use', and it is not necessary to draw the inference that the Śakas were living together with the Aryans in the Aryan towns, etc., the less so, because Patañjali expressly tells us that this test has nothing to do with Pāṇini's rule.

The fourth point is of still less importance, because we learn that singular dvandvas can also be formed of names of Śūdras who were not entitled to sacrificial performances.

It can also be doubted whether Bhandarkar is right with regard to the fifth statement, that the Śakas could interdine with the Aryans without permanently defiling their utensils. If they were living so

far away that they had practically no social contact with the Aryans, the question would not arise at all. A foreigner might very well be looked upon as a Śūdra, i.e. a non-Aryan, without being considered as untouchable.

That the Śakas had, in Patañjali's time, 'a tiny kingdom', or even several such, is hardly to be doubted. But, so far as I can see, there is no evidence of the existence of any such kingdom in north-western India in those days. The fact that Patañjali uses the form Śaka instead of the indigenous Saka rather points to the conclusion that they were settled at some distance.

I cannot therefore accept Bhandarkar's interpretation of the Mahābhāṣya passage. We have no information of Sakas in India before the conquest led by the chiefs of which Moga seems to have been the principal one, and I agree with Rapson and Bhandarkar that these Sakas came to India, *via* the Bolan Pass, in the first century B.C., i.e. after Patañjali's time.

At the time when the Mahābhāṣya was written the Sakas were, in my opinion, only known as a foreign tribe, in some way connected with the Yavanas, and it is *a priori* likely that these Yavanas were the Greek chiefs of Bactria. Everything which we know about the history of the Sakas seems to point in that direction.

In the present connexion I need not consider the question whether Saka tribes had been settled in Sakastana at a much earlier date, as maintained by Thomas¹ and others. It will be sufficient to recall what we know about the development which led to the establishment of Saka kingdoms in Bactria and to the south of Bactria, and I shall limit myself to those Chinese accounts which have indications of the date when the events occurred.

We read in the Ts'ien Han-shu, which covers the period 206 B.C. to A.D. 24, that the Yüe-chi, after having been defeated by the Hiung-nu ca. 174 B.C., attacked the Saiwang, i.e. the Saka king, in the west, whereafter the Sai-wang went south and went far, while the Yüe-chi stayed in their country, i.e. according to Sinologists south-east of Issyk Kul.

The Yüe-chi were subsequently driven out of the old Saka country by the Wu-sun ruler K'un-mo, in the year when the Hiung-nu king Kiyuk died, i.e. 160 B.C. They then went west and became rulers of the Ta-hia, and the Sai-wang went south and became masters of Ki-pin. 'The Sai tribes were scattered and constituted several kingdoms in various directions. From Shu-le (Kāshgar) to the north-west, all those who belong to the Hiu-sün

¹ J.R.A.S., 1906, pp. 181 ff.

and Yüan-tu were old Sai tribes.' According to Karlgren¹ that probably implies that the Yüe-chi replaced the Sakas as rulers of the Ta-hia country, and that various Saka tribes were then in existence over a wide territory west of Kāshgar.

When Chang-k'ien visited the Yüe-chi in 126 B.C., he found them to the north of the Oxus, while the Ta-hia capital was to the south of the river, and it was only subsequently that they crossed the Oxus and effectively replaced the Sakas in the Ta-hia country.

The Saka conquest of the Ta-hia country was thus subsequent to their first defeat by the Yüe-chi, and it was then that they began to exercise pressure on the Greek rulers in Bactria, with whom they had formerly had no contact. This coincides with Patañjali's date, and it seems to me that his mentioning the compound *śakayavanam* finds its natural explanation in the reports which must have reached India in his days about the struggle between Sakas and Yavanas in Bactria.

The Saka conquest of Ki-pin, on the other hand, can certainly not be dated before 160 B.C., and must probably be subsequent to 126 B.C. Bhandarkar's theory that there was a Saka principality in the north-west at a considerably earlier date thus militates against what we have every reason for considering as established facts.

In Ki-pin the Sakas came into contact with at least one other Iranian tribe, viz. the Kāmbojas.²

B. C. Law has maintained that the Kāmbojas in Vedic times formed an important section of the Vedic Indian people and were not Iranians, because a Kāmboja Aupamanyava is mentioned as one of the Sāmaveda teachers in the Vamśa Brāhmaṇa. But this inference is not unobjectionable. We do not know how old the Vamśa Brāhmaṇa is. The remark in the thirteenth rock edict of Aśoka that 'there is no country, except among the Yonas, where these classes, the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas do not exist', no doubt shows that there were Brāhmaṇas in the Kāmboja country at an early date. But nevertheless Yāska, Nirukta II, 2, definitely distinguishes the Kāmbojas from the Aryans, and this statement is repeated in the Mahābhāṣya I, 9. When Yāska and Patañjali find a connexion between the Kāmboja verb *śavati* 'he goes' and *śava* 'corpse', we must remember that they do not seem to have known much about Iranian languages. To us it cannot underlie any doubt that the base *śu* 'to go' is the Iranian root which we find in Sogdian *šw*, Saka *tsu*, Persian *šudan*, etc., and which is remotely connected

¹ Cf. my remarks in the Journal of Indian History, XII, pp. 9 ff.

² Cf. the excellent summary of what we know about this tribe in Bimala Charan Law's Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India, Calcutta, 1923, pp. 235 ff.

with Skr. *cyu*. Since the Kāmbojas used this verb, we must, in my opinion, draw the conclusion that they were Iranians.

That the Sakas were once settled near the country where we have every reason for locating the Kāmbojas can, I think, be safely inferred from the tradition preserved by Hemacandra about *murundās*, i.e. Sakas, in Laghman.¹ And that the two tribes became somewhat intimately connected is *a priori* likely, and it would become certain if the *Kamuiyas*, who are associated with the family of the Saka Mahākṣatrāpa Rajula of the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription, are in fact Kāmbojas, *kamuiya-* being just the form we would expect in the dialect for an old *Kāmbojika*.

It is therefore perhaps more than a mere guess that the Saka hordes who, in the first century B.C., conquered a large territory in Western and North-Western India were also recruited from the Kābul country. But the Saka settlements in those parts must be subsequent to Patañjali's time.

That the Sakas were Iranians is apparently not doubted by anybody, and that they were considered to be rather closely connected with the Kāmbojas may be inferred from the fact that the two tribes are so frequently mentioned together. In his masterly study in the Berlin Sitzungsberichte, 1913, pp. 406 ff., Lüders has further shown that certain names and orthographic peculiarities prove that the Indian Śakas spoke practically the same language as the Iranian rulers of the Khotan realm.

Lüders was of opinion that the Iranians of Khotan had, for a considerable period, been settled on Indian soil, and if such were the case, Bhandarkar's theory might find a certain support.

The language spoken by these Iranians is now fairly well known, through a series of Buddhist texts and several secular documents. But much still remains to be done. Dr. H. W. Bailey has recently found a Saka itinerary, ending in Kashmir. Mention is there made of three saṅghārāmas bearing the name *abimmanyagauṣṭi*. The document must accordingly be later than Abhimanyugupta (A.D. 958-972), so that the language was still spoken about A.D. 1000. The Buddhist texts show a considerably older form, but we are still unable to state with any degree of confidence how far back they can be dated.

Various names have been suggested for this form of speech : North Aryan, East Iranian, Khotanī, and Saka. None of them is quite satisfactory. 'North Iranian' is based on the mistaken assumption that we have to do with a separate branch of Aryan languages, which was neither Indian nor Iranian. 'East Iranian'

¹ Cf. B. C. Law, Indian Culture, I, p. 387 : *Lampākās tu murundāh syuh*.

is too wide, because also Sogdian is an eastern Iranian tongue; 'Khotanī', because also other languages have been and are spoken in Khotan, and 'Saka', because it is *a priori* probable that there were more than one Saka language. If we want a precise designation, we may think of 'Khotanese Middle Iranian', 'Khotanese East Iranian' or 'Khotanī Saka', and I shall provisionally use the last-mentioned term. We now know, however, that the speakers themselves called their language *hvatanaa*, i.e. *havadanaa*, and the country *hvatana*, i.e. *havadana*, and it is *a priori* likely that *havadana* is the same word as *Khotan*.

In the Chinese T'ang-shu we read¹: 'Yut'ien (i.e. Khotan) is also called Kū-sa-tan-na (*Kiu-sat-ta-na*), or also Hoan-na (*xuan-na*) or K'ü-tan (*K'iu-t-tan*). The northern barbarians call it Yu-toen (*Yiu-d'uən*). The various Hu peoples speak of Ho-tan (*xuat-tan*)'.

Here *Yu-t'ien* is the traditional Chinese form, which was adopted at a much earlier date, and which, according to Karlgren, began with a *g* in Archaic Chinese. It cannot, of course be utilized for ascertaining the local pronunciation of the name in later days. *Kū-sa-ta-na* clearly represents *Kustana*, and has sometimes been considered as a mistaken semi-Sanskritization. We can also abstract from the forms used by the northern barbarians and by the Hu tribes. The remaining designations, *Hoan-na* and *K'ü-tan* seem to be mentioned as variants of the names used by the Khotanese themselves.

K'ü-tan clearly represents *Khotan*, and *Hoan-na* is evidently the same word as *Hvadana*, for which we also find *Hvamna* in Khotanī Saka documents.

Though it is remarkable that the intervocalic *t* is attested in the name Khotan from the oldest Chinese adaptation till the present day, there cannot *a priori* be any serious objection to the assumption that *Hvadana*, *Hvamna* represents an adaptation of the ancient name in accordance with the phonetical tendencies of the Iranians who held sway in the country from an unknown date. In Khotanī Saka every intervocalic *t* became *d*, and this *d* was subsequently dropped. We must, however, reckon with another possibility. The word *Hvadana* can have been the designation used by the Iranians to denote themselves, perhaps derived from the pronoun *hva*, Skr. *sva*, which base is well-known to have been used for forming ethnic names. On account of the similarity in sound, it can then subsequently have been applied to the country itself, instead of, or at the side of, the old form *Khotan*.

¹ The pronunciation of the Chinese names in the T'ang period has been added within parenthesis, from Karlgren's well-known dictionary.

As already stated, we do not know when the Iranian language was introduced in Khotan. In his ingenious paper on the languages of Ancient Khotan,¹ Thomas comes to the conclusion that the old vernacular of Khotan was a monosyllabic form of speech, of a similar kind as Tibetan, and that the Iranian language must have been introduced in the period between Sung-yun (518 A.D.) and Hiuen-tsang. His conclusions are based on a careful analysis of names and words occurring in a series of texts found in the Tibetan Tanjur and in the Kharoṣṭhī documents recovered in Chinese Turkestan and accessible in the magnificent edition of Messrs. Boyer, Rapson and Senart.² The Tibetan texts are no doubt comparatively late, but they seem to be based on good old traditional accounts. The bulk of the Kharoṣṭhī documents come from the old Shan-shan country and not from Khotan, but it is highly probable that the Indian dialect in which they are written came to Shan-shan *via* Khotan. The material used by Thomas is therefore unobjectionable. Still I have always hesitated to accept his conclusions. And, so far as I can see, there is, in the big collection, one document which seems to speak against them.

I refer to the only record which is distinctly referred to the reign of a king of Khotan, viz. No. 661. It has been ably edited, with a series of illuminating remarks, by Peter S. Noble,³ and it seems to be of considerable interest. The consistent writing of *dh* for every initial *d* points to a pronunciation with an initial corresponding to *th* in English 'thou'. Forms such as *ija* for *īsa*, *saḡaḡi* for *sakāṣe*, *dhivajha* for *divasa* point to a voiced pronunciation of intervocalic *ś* and *s*. *Kāli* for *kāle*, *ajīṣanayi* for *adhyeṣanayā*, etc. seem to show that *e* had become *ī*. The form *aṣṭi* 'eight' is quite isolated, other documents having *aṭha*. All these features have, as is well-known, exact parallels in Khotanī Saka. For details I must refer the reader to my paper quoted above. Since it was written, T. Burrow⁴ has drawn attention to a word occurring in the document, which seems to add considerable strength to my argument. The record is dated on the 18th day of the third month of the tenth year, during the reign of *Khotana maharaya rayatiraya hinajhasya aviḡidasimḡhasya*, i.e. the Khotan mahārāja rājātirāja hinajha Avijitasimha. The term *hinajha*, which has not hitherto been understood, is explained as representing *hīnāza*, i.e. army-leader, and as a translation of the

¹ Asia Major II, pp. 251 ff., cf. his paper in Festgabe Jacobi, pp. 46 ff.

² Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan. Oxford, 1920-1929.

³ Bulletin of The School of Oriental Studies, Vol. VI, pp. 445 ff., cf. also my remarks Acta Orientalia, X, pp. 67 ff.

⁴ Bulletin of The School of Oriental Studies, Vol. VII, pp. 514 ff.

Greek title *stratēgos*. This brilliant identification is, I think, absolutely convincing, and *hīnāza* is just the form we would expect in Khotanī Saka, cf. *hīna*, Avestan *haēnā* 'army'.

The use of this Iranian word, in addition to the features mentioned above, seems to make it almost certain that Khotanī Saka was used in Khotan in the days of Avijitasimha. The circumstances in which the record was found show that it cannot well be later than about the middle of the third century. The translation of the Greek title *stratēgos* may even point to a somewhat earlier date. According to Rapson,¹ this title was 'inherited by the Śakas and Pahlavas from the Yavanas', and 'the line of *stratēgoi* was no doubt continued under the suzerainty of the Kuṣāṇas'. The use of this title by King Avijitasimha thus seems to indicate that the Saka rulers of Khotan had some relations with their kinsmen in India and the Indian borderlands, and they may themselves have come to Khotan from that region.

Before leaving this record, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the name of the country is there *Khotana*, not *Khodana* or *Hvadana*.

It has not hitherto been possible to find traces of any other Saka language in Chinese Turkestan. Quite recently, however, this state of things has been altered, and new facts have been brought to light, which may prove of some importance for our knowledge of the history of the Sakas.

Among the Central Asian antiquities collected in the Berlin Academy there are some documents, which have not hitherto been utilized for the simple reason that we could not understand them. They comprise six documents found at Maralbashi, near Kāshgar, one tablet recovered at the neighbouring Tumshuk, and an incomplete folio excavated at Murtuk near Karakhoja in Turfan.

They are all written in the alphabet which we know from the so-called Tokharian, especially the B dialect,² with the addition of nine unknown letters. In a paper contributed to the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, I hope to have proved that the language used in these records is so closely connected with Khotanī Saka that we can only consider the two forms of speech as sister dialects. The documents seem to belong to about the 7th century A.D., i.e. to be contemporary with Khotanī Saka literature, but there are no traces of any connexion with Khotan. The Iranians

¹ Cambridge History of India, I, pp. 579, 591.

² The question about the proper name of the language is still *sub judice*; cf. the papers quoted *Acta Orientalia*, XIII, pp. 244 ff., and by Reuter, *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, XLVII, 4.

of Maralbashi use titles such as *jezdampura*, Khotanī Saka *jastapūra*, evidently a translation of *devaputra*, and *Vāsudeva*, so that it seems necessary to infer that they had inherited traditions connecting them with the Kuṣāṇas. But the script and other impulses they had received from the east, especially from Karashahr, and it is even probable that some of their kinsmen were settled as subjects of Karashahr.

Though the Maralbashi dialect is closely related to Khotanī Saka, it deviates in some respects, usually so that it has preserved older forms. I shall only mention one detail. We have seen that old *ai* became *ī* in Khotanī Saka, e.g. in *hīna* 'army'. In Maralbashi, on the other hand, we have *e*; thus *vedidi*, Khotanī Saka *ggitte*, i.e. *γitte* 'proclaims'. It seems justifiable to draw the conclusion that the two tribes had separated before old *ai* became *ī* in Khotanī Saka. And that would mean that they must have done so before the time of Avijitasimha. It is hardly possible to object that *ai* may have become *ī* earlier before *n* than elsewhere. Forms such as *kali*, *ajiṣanayi*, mentioned above, show that the change was general, and, on the other hand, in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from the Shan-shan realm we find *e* for old *ai* before *n* in *jhemiga*, Khotanī Saka *ysinīta* 'entrusted'.

The two Saka tribes must therefore have separated some time before the middle of the third century, and there is no *a priori* objection to thinking of the second century or even earlier.

The Iranians of Maralbashi seem to have used the identical designation *Hvadana* about themselves as those of Khotan. If *Hvadana*, therefore, is the same word as *Khotan*, we must necessarily infer that the *Hvadanans* of Maralbashi had come from Khotan.

Further research will perhaps lead to the result that such was actually the case, and it is certainly too early to think of a final solution of the problem raised by the Maralbashi colony. I can only draw attention to some features which seem to speak against the identification of *Hvadana* and Khotan.

The designation *Hvadana* is common to the two tribes, and we must probably infer that it had come into use before they separated. The fact that Khotan is called *Khotana* and not *Hvadana* in the Avijitasimha record seems to speak against its identification with *Hvadana*. But we *can* assume that *Khotana* was the old pre-Iranian form of the name and was retained in writing, though the Iranians pronounced it *Hvadana*.

Another difficulty is that there are no traces of relations between the *Hvadanans* of Khotan and those of Maralbashi. It may be solved by assuming that the two tribes, who must have separated before the middle of the third century, had lost contact with each

other in the seventh century, though both still preserved traces of former relations with their cousins in India and the Indian borderlands. The Maralbashi Havadanas must then, at a later stage of development, have come under the influence of the civilization developed by other, more eastern, tribes.

Finally, all that we know about the wanderings of the Sakas seems to show that they usually led them to the south, while an emigration from Khotan to Maralbashi would have gone in the opposite direction.

None of these considerations can be said to be decisive. Taken together, however, they raise a certain presumption in favour of the possibility mentioned above, that Havadana is the old indigenous name of the tribe and has only subsequently, after the Havadanas had made themselves masters of Khotan, been used as a name of the country.

In that case it would be a likely hypothesis that the Havadanas came to Khotan not from Bactria or from the Indian borderlands, but from the north, and that the Havadanas of Maralbashi were descended from a section of the tribe, which did not follow the main branch down to Khotan, but remained in and about Maralbashi, and subsequently lost contact with the rest, but at least for some time, kept in contact with their kinsmen in Bactria and India, and subsequently came under the influence of the wave of civilization which spread over the northern oases of Eastern Turkestan and led to a rich development, especially in the east, whence the Havadanas of Maralbashi received the art of writing and probably also Buddhism, to which we can see that they were devoted.

The immigration which led the Havadanas to Maralbashi and Khotan must, at all events, be referred to a comparatively early date. It might even be considered as the final stage in the southwards movement of the Sakas after their first defeat at the hands of the Yüe-chi. It is so far impossible to fix a *terminus post quem*.

How long the Iranian language held its own in Maralbashi, we cannot say. In the Murtuk folio there are some attempts at using it in poetical writings. But we do not know of any literature written in it. The colophon of a Turkish Translation of a Buddhist work¹ contains the remark that it was translated from the Kūsān into the Barčuq language. Barčuq is a name of Maralbashi, and at the date of the colophon the written language of Maralbashi was consequently Turkī. But no inference can be drawn from this fact as to the later history of the Iranian dialect of the Havadanas.

¹ F. W. K. Müller, Berlin Sitzungsberichte, 1918, p. 580.

ART NOTES FROM DHANAPĀLA'S TILAKAMAÑJARI

By C. SIVARAMAMURTI

Introductory Note :

Of the many books in Sanskrit that go to form its rich and vast literature there would be rarely one that fails to create sufficient interest even in a general reader by rambling sometimes into spheres of knowledge other than the one that that particular one professes to treat. Of many such subjects that creep into books Art—painting and sculpture—is one ; and literary references to it are numerous. Lots of tomes there are, some packed with these valuable evidences of the history, evolution and concept of Art and some others giving occasional but nevertheless very valuable references. To the former type should be assigned the splendid prose romance of Dhanapāla, the Jain writer, which teems and bristles with notes on Art on every page. The special mention of some technical terms in the Tilakamañjarī makes the study all the more useful and interesting. There are lots of references to show what an advanced concept of Art criticism obtained in Ancient India ; and the conversations of princes and painters and Citrācāryas are as edifying as instructive. The period ought to have been characterized by a munificent patronage of the royal court, old temples being repaired and workmen like sculptors and painters being engaged in the work.¹ Even the wayside wells near shady banyan trees had the sides of the walls near the entrance (gateway) painted in gay colours with the forms of different gods.² So Art was not a stray thing preserved in a museum or some such place kept aloof and dissociated from daily life but was an element throbbing in the very veins of an active and vigorously alive nature all animate with human thought and movement.

Citravidyā :

The tremendous importance attached to the learning of Art is really well understood only when we see the very many passages in literature where the encyclopædic knowledge of the princes, noblemen, princesses and other high class men and women of the

¹ क्वचिद्दर्शनपद्यावतीर्षेषु श्रीर्षदेवतायतनेषु कर्मारम्भाय सपदि संपादितपूजासत्काराग्यापारयतः । p. 54.

² द्वारमभित्तिर्भ्रमप्रतिष्ठितानेकदेवताप्रतिमाभिः नार्जवापीभिः अपुठितमहावटद्रुमोपान्नाखलाम् । p. 95.

land is spoken and special emphasis is laid on painting and music. We know from the Bhāgavata that of the four upavedas Sthāpatya-veda is one¹; painting and sculpture being integral parts of architecture which is embellished by the agency of these two we can evaluate aright the worth and need of this branch of knowledge in a scheme of polite learning. This accounts for passages like the one where Harivāhana's knowledge of painting and music is emphasized when his equipment in learning is narrated.² Harivāhana is eulogized as a pāradrśvā in Nṛtta, Citra and Gīta elsewhere in the book.³ There is given in one passage a long list of different interesting branches of knowledge mastered by a princess—all of them fine arts—and the proficiency of the royal lady is such that she is not afraid of being questioned on these subjects—but rather welcomes friendly discussions on these.⁴ No wonder such worthy and excellent masters of the art, amateurs though they be, are respected by even the professionals and we have lots of painters carrying pictures to them for criticism and appreciation⁵; and long hours are spent, as one passage gives it, by the prince in trying to solve the Cārūtva-tattva in the company of townfolk well-versed in the Citraśāstra, Alekhyāśāstravids, and masters of art, Citravidyopādhyāyas.⁶ At a mere sign of the brow the prince gets the picture, wrapped up in silken covers and the like, laid bare and unrolled⁷ and the beautiful form of the figure is revealed to him for his critical estimate of it. Whole days are sometimes spent by the prince in looking at

1 आयुर्वेदं धनुर्वेदं गान्धर्वं वेदमात्मनः ।

स्वापत्यं चाखण्डेदं क्रमात्पूर्वादिभिर्मुक्तैः ॥ Bhāgavata III, xii, 38.

2 विशेषतश्चित्रकर्मणि वीणावाद्ये च प्रवीणतां प्राप । p. 65.

3 नृत्यगीतचित्राविकलाशस्त्रपारदृशा हरिवाहनो नाम कुमारः । p. 133.

4 यदि च कौतुकं ततश्चित्रकर्मणि वीणादिवाद्ये स्थास्यतापठवगतेषु नात्यप्रयोगेषु षड्जादिसरविभाग-निर्णयेषु पुस्तककर्मणि द्रविडादिषु पञ्चदशभेदेषु च विदग्धजनयोग्येषु वस्तुविज्ञानेषु शृङ्गेणाम् । p. 297.

5 ऽट्टहाष चित्रपटमेनम् । अथ प्रथमेन भूला लिखितमेकं मया दिव्यकुमारिकारूपमनुरूपपरिवारपरिकरम् । तदस्य कुव कलाशास्त्रकुशलस्य कौशलिकम् । अहमपि त्वामनुप्राप्त एव ।' इत्यभिधानः संनिधानस्थापितायाः प्रहृष्टचौमकर्पटप्रवेविकायाः सथलमाह्वय चित्रपटमेनसुपानीतवान् । p. 133.

6 मकरध्वजायतनदीर्घिकातीरपरिसरे निषण्णः संनिधानवर्तिभिश्चित्रविद्योपाध्यायैरन्यैश्च जनपरम्परा-जनितकुतूहलैश्चित्रमवलीकयितुमागतेराजोऽस्यशास्त्रविद्विर्मानरसोक्तैः सद्य विचारयन्नविचार्यं चावस्ततस्तं तस्याश्चित्रपटपुत्रिकाया रूपमपसारितापरविनोदः पूर्वाह्वयमयत् । p. 144.

7 सलीलवस्त्रितभूषताकृशिताक्रया च तथा विसारिते पुरस्तात्तत्र निहितदृष्टिरत्युत्कृष्टरूपा..... चित्रपुत्रिकां ददर्श । p. 132.

numberless pictures of the most reputed beauties of the day—so great is the passion for the art.¹ The word parityaktānyakarmā is here very significant.

Citraśālā :

The information on the Citraśālā that we get in literature is not merely ample but more—is almost exhaustive. In fact we know more of it, its structure, its types, its contents and so on, through literary evidences than through passages in the Śilpa texts describing it. The Citraśālā is a vast subject of study and it has been dealt with in a separate paper²; it is therefore proposed to give here all that Dhanapāla has said on it in his book.

It is evident from literature that there were three kinds of Citraśālās, the public art galleries, the private ones in the houses of wealthy men, noblemen and others, and the art galleries of the royal palaces. Of the last we have definite divisions made by Dhanapāla. Though almost every apartment in the palace was filled with pictures we have the Jalamaṇḍapa and the Antahpura mentioned specially as containing art treasures. Painting the Jalamaṇḍapa appears to have been especially popular in Ancient India and that that served as a Citraśālā by itself is no exaggeration. Dhanapāla's special mention of a Citraśālā in the Jalamaṇḍapa³ is supported by Kālidāsa's similar mention of paintings in the Jalamaṇḍapas of Ayodhyā.⁴

From a separate mention of the Citraśālās of the harem we are led to understand that the kings had Citraśālās of their own different from those in the queens' apartments. The beautiful picture halls of the queens appear to have been situated in a central place in the mansions with a big verandah about them containing many seats for the weary ones to sit and rest before finishing a round in the hall and exhausting all the pictures giving each one the proper attention that is its due.⁵

Apart from the art galleries of the harem there appear to have been special Citraśālās, of course minor ones, of the bedroom. These

¹ कदाचिद्गमालोत्तर इति निपुणचित्रकरैश्चित्रपटेष्वारोप्य सादरमुपायनीकृतानि रूपातिशयशालिनीना-
मवनिपासकन्यकानां प्रतिविम्बानि परित्यक्तान्यकर्मा दिवसमलोकयत् । p. 15.

² Triveni, Vol. VII, No. ii, p. 169. Citraśālās: Ancient Indian Art Galleries by C. Sivaramamurti.

³ अतिविचित्रानेकचित्रशालं जलमण्डपमगच्छत् । p. 88.

⁴ चित्रद्विपाः पद्मवनावतीयाः करेशुभिर्दत्तमृगालभङ्गाः ।

मञ्जुश्रावणविभिन्नकुम्भाः संख्यसिद्धप्रसूतं वदन्ति ॥ Raghuvamśa xvi, 16.

⁵ अधिवृत्तान्तःपुरप्रासादमिममस्याश्चित्रशालिकायाः प्राणवितर्दिकोपविष्टां समास्त्रिषु देवीं, etc. p. 24.

were called Śayanagr̥hacitraśālās. Dhanapāla has taken trouble to emphasize this type of Citrasadma by mentioning it in his book a number of times.¹ The magnificence and glory of the art gallery is best brought home to our mind only by a knowledge of how it was arranged and kept. We get an inkling of the way the Citraśālās were maintained from the line of Dhanapāla wherein he talks of the floor of the hall as being smeared all over with rich sandal paste.² From that and in proportion to that we are to imagine the rest of the beautifying of the mansion. The line is no doubt an exaggeration. The Citraśālās appear to have been highly perfumed. But the grandeur and glory of the institution must have been true.

Rangavalli :

The name Rangavalli is of very frequent occurrence in literature and it simply means 'colour creeper'. It consists of fantastic or symmetrical drawings of designs and creepers on the floor with colour powders and such other transitory materials. There is a mark of auspiciousness attached to these drawings and they are usually practised by Hindu women all over India. The vernacular name Rangoli in Bombay signifies these creepers and it is but a corruption of the Sanskrit term. Mr. Gladstone Solomon in his pretty little book 'The Charm of Indian Art' really charms us with a graphic account of Rangoli as it obtains in the Bombay parts to-day. The Alpona of Bengal and the not-very-well-known but nevertheless the most important of this type of Rangavalli that lingers still in our land, the Kolam of South India, of which no one has cared to say even a wee little, are also of especial interest to the student of Indian design and freehand drawing.

Poets have waxed eloquent when describing the Rangavalli and there are whole passages in their works giving a graphic account of the themes, the methods and the beauties of Indian design.³

¹ रथितमथिना भूषणचक्रवालेन वाचास्यन्ती चित्रशालिका शय्यामसुचत् । p. 238.

...प्रविश्य बन्धुसुन्दरीद्वितीया शयनचित्रशालाम् । p. 246.

आरोप्य च शयनचित्रशालिकायामवलम्बितगतिस्तत्कालमेव गत्वा, etc. p. 266.

cf. विविचित्रशालिनि.....शय्यामृदे । Nalacampū, p. 83.

² चित्रशालास्त्रासंपादयमानश्चरिचन्दनपद्मोपलेपनं । p. 34.

³ Soddhala shows these drawings to be transitory in the line of his Udaya-sundarikathā—

मन्त्रिचोलास्तसंमार्जनेन भव्यमानरङ्गावलिः । p. 39.

He stresses its special quality of adding grace to the floor in the line—

रङ्गावलीवस्तयमिव प्राङ्गभुवः, चित्रमिव भित्तेः,....शोभाविष्कारयकारयमक्ति नगरमिन्द्रीवरं नाम ।

Bāṇa has specially dealt with it in his Kādambarī and Trivikrama talks of different types of Kolams in his Nalacampū. There are innumerable other poets that have contributed to our knowledge of design in Rangavalli as practised in Ancient India. Dhanapāla has also a lot of useful information to supply on this very fascinating subject.

In one sufficiently long passage,¹ that resembles the one of Bāṇa in his Kādambarī,² Dhanapāla tells us of how the floor is first smeared with haricandana, i.e. sandal—it is an exaggeration to talk of haricandana lepana in an ordinary house but in the royal mansion which he describes it is quite alright—and then drawings of Svastika in colour powders are laid on it with care and dexterity, how the figure of Śaṣṭhī devī is sketched, and how the Maṭṛpāṭala (perhaps the Aṣṭamātarah) is arranged on the ground and so on as also Rakṣābhūtirekhā (amulet-like powerful drawings calculated to drive away spells). In another passage the threshold of the temple of Kāmadeva is described as filled with different patterns of creepers all drawn with colour powders in innumerable tints.³ This sort of beautifying the floor of a temple or place of worship is known as Balikarma.

All these aforestated drawings are drawn with colour powders and come under the head Dhūlicitra mentioned in the Śilpa texts like the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi, the Śilparatna and so on. There is also another type, given in the selfsame Śilpa works, by name Rasacitra and this also is mentioned by Dhanapāla. A maiden, Candralekhā, is asked to draw Svastika designs with kṣīrodamauktikakṣoda⁴—a white watery solution described as that of powdered

¹ 'कुचत हारिचन्दनोपलेपहारि मन्दिराङ्गणम्, रचयत स्थानस्थानकेषु रत्नचूर्णस्रस्त्रिकाम्, दत्त हारि नूतन चूतपञ्चवदाम, विकिरतान्नवत्फुल्लपङ्कजोपहारम्, कारयत सर्वतः शान्तिस्रस्त्रिस्त्रेपमहतकालक्षेपम्, आचरत भगवतीं षष्ठीदेवीम्, आलिखत ज्ञातमाहपठलम्, आरभतार्यट्कासपर्याम्, विधत्त पर्यन्तेषु ग्रथनस्य सद्योभिमन्त्रितां रक्षाभूतिरेचाम्,' इत्यादि जल्पता तल्पनिकटोपविष्टेन शुद्धान्तनिकटोपविष्टेन शुद्धान्तजरतीजनेन, etc. p. 63.

² उभयतश्च द्वारपञ्चकयोर्मर्यादाभिपुष्येन गोमयीभिस्त्वानविनिहितवराटकदन्तुराभिरन्तरान्तरावहविविध-वर्षारागवधिरकूर्पांसकुसुमबोशलाण्डिताभिः कुसुम्भकेसरलावाञ्जेषुलोहिताभिर्लेशाभिरालिखितस्रस्त्रिकभक्तिजाल-सुपरचयता हारिद्रद्रावविष्णुरक्षपिङ्गरिताम्बरधारिणीं भगवतीं षष्ठीं देवीं कुर्वता विकचपञ्चपुडविकटशिशु-वृष्टमण्डलाधिरुठमाञ्जोस्रलोहितपटवटितपताकमुकसितशक्तिदण्डप्रचण्डं कार्तिकेयं संघटयता विन्यसाञ्जलक-पाठलमध्यभागौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसावाषप्रता...पुरन्धिवर्गेषु समधिहितम् । Kā, pp. 142-143.

³ .. स्रस्त्रिन्दकाशिखितवज्रवर्षचूर्णपञ्चवकिना... वल्लिकर्मणा कल्पापितसमघ्राधिसभूमिभागं... कुसुम-भरासनं देवमद्राचम् । p. 249.

⁴ चन्द्रलेखे, विलिख्य प्रशस्तस्रस्त्रितामितकृतः क्षीरोदभौक्तिकचोदः स्रस्त्रिकाम् । p. 304.

pearls to add an air of grandeur to it—and this corresponds to the Izhaikkolam of South India drawn with a white paste solution by allowing it to trickle down a rag soaked in it and held in between the fingers which fly rapidly along the floor their tips settling the drawing on the ground. Trivikrama has given an elaborate account of the Rasacitra and the information supplied by him is most useful.¹ He talks of Kolam drawings in zig-zag patterns, ... something like the conventional waves, and other types as well.

Other passages in the Tilakamañjarī show that even in hermitages far away from human habitation the sense of the beautiful was preserved by the inmates of those thatched dwellings and exhibited in the flowery drawings of creepers, i.e. Rangavalli drawn on the verandah and thresholds of those humble dwellings all smeared over at first with cowdung to serve as a background and give relief to the drawings.² Over the drawings beautiful and multicoloured flowers were arranged for heightening their beauty.³

The Citrakara and his Methods :

Royal favour and munificence encouraged and maintained a distinct type of Citrakaras proficient in theory and practice alike ; and we have such Citravidyopādhyāyas employed in the courts to teach members of the royal family. They were also called to examine and discuss the merits and blemishes of pictures brought to the king for inspection.⁴ The kings themselves being proficient in the various arts examined the pictures leisurely to pass criticisms.

Ordinarily there were many Citrakaras employed for executing various commissions. Old and dilapidated temples were repaired and the Sthapatis, Vardhakis, Citrakaras and others were honoured by the king by being offered sandal paste, flowers, etc. before they proceeded with their work. The passage in the text describing the honours shown to the artists and architects going for their work⁵

¹ चतिस्रस्त्रमुक्ताफलरचितसरङ्गरेखाराजिराजिताजिरं राजभवममविभत् । Nalacampū, p. 209.

मच्छयन्तां मच्छयन्तां फलच्छोदरङ्गावल्लीभिः प्राङ्गणानि । Ibid., p. 117.

² कदाचिद्विरोपलिङ्गासु पर्यशास्त्राण्यवितर्दिकासु दर्शितानेकपत्रलोखान्स्लक्षिकानभिस्त्रिचनौ । p. 270.

³ कृतसमस्तप्रातरितिष्ठत्यायास्तत्रथोपलिङ्गमितस्ततो रचितवचिरस्लक्षिकामविरक्तन्यस्तपुष्यस्तवकश्रवसात् । p. 294.

⁴ मकरध्वजायतनदौर्घिकातीरपरिसरे निषक्षः संनिधानवर्तिभिस्त्रिचविद्योपाध्यायैरन्यैश्च जनपरम्यराजजित-
कुतूहलैश्चित्रमवलोकायितुभागनैरालोख्यशास्त्रविद्विर्नागरस्त्रीकैः सद्य विचारयज्ञविचार्य चावलतत्वं तस्याश्चि-
पठपुत्रिकाया रूपमपसारितापरविमोदः पूर्वाङ्कमनयत् । p. 144.

⁵ क्षाचिर्भ्रमपयावतीर्षेण श्रीर्षदेवायतनेषु कर्मारम्भाय सपदि सम्पादितपूजासत्काराग्यापारयतः । p. 54.

is supported by the similar description in the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa,¹ and they serve as illustrations of the dictum of the Śilparatna wherein the Śilpina are required to be honoured.²

But such honour never promoted any sort of pride in the Śilpin and we have the extreme humility of the artists inviting discussion and suggestive corrections of any possible blemishes in their executions shown in some of the passages of the Tilakamañjarī like the one where the young artist shows a picture to the prince asking him to give his frank opinion on it.³ The painter is also so humble as to request the prince to excuse some of his shortcomings apparent in the picture like insufficient knowledge, inattention during work, impropriety (insufficient knowledge of propriety) and want of proper practice, etc.⁴

From very many references to the activity of the painter in the text we gather that he was usually employed in the royal courts for producing portraits of princes and princesses for being sent round to various kingdoms for arranging suitable marriages.⁵

¹ सितकुसुमविक्रमवसनसम्कृतेः स्रवधारेराद्वीयमानविवाहवेदीसूत्रपातम् । H.C., p. 142.

² तस्मादेव सदा पूज्यः स्थापत्यादिचतुष्टयः ॥ S.R. I. 42.

³ 'कुमार, अस्मि किञ्चिद्दर्शनीययोग्यमत्र चित्रपटे रूपम् । उद्भूतरूपः कोऽपि दोषो वा नास्तिमात्रं प्रतिभाति । अद्यायमुपजातपरिचरितचित्रविद्यायां शिष्यद्वीयोऽहमस्मिन्नराज्यपारगेण महाभागेन ।' इति p. 135.

⁴ तेनापरिज्ञानमवधानमुचितज्ञतामनभ्यासं चात्र विषये न मे संभावयितुमर्हति मानसाच्चः । p. 136.

⁵ द्वीपान्तरराजकन्यकाभिरनुदिवसमपहार्यमाशचित्रफलकारोपितविडरूपः । p. 133.

अतोऽस्याः सकलनिजपरिवारवारान्नाशचित्रकौशलदर्शनव्याजेन दर्शय निसर्गदुन्दरकृतीनामवनिगोचर-
मरेन्द्वारकायां यथास्वमङ्गितानि नामभिर्यथावस्मितानि विडरूपाणि । p. 138.

तत्र च लघुपक्षमाशया दिव्युच्छ्वातरूपसंपदां राजकन्यानां विडरूपाण्यादरप्रवर्तितचित्रकङ्कितरभि-
लिङ्गोपनीतान्यजसमवसोक्तयतः.....मे गताः कतिपयेऽपि दिवसाः । p. 263.

Cf. प्रतिज्ञानिरचनार्थो दूतिसंदर्शिताभ्यः

समधिकतररूपाः शुद्धसन्मानकामैः ।

अधिविदुरमात्यैराज्ञतास्तस्य यूनः

प्रथमपरिच्छेदौ तौ त्रीभुवो राजकन्याः ॥ Raghuvamśa XVIII. 63.

ततः ससुन्दको राजा निजं चित्रकरोत्तमम् ।

कुमारिदन्तनामानं पृथ्वीरूपः समादिशत् ॥

पटे यथावस्त्रिचितां समादाय महाकृतिम् ।

यताभ्यां सद्यः भिक्षुभ्यां द्वीपं सुक्तिपुरं त्रज ॥

तत्र रूपधरास्तस्य राजसदुहितुस्तथा ।

दुष्ट्या रूपकृतायास्त्वं महाकारं प्रदर्शय ॥ Kathāsaritsāgara IX. i. 123-125.

Of the methods of the painter to produce a picture we have ample interesting information in the *Tilakamañjarī*. The general method of working a picture being the same in the case of an amateur and a professional we can safely use the passage wherein a princess is described as drawing her lover—the prince.¹ Close to her is placed a casket full of brushes, and a big board is kept before her by her maids; she begins the work and imagining ever and anon the model transfixed in her mind she paints. Now she pauses to think of him again, now she adds a touch on the canvas, and now again she stops to think of his form to see if she is correct in her delineation. This is exactly what any painter does and corresponds to the description given in the *Śilparatna* wherein also is emphasized this thinking over and over again of the figure to be drawn.² That brushes were kept in *Samudgakas* or boxes is borne out by the evidence of passages like the one from the *Daśakumāracarita* where such a thing is described.³

But it was not always that the *phalaka* was used for painting. Sometimes *paṭa* was used and some other times the wall itself served the purpose. Pictures drawn on *paṭas* appear to have been carefully rolled up and preserved in silken covers and whenever required were unrolled and seen.⁴ This practice is very often referred to in literature and we have *Bhāsa* and others talking of it.⁵

¹ कदाचिदग्निमन्त्रस्यविधिवर्तिकासमुद्भवा प्रगुचोक्त्य परिष्कारिकाभिः पुरोऽवस्थापिते श्युनि चित्रफलके निपुणमाज्ञोच्चाज्ञोच भकरकेतुबाधव्रातविद्या देवस्यैव रूपविदमभिलिखन्तौ, etc. p. 319.

² चाक्षिषेत् किङ्कीचिन्या सुसुद्धर्ते सुसुग्रहे ।

सखचितः सुखासीनः सुला सुला पुनः पुनः । Ś. R. Citralakṣaṇa, 39.

³ नामदन्तसुप्रनिर्वासकस्तवर्षितं फलकमादाय मन्त्रिसमुद्भवाद्दर्शवर्तिकासुदृश्य तां तथा श्यामां तस्याश्च नामावदाह्वलिं चरचलप्रमाक्षिचम् । Daś. Ucc. II, p. 99.

⁴ इत्युदीर्य दूरानगतपूर्वकाया दक्षिणकरेणादाय सादरमुपरितनवसनपक्षप्रान्तसंयतं दिवं चित्रपट-सुपनिन्धि । p. 131.

“ऋहाच चित्रपटमेवम् । अथ प्रयत्नेन भूला क्षिचितमेकं मया दिव्यकुमारिकाकथमनुरूपपरिवारपरि-करम् । तदस्य रूपं कलाशालकुमरस्य कौशलिकम् । अथमपि त्वामनुप्राप्त एव” इत्यभिधानः संनिधान-आपितायाः प्रह्लादचौमकर्षणप्रसेविकायाः सयलमाह्वय चित्रपटमेवमुपनीतवान् । p. 133.

⁵ काचुकीयः—... अथं च चित्रपटः ।

दुर्वोधनः—मसायतः प्रसारय ।

काचुकीयः—वदाज्ञापयति महाराजः (प्रसारयति) । Dūtavākya.

तपोपरि च दिवाऽग्न्यवेदिनोऽं विमुक्तः पटः । Udayasundarikathā, p. 68.

Art Criticism :

From the passage describing Prince Harivāhana sitting amidst a number of Citravidyopādhyāyas and others well-versed in the Citrasāstra we learn that art criticism was a special study with these Nāgarakas.¹ To justify our surmise we have lots of references, apart from those in the various Śilpa texts treating purely this subject, in the Tilakamañjarī itself in the form of observations on various notions on Art and occasional discussions on pictures and the subjects. The Citrakara asks the prince whether there is no obvious or marked blemish in the picture and whether it is on the whole pleasing to look at and excuses himself by saying that he is not quite an adept at handling the brush and requires more of training.² The prince points out a single blemish; the picture is too full of women and lacks the figure of a man.³ That is the only one point that detracts from the full charm of the picture; and the prince suggests some beautiful men to be added on in the retinue of the princess. By doing so, the picture, he says, would gain in charm; the prekṣaka (one who sees it) would be satisfied and the painter too would have shown his skill. The painter in excusing himself gives a catalogue of shortcomings that act as causes of imperfect execution of picture work.⁴ A meagre knowledge, inattention while working at it, lack of proper sense of propriety, and insufficiency of practice, all contribute to make it a bad piece of work. Great enthusiasm is also required. But enthusiasts too fail sometimes in accomplishing even a comparatively easy (crude) task which they set themselves to do with heart and soul. Painting being a strictly delicate and refined science requires greater diligence and enthusiasm.⁵ Painting of bhāvas or emotions in a picture is

¹ मकरभ्रजायतनदीर्घिकातीरपरिसरे निषद्यः संनिधानवर्तिभिस्त्रिचविद्योपाध्यायैरन्यैश्च जनपरम्पराजनित-
कुपुणसौख्यमवलोक्षयितुमागतैरालोक्षशास्त्रविद्विर्गानरलोक्षैः सह विचारयद्यविचार्यं चापन्नतन् तस्माच्चित्रपट-
पुत्रिकाया रूपमपसारितापरविनोदः पूर्वाह्नमनयत् । p. 144.

² 'कुमार, अस्मि किञ्चिद्दर्शनयोग्यमत्र चित्रपटे रूपम् । उद्भूतरूपः कोऽपि दोषो वा नास्तिमात्रं प्रतिभाति ।
अद्यान्यनुपजातपरिचरतिस्त्रिचविद्यायां शिष्यधीयोऽहमस्मिन्नशास्त्रपारनेश्च मन्वाभागेन ।' इति । p. 135.

³ एक एव दोषो यदत्र पुरुषरूपमेकमपि न प्रकाशितम् । अनेन च समानसमप्रशीभोऽप्यम् । तद्दुष्प्राप्यस्य
शोभातिशयमाधानुं श्रेष्ठकजनस्य च कौतुकान्तिरेकमुत्पादयितुमात्मनश्च सर्ववस्तुविषयं चित्रकर्मकौशलमाविष्कृतुं
युज्यन्ते कतिचिदस्मा नरेन्द्रदुहितुः प्रकृतिपुन्दरादि पुरुषरूपादि परिवारतां नेतुम् । p. 136.

⁴ देवापरिज्ञानमवधानमुचितानुज्ञानमभ्यासं चात्र विषये न मे संभावयितुमर्हति मानवार्हः । p. 136.

⁵ उत्कृष्टकर्मोभिश्च कर्तुंभारम्भमतिकूलपि कर्म नोपजायते दुष्कृतम् । किं पुनश्चित्तैकाग्रमातिशय-
निवर्तनीयचित्रम् । p. 139.

mentioned in one passage.¹ This is the most difficult task and we have the passage on art criticism in the *Upamitibhavaprapaṅcāka* stressing on this portrayal of bhāva or emotion in a picture.² The *Śilpa* texts recognize and mention a special class of *Bhāvācitra*³; and we have the *Viṣṇudharmottara* talking of the nine rasas as possible of portrayal in a picture.⁴ *Bhoja* in his *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* adds two more and gives eleven rasas to be depicted in pictures.⁵ Painting of suitable colours in their proper places and presentation of relief or rather chiaroscuro was considered a great accomplishment.⁶ Art being a very difficult and delicate science, almost impossible of mastery, it was held universally, as it is held even to-day, to be a natural gift—God's gift—and got only by an *abhyāsa* (practice) of a previous birth.⁷

Technical terms :

The *Tilakamañjarī* uses also some words of the artists' parlance purely technical and the passages in which these occur are of especial

¹ आविष्कृतानेकभावविधमादि लिखितानि च केनापि निपुत्रचित्रकरेण दिग्भित्तियु दिवानिशं दर्शं तस्याः प्रतिविम्बानि । p. 146.

² अथो रञ्जितोऽहमनेन चित्रकरकौशलेन । तथाहि—अथ सुविशुद्धा रेषा संगतानि भूषणानि उचितज्ञाना-
वर्षेविच्छिन्तिः परिस्फुटो भावातिशय इति । दुष्करं च चित्रे भावाराधनं तदेव चाभिमतमतिविदग्धानाम् ।

Upamitibhavaprapaṅcāka, Prastāva VI, p. 876.

³ शृङ्गारादिरसो यत्र दर्शनादेव गम्यते ।

भावचित्रं तदाख्यातं चित्रकौतुककारकम् ॥

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi and *Śivatāttvaratnākara*.

⁴ शृङ्गारहास्यकण्ठवीररौद्रभयानकाः ।

बीभत्साङ्गुतशान्ताश्च नव चित्ररसाः स्मृताः ॥ *Viṣṇudharmottara*.

⁵ शृङ्गारहास्यकण्ठ रौद्रप्रेयोभयानकाः ।

वीर (प्रत्ययाचौ ?) च बीभत्साङ्गुतस्तथा ॥

शान्तश्चैकादशेत्युक्ता रसाश्चित्रविशारदैः । *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*.

The second line must read *वीरश्चाहं प्रत्ययश्च*, etc. This solution of the text which is so very puzzling was given by my professor *Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Sastriar*. Vide f.n. on p. 908, vol. IX, I.H.Q., 'Some Sanskrit Texts on Painting' by V. Raghavan.

⁶ राजनीतिरिव यथोचितमवस्थापितवर्षसमुदाया दिग्भित्तयप्रभेव प्रकाशितव्यक्तनिर्णीतविभागा...चक्र-
वर्तिकल्पका । p. 135.

⁷ सुजनतेव स्वभावसधुरा जन्मान्तरायात्ताभ्यासादुपायता तवैवा चित्रमतिः । p. 135.

importance to the student of Art since these corroborate the information given in the Śilpa texts. The word Sūtrapāta is an important one in the artists' dictionary. It connotes the first preliminary lines drawn to settle the final figure. In one passage we find Dhanapāla using the word.¹ The word Sūtrapāta is found used very largely in literature. The Viddhacitra, mentioned in the Śilpa texts, like the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi, as correct portrait work and life-like representation,² is specially referred to a number of times in the Tilakamañjarī by that name and every time an accurate portrait is meant.³ The passages referring to Viddhacitra are very important since they supply us with practical usages of expressions and words generally met with only in Śilpa texts. It can here be remarked that the name of Rājaśekhara's drama Viddhasālābhañjikā contains a similar use of the term Viddha. Similarly the Bhāvacitra of the Śilpa texts which portrays emotions⁴ is also mentioned in the Tilakamañjarī.⁵ This expression of emotions in a picture is most difficult and a painting full of it is counted as the best ; and there is no Śilpa text that ignores this class of pictures. It would here be interesting to note a similar expression in the case of Leonardo in his Treatise on Painting where he says ' By far the most important point in the whole theory of painting is to make the actions express

- ¹ कथक्कापे कटिच्छति पतिव्यन्यासकृज्जलतायाः प्रथमसूत्रपानमञ्जानमालतीकृत्तुमकोमलः स्वयंवरसज्जः
p. I42.
- ² सादृश्यं लिखते यत् इयं प्रतिबिम्बवत् । p. I42.
तच्चित्रं विचित्रित्याङ्गविचित्रकर्मादयो बुधाः ॥ A.A.C.
- ³ द्वीपान्तरराजकन्यकाभिरनुदिवसमपहार्यमाचित्रफलकारोपितविडरूपः । p. I33.
अतोऽस्याः सकलमिजपरिवारवाराङ्गनाचित्रकौशलदर्शनव्याजेन दर्शय निसर्गसुन्दराङ्गतीजामवनिगोचर-
नरेन्द्रारकाणां यथास्मदङ्गितानि ज्ञानभिर्यथावस्त्रितानि विडरूपाणि । p. I38.
तत्र च लदुपलभाशया दिव्यपुच्छान्तरूपसंपदां राजकन्याणां विडरूपायादरप्रवर्तितैश्चित्रकङ्कित-
लिङ्गोपनीतान्यजस्रमहोक्तयतः.....मे गताः कतिपयेऽपि दिवसाः । p. 263.
पत्रसतिके, पुषाच पुष्यरूपवन्द्येन स्वविचित्रिनेष देवीविचित्रवस्तुभिकामिति सौभाग्यम् । p. 304.
कदाचिद्विकन्यस्रविचित्रवर्तिकासमुद्रका प्रगुचीकृत्य परिचारिकाभिः पुरोऽवस्थापिते द्रव्युनि चित्रफलके
निपुत्रमाङ्गोद्याङ्गोश्च मकरकेतुवायनातविद्या देवस्यैव रूपविजस्रमभिलिङ्गनी । p. 319.
- ⁴ दृष्टकारादिरसौ यत्र दर्शनादेव गम्यते ॥
भावचित्रं तदाख्यातं चित्रकौतुककारकम् । Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi.
- ⁵ आचित्रकृतानेकभावविभवाच्चि चिचिन्तानीव केनापि निपुत्रचित्रकरेण द्विभित्तु दिवामिदं दर्शं तस्या
प्रतिबिम्बाणि । p. I46.

the psychical state of each character, e.g. desire, disdain, anger, pity and the like'.

Miscellaneous :

The passages in the *Tilakamañjarī* are full of information on Art topics. There is a mention of *Javanikāpaṭas* in the Jain temples.¹ Such screens (used in temples) were generally painted ones. Banners, screens, etc. of temples painted all over have been very famous in India and according to Mr. P. Brown and Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy they are to be found even to-day in Nepal and Tibet. In one passage that enumerates a number of the polite arts we have *Patraccheda* mentioned as of many kinds like *Draviḍa*, etc.² That *Patraccheda* was an art learnt by the gentry of the land need not be repeated. We have it mentioned largely in literature. The *Kuttinimata* shows us how the *Patrakartarī* was used for *Patraccheda*.³ But the question how many kinds of *Patraccheda* there were and what this special kind of *Draviḍa Patraccheda* was should remain unanswered till further researches bring fresh information to answer it. One other passage gives us an account of a particular folk art that entertains small children. It is described as the sport of toy-horses and toy-elephants.⁴ Perhaps these were sham fights between such dolls; or they might have been merry-go-rounds in which children delight going round and round mounted on toy-animals. Such folk arts supply work for the wood carvers and other skilled workmen who are as important in the world of Art as artists and sculptors. The *Tilakamañjarī* thus reveals to us an ocean of information on Art that *Dhanapāla* has to give out to the world and his book is a true reflection of the state of affairs in the Art world of his day.

¹ नागदन्नावसक्तधवलचामरार्चितचापभिन्नेरेकपार्श्वीवलम्बमानसंकोचितदेवाङ्गजवज्रिकापटस्य, etc. p. 176.

² यदि च कौतुकं ततश्चित्रकर्मणि बौषादिवाद्ये स्थास्यताप्यवगतेषु नाश्रुप्रयोगेषु पञ्चादिस्वरविभागनिर्णयेषु पुस्तककर्मणि द्रविडादिषु पञ्चच्छेदभेदेषु च विदग्धजनयोग्येषु वस्तुविज्ञानेषु शब्दैर्नाम् । p. 297.

³ पञ्चच्छेदमजानङ्गनम् वा कौशल्यं कच्छाविषये ।

प्रकटयति जनसमाजे विधाषः पञ्चकर्तरीं सततम् ॥ Śl. 74.

⁴ अचलिते च वासरे विरलीभवत्सु ह्यनिमनुरङ्गवारचक्रौडाप्रधानेषु प्रेषणकेषु, etc. p. 264.

TREATMENT OF RĪTI AND GUṆA IN THE DHVANYĀLOKA

By PRAKAS CHANDRA LAHIRI

It is known to students of Sanskrit Poetics that the concepts of Rīti and Guṇa received a different treatment at the hands of different writers in the early history of the discipline. Some of these writers dealt with only one of these concepts, while others knew and treated of both either correlating one with the other or assigning to each of them an independent place in their system. Thus, Bharata dealt with the concept of Guṇa only and he understood its importance so far as it constituted the *anubhāva* which helps the realization of Rasa in the drama. Bhāmaha referred to both Rīti and Guṇa but he did not express clearly his views about these two elements. Rudraṭa treated of Rīti only and he understood by the term Rīti a definite arrangement of words, compounded or un-compounded. He entirely ignored the concept of Guṇa as accepted by other orthodox theorists. It was Daṇḍin and Vāmana, the adherents of the Rīti School proper, who assigned to the Rītis and their constituent Guṇas an important place in their respective systems. A proper disposition of words (according to their sense) was, in their opinion, the main thing to be considered in poetry, and in order to endow this disposition with a special (*viśeṣa*) charm they had to conceive a number of Guṇas which were considered by them to be the most important elements of poetry. Later on, the author of the Agni-purāṇa treated of both the elements separately ; his scheme of Rīti was somewhat peculiar and he evolved a large number of Guṇas, most of which were unintelligible on account of his defective treatment.

It was at this stage that the Dhvani theorists, headed by the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, came into the field. We know that the one fact common to the treatment of all the early writers was that they treated of the concepts of Rīti and Guṇa as means of external embellishments of poetry. Even when Vāmana calls Rīti the *ātmā* or essence of poetry he means by it only external beauty of objective representation realized by means of certain standard excellences. The sole function of these elements as well as of Alamkāras was, in their treatment, to embellish the external aspects of poetry, namely, the word and its sense, and for this the Dhvani theorists rightly called them *vācya-vācaka-cārutvahetu*.

The Dhvani theorists, however, judged poetry from quite a different angle of vision. Their changed outlook regarding the

conception of poetic beauty itself naturally led them to reconsider the position of the different poetic elements. The Rasa-dhvani is considered by them to be the most prominent factor in poetry and, in their opinion, other poetic elements stand subordinate to it. The charmingness or otherwise of the Guṇas, Alaṃkāras or Doṣas is judged by them not on their own account but in terms of the part they play towards the realization of Rasa. It is for this reason that the division of the Doṣas into *nitya* and *anitya* varieties arose, and some of the Doṣas cease to be so when they are considered to be in consonance with the delineation of particular Rasas.¹ But when it is said that all these elements are subordinate to the *mukhya artha*, Rasa, it must not be understood that they all stand on the same level or in the same relationship to Rasa. It will be presently seen that the Guṇas, according to the Dhvani theorists, concern directly the inner nature of poetry, while the Alaṃkāras constitute such factors as are more or less external. It will be of some interest to note that the most common sense interpretation of the terms Guṇa and Alaṃkāra on the analogy of human virtue and ornament partially struck the earlier theorists when, for instance, Vāmana quoted a pair of verses where the Guṇas were likened to the youth (*yauvana*) or the natural grace (*rūpa*) of a lady and the Alaṃkāras to the artificial ornaments of her body.² But they brought in this analogy simply to demonstrate the essentiality of the element Guṇa in poetry, and they failed to explain the elements in relation to the underlying sentiment of a poem which, however, they totally ignored.

The Dhvanikāra, however, draws a distinction between the Guṇas and the Alaṃkāras in the following verse—

tam artham avalambante ye'ṅginam te guṇāḥ smṛtāḥ |
aṅgāśritās tvalaṃkāṛā mantavyāḥ katakādivat ||

(Dhvani-kārikā, ii, 7.)

implying thereby that while the Guṇas belong to and are properties of Rasa, the *aṅgā artha*, the Alaṃkāras are related to the *śabḍa* and *artha* (*aṅgāśritāḥ*).

¹ śruti-duṣṭādayo doṣā anityā ye ca darśitāḥ |
dhvanyātmanyeva śṛṅgāre to heyā ityudāhṛtāḥ ||
(D.K., ii, 12.)

Ānanda's *vṛtti* runs on this:—*dhvanyātmanyeva śṛṅgāre'ṅgitayā vyaṅgye te heyā ityudāhṛtāḥ. anyathā hi teṣāṃ anitya-doṣataiva na syāt.* It should be noted that in Raudra-rasa Śrutiduṣṭa, or Śrutikaṭu as Mammaṭa calls it, is treated as a source of charm because there it fits in with the situation depicted. But we should not forget that in Śṛṅgāra (as also in Śānta, Adbhuta and Vīra, Locana, p. 82) it is a veritable defect.

² Kāvyaṃkāra-sūtra *vṛtti*, *vṛtti*. (Under iii, 1, 2.)

Ānandavardhana makes the character of the Guṇa more clear when he takes it to be analogous to the human virtues like heroism in his *vṛtti* on the above *kārikā*:—*ye tamarthaṁ rasādi-lakṣaṇaṁ anginam santam avalambante te guṇāḥ śauryādivat*. The *kārikā* quoted above gives us simply what may be called the *sāmānya lakṣaṇa* of the Guṇa and the Alamkāra, i.e. it deals only with the fundamental point of distinction between the two elements. But if this *kārikā* is judged by itself, it seems that the respective scopes of the Guṇa and the Alamkāra are restricted and confined herein, as if the Guṇa has nothing to do with the *śabda* and *artha* and the Alamkāra nothing with the Rasa-dhvani. We shall, therefore, recollect at this stage the Dhvani-kāra's attitude towards the relationship between the Alamkāra¹ and the Rasa, namely, that the existence of Alamkāra is justified according to the part it plays towards the ultimate realization of Rasa-dhvani and shall then pass on to the definition of the individual Guṇas (*viśeṣa lakṣaṇa*) to understand fully the position of that element in the new theory of poetry.

Now it is a fact of common experience that the ornaments adorn the (external) body of a man. It applies similarly in the case of poetry of which word and sense constitute the body. But what relation may the Alamkāra possibly bear to the underlying sentiment of a poem which is, just like the soul of a man, beyond the direct grasp of any Alamkāra? To understand this we must take recourse to Abhinava's comments (on the position of Alamkāra) which must have been utilized, with some modification, by later writers like Mammaṭa when they explained clearly the different ways in which an Alamkāra may function in a poetic composition. Abhinava means to say that the real cause is the *dhvanyātmā* (i.e. Rasa-dhvani) which the poetic figure ultimately decorates. Although the ornaments like necklace, etc. are put on the body, yet it is the inner soul which they really glorify by way of standing in property to the particular mental condition of the man. For instance, a dead body does not shine with earrings and such other ornaments because here the soul, the real *alamkārya*, is non-existent. Then again, if the body of a hermit is decorated with an ornament, it only creates laughter on account of a lack of propriety. And since there is nothing (proper or) improper with regard to the body as such, it follows that the soul is, in fact, the *alamkārya* because it is this latter that feels ultimately glorified by reason of the external

1

*rasa-bhāvādi-tātparyam āśritya viniveśanam |
alamkāryīnām sarvāsām alamkāratva-sādhanam ||*

decoration.¹ Here Abhinava appears almost to have ignored the importance of the *vācaka śabda* or of the *vācya artha* as an *alamkārya* and his extreme position with regard to Rasa was probably responsible for this attitude. His immediate successors, however, consider the issue from an ordinary point of view, namely that, it is the human body which is directly adorned by the ornament, and consequently they clearly lay it down that the Alamkāras are characteristics chiefly of the *śabda* and the *artha* and if they embellish Rasa they do that only *indirectly* through the word and sense. The case with the Guṇa is just the reverse because it will be presently seen that the Guṇas are primarily the properties of Rasa and they may be said to belong to the *śabda* and *artha* only secondarily.

The Dhvanikāra mentions and characterizes only three Guṇas, namely, Ojas (energy), Prasāda (lucidity) and Mādhurya (sweetness), instead of the usual ten of Bharata, Daṇḍin and Vāmana and even more of other writers. The authors of the Dhvanyāloka put forward their own theories and establish these three Guṇas, but they do not attempt at criticizing or refuting the theory of ten Guṇas of earlier writers, which later theorists like Mammaṭa, Viśvanātha and others have taken upon themselves to do. These three Guṇas have been classified on the basis of the particular mental conditions involved in the perception of Rasa. The general definition (*sāmānya lakṣaṇa*) of the Guṇa has presented to us the element only in its broad character, namely, that it belongs to the Rasa and naturally further light is necessary in the *viśeṣa lakṣaṇa* to form a definite impression about the nature of the element on the basis of the *sāmānya lakṣaṇa*. Now, since there are eight or nine Rasas, the question arises 'Does a particular Guṇa belong to all the Rasas or only to some of them? And in what sense can it be said to belong to the Rasas?' This is what is discussed in the *viśeṣa lakṣaṇa*. Thus, Śṛṅgāra is a Rasa which softens (lit. gladdens—*prahlādana*—D.K., ii, 8b) the heart to a great extent, and Mādhurya resides in a poem where this Rasa prevails.² Similarly Dipti which is a mental condition involving a brilliant expansion of the heart is taken to be the

¹ Abhinava remarks in connection with the above Karika (Locana, pp. 74-75). *etaḍ uktaṁ bhavati—upamayā yadyapi vācyo'ortho' lamkriyate tathāpi tasya tad evālamkāraṇaṁ yad vyaṅgyārthābhivyāñjana-sāmarthyādhānaṁ iti. vastuto dhvanyātmavālamkāryaḥ. kaṭaka-keyūrādibhir api hi śarīra-samavāyibhiḥ cetana ātmaiva tattaccūta-vṛtti-viśeṣaucitya-sūcanātmatayā lamkriyate. tathā hyacetanaṁ śava-śarīraṁ kuṇḍalādyupetaṁ api na bhāti alamkāryasyābhāvāt, yati-śarīraṁ kaṭakādi-yuktaṁ hāsyāvaham bhavati, alamkāryasyānaucityāt. na ca dehasya kiñcid anaucityam iti vastuta ātmaivālamkāryaḥ, aham alamkṛta ityabhimānāt.*

² *śṛṅgāra eva madhuraḥ paraḥ prahlādano rasaḥ |
tanmayam kāvyam āśṛitya mādhuryam pratitiṣṭhati ||
(D.K., ii, 8.)*

character of Rasas like Raudra. Ojas resides in the *śabda* and *artha* which are suggestive of these Rasas.¹ And lastly, that quality of Kāvya which prevails through all Rasas and functions in all compositions (hence transparency of *śabda* and *artha*) is known as Prasāda.²

It will appear that the definitions given by the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana's *Vṛtti* on them do not help us to form a very clear conception about the element, and here, as elsewhere, we have to look upon Abhinava as an infallible guide in understanding their view points. Thus, some important questions arise in this connection, namely,—

- (1) when it is said that the Guṇas reside in the Kāvya (*tanmayam kāvyam āśritya . . . ii, 8c* implying *śabdārtha=kāvya-śarīra*) is it not inconsistent with the general definition of the element, viz. that it belongs to the *angī artha* ;
- (2a) what is the relation of mental conditions like *druti*, *dīpti*, etc. with the Rasa? Are they identical with it or are they produced as its effect so as to be distinct from it ;
- (2b) in any case how does the question of conceiving a separate element 'Guṇa' arise at all? When its existence cannot be clearly and independently felt, may it not be taken to merge its identity in Rasa?

We may just attempt at a discussion of these issues on the basis of the teachings of Abhinava. The mental condition itself is primarily the Guṇa.³ Thus, the Guṇas, Ojas, Prasāda, and Mādhurya

s'ṛṅāra eva rasāntarāpekṣayā madhuraḥ prahlāda-hetuvāt prakāśanāparaḥ. śabdārthayoḥ kāvyasya sa mādhyuralakṣaṇo guṇaḥ (vṛtti on the above p. 79, Dhvanyāloka).

¹ *raudrādayo rasā dīptyā lakṣyante kāvyavartinah | tadvyaktihetū śabdārthāu ās'rityaujo vyavasthitam ||*

(D.K., ii, 10.)

raudrādayo hi rasāḥ parām dīptim ujjvalatām janayantīti lakṣṇayā ta eva dīptir ityucyate. tatprakāśanāparaḥ śabdo dīrghasamāsa-racanālamkṛtam vākyam (vṛtti on above p. 80, op. cit.).

² *samarpakatvaṁ kāvyasya yat tu sarvarasān prati | sa prasādo guṇo jñeyah sarvasādhāranakriyah ||*

(D.K., ii, 11.)

(prasādastu svacchatā śabdārthayoḥ. sa ca sarvarasasādhāraṇo guṇaḥ sarvaracanā-sādhāraṇas' ceti . . vṛtti on above op. cit., p. 82.)

³ *dīptih pratīpattur hṛdaye vibhā (kā) sa-vistāra-prajvalat-svabhāvā. sā ca mukhyatayā ojaśabdavācyā. tadāsvāda-mayā raudrādyās tayā dīptyāsvāda-viśeṣātmikayā (āmatayā ?) kārya-rūpāyā lakṣyante rasāntarāt prthaktayā ; tena kāraṇe kāryopa-cārād raudrādīr evaujaś-śabda-vācyah. (Locana, p. 80, 11, 7-10.)*

exist respectively in the form of the three mental conditions *dīpti* (expansion) *samarṣakatva* or *vyāpakatva* (pervasion) and *ārdratā* or *druti* (melting), which are evoked only in the process of the realization of Rasa; and so the Guṇa has, according to the Dhvani theorists, an inseparable association with that element, i.e. the question of the Guṇa does not, in their opinion, arise when there is no Rasa. Hence Rasa is the cause (*kāraṇa*) of which the Guṇa (in the form of the mental condition *druti* or *dīpti* or *vyāpti*) is produced as an effect. So when it is said that expansion or *dīpti* is the character of Rasas like Raudra, etc. there is an apparent identification of the Guṇa and the Rasa, or superimposition of the *kārya* on the *kāraṇa*. But this identification or superimposition occurs as a matter of course in the realization of Rasa which, involving as it does, an absolute state of mental relish, renders it impossible for the relisher at that stage to distinguish between the cause and the effect, because both are merged in a single whole.

This may, no doubt, lead one to doubt the necessity of recognizing the Guṇa as a separate poetic element. But since the Dhvani theorists appear to have made it a point to give full recognition to all the poetic elements accepted in the earlier schools (but characterizing them in the light of their revised conception of poetry) they could hardly deny the Guṇa the status of a separate element of poetry, specially when this element constituted the most essential point of interest in one of the earlier schools, namely, the Rīti school. Moreover, when one understands the viewpoint of the Dhvani theorists and judges poetry on the complete analogy of a human body, as they have done, one fully appreciates the propriety of attributing to the Guṇa the dignity of a separate poetic element just like Rasa, Alamkāra and Doṣa. A supreme disinterested pleasure is admittedly the *svarūpa* of Rasa, but is not this pleasure realized in the form of one or more of these three mental conditions? It is true that a peculiar association of the *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* and *vyabhicāri-bhāva* rouses the *sthāyin* to a stage of relish. But when is it actually relished? Not until it transforms itself into one of these mental conditions, although the process of transformation is very rapid and abrupt. Is not then the Guṇa as essential in the realization of Rasa as the *sthāyi-bhāva* itself? If it is true that the Guṇa comes into existence on account of the Rasa, it is equally true that the Guṇa (in the form of the *citta-vṛtti*) constitutes a part and parcel in the actual realization of Rasa. Nay, in the ultimate stage of relish Śṛṅgāra has no other existence excepting a supreme delight in the form of the melting of the heart which is the character of the Guṇa Mādhurya; Raudra has no other existence excepting in the form of a brilliant expansion of the heart which is the character of

the Guṇa Ojas. Similarly Prasāda in the form of a pervasion of the heart is an essential character of all the Rasas. Thus, although in theory the Guṇa is swallowed up in the Rasa, in practice, it makes the Rasa what it is. This adequately explains the propriety of recognizing the Guṇa as an element of poetry; and when the Guṇa plays so important a part in the realization of Rasa it appears that the Dhvani theorists would have done well to recognize it explicitly as such when they explained the principle involved in the relish of Rasa.¹

It has been seen above that the Guṇa is a property of Rasa, but of Rasa itself the realization is not possible unless one is able to appreciate the situation depicted in the composition, in which some of the accessories of Rasa find their expression. This proves the importance of *śabda* and *artha* in the awakening Rasa and ultimately of producing the Guṇas, i.e. the mental conditions spoken of. Abhinavagupta does not take up in detail the question as to what particular letters are specially favourable for particular Guṇas. This is discussed first by Mammaṭa (Kāvya prakāśa Jhalkikar's edition, pp. 484-85). But, while commenting on Dhvanikāra's definition of Mādhurya, Abhinava remarks that Mādhurya is that capacity of the word and the sense which awakens the sweet Rasa Śṛṅgāra (*madhuraśṛṅgāra-rasābhivyaṅgi-samarthatā śabdārthayor mādhyamam iti hi lakṣaṇam*). (Locana on D.K., ii, 8, p. 79.)

If Mādhurya and Śṛṅgāra here are taken to be *upalakṣaṇas* respectively for Guṇa and Rasa in general (just like Ojas and Raudra above), this remark would imply that letters and words may be so arranged in a particular composition that when read or heard they are capable of producing one or other mental condition involved in the realization of any particular Rasa. In the opinion of these theorists the Guṇa resides primarily in Rasa, and it is said to belong to the *śabda* and *artha* only secondarily, i.e. in the sense that these latter possess the capacity for producing it. Abhinava distinctly remarks (op. cit., p. 79, l. 8) *vastuto mādhyamam nāma śṛṅgārāde rasasyaiva guṇaḥ tan madhurābhivyaṅgakayoḥ śabdārthayor upa-caritam*. Thus when the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana took the *śabda* and *artha* to be the substrata of Guṇa they only recognized their importance in the perception of Rasa in which the Guṇa, in

¹ It is interesting to note that Bhaṭṭanāyaka recognized these three mental conditions in the process of the *bhoga* of Rasa, although he did not use any technical name for them, such as, Guṇa. His views on this point have been quoted in the Locana (p. 68, II, 16, 18) . . . *uktam bhāṭṭanāyakena* (p. 67) . . . *bhāvite ca rase tasya bhogaḥ. yo nubhava-smaraṇa-pratīpattibhyo vilakṣaṇa eva druti-vistāra-vikāsanāmā rajastamo-vaicitryānanuviddha-sattva-maya-nija-cit-svabhāva-nivṛtti-druti-viśrānti lakṣaṇaḥ para-brahmāvāda-sacivah*.

their opinion, actually resides. It may be remarked in this connection that Jagannātha (Rasa-gaṅgādhara, p. 55) considers the Guṇa to be the property as much of the *śabda* and *artha* as of the Rasa. He does not admit that one has to take recourse to any secondary usage when one says that the Guṇa belongs to *śabda* and *artha*.

Coming to the details of the mutual relationship between the Rasas and the Guṇas these theorists deal with the question from two different points of view, according as (1) a single Guṇa belongs to different Rasas, and (2) different Guṇas belong to a single Rasa. Thus Mādhurya or sweetness is present generally in the Śṛṅgāra Rasa, but it also resides in increasing degrees in the Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra and the Karuṇa, because the mind undergoes the process of melting in a greater degree in Vipralambha-śṛṅgāra than in Sambhoga and in still greater a degree in Karuṇa.¹ Similarly Ojas or energy which involves an expansion of the mind resides generally in the Raudra Rasa, but Abhinavagupta remarks that it may also be present in the Vīra and the Adbhuta.² And lastly Prasāda is a Guṇa which is common to all the Rasas. It has been seen that the perception of Rasa depends on understanding the composition in which some of the accessories of Rasa find their expression, and thus the quality of pervading is the character of this Guṇa in the sense that in every Rasa the mind must be prepared to grasp at once the situation depicted in the composition. On the other hand each of the four Rasas, Hāsya, Bhayānaka, Bībhatsa and Śānta displays in itself a peculiar association of more than one mental condition, i.e. each of them contains more than one Guṇa.³ Thus, Mādhurya and Ojas are equally present in Hāsya, for in the first place this Rasa is subordinate to Śṛṅgāra and in the second place (it is a fact of common experience that) an expansion of the heart is invariably associated

¹ *śṛṅgāre vipralambhākhye karuṇe ca prakarṣavat |*
mādhuryam ādratām yāti yatas tatrādhikam manaḥ ||
(D.K., ii, 9.)

In this connection Abhinava raises an important objection to the effect that if there is sweetness even in Karuṇa, what is the significance of *eva* (only) in the previous *Kārikā* beginning with *śṛṅgāra eva madhuraḥ*, etc. ? He replies by saying that *eva* here does not imply exclusion of other Rasas. He apparently takes Śṛṅgāra to be an Upalakṣaṇa for Rasa in general and understands by the *Kārikā*-portion quoted above that Guṇas like Mādhurya are really the properties of Rasa. Hence *eva* does not mean 'only' but it means 'really' or 'primarily'.

² (*raudrādāya ityatra*) *ādīśabdah prakāre. tena vīrādbhutayor api grahaṇam* (Locana, p. 80, ll. 6-7).

³ *evam mādhuryaāśpī paraspara-pratīdvandvīṭayā sthite śṛṅgārādi-raudrādīgate iti pradarśakatayā tatsamāveśa—vaicitryam hāsya-bhayānaka-bībhatsa-śāntesu darśitam* (ibid., p. 82, ll. 1-3).

with Hāsya.¹ Similarly in Bhayānaka (the Frightful) as well as Bībhatsa (the Disgustful) Rasa are present both Ojas and Mādhurya, but the former exists in a greater degree than the latter does.² And, lastly, in Śānta either Ojas or Mādhurya predominates according to the variety and individual tendency of its accessories.³ It deserves to be noted here that in the opinion of Mammaṭa (viii, *sūtra* 9) it is Mādhurya that exists in an excessive degree in the Śānta Rasa. Govinda, however, remarks that this is slightly mixed up with Ojas in view of the fact that a feeling of aversion (which involves an expansion of the heart) lies at the very root of this Rasa (*śānte tu jugupsādyanvayād ojoleśānuviddham*,⁴ *Kāvya-pradīpa*, *vṛtti* under viii, 4a-b, p. 279). We have thus seen that the three mental conditions *druti*, *dīpti* and *vyāpti* are enough to help the manifestation of all the Rasas, and hence they justify only three Guṇas corresponding to them and not more.

It is remarkable that the authors of the Dhvanyāloka do not entertain the element of Rīti in poetry thinking it to be unnecessary. The Dhvanikāra remarks that the Rītis were introduced by theorists who only dimly understood the true significance of poetry.⁵ This implies that when Rasad-hvani is accepted as the all-important element of poetry (in view of the fact that it serves to afford the poetic charm from within by identifying the mind with the situation depicted in the composition), there is no need of conceiving a separate

¹ *hāsyaśya śṛṅgārāṅgatayā mādhuryam prakṛṣṭam vikāsa-dharmatayā caujo'pi prakṛṣṭam iti sāmyam dvayoh* (ibid., p. 82, ll. 3-4). Abhinava evidently means after Bharata (*śṛṅgārādāhi bhaveddhāsyaḥ*, *Nāṭya-śāstra*, VI, 44a, K.M.T.) that amorous gestures, etc. lie at the basis of the Comic but when it is ultimately realized it is transformed into a brilliant expansion of the heart.

² *bhayānakasya magna-citta-vṛtti-svabhāvatve'pi vibhāvasya dīptatayā ojaḥ prakṛṣṭam mādhuryam alpam. bībhatsē 'pyevam* (Locana, p. 82, ll. 4-5). At the stage of the actual perception of these two Rasas the mind, no doubt, softens down in fear and in disgust respectively, but Ojas is said to predominate in the sense that the ferocious look and the loud roar, etc. of the object of fear and the loathsome appearance, etc. of the object of disgust produce at the very outset an expansion of the mind to a considerable degree.

³ *śānte tu bībhāva-vaicitryāt kadācid ojaḥ prakṛṣṭam kadācin mādhuryam* (ibid., p. 82, ll. 5-6).

⁴ But a man of experience would probably say with Mammaṭa that *druti* is the only condition which the heart undergoes in the realization of the Śānta Rasa. The aversion to worldly objects involved in this Rasa softens down to a chastening stage of mental calm and it is clearly distinct from the loathing (*jugupsā*) involved in the Bībhatsa Rasa. So there appears to be little scope for an expansion of the heart in the Śānta Rasa.

⁵ *asphuṭasphuritam kāvya-tattvametaḍ yathoditam |
aś aknuvādbhir vyākartum rītayāḥ sampravartitāḥ ||*

poetic element as the Rīti which at its best produces no more than a sensuous delight. Abhinava makes this more clear. He distinctly remarks¹ that the Rītis are made to resolve into the Guṇas ; and since the Guṇas are subordinate to Rasa, the Rītis merge their identities in Guṇas and ultimately in Rasa. From his commentary¹ it seems that he has no objection to assume the position of Vāmana that Rīti is a special kind of verbal arrangement and that its speciality consists in its intimate association with the Guṇas. But he differs from the Rīti theorists with regard to the nature of the association of the word-structure with the Guṇa. Thus according to the Rīti theorists—

- (1) Guṇas make up the Rīti and as such they are the essential characteristics of it.
- (2) They produce the poetic charm on their own account. The primacy of Rasa being not recognized, the Rīti theorists' conception of Guṇa, and for the matter of that of poetic charm itself, was only formal. The word-structure, therefore, is of the highest importance in their theory of poetry.

But we have seen above that in the poetic scheme of the Dhvani theorists that

- (1) Guṇas are primarily the characteristics of Rasa and only secondarily of the word-structure.
- (2) The importance of the word-structure is not altogether lost sight of but is recognized only so far as it helps the production of the Guṇa in the form of the mental condition involved in the perception of Rasa.

Thus, when the verbal arrangement or the word-structure does not reside on its own account but merely serves as a means for the apprehension of the inner charms of a poetic composition, the Dhvani theorists do not think it worth while to regard it as a separate poetic element, and so they do not assign to it any particular name such as Rīti. So long as the verbal arrangement is allowed the recognition that is its due, it is really immaterial whether or not it is endowed with a technical name. Similarly the conception of Śabda-Vṛttis like Upanāgarikā, Paruṣā and Komalā of earlier writers like Udbhaṭa, and the Artha-Vṛttis like Kaiśikī of the dramaturgic writers need not, according to these theorists, be accepted, since just like the Rītis they too merge their identities in Rasa (*tadvad eva rasaparyaya-*

¹ *rītir hi guṇeṣveva paryavasāyitā, yadāha—viśeṣo guṇātmā guṇāś ca rasa-paryavasāyina eva.* (Locana, p. 231, l. 7.)

vasāyitvāt, Locana, p. 231, l. 9). It ought to be noted that later writers, like Mammaṭa, younger Vāgbhaṭa and Viśvanātha, enter in detail into the functions of the word-structure and admit it as a separate poetic element, Vṛtti or Rīti.

It is also remarkable that although the authors of the Dhvanyāloka do not admit Rīti in poetry they admit another poetic factor, viz. Saṁghaṭanā, which corresponds in its characteristics partly to the Rītis of Rudraṭa. It is classified according to the absence or presence in varying degrees of compound words. Thus, Saṁghaṭanā may be *asamāsā* (uncompounded) *madhyama-samāsā* (having middling compounds) and *dirgha-samāsā* (having long compounds). The ultimate function of Saṁghaṭanā is to help the manifestation of Rasa, but it cannot do this independently. It realizes this object through the Guṇas and in manifesting Rasa the nature of the Saṁghaṭanā should be determined by its appropriateness to the speaker and to the theme of discourse.¹ The poet has first to consider: What is the nature of the speaker? What does he mean to say? What is the nature of the situation to be depicted? In other words, which of the mental conditions spoken of is specially favourable for the enjoyment of the Rasa depicted? Now, if a particular Saṁghaṭanā proves to be suitable to that Guṇa, one is at liberty to use that Saṁghaṭanā in connection with the Rasa where the Guṇa in question prevails. If not, that Saṁghaṭanā should be avoided in the said Rasa. Now since the Saṁghaṭanā awakens the Rasa through the Guṇa, a question arises: What is the relationship between the Saṁghaṭanā and Guṇas? Two clear cases are possible. The Saṁghaṭanā and Guṇas may be identical, or they may be different. In the second case, i.e. when the Saṁghaṭanā is different from the Guṇas they can remain in two ways:—(1) The Guṇas may reside in the Saṁghaṭanā (*saṁghaṭanāśrīyā guṇāḥ*), or (2) the Saṁghaṭanā may remain subordinate to the Guṇa (*guṇāśrayā saṁghaṭanā*).² Now, if the Guṇas are identical with Saṁghaṭanā, or the former belongs to the latter, then we have to admit the position that, like the Saṁghaṭanā, Guṇas too have no hard and fast rule for their application, i.e. any Guṇa may be

¹ *guṇān āśrītya tiṣṭhantī mādhuryādān vyanakti sā |
rasāmstanniyame hetur aucityam vaktr-tvācyayoh ||*

(D.K., iii, 6.)

² If Saṁghaṭanā be taken to be *āśraya* of the Guṇa then *āśraya* would imply *ādhārādheya-bhāva*, i.e. the container and the contained. (. . . *saṁghaṭanāśraya-guṇa-pakṣe . . . guṇān . . . ādheya-bhūtān āśrītya tiṣṭhantī saṁghaṭanā rasādān vyanakti, vṛtti* on D.K., iii, 6; p. 134). But when Guṇa is the *āśraya* of the Saṁghaṭanā, then *āśraya* would mean 'an object on which something else depends or to which something remains subservient' (*tadāyattā tanmukha-prekṣiṇī*, Locana, p. 134, l. 10).

attributed to any Rasa. But since in real practice we see that particular Guṇas are attributed to particular Rasas, whereas any kind of Saṁghaṭanā may be present in any Rasa (provided that it be in keeping with the character of the speaker or the theme), it follows that the Saṁghaṭanā cannot be identical with the Guṇas (*na guṇāḥ saṁghaṭanā-svarūpāḥ . . . Vṛtti*, p. 135), nor can the Guṇas belong to the Saṁghaṭanā (*na ca saṁghaṭanāśrayā guṇāḥ*, *ibid.*). What do then the Guṇas belong to ?

It has been already seen that the Guṇas belong primarily to the Rasa and secondarily to the word or its sense. Taking advantage of this latter position, the opponent might try once more to establish his point by raising an objection to the effect that if it is conceded that the Guṇas reside in the words, is it not thereby accepted that they reside in or are even identical with the Saṁghaṭanā ? For, words cannot produce the Guṇa (and for the matter of that, poetic effect itself) unless they are united together in a sentence, where however they may remain either compounded or un-compounded. In any case they do come under certain Saṁghaṭanā, which term, as has been already seen, involves absence or presence (in varying degrees) of compound words. It follows therefore that *saṁghaṭita* words and consequently Saṁghaṭanā itself can well be the *āśraya* of the Guṇas.¹ Anandavardhana replies that it is not true that words must necessarily be *saṁghaṭita* in order to produce the poetic effect, for (i) suggestion of Rasa may take place even through a single word or part of a word, where the question of Saṁghaṭanā does not arise at all, and (ii) even in the case where suggestion takes place through a sentence there is no hard and fast rule that a particular Saṁghaṭanā should be employed in connection with a particular Rasa. Thus, the Guṇa may be said to belong (only secondarily) to the word, but on no account does it belong to a fixed *saṁghaṭanā* of words and far less can it be identical with the Saṁghaṭanā. So it is seen that the spheres of the Guṇa and the Saṁghaṭanā are different (*tasmād anye guṇā anyā ca saṁghaṭanā . . . Pṛtti*, p. 137) and that it is the Saṁghaṭanā which remains subordinate to the Guṇas, through which it helps the awakening of any particular Rasa. The Rasa is the main thing to be considered in poetry, and whatever hinders the awakening of it must be dispensed with. As for instance, long compounds are generally detrimental when the sentiments of love and pathos are to be depicted, for the strain required in understanding the involved constructions

¹ *nanu yadi śabdāśrayā guṇās tatsaṁghaṭanā-rūpatvaṁ tadāśrayatvaṁ vā teṣāṁ prāptam eva. na hyasaṁghaṭitāḥ śabdā artha viśeṣaṁ pratipādyā rasādyās-ritānāṁ guṇānāṁ avācakatvād āśrayā bhavanti* (p. 136).

fails to produce a melting of the heart which is a mental condition particularly favourable for awakening the sentiments in question.¹ And in Rasas which are best realized through an expansion of the heart *madhyama* and *dirgha samāsa* would prove to be specially favourable. Ānandavardhana insists upon the presence of the quality of *prasāda* in all compositions. If this is absent, then even *asamāsā* Saṁghaṭanā fails to awaken the Śṛṅgāra and Karuṇa Rasas and in case of the presence of this Guṇa even *madhyama-samāsā* can awaken them. Hence the whole issue resolves into the fact that compound words can be sanctioned in Mādhurya, and even Ojas can go without them provided the propriety is not lost, the awakening of Rasa is not in any way hindered and they are quite in keeping with the character of the speaker and the situation to be depicted.

¹ *karuṇa-vipralambha-sṛṅgārayos tvasamāsaiva saṁghaṭanā...dirgha-samāsā saṁghaṭanā samāsānām aneka-prakāra-sambhāvanayā kadācid rasa-pratītiṁ vyavada-dhātīti tasyām nātyantam abhiniveśaḥ śobhate. viśeṣataḥ...karuṇavipralambhasṛṅgārayoḥ tayor hi sukumārataratvāt svalpāyām apyasvacchatāyām śabdārthayoḥ pratītir mantharībhavati* (pp. 139-140).

THE PSYCHOBIOLOGICAL FACTOR OF SORROW (DUKKHA) AS THE FUNDAMENTAL PROCESS OF ORGANIC EVOLUTION

By PANCHANAN MITRA and S. SIRCAR

“To the Buddhist, sorrow is not only the petty ills of flesh and fortune but an understanding of the universality of the Law of Impermanence and its logical corollary.” (*Dahlke.*)

The form and functional growth of the organism, the origin and nature of life in its relation to non-life, the geological and astrophysical order of events behind the organic and the inorganic, in short the entire problem of existence is an ever-expanding riddle in an expanding universe of thought-processes continuously widened with the process of the suns! The Rig Vedic poets sang as to the forces of nature, their full-throated hymn as to what was it of which man was formed, how was this accomplished, where was it done (Rig-Veda, Mandala 10, 129, 6) and tried to probe into the darkness of the impenetrable profound. Pythagoras tried to catch the harmonic principle from the spheres and Plato set his God geometrising. The novelist of to-day feels somewhere hidden lies the one single key that is to fit in into all the locked chambers yet unopened. And the scientists are being fast shred of their self-sufficiency of the last century and do not feel that they fare any better than the ancient dreamers and singers, philosophers and poets ‘of imagination all compact’. The palæontologist closes his book with a sigh that ‘if the mysteries of living and evolving germ-plasm are even deeper and more enigmatical than we have been inclined to believe, it were better to recognize the fact’ (Le Gros Clerk: *Early Forerunners of Man*). Russel would think that we have been experiencing a nightmare of dogmatic materialism and dogmatic theories of evolution and are just waking with a humbler and simpler attitude towards the great and unsolved problems of life, the complexity and mysteriousness of vital phenomena and would advocate a return to Aristotle (Form and Function).

Another will like to seek the key to the vault, the why and wherefore of things with Plato and Pythagoras in Number and recover from the kingdom of Mathematics coterminous with space and coeval with time the physical and mathematical law by which are bound the living and the dead, things animate and inanimate (D. Arcy W. Thompson, *Growth and Form*, p. 779).

But it is to man of all the entities in the creation that the riddle first appears. Every man of every culture has his go at it and perhaps has a glimpse of it through the veil. But in the main the process of becoming and non-becoming is the great mystery yet unsolved. Becoming passes into non-becoming and non-becoming into becoming and in spite of countless repetitions of the process it is yet a problem of problems, a question of questions that is ever brought forward after the multimillennial advance of the ceaseless repetition of the same phenomena. Man out of non-man, life out of non-life, consciousness out of non-conscious states, so runs the order of the universe. And is it not still a paradox? But the paradox has its limitation. It verily ceases to be a paradox when the limitation is understood or known. Within the Infinite the finites take their place. The finites look dissociated from the Infinite. The bubbles of the paradox burst. With the breaking up of the bubbles on the surface of the matrix fades away the paradoxes. Do the reverse paradoxes appear? Is not isolation the blind-folding and universalisation the right unfolding? The finite linked with the infinite—that is universalisation. Do the paradoxes start again? Organisms shot out of non-life elements is a riddle to the organic mind. Organisms or rather well-regulated structures devoid of mind act blindfold to this process. The state of blindfold response to this process is the non-conscious state (called *achetan* or *jad* or unintelligent matter by the Hindu). Consciousness is the right response to this process. It is then the function or action of this process to produce a system that responds accurately and rightly to it. Viewed in this light, man out of non-man or organism out of non-organic nature or inorganic substance is by no means so much of a baffling paradox or unsoluble riddle. It is the problem that has been, is being, and has still to be worked out. Solutions silence some old questionings but recapitulate problems of the newer order and they in their turn await further solutions. The process goes on repeating itself. The repetitions are but the subdivisions of Time eternal. The process resembles identically the eternal Time. The exponents of the age bear the emblems of the solution of the problem. The exponents march out of the preceding exponents. Solutions are then the problems of newer origins but bear the same characteristic stamp. The march of the reciprocal bearings of the solution and the problem is thus the indicator of further unfoldment. But though the problem appears more and more diversified, the gulf of mystery dwindles into a thin misty veil. And at last Time solves its own problem. It is the exponents of that phase of time who will be accredited with the great solution.

So also the credit has gone to the previous exponents in each of

preceding phases. But it is the 'now-phase' of time and the problem is still to be worked out. The newer and subtler aspect of the problem is what may be called the 'follow-up of Time'. The still unsolved is to be attempted for solution. The 'follow-up' from pre-nebula to the nebula state, then from the inorganic to the organic state of the earth is some sort of the state of unrest that characterizes itself in various forms but the fundamental nature of its existence is universally present everywhere. This unrest is the great transformant, the link-up chain at every step of the problem.

The commotion, the spiral motion in the nebula, the action, reaction, and interaction of the elements, the affinity in the positron, the sensitivity in the cell, the irritability in the protoplasm, the character determining activity of the biophors, and the growth in complexity and the evolution of the higher-sense organs till we arrive at man, are but the marching phases *mutatis mutandis* of the unrest.

The vital aspect of the unrest is detected as irritability. The nature of irritability and the previous steps of the differently named phases of the same unrest is similar in nature.

To know well what this unrest is in every part of its follow-up as it advances we have to institute a full enquiry into its *modus operandi* in each and every grade of change phenomenon. The task is beset with innumerable difficulties as it is not possible always to probe deep into every detail of the non-organic and organic phenomena of the universe.

The great commotion and its next phase the commotion-cum-spiral motion in the nebula are of ever transformative nature. The commotion distinguishes itself in the course of its transformative process as energy in display in the mass of inert substance—the matter. Matter and energy appear more and more distinctive one from the other. But in its finality their distinctive nature is totally nil. The positron of any element, say Hydrogen, has some display of energy in it but its mass is not so distinctive as in the Hydrogen where the energy display of positron is apparently nil. But any small portion of its mass can exist separately from any great mass of it. And every detached minutest portion of its mass is alive in its behaviour and property to its entire mass. But the response to stimuli is equally manifestative and same in every portion of its mass. Protoplasmic behaviour towards stimuli exhibits the same character. Positron and biophor are but the same, the only difference lies in the formation of the mechanism in one of them. The advance in the making of the forms or mechanisms exhibits change in behaviour of the response towards the stimuli.

The functional property becomes more and more latent. That is, in the making up of the mechanisms (forms) the energy appears separate, dormant, dependant, and less motionless or less in unrest. But the functional value of energy does not get nullified but changes infinitely.

But the two together when unseparated bear no distinction. The common characteristic of both of them is only the unrest. One is not different from the other. Unrest is the pulse of transformative advance. In the formation of cell which is the dynamic unit of life, in the formation of the positron which is the start to all non-life elements, the same unrest is prevalent. But one naturally is differentiated from the other by assuming some special energy operative in the cell and absent in the other. But the behaviouristic nature of the unrest has formed some sort of mechanism in the cell but not in the positron. The only difference lies in the formation of a mechanism in one and its non-formation in the other. All the gradational nature of organisms depends on the formative nature of this mechanism. As starting from the positron all the non-life substances and elements can be formed, so starting from the cell all other life elements are being formed. The point of controversy lies in the line of ascent or formation of one organism from the preceding one. Many theories or laws have been propounded. Lamarckian laws (1816) stated that (1) life by its own forces tends continually to increase the volume of everybody possessing it, and to extend the dimensions of its parts up to a limit which it brings about itself; (2) the production of a new organ in an animal body results from the arisal and continuance of new need and the new movement which this need brings into being and sustains (this psychical factor in his theory has been termed by Cope archaestheticism); (3) the degree of development of organs and their force of action are always proportionate to the use made of these organs (this is the law of use or disuse or kinetogenesis); and (4) all that has been acquired, imprinted, or changed in the organisation of the individual during the course of its life is preserved by generation and transmitted to the new individuals that descend from the individual so modified (this law is known as the inheritance of acquired characters). Neo-Lamarckians, while not minimising the rôle of natural selection, added the factors of geographical isolation or segregation (Wagner and Gulick), the effects of gravity, the effects of currents of air and water, of fixed or sedentary habits as opposed to active modes of life, the results of strains and impacts (Ryder, Cope, Osborn), the principle of change of function as inducing the formation of new structures (Dohrn), the effects of parasitism, commensalism, and of symbiosis, in short the biological environment, together with geolo-

gical extinction, natural and sexual selection and hybridity (Packard, Lamark, the Founder of Evolution, p. 398). The Darwinian doctrine of natural selection, the effect of which as an evolutionary factor as summarised by Lull (Organic Evolution, p. 122) is that (a) under new conditions harmful characters will be eliminated by selection, (b) beneficial characters are intensified and modified, (c) the great body of characters, neither hurtful nor beneficial, will not be modified but persist through heredity. The physical basis of heredity, according to Darwin, was the gemmules or tiny particles within the cells which in each instance partake of the nature of the cells producing them. There are as many varieties as there are categories of cells within the organism. This is the theory of pangenesis (pan=all, genesis=generation). Naegeli spoke of organic crystals suspended in an aqueous liquid and separated from each other by thin envelopes of water. De Vries's 'elementary units' or pangenes represents characters (Puggala?) and are located in the nucleus and similar to Naegeli's micellar groups. According to Weismann the Biophors represent characters and a germ cell contains as many biophors as the individual which this cell is to create will possess elementary indivisible characters. Orthogenesis seeks to state that variations and hence evolutionary change occur along certain definite lines impelled by laws of which we know not the cause (orthos=straight, genesis=production) and kinetogenesis (kineto=moveable, and genesis=production) is the doctrine of hypothesis that animal structures have been produced directly or indirectly by animal movements. Lastly, Osborn in his idea of coincident selection states, 'Individual or acquired modifications in new circumstances are an important feature of the adult structure of every animal. Some congenital variations may coincide with such modifications, others may not. The gradual selection of those which coincide (coincident variations) may constitute an apparent inheritance of acquired modifications'. These Lamarckian, neo-Lamarckian, Darwinian, neo-Darwinian hypotheses, the laws of heredity, orthogenesis, and kinetogenesis theory of gradational march of organisms are as it were just like the build-up of the anatomical structure and some physiological law of the body of the organism as a whole from cell-life to man.

Signs and actions of life have been stated and some laws of transmutation have been propounded. But the solution of the problem has not yet been made. The unity of plan has been admitted but the problem has not yet been solved. The conclusion arrived at is that 'evolutionary change occurs along certain definite lines impelled by laws of which we know not the cause' (Lull-Organic Evolution, p. 175). The laws have been formulated but the cause

is unsolved. The 'Now-phase' of time attempts to find out the cause by the study of the behaviour of the life element towards its surrounding and modifications caused in the mechanism by these. So irritability, the starting behaviouristic sign of life in the first life element, has been taken as the fundamental characteristic of life-mechanisms.

In the study of the bodily actions of plants and animals three main functions of physical activity are perceived. Contraction, expansion and the sense of irritability which is the only property of the protoplasm and without which no sensation or consciousness or nervous activity is possible. This irritability gradually develops from diffusiveness which is homogeneously distributed throughout the mass into the functioning of control and capacity of conducting which afterwards evolved in it more responsive function of the different parts of the mass to external changes such as light stimuli, etc. It is this which made possible the rise of the plant and animal kingdoms. After gradual change and transformation the irritability became manifest in the nerve not only as the power of contraction but also as the power of conduction. The kingdom of plants is more undeveloped in the power of conduction than in the aspects of expansion and contraction of irritability. Inasmuch as this change has been brought about in different objects in like manner sensation and consciousness have developed. The existence of pleasure and pain has been perceived in the cases concerned. The final evolution of the order of the functional change of irritability is thus full of significance and apparently different from the previous activity, so also the final evolution of sensation and consciousness is strangely different but in both cases the law of changeability* is in operation.

* *Note.*—On the one hand we find change brought about in the systems gradually leads to the perfection of the nervous system. Thus G. H. Parker shows that personality is dependent physically on the nervous system. Of the nerves there are three types, sensory or afferent, motor or efferent and internuncial neurones. In the lowest organism, such as for instance the multicellular sea-anemones, we have only a diffuse nervous system and no central organ or adjustor and sensibility to nervous impulse lies in every part of the surface, and in the still more primitive sponges we have muscles but no nervous tissue so to speak and the muscles behave as independent effectors. The adjustors came last and the central adjustor or brain grows in size and complexity. In the lower mammals there is the cerebral cortex of smell or archipallium and in the higher mammals grow the neo-pallium which becomes the central organ

It is not unrelated differentiation, it is related yet different and full of developed activating energy. It is from this that there came later on the existence of the human mind as a supreme achievement. So man has come to be endowed with mind and between man and animal there is so much difference but both are under the sway of the same rules of the same activation or operation. Thus the laws that are in operation in generating pleasure and pain in man are also in evidence from man to protoplasm. It is only the order of succession that constitutes the difference and not the law neither its operation. The instrument measuring the sensation of man can only record its relative depth or want of depth, or the degree of the expression but the function and the norm are everywhere equally and harmonically manifestative.

The plant and the animal kingdoms or the world of the living are incessantly coming into clash with their inner nature and outer world. Irritability is the first sign of this clash. The inner nature by virtue of its own inner process is ever keen on the transformation of this clash with external nature into something conducive to its own nature. However apparently this clash might look like the conflict of opposite forces it is without doubt conducive to the growth of the inner nature and inasmuch as it is so in like degree joy or pleasure will be manifest. Thus with the seed in sprout or with the bedecking with leaves and twigs and adornment with flowers and fruits the plant is undoubtedly beaming with the manifest signs of joy.

Eternal is this clash. So long as there is change and growth in function and operation it goes on. Inflowing by its very nature, its activity, is omnipresent. Changing circumstances bring about

till we reach the predominant association areas,—the adjustor of adjustors, the conductor of conductors of the receptive sensory and responsive motor control areas in the brain. And hand in hand with the perfection of the nervous system the signs of inner nature become more and more clear and manifest. Thus do gradually appear feeling, emotion, etc. from instincts, and sensation, perception, etc. from the nervous system—the medium of activity in external nature and world of matter. Each moves on linked to the other. Pleasure and pain emerge out of indistinctness into more and more clear and distinct manifestation.

The system of voluntary and involuntary muscles make their appearance for this very reason. On the other hand has appeared the conscious and the subconscious states, will, free-will, etc. At the back of the feeling of pleasure and pain of any individual in the activity of his physiological system both the things are present.

difference in functions and result in this clash. But when instead of showing sustenance we find this bringing destruction, doubt looms large in the horizon. In the very work of sustenance there also lurks destruction in nature. But when the destruction brought about by this clash is sensed as premature, doubts are doubled. The struggle for sustenance is indeed carried on by the object to the very last but by the pressure of nature the elasticity of the constitution is destroyed and destruction and doubt hold the field. No doubt the signs of sorrow are then writ large in that object.

From irritability appears instinct due to the subsequent developed mechanism. Response to the stimulus depends on the capacity of receptivity in the mechanism. The result is irritability. Receptivity increases somewhat like geometrical progression but response somewhat like arithmetical progression. But it is very much of more complex nature in the greater mechanism. So it is difficult to find out the actual line of progress of responsivity and receptivity. In a study of the nervous system and the response-reflex action, etc., when conscious and unconscious response is taken into consideration we find the sum total value to follow the law as:—

$$\frac{\text{Receptivity}}{\text{Responsivity}} = \text{irritability} = \frac{\text{Dukkha}}{\text{sorrow}} \text{ or } = \text{transformant impulse, that is}$$

the impulse of transcendence of the mechanism.

From this clash or struggle of inner and outer nature the system gains largely the power to carry on this struggle with the external nature—but at the same time and in like measure as a result of the process of development of inner nature the feeling of dominating the other is aroused. Personality, ego, self grow up. The conscious and unconscious state of the mind is the result of the success or failure in this struggle. To the extent the results of the struggle of the inner and outer nature are clear and manifest, there is consciousness. Knowledge is the practical aspect of this consciousness. The more one has mastery over external nature the more is free-will operative but owing to want of full knowledge of both aspects of the nature of this struggle, free-will began to be impeded in the field of action. The result of this retarded action is felt by the human mind as sorrow.

The 'I' gradually wants to see everything under its own will. But this 'I,' brought into being as an activation of both the natures, becomes oblivious of the work of inner nature, loses the feeling of change, and builds up a non-elastic nature ; so sorrow becomes incessant. Even the actions of pleasure and their work brought forth sorrow. So man took to accepting sorrow as his eternal companion

and as a result of this acceptance by the functioning of the mind the possibility of the state beyond sorrow or bereft of sorrow receded from his ruin. Thus man with problem-pressed, false memories, began to be in the throes of sorrow and suffering.

But this perception and sensation of sorrow is one that fails to be transcended by or got rid of by any animal. The question then arises, is there not for certain some relation between biology and this fact of perception. There is constantly an effort in the system to transcend this state of sorrow perceived and felt. This effort is an unconscious process and does not cease its operation in every creature or type till it is led to a state transcending this condition into an unperceived state and till then it has to suffer sorrow. If the type-transcendence is accomplished there is an end of the sorrow. But soon again the static condition of the new state becomes anew the cause of another type of sorrow and there begins afresh the same effort for transcendence into another state. Thus clearly sorrow perception goes on working as a transformant impulse in the animal, individual or type, and pleasure is perceived just at the moment of transition.

Thus this 'transformant impulse' of *DUKKHA* is manifest in countless life-entities encompassing their transition to other types of life. At the point of transition there is the desire-fulfilment and the feeling of secure stability in that condition; but as soon that condition is imagined to be lasting there is again the feeling of sorrow. For after the attainment of the transcended state the effort of transcendence from the previously perceived condition ceases to operate and gradually the newly attained state begins to bring about a feeling of sorrow and again there is an effort to cross over. This is the function of the living-nature and this is the sorrow felt by animal-nature. In every living entity it is in operation under special laws. The succession of the order of life has been brought about by this great cause.

It is this incessant clash of external stimuli and the constant effort of the particular types of sense-organs arrived at in the species or order to transcend what it is bound to feel as sorrow that leads to elaboration of transcending types of sense-organs on which the impact was felt most. The diffusive effectors and receptors build up better and better adjustors elaborated in the central control bureau of a growing brain. More and more sensitively agile end-organs coincidentally selected and adaptively radiated. But all specialisations were located as it were in the sorrow transforming sense-organs, the subtly elaborated and delicately adjusted light and sound apparatuses (perhaps at the cost of the predominant smell-sense). From the brain to the brain box, to the suitable moving frame

upholding it (best calculated to easy adaptation to the most various types of habitat and variegated types of food) is the story or history of the human evolution. The form follows the function. And sweet are the uses of adversity that all types feel themselves to be steeped eternally in the sorrow that pulsates the vital urge of transcendence to higher and higher static states of ennui and misery through transitional periods of pleasure. The loathsome toad of pain and sorrow hides within its head the mysterious jewel of precious evolution.

Whenever we want to maintain this life force as static then it appears as dynamic. For that reason sorrow is experienced. Pleasure comes from the sensation of static lastingness. At the root of each perception of pleasure and even the root real functional connotation of pleasure is 'eternal rest' and the perception of this. The mind-nature and mind-norm wants to experience joys by this nature of elasticity but the perception of this stativity is the cause of sorrow-perception. The mind-norm wants to hold fast to rest and by that fast holding to that it wants to experience pleasure, but change, 'succession of events' is an inevitable result. Sorrow is inevitable. Then again succession of events bring forth 'progression with transition', from that comes the rate of incidence or the rate of change. If we can catch hold of this rate of change and if we can move along with this change then the change is not perceived as such. The elastic state of the mind is perceived unimpeded so that every change is perceived not as change, nor as the severing of mental energy projected on some or any object, event or incident but as the continuous state of permanent state or rest. And thus the eternal peace is attained by every individual in his periodically changing life-phenomena or action.

Summing up we might say that every man at every juncture of sorrow felt must try to change himself with the change of the phenomenal world and its reflex action in the noumenon world. This must be such that his capacity of adaptability to the change of both these worlds must coincide with the rate of happenings. He is not a mechanism dissociated from all other mechanisms but a linked up series of points on the whole line of the march of the Process Eternal changing at every pulsation or flux of the operating process. This is how we can understand how all the latest trend of science and psychological investigations is showing in Buddhism its great system of investigation and analysis and we can appreciate more deeply now the noble truth of sorrow, its origin, its cessation and the path leading to its cessation.

THE APOCRYPHAL BRAHMA-PURĀṆA

By RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

It is the general belief that the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*¹ is the real one of that name, the peculiarity being that it has suffered through repeated additions and losses. This belief is at the base of all statements that have been made so long by scholars about its date and authoritativeness. From an examination of the Purāṇas and the Smṛti-Nibandhas, however, it has been found that the present *Brahma-Purāṇa* is not the original one but merely an Upapurāṇa of that name and that it was known as such even as late as in the sixteenth century A.D., if not later.

Almost all the Nibandha-writers have drawn profusely upon the *Brahma-Purāṇa*, which was, therefore, one of the most authoritative works in the whole range of Puranic literature. But, curiously enough, not a single of the numerous quotations made by Jīmūta-vāhana, Aparārka, Haradatta (the commentator of the *Gautama-dharmasūtra*), Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Ballālasena, Devanabhaṭṭa, Kullūka-bhaṭṭa, Madanapāla, Śrīdatta Upādhyāya, Caṇḍeśvara, Rudradhara, and many others, is traceable in the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*. This is unique and significant and undoubtedly goes against the authenticity of the Purāṇa. Definite information, however, about the apocryphal character of the present *Brahma-Purāṇa* is supplied to us by Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin, a Nibandha-writer of Orissa. Speaking on the authenticity of the two Purāṇas entitled '*Brahma-Purāṇa*', he says in his *Nityācāra-pradīpa* (A.S.B. edition, p. 19) :—

' Brahma-Purāṇaṅ-ca Kalpatarau yad-vākyāny-ādṛtāni, tad-vyatiriktaṃ Brahma-Purāṇaṃ Puruṣottama-māhātmyopabrṃhitam Hemādry-ādi-Nibandha-parigṛhitam śiṣṭa-parigrahād-eva pramāṇaṃ, tad-apy-Upapurāṇāntargatameva.'

Thus he clearly distinguishes between the two *Brahma-Purāṇas*—one, the real Mahāpurāṇa and the other, the Upapurāṇa. His definite mention of the Puruṣottama-māhātmya as occurring in the Upapurāṇa proves the apocryphal character of the extant *Brahma-Purāṇa*, in which there are chapters on this māhātmya. Its apocryphal character is further established by the fact that though Nṛsiṃha

¹ Edited by the AnSS., Vaṅgavāsī and Venkaṭeśvara Press. In the following pages the Vaṅgavāsī edition has been used.

Vājapeyin was clearly acquainted with the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*, none of the numerous quotations made by him from the '*Brahma-Purāṇa*' in his *Nityācāra-pradīpa* is traceable in it. It cannot be argued that the Smṛti-chapters of the present apocryphal *Brahma-Purāṇa* date from a time later than the Nibandha-writer, because there is a MS. (No. 2337) of this Purāṇa in the Dacca University which is dated 1616 Śaka (=1694 A.D.) and which tallies almost literally with the present editions. The evidences of the Purāṇas also go against the authenticity of the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*. According to the *Matsya* (Chapter 53, Verse 12), *Skanda* (VII, I, 2, 28), and *Agni-Purāṇa* (272, 1) Brahmā and Marīci are the interlocutors in the original *Brahma-Purāṇa*, but in the present *Brahma* we find Brahmā and Dakṣa. All these facts establish the apocryphal character of the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*. The title of the work should not be taken as a point in favour of its authenticity. The lists of the Upapurāṇas contained in some of the Mahāpurāṇas show that there were Upapurāṇas bearing the titles of Mahāpurāṇas. For example, *Kūrma-Purāṇa* I, 1, 17-20, names the *Skanda*, *Vāmana* and *Nāradya Upapurāṇa*.

Though the present apocryphal *Brahma-Purāṇa* is a voluminous work, there is little which it can claim as its own. It is a late conglomeration of chapters mainly borrowed from other sources such as the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, *Vāyu-Purāṇa* and *Harivaṃśa*, as the following list will show :—

Brahma-Purāṇa

Chapter I (verses 21-30)	= <i>Viṣṇu-P.</i> , I, 2, 1-8.
" I (31-end)	= <i>Harivaṃśa</i> , I, 1, 19.
" 2-5	= " I, 2-7.
" 6-8	= " I, 9-15.
" 9	= " I, 25.
" 10	= " I, 26 (1-11 and 48-49) ; I, 27.
" 11-17	= " I, 28-39.
" 18 (except verses 1-6)	} = <i>Viṣṇu-P.</i> , II, 2-7 and 9.
" 19-24	
" 27 (10-end)	= <i>Mārkaṇḍeya-P.</i> , 57 (except verses 1b, 50-52a and 64b).
" 39-40	= <i>Vāyu-P.</i> , 30 (verses 79-end).

Brahma-P. chapters 70 (verses 12ff.) to 175 deal with Gautamimāhātmya which constituted an independent work by itself.

Chapter 179 (except verses 1-10)	= <i>Harivaṃśa</i> , I, 40, 8-end (except verses 41b-43a, 46b, 56a, 64 and 66a).
" 180, 1-5 (except 3a)	= <i>Mārkaṇḍeya-P.</i> , 4, 36-40a.
" 180, 6-13	= <i>Viṣṇu-P.</i> , I, 2, 1-8.
" 180, 14-end (except 29-38 and 42a).	= <i>Mārkaṇḍeya-P.</i> , 4, 40b-end.
" 181 (5ff.)-212	= <i>Viṣṇu-P.</i> , V, 1-end (except V, 1, 1-11).

Chapter 213, 3-9	=	<i>Harivaṃśa</i> , I, 40, 1-7.
„ 213, 10-end (except=	„	I, 41 (except 12b-c, 15b-19, 21a, 22b,
21b-22a, 131a, 164		28c, 49b, 55, 58a, 59, 83a, 111b, 138,
and 171).		151b, 161-163, 165-169).

Chapter 217 has many verses in common with *Mārkaṇḍeya-P.*, 15.

Chapter 220, 22-29	=	<i>Mārkaṇḍeya-P.</i> , 32, 1-8.
„ 220, 33-42	=	„ 33, 8b-end.
„ 220, 69-82a	=	„ 30, 12-end (except 19b).
„ 220, 82b-99	=	„ 31, 1-8.
„ 220, 101b	=	„ 31, 23b.
„ 220, 102a	=	„ 31, 25a.
„ 220, 105-110a	=	„ 31, 30-34.
„ 220, 110b-120a	=	„ 32, 28-37.
„ 221, 1-109a (except 59b=	„	34 (except 17b, 30b, 42b, 68-69a,
77b, 84 and 85b).		74a, 76b-77, 81a, 85b, 88-90a,
		92a, 93 and 102-103a).
„ 221, 109b-165a	=	„ 35 (except 8b, 33b and 55a).
„ 222, 1-21	=	<i>Viṣṇu-P.</i> , III, 8, 20-end.
„ 222, 22-end (except=	„	III, 9, 1-end.
verses 51-52).		
„ 230, 1-end	=	„ VI, 1-2.
„ 232, 1-end	=	„ VI, 3, 1-end.
„ 233, 1-end	=	„ VI, 4 (except 15b and 49b).
„ 234 (except 69b)	=	„ VI, 5 (except verses 52-54, 69-78a and
		81a).

That, as regards these common chapters, the apocryphal *Brahma-P.* is the borrower, requires no evidence to prove. The quotations made by the early authors from the *Viṣṇu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Vāyu-Purāṇa* show that the chapters borrowed by the *Brahma-Purāṇa* have been occurring in these Purāṇas from a time earlier than that of compilation of the present *Brahma*. As to the chapters common to the *Brahma* and the *Harivaṃśa*, a comparison of the portions common to the *Vāyu*, *Harivaṃśa* and *Brahma*¹ proves the indebtedness of the *Brahma* to the *Harivaṃśa*. In these common portions the *Brahma* follows more the *Harivaṃśa* in its readings and extra verses than the *Vāyu*. The common portions between the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* and the *Harivaṃśa* and the references in the latter to the names of the great sages and the ten sons of Tāmasa Manu as declared by Vāyu (*Vāyu-proktaḥ Harivaṃśa*, I, 7, 13 and 25) tend to show that the *Harivaṃśa* had the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* as its prototype. Pargiter also doubts the *Harivaṃśa* version of the dynastic account to be a revision of that of the *Vāyu* and says that 'it is manifestly later than the *Vāyu* version.'²

¹ Viz. *Vāyu*, 62, 72b-98, *Harivaṃśa*, I, 2, 7-27 and *Brahma*, 2, 7-28a; *Vāyu*, 62, 99-193, *Harivaṃśa*, I, 4, 26ff. to I, 6, 44a and *Brahma*, 4, 19-110; *Vāyu*, 63, 1-11, *Harivaṃśa*, I, 6, 44b-54 and *Brahma*, 4, 111-122.

² Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 78-79.

We have given above the list of chapters that have been borrowed by the *Brahma-Purāṇa* from other sources. If these chapters are left out of consideration, those which remain are unimportant and small in number. They are as follows :—

Brahma-Purāṇa

Chapter I (I-20)	= Introductory verses.
„ 18 (I-6)	= Enumeration of the topics treated of in chapters I-17.
„ 25	= Names of holy places.
„ 26	} = For introducing chapter 27 on Geography.
„ 27 (I-10)	
„ 28-38	} = Gods and holy places in Orissa.
„ 41-70 (I-11)	
„ 176-178	
„ 214-215	= On hells.
„ 216-217 (partly)	} = On results of action (karma-vipāka).
„ 218	
„ 219	
„ 220 (verses I-21, 30-32, 43-68, 100-101a, 102b-104, 120b-212).	= On Śrāddha.
„ 223-225	= On karma-vipāka.
„ 226-229	= On the worship of Viṣṇu.
„ 231	= Accounts of the Dvāpara and the future ages.
„ 235-end	= On Sāṅkhya and Yoga.

Besides these, there may be found even in the borrowed chapters verses which are not traceable in the originals. These verses do not contain anything important for our purpose nor do they shed any light on the date of composition of the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*. Therefore, they may be neglected.

The apocryphal *Brahma-Purāṇa*, with its borrowed and non-borrowed chapters, does not seem to have been composed, or rather compiled, earlier than the beginning of the 10th century A.D. Had it been composed earlier, it could not have failed to be quoted, or even referred to, by the Nibandha-writers earlier than the middle of the 13th century A.D. It is not that the early Nibandha-writers did not believe in the authoritativeness of the *Upapurāṇas*. The numerous quotations made by them from a good number of such works¹ show that they gave almost the same importance to the *Upapurāṇas* and the *Mahapurāṇas* as sources of dharma. Even after the middle of the 13th century this apocryphal *Brahma-Purāṇa*

¹ Viz. *Ādi-Purāṇa* (not the *Brahma-Purāṇa* which also is called *Ādi-P.*), *Āditya-P.*, *Nṛsimha-P.*, *Kālikā-P.*, *Nandī-P.*, *Nandīkeśvara-P.*, *Devī-P.*, *Saura-P.*, *Sauradharmottara*, *Bhaviṣyottara*, *Viṣṇu-rahasya*, *Viṣṇu-dharma*, *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*, *Viṣṇu-dharmottarāmṛta*, *Brhad-viṣṇudharma*, *Śiva-rahasya*, *Śiva-dharmottara*, *Bhagavati-P.*, and *Śāmba-P.*

began to be regarded as authority only by a comparatively small section of writers consisting mainly of Hemādri, Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspati-miśra and Govindānanda. Each of them quotes a good number of verses from the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*. Of the very numerous quotations made by Raghunandana in his *Smṛti-tattva* two are found to tally with *Brahma-Purāṇa*, 29, 55-59 (on the worship of the Sun). Raghunandana also draws upon the *Brahma-Purāṇa* in his *Yātrā-tattva*. These quotations in relation to Sun-worship and god Puruṣottama show that though Raghunandana used mainly the real *Brahma-Purāṇa*, he also might have quoted a few verses from the apocryphal Purāṇa of the same title. From all this it is highly probable that the present *Brahma-Purāṇa* is to be dated not earlier than the beginning of the 10th century A.D. As Hemādri, Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspatimiśra and Govindānanda quote verses from it, it cannot be later than 1250 A.D.

Let us now pass on to the different chapters. Chapter 25 gives a long list of the names of holy places chiefly of Northern India. Though it mentions the 'Virajā-tīrtha' and the 'Indradyumna-saras', the names of Puruṣottama-kṣetra and Ekāmra-kṣetra are conspicuous by their absence. Moreover, this chapter is wholly unconnected with those preceding and following it. So, it seems to have been interpolated by some body living outside Orissa.

Chapter 26 is meant for serving as an introduction to chapter 27 dealing with the geography of India. It was, therefore, written at the time when chapter 27 was borrowed from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*.

Chapters 28-70 and 176-178, on the holy places in Orissa, should be considered in four groups :—

- (1) Chapters 28 (1-8), 42 (35-end), 43-70 (1-11) and 176-178 on Puruṣottama-kṣetra or Puri sacred to Viṣṇu ;
- (2) Chapters 28 (9ff.)-33 on Koṅārka sacred to the Sun-god ;
- (3) Chapters 34-41 on Ekāmra-kṣetra or Bhuvaneśvara sacred to Śiva ; and
- (4) Chapter 42 (1-34) on Virajā-kṣetra or Jajpore sacred to Devī.

Of these four groups of chapters, those belonging to group (1) were written first of all. The chapters of the other three groups were interpolated later on. The reference to the quarrel between the Śaivas and the Bhāgavatas and the avowedly sectarian character of the chapters of the different groups prove that they were written by different hands.

The determination of the date of composition of the chapters on Puruṣottama-kṣetra-māhātmya is rather difficult. They could not

have possibly been written earlier than the end of the ninth century A.D., because there is mention of the Śiva-temple at the side of the Mārkaṇḍeya lake (*Brahma-P.*, 56, 65 and 72-73). This temple was built in 820 A.D. by Kuṇḍala-keśarin, king of Orissa. Again, the expensive stone temple, which the mythical king Indradyumna is said to have built at Puruṣottama-kṣetra, may be identical with that built by Ananta-varman Coḍagaṅga (Śaka 998-1069), one of the eastern Gaṅga kings of Orissa. He 'was a good patron of religious works and charities' and 'under his orders was built the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri'.¹ We cannot, however, put much stress upon this supposition, because we are not sure that there was no Viṣṇu-temple at Puri before the time of Ananta-varman Coḍagaṅga. That the chapters on Puruṣottama-kṣetra were incorporated in the present *Brahma-Purāna* not later than the middle of the 13th century A.D. is certain, for many of these chapters are drawn upon by Vācaspatimiśra in his *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi*, by *Sūlapāṇi* in his *Dolayātrā-viveka* and *Rāsayātrā-viveka*, and by Hemādri in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (see Appendix).

The story of Kaṇḍu in *Brahma-Purāna*, 178, seems to have been added later than chapters 176-177. This story is told by Vyāsa, whereas in all other chapters on Orissa Brahmā is the speaker. Moreover, the story is inserted all on a sudden without any previous hint. The story that there had been at Puruṣottama an image of Viṣṇu made of sapphire and that it had been buried in golden sand by the god himself before Indradyumna went to the place, is most probably fabricated to give the place greater sanctity and antiquity. A similar attempt was also made with respect to the image.² It is said that the image was first constructed by Viśvakarman at the command of Viṣṇu. It was then taken to heaven by Indra, thence to Laṅkā by Rāvaṇa, and from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā by Rāma. It was then given to the lord of oceans who, 'for some reason', placed it at Puruṣottama. The honest motive underlying this story is obvious.

The chapters on Koṅārka, Ekāmra-kṣetra and Virajā-kṣetra could not have been interpolated earlier than 1240 A.D., because they mention the Sun-temple at Koṅārka (*Brahma-P.*, 28, 46-47) which was built between 1240 and 1280 A.D. by Narasiṃhadeva I of the Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa. As Vācaspatimiśra quotes numerous verses from many of these chapters in his *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* they must be dated not later than 1400 A.D.

Chapters 214-215 on hells and chapters 216-218 on karma-vipāka probably are of the same date as that of composition of the

¹ JASB, 1903, p. 110.

² Vide Chapter 176.

present *Brahma*. They cannot be later than 1500 A.D., because Govindānanda quotes verses from chapters 216 and 218 in his *Dānakriyā-kaumudī*. Many verses of these chapters seem to be common with those in the real *Brahma-Purāṇa*, because of the numerous quotations made by Mādhavācārya only a few are found in chapters 214, 215 and 217 of the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*. As none of the quotations made by him on ācāra, aśauca, śrāddha and prāyaścitta is found in the present *Brahma-Purāṇa* though it contains chapters on most of these topics, it is sure that Mādhava used the real *Brahma* and not the present apocryphal one.

Chapters 219-222, śrāddha, ācāra, varṇāśramadharmā and aśauca, should be dated earlier than 1500 A.D., because Govindānanda quotes numerous verses from chapters 219, 220 and 221 in his *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī*. Govindānanda seems to have drawn upon the original *Brahma-Purāṇa* also. Most probably it is for this reason that a good number of the quotations made by him in his *Dānakriyā-kaumudī* and *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī* and all of the numerous quotations made by the same in his *Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī* and *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī* are not found in the present *Brahma-Purāṇa*.

The date of chapters 223-231, dealing with karma-vipāka, Viṣṇu-worship, etc. is not known. No Nibandha-writer has been found to draw upon them. They may, however, come from the same date as that of composition of the present *Brahma*.

Chapters 235 to end on Sāṃkhya and Yoga were undoubtedly drawn from some older source. In some MSS. of the present *Brahma* these chapters are not found at all.¹

The Gautamī-māhātmya (chapters 70-175), which was certainly composed by somebody living about the river Godāvarī, is a distinct 'work' (pustakam) by itself. It is called a 'highly meritorious Purāṇa' declared by Brahmā (*Brahma-P.*, 175, 78 and 87). The place which it occupies in the *Brahma-P.* was not meant for it, because it divides the chapters on Puruṣottama-kṣetra-māhātmya. The way in which chapter 176 opens, shows that it immediately followed chapter 60. Moreover, in chapter 176 there is no hint from which we may conclude that the māhātmya was there. In *Brahma-P.*, 179, 2, the sages refer to Bhāratavarṣa (chapter 27) and Puruṣottama-kṣetra of which, they say, Vyāsa told them elaborately, but they do not mention the Gautamī-māhātmya which also precedes chapter 179 in our edition. So, it is clear that the māhātmya was

¹ Haraprasād Śāstrī, *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.*, A.S.B., Vol. V, Preface, P. 97.

not originally there. In the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition it is placed at the end. This mähātmya was attached to the *Brahma-P.* later than the chapters on Orissa, for, the Nārādīya-Purāṇa (Veṅkaṭeśvara edition, I, 92) which gives the contents of the present *Brahma-P.* including the mähātmyas of Puruṣottama-kṣetra and Ekāmra-kṣetra, does not mention the Gautamī-mähātmya.

The Gautamī-mähātmya does not seem to have been composed earlier than the 10th century A.D. The story of Gautama's bringing the Godāvarī (i.e. the Gautamī) is undoubtedly later than those in the *Kūrma-Purāṇa* (I, 16, 95-123) and the *Varāha-Purāṇa* (chapter 71). The story of Bhagīratha (*Brahma-P.*, 78) also is of very late origin. As no author has been found to draw upon this mähātmya, it is impossible to say anything definitely.

Though a comparatively late work, the present *Brahma-P.* has not escaped additions and alterations. Some of its chapters have been lost. Vācaspatimiśra's numerous quotations on Avimukta kṣetra-mähātmya show that the apocryphal *Brahma-P.* once contained a good number of chapters on this mähātmya. The *Nārādīya-Purāṇa* (I, 92) gives a list of contents of the apocryphal *Brahma-P.* This list includes the story of Rāma which is not found in the printed editions.

Excepting the chapters on Koṅārka, Ekāmra-kṣetra and Virajā-kṣetra, the present *Brahma-Purāṇa* is Vaiṣṇava from beginning to end. There can be no doubt, therefore, about the Vaiṣṇava authorship of the Purāṇa.

In this connection we should like to say a few words about the Smṛti-contents of the real *Brahma-Purāṇa* which seems to have been lost. We have said that this Purāṇa was regarded as one of the most authoritative works in the whole range of Puranic literature. The quotations made by the Nibandha-writers show that it was a rich store of Smṛti-materials. A list of the multifarious Smṛti-topics dealt with in this Purāṇa is given below :—

- (a) āśrama-dharma, (b) ācāra and āhnikā, (c) bhakṣyā-bhakṣya, (d) bhojana-niyama, (e) dravya-śuddhi, (f) śauca, (g) śrāddha, (h) aśauca, (i) snāna, (j) dāna, (k) strī-dharma, (l) different kinds of sins, (m) prāyaścitta, (n) vrata, and (o) māsa-kṛtya.

This list is based on the quotations made by Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Jimūtavāhana, Ballālasena, Aparārka, Haradatta, Kullūkabhaṭṭa, Madanapāla, Mādhavācārya, Caṇḍeśvara, Rudradhara, Raghunandana, and Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin. Almost all of them quote profusely from the *Brahma-Purāṇa*.

APPENDIX

Of the numerous verses quoted by the Nibandha-writers from the '*Brahma-P.*' the following have been traced in the present *Brahma* :—

- | | | | |
|---|--|---------------|--|
| (1) <i>Parāsara-bhāṣya</i>
of Mādhavā-
cārya (ed. by
Islampurkar),
Vol. II, part ii,
p. 209 | <i>Brahma-P.</i>
= 215, 136b-137a and
138b-139a. | p. 16 | = 220, 183b-184a.
(The line 'āma-
māmsam, etc.' is
not found.) |
| 210 | = 214, 29-31 (four
lines are not
found). | p. 17 | = 220, 156-157a, 158b
and 182b-183a. |
| p. 224 | = 217, 48-50, 75b-76a,
57, 59b, 80b-81a
and 83a. | p. 18 (twice) | = 220, 170 and 197b-
198a. |
| 266 | = 217, 68-71a, 66-67,
77b-80a and 45-
47. | p. 19 | = 220, 180b-181a and
161. (The line
'vetrāṅkuram
etc.' is not found.) |
| (2) <i>Dolayātrā-viveka</i>
of Śūlapāṇi
(MS. No. 177c,
Dacca Uni-
versity Library),
fol. 3b (line 4) | = 63, 18. | p. 20 | = 220, 159-160a. |
| (3) <i>Rāsayātrā-viveka</i>
of Śūlapāṇi
(MS. No. 3350,
Dacca Univer-
sity Library),
fol. 4a | = 67, 10-11 | p. 23 | = cf. 220, 162. |
| (4) <i>Śrāddha - viveka</i>
of Śālapāṇi
(MS. No. 151A,
Dacca Univer-
sity Library),
fol. 24b | = 220, 46b-47a. | p. 28 | = 220, 4. |
| fol. 25a | = 220, 45b-47a. | p. 42 | = 220, 127-129. |
| fol. 28b | = 220, 51b-52a. The
(twice) other quoted pas-
sage is not found. | p. 43 | = 221, 96a and 97a. |
| (5) <i>Śrāddhakriyā-
kaumudī</i> of
Govindānanda
(Bibl. Ind.
Series),
p. 15 | = 220, 28-30 (except
30a). | p. 64 | = 219, 75b. |
| | | p. 74 | = 220, 118b-119a. |
| | | p. 84 | = 219, 46b-47a and 48. |
| | | p. 84 | = cf. 219, 54b and
62b. |
| | | p. 122 | = 219, 48 and 51. |
| | | p. 141 | = 220, 160b. |
| | | p. 142 | = 220, 162-164. |
| | | p. 144 | = 220, 167. |
| | | p. 145 | = 220, 139-140. |
| | | p. 148 | = 219, 61b. |
| | | p. 172 | = 219, 69-70a. |
| | | p. 187 | = 219, 72b-73a. |
| | | p. 189 | = 219, 75b. |
| | | p. 203 | = 219, 78. |
| | | p. 206 | = 219, 79. |
| | | p. 210 | = 219, 81b-82a. |
| | | p. 212 | = 219, 83. |
| | | p. 258 | = 220, 51b-52a. |
| | | p. 263 | = 220, 51b-53a. |
| | | p. 285 | = 220, 45b-48a. |
| | | p. 300 | = 220, 53b-54a and
55-56. |
| (6) <i>Dānakriyāka-
umudī</i> of
Govindānanda
(Bibl. Ind.
Series),
p. 49 | = 216, 18. | | |

- p. 52 = 216, 30.
 p. 43 = 218, 26b-27a.
 p. 50 = 216, 12-13.
- (7) *Smṛti-tattva* of Raghunandana (edited by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara), Vol. I, p. 216 = 220, 138.
 p. 404 = 29, 55-56. (One verse is not found.)
- (8) *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati-miśra (Bibl. Ind. Series), pp. 53-86 = 27, 2a.
 28, 1-2. (Four verses from 'santi tīrthāni, etc.' on p. 53 are not found.)
 69, 14-end (except 26 and 39-40).
 70, 3-4a.
 42, 34b-end (except 35b-36a).
 43, 1-13.
 45, 1-5a, 16b and 17b-c.
 45, 18-24, 53a, 54-79, 84-end and 82a.
 48, 1-6 and 10-end.
 49, 1-40a, 41b-51, 54-56, and 57b-end.
 50, 1-48 (one verse kuṇḍalābhyaṃ, etc. is not found), 49-50a and 51-end.
 51, 1-33a and 37-end.
 p. 87 = 57, 1-7.
 pp. 88-92 = 57, 8-30a, 32b-42, 44-47, and 50-56.
 pp. 92-103 = 57, 57-end.
 58, 1-7. (Four verses 'tasmāt-taṃ muniśārdūla, etc.' on p. 94 are not found.)
 58, 12-27, 28b-29, 30b-58 and 62b-end.
 59, 1. (Two verses 'sarvalakṣaṇa-samyuktam, etc.' are not found.)
 59, 3-4, 6a, 27b, 28b-30a and 84b-end.
 60, 1-II.
 p. 104 = 57, 3-4.
 p. 105 = 57, 8 and 13-14.
 p. 106 = 57, 22-23.
 pp. 107-108 = 57, 33-37 and 39-40.
 p. 109 = 57, 58.
 p. III = 60, 9-10.
 pp. 112-128 = 60, 12-end. (Two verses 'Nārāyaṇa-paro dharmo, etc.' on p. 113 and one line 'aṅguṣṭhe haste etc.' on p. 114 are not found.)
 61, 1-end.
 62, 1-15, 18b-21, and 22b-end. (Three lines 'nāstikāya na vaktavyam etc.' are not found.)
 63, 1-7.
 p. 130 = 60, 40-42a and 44-45.
 p. 132 = 61, 14-16, 23a-b and 24.
 p. 133 = 61, 25 and 27-30.
 p. 134 = 61, 31-34.
 p. 135 = 61, 35-38.
 p. 138 = 63, 3 and 8-9.
 pp. 139-143 = 63, 11-end.
 64, 1-end.
 pp. 143-154 = 65, 1-13, 15b-41a, 43-59, 65, 71, 72 and 84-end.
 pp. 156-159 = 51, 29-32, 37 and 42-45.
 66, 1-2, 10-13a and 14-end.

p. 160	= 67, 3-5.		
pp. 161-169	= 67, 2, 6-12, 13b-22a and 23-80. (One verse 'durlabhāṃ pāvanam, etc.' on p. 167 is not found.)		'kṣetraj n a ñ - ca' etc.' is not found.)
	68, 28-31, 32b, 35, 69b-70, 73-75a and 76.	pp. 176-180	= 41, 10b-11, 53b and 56-78a. (Six lines 'bhuktvā tatra varān bhogān etc.' are not found.) 78b-88, 91b-92, 89-90 and 93.
p. 175	= 177, 19, 24, 16 and 17. (One verse	pp. 180-182	= 28, 44-56a, 62b-end and 56b-62a.
		pp. 183-184	= 42, 1-7 and 9-10.
		p. 184	= 42, 11.

THE SIEGE OF CHITOR, 1533-35 A.D.

By GOLAP CHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI

Writing about the political condition of India on the eve of his memorable invasion Bābur refers to the powerful Hindu kingdoms of Mewār and Vijayanagar as of equal importance with the Turco-Afghān Sultānates of Delhi, Gujarāt, the Deccan, Mālwa and Bengal. Thanks to Robert Sewell and Kṛishṇa Sāstrī, the story of the Forgotten Hindu empire in the far south of India is no longer unfamiliar to students of history. But Mewār has hardly received its desert. We have no doubt the charming annals of Col. Tod. But these hardly satisfy the curiosity of the critical historian. Attempts have been made in recent times to supplement the great work of the learned Colonel, and new facts have come to light with the progress of antiquarian research. The present essay is an humble endeavour to throw some light on an important episode in the chequered history of Mewār which for several generations held aloft the beacon light of freedom amidst the encircling gloom of Turkish military aggression and of Rājput subservience.

The reign of Vikramajit, son of Rāṇā Sāṅgā of Mewār, marks the closing scene of the long drama of rivalry between the Rāṇās of Mewār and the Sultāns of Gujarāt. Tod has the following account of this last phase of the struggle between the two powers. The young prince Vikramajit was 'insolent, passionate, and vindictive, and utterly regardless of that respect which his proud nobles rigidly exacted. Instead of appearing at their head, he passed his time among wrestlers and prize-fighters, on whom and a multitude of foot-soldiers he lavished those gifts and that approbation, to which the aristocratic Rājput, the equestrian order of Rājasthān, arrogated exclusive right.' As a result of this extravagance Vikramajit soon became embroiled in a quarrel with his vassals which had momentous consequences for him and his kingdom. Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt took advantage of this disunion among the Rājputs to lead an army against the Rāṇā in order to avenge the capture of his predecessor Muzaffar by prince Prithvirāja of Mewār, son of a former king Rāyamalla. It is said that after inflicting a defeat upon the Rāṇā, who was encamped at Loicha in the Būndī territory, he finally laid siege to the fortress of Chitor. The Rājputs offered a stubborn resistance, and we are told the thrilling tale of Jawāhir Bāi, the dowager queen of Rāṇā Sāṅgā, who 'to set an example of courageous devotion . . . clad in armour, headed a sally in which she was slain'.

The besiegers, however, steadily gained ground. In this moment of imminent danger the defenders 'had recourse to the expedient of crowning a king, as a sacrifice to the dignity of the protecting deity of Chitor', and sent Udayasimha, the posthumous son of Sāṅgā Rāṇā¹ out of the fort to Būndī. The ladies in the fort headed by Karnavati, the mother of Vikramajit, performed the *johar* (a kind of self immolation). The annalist records that 'Every clan lost its chief, and the choicest of their retainers; during the siege and in the storm thirty-two thousand Rājputs were slain. This is the second *sākā* of Chitor'.

We are also told that in her dire distress the mother of Vikramajit had appealed for help to her *rākhi band bhāi* (a sort of adopted brother) Humāyūn, emperor of Delhi. The Timurid sovereign 'proved himself a true knight, and even abandoned his conquests in Bengal when called on to redeem his pledge, and succour Chitor, and the widows and minor sons of Sāṅgā Rāṇā . . . He amply fulfilled his pledge, expelled the foe from Chitor, took Māndū by assault, and, as some revenge for her (i.e. of Māndū) king's aiding the king of Gujarāt, he sent for the Rāṇā Vikramajit, whom, following their own notions of investiture, he girt with a sword in the captured citadel of his foe.'²

Mūhaṇṭa Nēṇa Sī, the minister of Mahārāja Yaśovanta Simha of Mārṅwār, who wrote in the middle of the seventeenth century, gives the following account of the event mentioned above. In Sam. 1599 (1589?) Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt laid siege to the fort of Chitor and took it. Hāḍī Karmetī performed the *johar*, several Rājputs were killed. The emperor Humāyūn came to Chitor to help Vikramāditya, and after expelling Bahādur reinstated the Rāṇā on the throne. In the Gujarāt section of his book Nēṇa Sī gives the same information but does not mention the coming of Humāyūn. He says that after the departure of Bahādur to Gujarāt the Sisodiyās drove away the Turks from Chitor. Nēṇa Sī also gives a *vāta* (account) from Chāraṇa Āsiyò Giradhara which deserves careful notice. In Sam. 1719 (?) Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt laid siege to the fortress of Chitor for the *first time* and surrounded it on all sides. Rāṇā Vikramāditya was a mere boy . . . Several days after the siege the fort gave way on one side . . . Negotiation for peace was started . . . The Rāṇā agreed to send Udayasimha for service. Bahādur taking Udayasimha with him went away. It is further stated that as the Sultān had no son he determined to convert

¹ For a discussion of the date of the birth of Udayasimha, see *I.H.Q.*, 1925, pp. 220 f.

² Crooke's *Tod*, vol. I, pp. 360 ff.

the Rājput prince to Muhammadanism and to leave the throne to him. The Rājputs, however, fled away with their prince when they came to know of this decision of the Sultān. Bahādur followed them quickly and *again* besieged Chitor.¹

A good deal of romance attaches to Tod's account of the *sākā* of Chitor given above. Furthermore it is apparent that the excellent annalist knows of only one single siege of Chitor by Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt while in reality the balance of evidence is in favour of the view that there were two distinct sieges undertaken by the same Sultān. The reason for the Sultan's campaign against Mewār, as given by Tod, has not found credence among modern historians. An inscription of V.S. 1543 no doubt speaks of Rāyamalla as having vanquished Jāphara,² but he cannot be identified with Muzaffar (II) of Gujarāt, who ascended the throne in 1511 A.D. Doubts have also been thrown by competent critics on the story of Humāyūn's coming to the help of the Rānā on an appeal from his mother.

The account given by Nēṇa Sī is short and to some extent may be based upon fact. The dates mentioned are however not correct.³ The Muhammadan historians are silent about Udayasiṁha's being sent to Gujarāt for service. But to reject the evidence of Nēṇa Sī on that ground alone, which is at best an *argumentum ex silentio*, is hardly justifiable. There is, however, reason to believe that the part of the story which refers to Bahādur's attempt to convert Udayasiṁha to Muhammadanism in order to adopt him as his heir is not based on genuine tradition. The Sultān selected Muhammad Shāh of Khāndesh as his successor probably even before the siege of Rāisen.⁴ We have absolutely nothing to suggest that Bahādur wanted to reverse the arrangement after the first siege of Chitor. The rest of the story of Giradhara and Nēṇa Sī may be accepted. It is to be noted that Nēṇa Sī gives the important detail about imperial assistance to the Rānā and speaks of Humāyūn as coming to the help of Vikramajit. We shall discuss the matter further on. The Rājput chronicler also refers

¹ *Mūhanōta Nēṇa Sī Ki Khyāta*, translated by Rāmanārāyaṇa Dugaḍa, part I, pp. 53 ff.

² *Ep. Ind.*, XX, App. p. 118.

It should be noted that an inscription of V.S. 1505 gives the title Ranamalla to Kshetrasiṁha and speaks of him as having defeated the lord of the Gurjara country (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, App. p. 111). Kshetrasiṁha was probably a contemporary of Muzaffar I of Gujarāt.

³ In the Gujarāt section of his book Nēṇa Sī gives Fālgun Śudi 1, 1589 V.S. as the date of the first siege of Chitor. This more or less agrees with the date of the first siege of Chitor by Bahādur.

⁴ *M-i-Sikandari*, Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, pp. 202, 206. Silhādi was alive at that time.

to two distinct sieges undertaken by Bahādur and in this he receives corroboration from Muslim writers.

The *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* records that one chief ambition of Sultān Bahādur was to conquer Chitor. It is related that Bahādur, when yet a prince, was very much annoyed at certain arrangements for succession made by his father. Being in danger of his life he determined to leave Gujarāt. Before his departure he saw his patron saint Kutb-ul-āktab, who pressed him to ask for a boon. The prince replied, 'Except the conquest of Chitor, I have no other wish, because the Rāṇā of Chitor has very much harassed the Musalmāns of Ahmednagar, killing them, plundering their property, and taking them prisoners'.¹ The saint of course granted the boon. 'In spite of this, the relation between Mewār and Gujarāt during the early years of Bahādur's reign was harmonious and friendly. Just after his departure from Gujarāt (in 1524) the prince went to Chitor where he was warmly welcomed by Rāṇā Sāṅgā. The mother² of the Rāṇā called him her 'son'. It is said that while at Chitor Bahādur nearly lost his life when he killed a nephew of the Rāṇā. The timely intervention of the Rāṇā and his mother, however, saved him from the angry Rājputs.³ In 1527, Sāṅgā sent his son Vikramajit with suitable presents to Bahādur, who had now become the Sultān of Gujarāt.⁴ The son of the Rāṇā was received most graciously and remained for some time in Gujarāt. This happy relation continued even after the accession of Ratnasimha, eldest son of Sāṅgā, to the throne of Mewār in 1528. In 1528-29 Bhārūn, son of Prithvirāja, and nephew of Sāṅgā, came with his followers and entered the service of the Sultān.⁵ In 1530-31, Ratnasimha sent emissaries to plead for Jagmal, brother of the Rājā of Bāgaḍa, who had revolted from the Sultān and taken shelter with the Rāṇā. Jagmal was granted pardon and was assigned half of Bāgaḍa.⁶ Soon after this when Sultān Mahmūd II of Mālwa attacked some of the possessions of Ratnasimha, the latter sent envoys to Bahādur complaining against the unfriendly attitude of the ruler of Mālwa.⁷

¹ Ibid., p. 139. Bahādur refers to an incursion of Rāṇā Sāṅgā in the territory of Gujarāt in the time of Muzaffar II.

² Or wife according to another version. Bayley, p. 372.

³ Faridi, p. 140. As we shall see it was probably the mother of Vikramajit who saved the life of Bahādur.

⁴ *Tab-i-Akbari*, translated by B. De. MSS., p. 472. Faridi, p. 158.

⁵ *Tab-i-Akbari*, De, 474. The M-i-S says that Prithvirāja, the brother of Rāṇā Sāṅgā, came to the Sultān and became enrolled among his vassals (Faridi, p. 162). Rājput tradition makes Prithvirāja a brother of Sāṅgā who died in the life time of his father (Crooke's Tod, I, pp. 341, 348). Can Bhārūn be a variant of Vaṇavira?

⁶ Faridi, p. 165. *Tab-i-Akbari*, De, p. 476.

⁷ Faridi, p. 165.

Finally, when Bahādur marched on his way to attack Mahmūd, Ratnasimha and Silhādī came to pay their respect to him and were honoured with robes and other presents. Dungarsī and Jājarsī, two *wakils* of the Rāṇā, remained with the Sultān, and it is permissible to conjecture that the Mewār army took part in the siege of Māndū.¹

Some time after the investment of Māndū Sultān Bahādur had some misunderstanding with Silhādī, imprisoned him and also besieged his fort of Rāisen. Bhupat, son of Silhādī, appealed to the ruler of Chitor for help which was readily granted as the Rāisen chieftain was a near relation of the Rāṇā. Recent researches have thrown a flood of light upon the traditional version of Tod, and have shown that Bahādur was provoked to attack Chitor by the Rāṇā's interference in the affairs of Rāisen.² The Rāṇā therefore sent his brother Vikramajit at the head of forty thousand picked horse and artillery and innumerable infantry to raise the siege of Rāisen, and probably himself joined the forces later on.³ The Sultān became very much enraged at the conduct of the Rāṇā, and sent Muhammad Khān Āsirī and 'Imād-ul-Mulk against the Rāṇā's brother. Very soon the Sultān himself joined his forces, and compelled the Rāṇā to fall back. The *Tabqāt-i-Akbari* says that the ruler of Chitor sent envoys with the following message: 'The Rāṇā was one of the servants of the threshold, and his object in coming to these parts, was that he should advance his foot by way of intrusion and ask for the pardon of Silhādī.' The Sultān replied, 'At present his forces and grandeur are greater than mine. If he had submitted a petition without fighting, he would of course have attained his objects.' The *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* also says the same thing and adds that the Rāṇā pleaded that he had sent his brother Vikramajit 'to entreat the Sultān on his (Silhādī's) behalf, hoping to produce kindness in the Sultān's mind for him. If the Sultān so desired, Vikramajit would seek the (Sultān's) presence.'

¹ Ibid., p. 165; *Tab-i-Akbari*, De, p. 478.

² For an account of Silhādī, see *Cal. Rev.*, 1934, pp. 299 ff.

³ Faridī, pp. 172 f. The *Mirāt* does not mention the name of the Rāṇā. But in the preceding pages we are distinctly given to understand that Ratnasimha had already succeeded Rāṇā Sāṅgā. Vikramajit is called in the *M-i-S* as the reigning Rāṇā's son which is evidently a mistake. He was the younger brother of Ratnasimha. Haig, Ross and Ojha think that the siege of Rāisen took place in the reign of Vikramajit. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, III, pp. 328 f., 530 f.; *Udayapura Rājya kā Itihāsa* by G. H. Ojha, p. 394 f.). The account of the *Mirāt-i-S* makes it distinctly clear that Vikramajit was as yet a prince.

That the Rāṇā also joined the army is made clear from the fact that he retired 'from the camp in which he then was'. Faridī, p. 173. The *Tab-i-Akbari* does not mention that Vikramajit was sent in advance.

The Sultān said, 'Let him come'. The agents who were really sent as spies by the Rāṇā returned and informed him of the military superiority of the Sultān. The Rāṇā, therefore, fled to Chitor without giving battle to the Sultān.¹ Bahādur followed him up to the gates of Chitor and only postponed the siege in consideration of the immediate investment of Rāisen which capitulated in the month of Ramzān 938 A.H. (April-May, 1532). The implacable resentment of the Sultān manifested itself in attacks upon Gāgraun and Mandasor²—dependencies of Chitor since the days of Rāṇā Sāṅgā. The siege of Chitor was again delayed by the coming of the rains.

The threatened attacks of the Portuguese in Diu next engaged the attention of the Sultān and compelled him to go post-haste to Diu to deal with his Christian enemy. The Portuguese, however, fled away even before the arrival of the Sultān. Being thus relieved from danger on that side Bahādur began preparations for the siege of Chitor. Arms and ammunitions and a great Egyptian cannon were sent to Māndū to be employed in the siege. Several thousand picked veterans were enlisted and ordered to join the camp. Muhammad Khān Āsirī was asked to come from Khāndesh. The author of the *Tārikh-i-Bahādurshāhi*, who witnessed the siege and whom Sikandar quotes, says that the Sultān had sufficient men and siege apparatus to have besieged four such places as Chitor. Tod says, 'This was the most powerful effort hitherto made by the Sultāns of Central India, and European artillerists are recorded in these annals as brought to the subjugation of Mewār'.³

Muhammad Khān Āsirī and Khudawānd Khān were ordered to march upon Chitor. When they arrived at Mandasor they were met by the envoys of the Rāṇā. It was submitted that 'whatever the Rāṇā holds of the Mālwa territory he will relinquish; whatever tribute may be imposed on him he will pay; whatever duty is imposed on him he will perform, and he acknowledges himself a subject of the Sultān, and will never be disobedient, but will submit himself to every ordinance of the Sultān, as is right and proper'. Sikandar says, 'Sultān Bahādur, however, remembered the Rāṇā's rash and foolish doings in the matter of sending aid to Silhādī, and he had, therefore, resolved upon the conquest of Chitor and rejected the Rāṇā's petition.⁴ He ordered Tātār Khān, grandson of Sultān Buhlūl

¹ Faridi, p. 173.

² Faridi, p. 177.

³ As already stated Tod knew only of one siege and strictly speaking his remarks apply to the Sultān's second attack on Chitor.

⁴ *Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarāt* by Bayley, p. 370. As is to be noted the *M-i-S* does not make mention of the name of the Rāṇā. The problem arises who was the ruler of Chitor at this time. We have already tried to show that it was probably Ratnasimha who sent aid to Silhādī at the time of the siege of Rāisen.

Lodī of Delhi, to proceed to Chitor and also asked Muhammad Khān Āsirī and Khudawānd Khān to follow him. When Tātār Khān reached Chitor he expected that the Rānā would give battle, but no opposition seems to have been offered at first.¹ On the 14th Rājab 939 (9th Feb., 1533) the lower fortification was captured, and very soon two of the seven gates of Chitor also fell. Bahādūr joined his army by a forced march and gave directions for the use of battering guns. The fort was surrounded on all sides, and detachments of troops were sent to ravage the country sides. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* says that the brave souls from both sides performed gallant deeds but the victory fell to the Gujarātis. Through the skill of Rūmī Khān, the finest artillery man of the age, walls were battered to pieces and the fort could no longer withstand the siege. The mother of Vikramajit, who was the chief wife of Rānā Sāngā, sued for peace through the medium of Bhupat Rāi, her son-in-law, who seems to have been in the camp of Bahādūr.² She submitted the following :—

' My son has long served the Sultān. He went from this place to Gujarāt, and paid respects to the Sultān.³ I, therefore, as

The definite act of *disobedience and the rash and foolish doings in the matter of sending aid to Silhādī* can therefore properly be ascribed to Ratnasimha rather than to Vikramajit. A presumption arises, therefore, that Ratnasimha was alive even at this time. Pandit Ojha refers to an inscription of Vikramajit, dated Vaiśākha Śudi 11, 1589 V.S. which, if a current year, corresponds to April 15th, 1532. It thus evidently clashes with our contention and makes Vikramajit the Rānā of Chitor even at the time of the siege of Rāisen. If, however, the inscription refers to the expired year then the date falls on 3rd May, 1533, and in no way clashes with the Muslim account. We are inclined to accept the latter date until the publication of the epigraph in question removes all doubt.

When did then Ratnasimha die? The *Tab-i-Akbari* informs us that the siege of Chitor lasted for three months (De's MSS. p. 516). The *M-i-S* says that Bahādūr left Chitor on the 24th March, 1533. We are therefore led to think that the siege actually began sometime in the beginning of January, 1533. If Vikramajit was the Rānā of Chitor at the time of the siege then Ratnasimha's death must be placed before January, 1533. The event must have also happened after Rabi-ul-akhir, 939 (November, 1532) when Muhammad Khān Āsirī and Khudawānd Khān were ordered to march upon Chitor.

Pandit Ojha says that the *Amar-Kāvya* MS. gives the date V.S. 1587 for the death of Ratnasimha. That does not seem to be correct in the light of Muslim evidence.

It is interesting to note that Badāonī (Rankin, p. 452), Nizām-ud-dīn (De, vol. II, p. 47) and some MSS. of Firishta (Briggs, II, p. 74) say that Bahādūr was fighting with Rānā Sāngā. But Rānā Sāngā died about five years before the siege in 1528 (Mrs. Beveridge, Memoir, p. 612).

¹ Faridi, p. 178.

² *An Arabic History of Gujarāt*, p. 227. *M-i-S* says that Bhupat and Alp Khān were placed by Bahādūr on one side of Chitor. (Faridi, p. 179.)

³ Probably refers to Vikramajit's visit to the court of Gujarāt in 1527, when he was sent by his father Rānā Sāngā.

an aged woman, humbly beg that the Sultān will forgive his faults, and, as my life is bound up in his, by granting his life the Sultān will also renew mine, and confer on him an incalculable boon. Henceforth he will be faithful and devoted to service; he will not be disobedient in any matter, and will faithfully and energetically do his duty when he may be ordered. Several towns of the territory of Māndū have been in his possession since the time of the Sultān Māhmūd; those he offers to surrender. The golden girdle and the jewelled crown and cap which belonged to Sultān Māhmūd, the value of which jewellers are unable to estimate, these which were won on the day of the victory over that Sultan, and one hundred *lakhs* of *tankas*, and a hundred horses with gold-worked bridles, and ten elephants, he presents as tribute to your Majesty.'

Sikandar says, 'The Sultān considered it politic, under the circumstances, to accede to the proposals. He had regard more-over to the prayer of the Rānā's mother, and remembered the service which she had rendered to him when she withheld the Rājputs from destroying him by threatening to take her own life, when he was in his youthful days a fugitive from his brother, Sikandar Khān, and killed the Rānā's nephew at the feast'.¹ The Sultān retired from Chitor on the 24th March, 1533. Nizām-ud-din says that after laying siege to the fort for some time 'owing to *certain matter*, he (Bahādur) made an *amicable settlement* and returned to Ahmedabad'.² The author does not make it clear what were these *certain matters* that induced the Sultān to make an *amicable settlement*. It is to be seen that he accepted almost exactly the same terms which were offered by Ratnasimha at Mandasor just before the siege began. Surely this statement of Nizām-ud-din requires some explanation which we are unable to offer in the present state of our knowledge. It has been already noted that Nēṇa Sī following Āsiyò Giradhara gives some additional details about the terms of peace, and says that Udayasimha was sent as a hostage with Bahādur.

For about two years after the siege Mewār was immune from any outside attack. Pandit Ojha says that the Rānā during this period refused to conduct himself properly and continued to give

¹ *Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujārat*, Bayley, p. 372. Faridi's text is very brief on his point. It simply says that 'as the petition from the mother of the Rānā was reasonable, the Sultān agreed to it and taking tribute, on the 27th Shaban retired from Chitor.' The terms of the peace also find corroboration from Nizām-ud-din, Hāji Dabir and Firishtā.

² *Tab-i-Akhbari*, p. 802 (De's MS.). Did Bahādur retire for fear of Humāyūn who came to Gwalior at this time?

offence to his vassals. Some of these discontented nobles went over to Bahādur and began to incite the Sultan to invade Chitor. About this time Mīrzā Muhammad Zamān, the son-in-law of Bābur, who was imprisoned by Humāyūn, fled from custody and took refuge with Bahādur. Thus a quarrel began between the two Sultāns, and Bahādur thinking it necessary to invest the strong fort of Chitor again laid siege to it.¹

The *Chāraṇa* Giradhara says that the flight of Udayasīnha induced Bahādur to besiege Chitor for a second time.²

Sikandar says that the desire of conquering Chitor again took possession of the heart of Sultān Bahādur when he returned to Māndū after subduing Nizām-ul-Mulk of the Deccan.³

As a matter of fact the second siege of Chitor by Bahādur seems to have been a part of a wider scheme. Abūl Fazl says, 'It is not unknown to the circumspect that Sultān Bahādur was ever engaged in high-flying imaginings, and was always holding in his palate the bruised thorn of evil wishes'.⁴ His court became the asylum of discontented Afghāns headed by Tātār Khān, son of Alā-ud-dīn, son of Bhulūl, Sultān of Delhi. Tātār Khān was ever engaged in kindling the ambition of Bahādur and was trying to persuade him to make an attack upon Delhi. But the latter at first refused to lend an ear to it.

The coming of Mīrzā Muhammad Zamān to the court of Gujarāt raised fresh hopes in the mind of Sultān Bahādur who now told Tātār Khān that he was prepared to attack the ruler of Delhi. He sent twenty *krors* of Gujarāti coins to Ranthambhor to raise an army under the leadership of Tātār Khān. Alā-ud-dīn, father of Tātār Khān, was sent to Kālinjar to create disturbances. Burhān-ul-Mulk was instructed to make an attempt upon the Punjāb at the head of a Gujarāti army. Abūl Fazl says that Bahādur divided his forces with the idea that the imperial army would be thrown into confusion. Tātār Khān was ordered to make a direct attack upon Delhi and Bahādur 'keeping both aloof from and in touch with him, addressed himself to the siege of Chitor so that he might both capture the fortress and be an intermediary for helping the Ludiyaṅs when occasion occurred'. The geographical situation of the two important fortresses of Chitor and Ranthambhor which lie on the way from Gujarāt to Delhi or Agra made their capture by the rulers of either of the belligerent powers the most important

¹ *Udayapura rājya kā Itihāsa*, p. 397.

² Mahanota Nēna si ki khyāta, p. 54.

³ Faridi, p. 180.

⁴ *Akbar-nāma*, Beveridge, p. 293.

preliminary in an offensive warfare.¹ That the siege of Chitor was not an end in itself is made amply clear by Abūl Faḥl who says, 'Sultān Bahādur, under the pretext of besieging Chitor, had gathered a large body of men under Tātār Khān, . . . and that he was entertaining wild projects'.

It is well known that the action of Bahādur evoked strong protest from Humāyūn and there was an exchange of letters between them. Hāji Dabīr says that in reply to Humāyūn's second letter Bahādur wrote as follows :—

'There are five justifications for entering on war: firstly, the foundation of a dynasty; secondly, the protection of a dynasty; thirdly, defence against aggression; fourthly, an appeal for help from one State to another; the fifth is not a good one, for it may be an unwarrantable attack, a love of conquest or plunder, disobedience and so forth. But with me it is none of these. I have merely distributed money with the desire to make a holy war and to raise the standard of faith.'² All our authorities including Hāji Dabīr, however, make it clear that Bahādur collected men to attack the Mughals.

No details about the second siege of Chitor have been preserved by the Muhammadan historians. Rūmī Khān was again charged with the task of battering the walls, and was promised as a reward the governorship of Chitor. The fort surrendered on the 3rd Ramzān 941 A.H. (8th March, 1535). The Rājput chronicles state that many Rājputs fell on that occasion and Rānī Karmavatī, mother of Vikramajit, performed the *Johar*. Hāji Dabīr says that Bahādur repaired all the damages done to the fort and it was made more strong with cannons, etc. The *amirs* having objected to the appointment of Rūmī Khān, Mālik Nassan was placed in charge of the fort.³

We have already pointed out that both Tod and Nēṇa Sī ascribe to Humāyūn the reinstatement of Vikramajit on the throne of Chitor. It cannot be doubted that Humāyūn advanced towards Chitor at this time with the object of confronting Bahādur. Khāfi Khān says that letters were exchanged between the two Sultāns which had for their object the help to be rendered to the Rānā.⁴

¹ Ranthambhor was captured by Bahādur immediately after the first siege of Chitor. We should also note that Chitor and Ranthambhor were captured by Akbar before his conquest of Gujarāt. The conquest of Gujarāt also necessitated for Alā-ud-dīn Khalji the reduction of these forts.

² *An Arabic History of Gujarāt*, Index, p. xxxv.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁴ *Muntakhāb-ut-Lubāb*, p. 74.

Firishtā also gives some verses which point to the same conclusion.¹ The emperor at first refrained from attacking Bahādūr as he was engaged in fighting with the infidels. Afterwards he defeated Bahādūr and returned to Agra by way of Chitor.² It is difficult to believe that at this time when he was confronted with a hostile Gujarāti governor in Chitor, and the rebellion and evil designs of his brother Mīrzā Askarī, Humāyūn stayed at or near Chitor for any length of time to drive away the Gujarātis from that place. The *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* mentions Shāmsher-ul-Mulk as the governor of Chitor when Humāyūn went back to Agra from Mālwa. It also says that Āmīn Nas, governor of Ranthambhor, Shāmsher-ul-Mulk, governor of Chitor, and Burhām-ul-Mulk, governor of Ajmir, effecting a junction fell upon the Mughals and drove them back.³

The question may properly be asked—is there no foundation for the story that an appeal was made to Humāyūn to come to the rescue of Chitor? Sir E. D. Ross says, 'According to Rājput legend Jawāhir Bāi, the queen mother of Rāthor race, sent Humāyūn a bracelet, in accordance with the chivalrous custom of Rājasthān, adopting him as her champion against Bahādūr, but the legend is inconsistent with the Muslim chronicles and with the conduct of Humāyūn, who, despite the gross provocation which he had received, would not attack a brother Muslim while he was engaged in fighting with the misbelievers.' Sir W. Haig also rejects the story in almost identical language, 'There is no truth in the Rājput story of the despatch of the *rākhi* to Humāyūn by the young Rāṇā's mother, and of the latter's chivalrous response, for though he had received gross provocation from Bahādūr, he punctiliously refrained from attacking him while he was engaged in warfare against the "misbelievers".'⁴

¹ Briggs, II, p. 74.

Humāyūn addressed the following verse to Bahādūr:—

'O thou, the ravager of Chitor
In what way would thou subdue infidels?
Knowest thou, that while employed at Chitor,
A king cometh to subdue thee.'

Bahādūr wrote the following in reply:—

'I who am the ravager of Chitor,
Will conquer the idolators by valour,
And he who dares not succour Chitor,
Shall see in what way he himself be conquered.'

Other authorities also make mention of these letters. But they do not say that these related to the question of rendering any help to the Rāṇā.

² *Akbar-nama*, I, p. 321.

³ *M-i-S*, Faridi, p. 197 f.

⁴ *C.H.I.*, pp. 330, 531.

Tod's account of the advance of Humāyūn to help the Rāṇā at the time of the *final* capture and the crowning of Vikramajit at Māndū seems incredible. But both Sir E. Rose and Sir W. Haig overlook the fact that there were *two* distinct sieges and the Rāṇā or his mother may well have appealed to Humāyūn at the time of the *first* siege. Referring to the *first* siege Firishtā distinctly mentions the fact that the governor of the fort of Chitor being attacked by Bahādur sought the protection of Vikramajit. Humāyūn started from Delhi in order to chastise Bahādur and help the Rāṇā, but after going as far as Gwalior, and spending two months there returned to Agra. The Rāṇā being hopeless of receiving any help from Humāyūn gave a crown jewel and other valuable presents to Bahādur and thus induced him to raise the siege.¹ That Humāyūn went just at this time to Gwalior is also evidenced by both Khondmir and Gul-badan.² Khāfi Khān also says that Vikramajit sought help from Humāyūn when Bahādur went to Chitor. But though the Emperor went to that side he did not help the Rāṇā.³

Was there any reason why Vikramajit should seek help from Humāyūn? Our position would be clear if we bear in mind the relation between Vikramajit and Bābur, the father of Humāyūn. It is stated in the *Memoirs* of Bābur that Vikramajit, who was at Ranthambhor with his mother after the death of his father, sent emissaries to Bābur 'to indicate his submission and obeisance and ask a subsistence allowance of seventy *lakhs* for him, it had been settled at that time *parganas* to the amount asked should be bestowed on him . . . ' Vikramajit also offered to give the crown and the belt of Mahmūd Khaljī II of Mālwa to Bābur, who promised Shāmsābad in exchange for Ranthambhor.⁴

Shortly afterwards Bābur again records, 'Hāmusī . . . was joined with Vikramajit's former and later envoys in order that pact and agreement for the surrender of Ranthambhor and for the condition of Vikramajit's service might be made in their own way and custom. Before our men returned he was to see and learn and make sure of matters; this done if that person (Vikramajit) stood fast to his spoken words I for my part promised that God bringing it aright I would set him in his father's place as Rāṇā of Chitor.'⁵

¹ Briggs, II, p. 74. Briggs' rendering is a bit defective. I have adopted B. De's note in the *Tab-i-Akbari*.

² Elliot, V, p. 124. *Humāyūn-nāma*, Mrs. Beveridge, pp. 115, 116.

³ Muntakhāb-ut-Labāb, p. 73. Khāfi Khān, Badāoni and Nizām-ud-dīn place the first siege of Chitor in 940 A.H. after the flight of Muhammad Zamān. But this date is probably incorrect. The evidence of Hāji Dabīr and Sikandar is to be preferred in this respect.

⁴ *Bābur-nāma*, Beveridge, p. 612.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 616.

The extant *Memoirs* do not give us any account of the report made by the envoys who were sent by Bābur to make inquiries into the matters of Vikramajit. Neither do we know as to what extent the contract between Bābur and Vikramajit was carried out actually. It is perhaps certain that Bābur did not invade Mewār on behalf of the younger son of Rāṇā Sāṅgā. The crown and the belt of the Mālwa Sultān were also not given to Bābur. There is, however, evidence to suggest that the Timurid emperor extended his protection to Vikramajit. While giving an account of the revenue of Hindustān Bābur mentions 'Bikramajit of Rantambur' as one of the *rājās* paying revenue and 'who as obedient from old, receives allowance and maintenance'.¹ Is it therefore altogether impossible that Vikramajit appealed to the son of his patron for help and the latter responded though (as pointed out by Khāfi Khān) he did not or could not afford any effective assistance?

¹ Ibid., p. 521.

THE BENGALI COMMENTATORS ON THE AMARA-KOṢA

By NALINI NATH DASGUPTA

It is now almost a settled fact that Amara-Siṃha, a Buddhist by denomination, wrote his lexicon (Kōṣa) in the fourth century A.D.¹ That lexicon in course of time gained immense popularity in Bengal, and evoked quite a large number of commentaries on it. All the commentaries, however, are not preserved, and even of those that are preserved, we have not the knowledge of all, lying hidden as many of them are in private collections, and sequestered nooks, or worm-worn rickstands of manuscripts. Again, in case of many of the known ones, it is very difficult, in the absence of positive informations, to decide if their authors were really Bengali or not.

The Tibetan encyclopædia, Tangyur, contains the translation of a commentary on the Amara-Kōṣa by one Subhūticandra.² If he be identical with Subhūti-pālita, from whom Anandagarbha of Magadha studied the Yōgatantra, he is, according to the testimony of the Pag-Sam-Jon, a Bengali,³ and, if so, perhaps the earliest known Bengali commentator of Amara-Kōṣa.

If the identification is not tenable, it is Sarvānanda who came to take that place. He hailed from the village of Vandyaghāṭa in Rādhā (W. Bengal), and was the son of one Ārtihara. His commentary entitled 'Tīkā-Sarvasva', was written in Śaka 1082, or A.D. 1159. No MS. of this commentary has been discovered in Bengal, but the 'Tīkā-Sarvasva' was noticed in Dr. Burnell's 'Catalogue of the Tāñjore MSS', and in Mr. Opert's 'List of Sanskrit MSS. in Southern India',⁴ and this is probably the commentary that has been referred to as the 'Amara-Vyākhyāna' by 'Vandigāṭa', in the 'Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in Mysore and Coorg' by Mr. Lewis Rice.⁵ The MS. noticed by the late MM. H. P. Śāstrī⁶ came from Nepal. The

¹ See K. G. Oka's Introduction to Kṣīrasvāmin's Com. on the Amara-kōṣa, Poona 1913, pp. 7-8; also Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 216.

² Catalogue Du fonds Tibétain De la Bibliothèque Nationale, par P. Cordier, Troisième partie, Paris, 1915, p. 465.

³ Pag Sam Jon Zang, by Sumpa Khan-Po Yeśe Pal Jor, 1747 A.D. ed. S. C. Das, Cal., 1908, Index, p. xii.

⁴ Vol. II, Madras, 1885, p. 689.

⁵ Bangalore, 1884, pp. 290-91.

⁶ Notices of Sanskrit MSS., Second series, Vol. IV, Cal., 1911, No. 101, pp. 76-77.

'Tikâ-Sarvasva' is now published,¹ and the Bengali commentator's product is found to contain a good many Bhâṣâ words, more than 300 in number (see Vaṅgîya Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikâ, 1326 B.S., No. 2).

In the collection of the Dacca University, there is a commentary on the Amara-Kôṣa, which is, we are told, on the same lines as those of Sarvânanda, and which ends with the 'Vaiśya-Pradhâna-Varga'.² But who wrote it, and when, remains unknown.

To the authorship of Trilôcana Dâsa is attributed a commentary on the Amara-Kôṣa,³ and his identity with Trilôcana Dâsa, the reputed writer of the gloss (pañjikâ) on the Kâtantra-vṛtti of Durgasîmha, appears indubious. Son of Mēgha, and father of Gadâdhara, Trilôcana is not a modern writer, as is sometimes supposed, notably by the late Paṇḍita Umēsa Candra Vidyâratna.⁴ He is quoted in the 'Kâvyâ-Kâmadhênu' of Vôpadêva in the latter half of the 13th century, while a MS. of his 'Kâtantra-vṛtti-pañjikâ,' in Nâgari character, is dated in Ira Sam 156, equivalent to 1273 A.D.⁵ He probably belonged to the 12th century, and might have been more or less a contemporary of Sarvânanda.

It may not be out of place to refer here to the 'Trikâṇḍa-Śêṣa' of Puruṣôttamadêva, although it is not a commentary on, but rather a supplement, in three chapters, to the Amara-Kôṣa. Puruṣôttama, the lexicographer, is, we need not doubt, the Buddhist grammarian of that name, whose Scholium (Bhâṣâ-vṛtti) on Pânini's aphorisms, excluding those texts that appertain to the Vedic dialects, was written, according to his commentator, Srṣṭidhara, at the command of king Lakṣmanasêna (Lakṣmanasênasya râjña âjñayâ).⁶ Commentators are not always reliable in such cases; for instance, Ananta Paṇḍita, the commentator of the 'Aryâ-Saptaśatî' of Gôvardhana, wrongly explains the expression 'Sênakulatilakabhûpati' of verse 39 of that poem as alluding to the king Pravarasêna (of Kâśmîra), the author of the 'Setu'.⁷ But in case of Puruṣôttama, we know that the introduction of his 'Varṇadêśanâ' reads as follows:—

¹ Ed. Gaṇapati Śâstrî, Madras, 1911 and 1917.

² Ind. Ant., 1928, p. 2.

³ Miscellaneous Essays, by H. T. Colebrooke, Cowell's edition, Vol. II, London, 1873, 'preface to the author's edition of the Amara-koṣa', footnote, pp. 52-53.

⁴ Jâti-tattva-vâridhi, Cal, 1902, p. 241.

⁵ Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected Paper MSS., belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, by H. P. Śâstrî, Vol. II, Cal., 1915, p. 89, No. III, 397 B.

⁶ See Bhâṣâ vṛtti, published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

⁷ N.S.P., ed., pp. 13-14.

“Śrī-Puruṣōttama dēvasya Dēśanāyam niśamyatām
 Varna-viplava-rāśāya nṛpājñēva gariyasī
 tathā Gauḍādi-lipi-sādhāraṇyād
 hiṇḍīra-guḍākēśādau hakāra ḍakārayor-
 -bhrāntaya upajāyantē ”¹

Since he was thus intimately acquainted with the peculiarities of the writings of the people of Gauḍa (Bengal), and again gives forth that he wrote the work at the instance of a king (nṛpājñēva), it appears that the statement of Śrītidhara that he wrote the ‘Tri-kāṇḍa-Śēṣa’ at the command of Lakṣmaṇasēna, king of Bengal, is not beside the mark. It is curious that the late MM. H. P. Sāstrī spoke of having found a MS. of the ‘Tri-kāṇḍa-Śēṣa’, the characters of which resembled, so far as he could call to remembrance, those of the copper-plate grant of Dharmāditya, obtained from Barisāl² (?Faridpur).

The next commentator to be mentioned is Vṛhaspati Rāyamukūṭa, who composed his commentary, ‘Pada-candrikā’, in Śaka 1353, equivalent to A.D. 1431. A native of West Bengal (Rāḍha), Vṛhaspati was in the court of Jalālu-d-din, the renegade son of Rājā-Gaṇēśa. The ‘Pada-candrikā’ is a copious commentary and cites a large number of authors and works, the names whereof have been arranged alphabetically in the Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-84 by (Sir) R. G. Bhāndārkar.³ Paṇḍita Durgā Prasāda, who prepared the list, misunderstood Vṛhaspati to be a native of Kāśmīra.⁴ The idea of the late MM. Hara Prasāda Śāstrī that the ‘Pada-candrikā’ was composed in collaboration with the Bengali jurist, Śrīkara Ācārya⁵, has been exposed to be quite erroneous by the late Rai Bahadur M. M. Cakravartī.⁶ It has also to be noted here that the author of the commentary, ‘Vyākhyāmṛta’, on the Amara-Kōṣa, was the Maithila Śrīkara Ācārya,⁷ and not the Bengali jurist of that name, as is sometimes conjectured.⁸

I have got with me a commentary on Amara’s text by one Durlabha-vallabha, perhaps an unknown name. The MS. is incomplete and breaks abruptly at page 123, with the Brahmavarga, but the work is old and exhaustive. Durlabha-vallabha calls himself ‘Jyōtir-vilvija-candramāh-Kaviyarah’, and the date of composition is given in the beginning as ‘Śākēcacakṣarasarōdacandrē’, which

¹ India Office, No. 1475.

² Proceedings of the As. Soc., Bengal, 1900, April, p. 79.

³ pp. 61-65, 467-73, 473-78.

⁴ Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā, 1321, p. 270.

⁵ J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 243, footnote.

⁶ See Viśvakōṣa, ed. N. N. Vasu; Navya-Bhārata, 1307 B.S., Śrāvana, p. 180.

⁴ Ibid., p. 479.

⁷ Ibid., p. 243.

I am unable to work out. But some of the authorities quoted in the commentary are Vidyâdhara, Jîmûta-vâhana, the Râmâyana, Vyâdi, Sâmba-Purâna, Vâyu-Purâna Mahêsvara, Kṣîrasvâmî, Târapâla, Pânîni, Sâhasânka, Bhaṭṭi (-Kavya), Trikânḍa-Śêṣa, Gôvardhana, (Mahâ-) Bhârata, Svâmî, Vâmana, Vâcaspati, Bhîmasêna, Jumara, Hârâvalî, Candragômin, Kâsyapa, Kâlidâsa, Jâta-kamâlâ, Vûpâlita, Rabhasa, Śabdârṇava, Srîdhara, and Mêdinî. Since Mêdinî, as we know, cites in his lexicon (Mêdinî-Kôṣa) Mâdhava, the author of the 'Dhâtu-vṛtti' grammar and brother of Sâyana, 1360 A.D., and is cited by Padmanâbha Datta in his 'Bhûri-prayôga' lexicon, we may, without any great risk of error, place him about 1375 A.D. Durlabhavallabha probably lived in the former half of the 15th century. It is significant that neither he quotes Vṛhaspati Râyamukuta, nor he is quoted by him.

There is a commentary by one Gôvindânanda,¹ who, if identical with the Gôvindânanda Kavikankanâcârya, belonged, as we are told, to the end of the 15th century. He was a Draviḍa Brâhmin, but was settled in the district of Bânkurâ, and wrote several works on Smṛti.²

The commentary of Paramânanda Śarmâ, an inhabitant of the village Sâlikani in the pargaṇâ of Bhâwâl in the district of Dacca, is called 'Mâlâ.'³ He also wrote a commentary on the 'Kâvyâ-prakâśa' of Mammata,⁴ and is quoted in Mahêsvara Nyâyalankâra Bhaṭṭâcâryya's commentary on the 'Kâvyâ-prakâśa'.⁵ According to Dr. S. K. De Paramânanda is not earlier than the second half of the fourteenth century, and is probably before the sixteenth century.⁶ Mahêsvara himself also wrote a commentary on the Amara-Kôṣa, but although for certain a Bengali, he was domiciled at Sylhet.⁷ He also wrote, like Raghunandana, twenty-eight works in Smṛti, all ending in 'Pradîpa', besides a commentary on the 'Sâhitya-darpaṇa' of Viśvanâtha Kavirâja.⁸ He is said to have been born in 1582 A.D., and the name of his father is given as Mukundarâma Viśârada.⁹

¹ Colebrooke, op. cit.

² Des. Cat. of Sans. MSS., As. Soc. Bengal, by H. P. Śâstrî, Vol. III (Smṛti), 1925, Intro., p. xx.

³ Notices of Sans. MSS., Second series, H. P. Śâstrî, Vol. iv, 1911, No. 19; also Catalogue of Printed Books and MSS. in Sanskrit belonging to the Oriental Library of the As. Soc., Bengal, by Kuñja Vihâri Nyâya-bhūṣaṇa, Fasciculus I-IV, Cal. 1899-1904, p. 12.

⁴ R. L. Mitra's Notices of Sans. MSS., iv, p. 210.

⁵ I quote from a MS.

⁶ Studies in the History of Sanskrit Poetics, by S. K. De, Vol. I, 1923, p. 174.

⁷ Caritâbhîdhâna (Bengali) by Upendra Candra Mukhîpâdhyâya.

⁸ Triennial Cat. of MSS., Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, Vol. iv, Part Sanskrit A, 1928, pp. 4525-26, No. 3058.

⁹ See Caritâbhîdhâna.

Nârâyaṇa Vidyâvinôdâcârya, son of Vâneśvara and grandson of Jaṭâdhara, of Purvagrâma, wrote a commentary on the Amara-Kôṣa, a MS. of which is in the Government Oriental Library, Madras.¹ There is also a MS. of it in the India Office Library, where its title is 'Śabdârtha-Sandîpikâ'. From the same Pûrvagrâma hailed Kramadîśvara, the author of the 'Saṁkṣipta-sâra' grammar, as also the Śaiva teacher, Viśvêśvara Śivâcârya, in whose connection we know it definitely that Pûrva-grâma was in Râdha.² Nârâyaṇa's grandfather, Jaṭâdhara, also wrote a lexicon, entitled 'Abhidhâna-tantra',³ in which he informs us that he was an inhabitant of Châṭu-grâma, i.e. Chittagong.⁴ This leads one to the conclusion that the family migrated from Pûrvagrâma, the ancestral home, to Chittagong to settle there. According to Wilson, Jaṭâdhara is comparatively a modern writer, but Aufrecht says that the 'Abhidhâna-tantra' was composed by the time of Râyamukuṭa.⁵ If Aufrecht is right, Nârâyaṇa Vidyâ-vinôdâcârya dates from about the last quarter of the 15th century, or the first of the 16th.

All other known commentators belonged to a period between the 16th and the 18th centuries. Of the products of these late writers, importance attaches most to the commentaries of Râmanâtha Vidyâvâcaspati, Raghunâtha Cakravartî and Bharata Mallika, all belonging to the 17th century. The commentary of the first is entitled 'Trikaṇḍavivêka',⁶ and is, according to Wilson, 'a work of considerable merit, and particularly full of orthoëpical varieties.' Colebrooke also has it that it is 'particularly copious on the variations of orthography, and is otherwise a work affording much useful information'. Râmanâtha also wrote a commentary on the 'Dâyabhâga' of Jîmûta-vâhana,⁷ as also one on Bhavadêva Bhaṭṭa's treatise on Saṁskâras, under the title of 'Saṁskâra-paddhati-rahasya',⁸ which was composed in 1623 A.D.⁹ The commentary of Raghunâth Cakravartî, son of Gaurîkânta of Sâmantasâra, bears the title of 'Trikaṇḍa-cintâmaṇi', which follows Pânini's system of etymology. Raghunâtha is said to have been a contemporary of Kṛṣṇakânta Sârvabhauma, who wrote his 'Ānanda-latikâ'

¹ Triennial Cat., Part I, Sanskrit C, 1928, pp. 5394-95, R. No. 3645.

² Ann. Rep. Arch. Supdt., Southern Circle, 1915-16, p. 44; also Epigraphist's Report, 1917, Madras Govt., G.O. No. 1035, pp. 122-23.

³ Works of H. H. Wilson, Vol. V, London, 1865, p. 233; also Mitra's Notices, II, No. 592.

⁴ Wilson, op. cit.

⁵ Wilson, op. cit., footnote.

⁶ Colebrooke, p. 52; Wilson, p. 208; Cat. by K. V. Nyâyabhûṣana, p. 11; also Ind. Office.

⁷ Mitra, V.P., 154.

⁸ Ibid., VI, p. 237.

⁹ S. K. De, op. cit., p. 188.

in 1652 A.D.,¹ and if it is correct, Raghunâtha belonged to the middle of the 17th century. His commentary has been published along with the text of Amara² by Candra Môhana Tarkâlaṅkāra. The commentary of Bharata Mallika, Bengal's favourite exegesist, passes by the name of 'Mugdhabôdhinî'.³ As Colebrooke puts it, 'It is indeed a very excellent work; copious and clear, and particularly full upon the variations of orthography according to different readings or different authorities; the etymologies are given conformably with Vopadeva's systems of grammar'. So also Wilson says, 'The commentary of Bharata Malla is the favourite authority of the Bengal school, and of all others in which the grammar of Vopadeva is received: it is an able performance and is particularly full on the subject of various readings.' An ardent follower of the Mugdhabôdha Vyākaraṇa, Bharata Mallika (1675 A.D.)⁴, wrote a number of commentaries on the standard Kāvya in Sanskrit, the most excellent of them perhaps being the commentary on the 'Bhaṭṭi Kāvya', which referring, as they do, to the rules of Vôpadêva, are popularly designated as the 'Mugdhabôdhinî tîkâs' in contradistinction to the Pânîniya tîkâs of Mallinâtha, and in Bengal Bharata Mallika succeeded to eclipse in his age (and also subsequently) the fame of the renowned commentator of the South, who followed Pânîni. His 'Drutabôdha', a Sanskrit grammar in verse, in accordance with the plan of the 'Mugdhabôdha', but larger than it, and which is probably his most capital performance, was written under the patronage of Kalyânânanda, son of Gajamalla, and grandson of Trailôkyacandra, who claimed to be a chief of the solar race.⁵ Besides the commentary on the Amara-Kôṣa, the Mallika wrote the 'Lîngâdi-Saṅgraha', too, which contains annotations on the Amara-Kôṣa, pointing out in detail the genders of all the words in that work.⁶

Four other commentators, who deserve some notice, are Mathurêsa Vidyâlaṅkāra, Sri-Râma Tarkavâgîśa, Râmakṛṣṇa Tarkâlaṅkāra Bhaṭṭacâryya and Gôpâla Cakravartî. Mathurêsa Vidyâlaṅkāra of the sept of Napâdhîya-Vandyaghata, was the son of Sivarâma Cakravartî and Pârvatî, and his commentary is known as 'Sâra-Sundarî'.⁷ He also wrote an independent lexicon;

¹ Vaṅgêr Jâtîya Itihâsa, by N. N. Vasu, Vol. II, p. 121.

² Ed. Candra-môhana Tarkâlaṅkāra. Also see Mitra, V., p. 5; Notices of Sans. MSS., H. P. Śâstri, Vol. I, 1900, No. 9.

³ Colebrooke, p. 51; Wilson, p. 206.

⁴ Sâhitya Paṛiṣad Patrikâ, 1320 B.S., p. 65.

⁵ Des. Cat. Sans. MSS. in the Library of the A.S.B., by R. L. Mitra, Part I (Grammar), Cal., 1877, p. 20.

⁶ Mitra's Notices, Vol. II, No. 529.

⁷ Ibid., VII, p. 221.

'Śabda-ratnâvalî' under the patronage of Murcchâ (Mûsâ) Khân,¹ doubtless the son of Masnad-i-Ali Isâ Khân, of Katrâbhû, who was the most powerful of the 'Twelve Chiefs' (Bâra-Bhuñyâ) of Bengal, in his times. Both the 'Sâra-Sundarî' and the 'Śabda-ratnâvalî' bear Śaka 1588 or A.D. 1666 as the date of composition in different MSS,² but as the time of Mûsâ Khan is known to have fallen between 1599 and 1632 A.D., the date appears to be 'mysterious' in both the cases. Mathurêśa's 'Nânârtha-Sabda', described as a 'dictionary of words having various meanings',³ is but a component part of the 'Śabda-ratnâvalî'. Srî-Râma Tarkavâgîśa, popularly known as Râma Śarmâ, who must be distinguished from Râmacaraṇa Tarkavâgîśa, a commentator of the 'Sâhitya-darpana' (1700 A.D.),⁴ wrote not only the commentary (ṭikâ) on the Amara-Kôṣa, but also a ṭippanî, or gloss, on the same.⁵ It is, no doubt, this Râma-Śarmâ, who composed the 'Kalpataru' (Śaurasênî and Mâgadhi Stavakas).⁶ Since he is quoted by Durgâdâśa Vidyâvâgîśa (A.D. 1639) in his commentary on the 'Mugdhabôdha' grammar, he is supposed by Sir George A. Grierson to have probably flourished not later than the end of the sixteenth century.⁷ But he might as well belong to the first quarter of the 17th century. Râmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭâcâryya's commentary, or rather gloss, on the Amara-Kôṣa, is entitled 'Nâma-liṅgâkhyâ-Kaumudî'. A voluminous writer, he was originally an 'Udîcya' or 'Northerner', but had come to settle in Bengal, and he must carefully be distinguished, as has already been pointed out by the late M. M. Cakravartî,⁸ from Râmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭâcâryya Cakravartî, the logician. An account of his that appeared in the 'Navya-Bhârata'⁹ is full of mistakes and confusions. He probably dates from the latter half of the 16th century. Gôpâla Cakravartî's commentary on the Amara-Kôṣa¹⁰ won very little distinction in comparison with that his commentary on the 'Caṇḍî' (Mârkaṇḍêya) did. He also commented upon the 'Sari-ksipta-sâra' grammar of Kramadîśvara¹¹ as well as the 'Gîta-gôvinda' of Jayadêva.¹² In his commentary on the 'Caṇḍî' he traces his descent from one Hiraṇya, and gives himself out as belonging to the Gayaghara-Vandyaghaṭa family, and as the son of Durgâdâśa.

¹ Colebrooke, pp. 51-52; Wilson, p. 233; Mitra, II, No. 1105; Ind. Off. 1512.

² Colebrooke, p. 52; Wilson, p. 233; Mitra, VII, p. 222.

³ Mitra, I, No. 354.

⁴ Colebrooke, op. cit., p. 62 footnote; S. K. De, pp. 239-40.

⁵ Mitra, VII, No. 2512.

⁶ Ed. G. A. Grierson.

⁷ Ind. Ant., 1927, p. 1.

⁸ J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 277.

⁹ 1307 B.S., Śrâvaṇa, pp. 180-87.

¹⁰ Colebrooke, footnote, pp. 52-53.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 43.

¹² Mitra, VI, p. 292.

He seems to belong to the 17th century, and must not be confounded with Gôpâla, the grandson of the celebrated Kṛṣṇânanda Agamavâgîṣa.

Besides these, Raghunandana Śarmâ,¹ Lōkanâtha Śarmâ,² Râmêśvara Śarmâ,³ Râmaprasâda Tarkâlankâra,⁴ Nârâyâṇa Cakravartî,⁵ Râmanâtha Cakravartî,⁶ Nârâyâṇa Vêdântavâgîṣa,⁷ Ratnêśvara Cakravartî, and Śrîpati Cakravartî,⁸ wrote each a commentary on the lexicon of Amara. Raghunandana Śarmâ was the son of Śrîkrṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, and his commentary is limited to the 'Manuṣyavarga' section of the text. It is difficult to make out if he is the same with Raghunandana Âcârya-Śirômani, the author of the Kalâpatatvârṇava.⁹ Lokanâtha's commentary is entitled 'Padamañjarî'. Is he the same with Lōkanatha Cakravartî, who commented upon the 'Chandômañjarî' of Kavi-Karṇapura, as also on several cantos of the Râmâyâṇa?¹⁰ Râmêśvara Śarmâ's commentary is known as Pradîpa-mañjarî'. In the 'Viśvakôṣa', edited by Mr. N. Vasu, he is designated as 'Râmêśvara Nyâyavâgîṣa Bhaṭṭâcâryya.' I have got an incomplete commentary, entitled 'Vîdvaddhârâvalî-tîkâ', by one Râmêśvara Śarmâ, who may be identical with him. 'Vaiṣamya-Kaumudî' is the title given to the commentary of Râmaprasâda Tarkâlankâra, who follows in it the grammatical system of Kalâpa, and 'Padârtha-Kaumudî' is that given to the commentary of Nârâyâṇa Cakravartî, who announces therein the date of the 'Gaṇita-Cûdâmani' of Śrînivâsa Bhaṭṭa, the guru of Vallâla-Sêna, as 1159-60 A.D.¹¹ He also compiled in Smṛti the 'Śântitatvâmṛtaṁ'.¹² Ramânâtha Cakravartî, who is a different person from Ramâkânta Cakravartî, the son of Madhusûdana Cakravartî,¹³ wrote besides the commentary on the Amara-Kôṣa, a commentary on the Kâtantra grammar, in which his father's name is given as Vêdagarbha Tarkâcâryya of the Vâyi family. Of the rest, nothing practically is known.

In the Bibliothèqne Nationale, Paris, there is a commentary

¹ Ibid., p. 238.

² Notices of Sans. MSS., H. P. Śâstrî, Second series, Vol. I, 1900, No. 10; also Ind. Off.

³ Ind. Off.

⁴ Colebrooke, footnote, pp. 52-53.

⁵ Ibid., p. 52; Wilson, p. 207; Mitra, II, No. 922.

⁶ Cat. by K. V. Nyâyabhûṣana, p. 12; also Ind. Off.

⁷ Ind. Off.

⁸ Notices of Sans. MSS., H. P. Śâstrî, Vol. I, Cal., 1900, No. 7, and No. 8.

⁹ Colebrooke, p. 42.

¹⁰ Mitra, III, Nos. 1259-62.

¹¹ J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 334.

¹² Mitra, VII, p. 233.

¹³ Notices of Sans. MSS., H. P. Śâstrî, Second series, Vol. I, 1900, preface, p. viii, and No. 403.

on the Amara-Kōṣa by one Nīlakaṇṭha Śarma¹, but in the absence of details, it is impossible to decide he was a Bengali or not.

In the group of far less noted commentators mentioned by Colebrooke, occur the names of Bhôlânâtha and Râmânanda.² The former, who also wrote a commentary on the 'Mugdhabôdha' grammar, appears from the name to be a Bengali, while the latter may be identical with Râmânanda Vâcaspati, alias Śrī-Râma Vâcaspati, who also composed a commentary on the 'Kâśī-khaṇḍa' of the Skanda-Purâṇa, and was a contemporary of Râjâ Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadîyâ.³

Lastly may be named the Amarârtha-candrikâ, which is a Bengali commentary on the Amara-Kōṣa by Babu Prasanna Kumâra Śâstrî.

¹ Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits, Sanscrits Et Palis De la Bibliothèque Nationale, par A. Cabaton, Paris, 1907-8, p. 100.

² Footnote, pp. 52-53.

³ Nadîyâ Kâhîṇî, by Kumuda Nâtha Mallik, 1319 B.S., p. 135.

FURNITURE (II)

[MAN'S INDEBTEDNESS TO PLANTS]

By GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR

The Amarakoṣa gives the following list of articles constituting domestic furniture: *upadhāna*, *paḅarha* (pillow), *sayyā* (bed), *mañca*, *paryyañka*, *khattā* (bedstead), *piṭhamāsana* (chair or stool), *samputaka* (casket), *paṭadgraha* (spittoon), *dīpa* (lamp), *prasādhanī* (comb), *darpaṇa* (mirror), *vyajana* (fan).¹ *Hemachandra* adds *vetrāsana* (cane-bottomed seat) to the above list.²

The *Yuktikalpataru*³ has interesting details about the construction of different types of household furniture. In it we have the description of such furniture as seats, royal and common (*viśeṣascātha sāmānyam*), and bedsteads. The royal seat is no other than *simhāsana* (lit. lion-seat or throne). The description is as follows:—

Simhāsana.—There are eight types of *simhāsana*, viz. *padma*, *saṁkha*, *gaja*, *haṁsa*, *simha*, *bhṛṅga*, *mṛga* and *haya* (351). The *padmasimhāsana* is to be made of *gambhāri* wood, and then decorated with lotus-garlands (artificially carved), its whole frame adorned with jewels, called *padmarāga*, and pure gold and mother of pearls; at the feet of it there are to be lotus buds out of which are to issue eight idols, each 12 *āṅgulas* in length. This *simhāsana* is to be adorned with nine kinds of new jewels and upholstered with new red cloth. By virtue of sitting there the king acquires prowess (356-359).⁴

The *saṁkha-simhāsana* is made of *devadāru* wood adorned with *saṁkha* (conch shell) garlands, its frame beautified by marks of *saṁkha* and pure crystal and also with pure silver, with 27 idols at its feet issuing out of the navels of 27 *saṁkhas* and covered with white cloth (360-361).

Similarly the six other types are made after similar patterns—all differently named on account of having at their feet idols issuing

¹ Śloka 39-41, p. 174, Colebrook edition.

² *Abhidhāna Saṁgraha*, p. 29.

³ *Loc. Cit.*: *Āsanayukti*, pp. 50-61 for details.

⁴ Cf. *Vinaya*, II, 149; IV, 40. *Buddhaghosa* thinks that the text refers to bedsteads with carved legs, especially when carved to represent animals' feet (*Vin. Texts*, III, 164).

out of elephant's head, of swan, of lion, of lotus bud, of head of a deer and that of a horse. They are to be made respectively of the wood of Panasa, Śāla, Candana, Campaka, Nimba and Keśara [Keśare (be) ṇopaghaṭitam], and covered respectively with red, yellow, blue and variegated cloth, and variously ornamented (362-376).

Bedstead: *Khattā* (bedstead) is so called on account of its being made of eight pieces of wood. The posts on which the bedstead stands are known as its *carana* (feet), and its forepart is called *vyupadhāna*, its lower part is known as *nirupakam* and its sides *āliṅgam* (382-84).

Both its sides are to be 4 cubits in length, its *vyupadhāna* and *nirupaka* are to be half of its length, and its four *carana* are to be half of it again, i.e. altogether 16 cubits. This is why it (bedstead) is known as *sarvaśoḍaśikā* (16 cubits in all), and it grants all desires (385-386). There are bedsteads of bigger size, productive of different results to their users. Thus *khattās* of 20 cubits in length, in all, guarantee wealth, abundance and victory to its user; *khattās* of 24 cubits ensure freedom from all diseases; of 30 cubits ensure fulfilment of all desires and so forth (387-396).

The king's bedstead is known as *śrīsarvamāṅgalā*, i.e. conferor of all good; if it be provided with a covering above, it is known as *sarvajayā*, i.e. bringer of all victories (394-95). There are eight kinds of royal bedstead in all, viz. *māṅgalā*, *vijayā*, *puṣṭi*, *kṣamā*, *tuṣṭi*, *sukhāsana*, *pracandā*, and *sārvatobhadra* (402).¹

The two other types of bedsteads, according to the same authority, are *khattikā* and *mañca*. The *khattikā* is meant for comfort and pleasure and is to be covered with cloths of white, red and black colour (*khattikā sukhasambhūtāh*, *suklaraktāsītāmbārāh* 381). The *mañca* is bigger, higher and longer, i.e. more spacious than the *khattikā* (*ekaiḥkasta vṛddhyā tu mañcānām iti lakṣanam*—397).

Bedsteads are to be made of wood and metals. The Rāmāyaṇa has a description of the golden bedstead of Rāvana.² We have already seen how, according to Vātsyāyana, every citizen's sleeping-room used to be provided with two bedsteads, the more magnificent one being used for the purpose of sleep, and the humbler one (*pratisayyikā*) for enjoyment. From the expression *sacchadanā*

¹ Cf. *Bṛhatsamhitā*, Ch. 78 (Vol. II); *Samarāṅgana Sūtradhar*, Vol. I, *Atha Śayanāsanalakṣanam*, 1-51, pp. 154-158. Baroda, 1924.

² आम्बुनदमयान्येव ब्रह्मनान्यासमानि च ।

भाजनानि च शुभानि ददर्श हरियूथपः ॥ *Sundarākāṇḍa*, 6-41.

occurring in the description of the *mañcakhattā* in the *Yuktikalpataru* (*iyam yadā sacchadanā tadā*, etc.—395) it appears that each bedstead used to be provided with curtain poles.

Along with bedsteads the beds are also to be taken into consideration. *Vātsyāyana* regards laying of beds as a distinct art—*puṣpāstaranam*, *sayanaracanam*. Bed may be made up of flowers (cf. *phulsaxiyā* ceremony in connection with Hindu marriage celebrations), and bed may also be made with a view to the seasons and in accordance with the temperament of the persons, male and female, using them.¹ The *Naiṣadha-carita* speaks of the bed of King Nala as white and as graceful as the moon (*nīsāca sayyāca śasāñkakomalā* 1-49). The *Kādambari* has :

कुसुमामोदवासित-प्रच्छदपटेन पट्टोपाधानाध्यासितश्चिरोभागेन, मणिमयप्रतिपादुका
प्रतिष्ठापितपादेन,.....शयनेन ॥²

Pīṭha (seats).—Seats are made of metal, stone and wood (*dhātupāśānakāṣṭhaiśca*) in the manner described below. We are concerned only with the wooden seats here.

The seat made of the *gambhāri* wood is conducive to wealth and increase of happiness, and that made of *jāraka* destroys diseases and enemies of all happiness. The seat called *siddhi* ensures all-round success and victory over foes, and if the king is crowned on the seat known as *subha* it is destructive of all enemies to wealth. And if the king's seat is made of *palāsa* wood, it means increase of both happiness and wealth ; if he uses the seat known as *jayā* for his coronation it brings good and the destruction of foes. If the king's coronation takes place on a seat of sandal wood, it brings happiness, victory, cure of diseases, and friendship. The effect of the royal seats made of *kāleyaka* and *jāraka* wood is precisely the same as that made of sandal wood ; if the coronation seat is made of the *vakula* wood it means victory, destruction of diseases and increase of happiness. Seats when made of fragrant wood, or wood with solid core, have the same effect as that made of *gambhāri* wood. Seats made of the fruitful trees, or of trees with solid core, or with core that is red have the same effect as the seats of *palāsa* wood (424-435).

If seats are made of prohibited wood like mango, *jambū*, *kadamba*, which have no solid core, or very little of it, are destructive of families (*vamśanāśanam*) 437.

¹ मयनीयस्य काहापिचवा रक्तविरक्तमध्यामिप्रावाहाहारपरिचितवशाथ एवमन् । Yaśodhara's Commentary : *Kāmasūtra*, *Sādhāranamadhikaraṇam*, iii, 14. (Mahesh Pal edition).

² Quoted in *Prācīnasilpaparicaya*.

Vātsyāyana mentions a type of revolving chair which is used while delivering lectures. It is called *pīthamarda*, or *mallikā-pīṭha* (*Kāmasūtra* III, iv, 15). It is also named *danḍāsaṅikā*.

स पीठमर्दं उपदेशदानेऽधिष्ठतः ।

तां मल्लिकाख्यं पीठं मृद्यतीति ज्ञात्वा ॥

Materials : As for the materials out of which the furniture is to be made, the *Brhatsamhitā* refers to two classes of wood : auspicious and inauspicious (*subha* and *asubha*), and the details about the result following in the wake of particular types of auspicious wood are also given. Thus it says :—

Everybody needs, or feels the need of the science (*sāstram sayanāsana lakṣanam*) dwelling on the attributes of (an ideal) bed, the king is in particular need of it ; hence these attributes are in detail noted below (1) .

Bedsteads, beds and seats if made out of the wood of *asana*, *spandana*, *candana*, *dāruharidrā*, *devadāru*, *tinduka*, *sāla*, *kāsmārī*, *añjana*, *padmaka*, *sāka* and *śiṃsapā*—they are conducive to welfare (2). The trees that have fallen down under the influence of thunderstorm, water, or wind, or by an elephant ; the trees wherein dwell bees, or birds ; or trees that are the principal ones in the village, or that grow in the cremation grounds, or by the wayside ; or the trees having their upper parts dried up,—all these are not propitious in yielding materials for bedsteads, seats, beds, etc.

(3). Beds and seats when made out of the wood of thorny trees, or of trees growing near the confluence of rivers, or grown in grounds adjacent to temples, or of trees that fall down southwards or westwards,—are not conducive to human welfare (4). If one makes beds and seats out of the wood of prohibited trees, and use them, loss of family prestige, the danger of diseases, loss of wealth, quarrel, and various other troubles are sure to follow (5). If an entire bed is made out of the wood of *śrīparṇa* tree it guarantees wealth, if out of *asana* tree it guarantees recovery from diseases, if out of the wood of *tinduka* tree it leads to the attainment of a variety of things (11). If a bedstead is made solely out of the *śiśu* wood it leads to the attainment of all-round prosperity, and if of sandal wood destruction of foes, attainment of piety, fame and longevity (12). A bedstead made out of the *padmaka* wood brings in its train longevity, wealth, learning, and material possessions ; and a bed made out of the wood of *sāla* and *sāka* trees guarantees welfare (13).

If the king sits upon a bedstead made solely of *candana* wood, and decorated with gold and a variety of jewels, he receives adoration from even the very gods (14). A bedstead made out of

the wood of *tinduki* and *śiṃsapā* and joined to the wood of any other tree, is not conducive to welfare, nor is the bedstead made out of the wood of *śrīparṇī*, *davadāru*, and *asana* wood joined to that of any other tree (15). If bedsteads are made out of the wood of *śāka* and *śāla* tree, either separately or jointly, it guarantees welfare. The same holds true of bedstead made in the similar fashion out of the wood of *dāruharidrū* and *kadamba* trees (16). Bedstead of the *spandana* wood proves fatal, consequently, it is not good, and bedstead made of *asana* timber jointly with wood of others is pregnant with a variety of dangerous consequences (17). The foot of a bedstead is preferably to be made out of the wood of mango, *spandana*, *tinīśa*, or candana trees, but that made of *spandana* wood is good ; and seats and beds prepared out of the wood of fruitful trees are always full of good results (18). Tusks of elephants joined to the types of wood mentioned above, when used while making bedsteads, always guarantee welfare. This is why one should decorate bedsteads with elephant's tusks (19). A bedstead when made of the wood of a single tree is propitious, when out of the wood of two trees it is exceedingly so, when out of that of three trees it leads to increase of children, and when out of four it leads to the attainment of things and great fame (38).

A man who sleeps upon a bedstead made out of the wood of five trees is sure to die, and a bedstead of the wood of six, seven or eight trees spells ruin to the whole family (39)¹.

Fans : We cannot conclude our description of furniture without noticing the fans that have been in use in India from time immemorial. The objects are to relieve the effects of heat, sweating, thirst, fainting and excess of fatigue (*mūrccḥādāhatṛṣṇāgharmaśr-amanāśitvam*). According to the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* 'fanning with chowris' (*vāla vyajana*) is refreshing and keeps off flies and mosquitoes, while fanning (with ordinary fans) arrests perspiration, removes the sense of fatigue and fainting fits and alleviates the burning, scorching and parched sensation.²

The materials out of which the fans are made, are cloth, cane, bamboo, peacock feather and palm leaf. Of the effects of fans made of different materials it is noted by the *Bhāvaprakāśa* that the fan-palm relieves or removes rheumatism and the evils of the

¹ Ch. 78, 1-39, Vol. II, pp. 973-983. For 'wood arts' in India, see 'Dārusilpa in India'—Kedar Nath Chatterjee, *Prabāsi*, āṣāḍha, 1334 B.S., pp. 418-429.

² वास्तुव्यवहारसौख्यं मन्त्रिकारोमयोवति ।

श्रीपदावयवसौख्य-सूत्रार्थो व्यवहारः ॥ S.S. IV, xxiv, 82.

excess of the humours ; bamboo fans mitigate the effect of *raktapitta*.¹ In the following text from the Rajavallabha virtues and merits of different kinds of fan are described. Fan-palm overcomes disturbances of all the three humours, and is light and agreeable ; bamboo causes heat and irritability and promotes inordinate secretion of the airy and bilious humours ; cane, cloth and peacock feather overcome disturbances of the three humours, and the hair fan is invigorating, and also it keeps off flies, etc.

तालव्यजनगुणः । त्रिदोषप्रमनत्वं । लघुत्वञ्च । वंशव्यजनगुणः । बद्धत्वं । उष्णत्वं ।
वायुपित्तकारित्वञ्च । वेत्रवस्त्रमयूरपुच्छव्यजनगुणः । त्रिदोषनाशित्वं । बालव्यजनगुणः ।
तेजस्करत्वं । मच्छिकादिगिदारकात्वञ्च ॥²

¹ बालव्यजनगुणोदाह खेदसूक्तानुभाषः ।

तास्तुष्टानो भवो वातत्रिदोषप्रमनको मतः ।

वंशव्यजनो जन्तुव्यो रक्तपित्तप्रकोपनः ॥ I, i. See Indo-Aryan I, p. 262.

² Quoted in the Śabdakalpadruma, Vol. VI, p. 4600.

CONVEYANCES

[MAN'S INDEBTEDNESS TO PLANTS]

By GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR

The Indian word *yāna* is employed to denote all means of transport (*yāti anena*),—transport by land, sea or air. According to the *Tikā* of the *Amarakoṣa*, 'the *yāna* is that by which the goods are carried, conveyed and transported from one place to another'.¹ Broadly speaking, the *yāna* includes all vehicles and conveyances for carrying men, animals and goods and the auxiliary means thereof. In other words the sense of *yāna* is not complete without that of *vāhana*. Buddhaghosa in explaining *yānada* suggests: 'the word *yānada* means a donor of elephants, horses, chariots and such other means of conveyance and locomotion. He who mends the road, levels it up, constructs a bridge or provides a ferry deserves indeed to be called a *yānada*'.² Thus with Buddhaghosa the word *yāna* carries with it not only the idea of vehicles and conveyances but also that of such accessories as roads, bridges and ferries. In other words, the Pali Scholiast explains *yāna* as meaning both the means of conveyance and that of locomotion. As an accessory to locomotion, the shoes and sandals (*upāhanā*) are classed in Pali under *yāna*, and consistently a shoemaker (*carmakāra*) is called *rathakāra*. The suggested test of quality of *yāna* lies in their fitness to provide ease, comfort and safety.³

The *Mahāniddeśa* speaks of six kinds of *yāna* (animal vehicles), viz., *hatthi* (elephant), *go* (bullock), *aja* (goats), *meṇḍaka* (ram), *oṭṭha* (camel), and *khara* (donkey)⁴, used for riding purposes⁵ and

¹ 'Vahanti nayanti deśāddeśāntaram prāpayanti dravyam anena. Vāhayanti vā vāhernyantāt lyaṭi vāhanam'.—Kṣatriya Varga, 58, p. 436, Chandramohan Tarkaratna ed., Calcutta, 1886.

² 'Yānado ti hatthiyānādīnām dāyako.....yo ca maggaṃ sodheti nissenim karoti setum karoti nāvaṃ paṭiyādeti sabbo pi yānado va hoti',—*Sārattha-pakāsinī*, Siamese ed., i, pp. 100-101.

³ 'Yāna sukhāvahanto sukhodo nāma hoti'; *ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

⁴ Cf. *Petavatthu* 20^b=43^b; *Jāt.* VI, 355, where it is said that *assatari* used to draw a *ratha*.

⁵ Cf.

वहन्तश्च यानानि यानानि वाहनानि ।

स्त्रीकरोत्तमज्ञानं वक्ष्यं वक्रिबिबर्जनं । राजवत्तमः

as beasts of burden and drawers of carriages¹. In the Milinda Pañha, on the other hand, the *yāna* includes a trained elephant, riding horse, a bullock cart, on land a land vehicle, on water a water vehicle, in heaven a vehicle of the gods, and on earth one that man can use². To the same effect Buddhaghosa in explaining *yāna-sannidhi* (storage of *yānas*) suggests: *yānaṃ nāma vayhaṃ, ratho sakaṭaṃ sandamānika paḷankī ti. Na panetaṃ pabbajitassa yānam, upāhanā yānam pana.*³

The Yuktikalpataru divides the conveyances into *five* kinds, viz., (1) *catuṣpadam*—those consisting of quadrupeds, or those drawn by such animals as elephants and horses; (2) *dviṣpadam*—those consisting of men, or those carried on men's shoulders, e.g., *dolā*, palanquin, and the rest; (3) *viṣpadam*—footless, those consisting of boats, ships and rafts; (4) *bahupādakam*—those consisting of chariots and such other many-footed vehicles, and (5) *vyomayānam*—ærial conveyances⁴.

Here we are concerned only with those conveyances or means of transport by land, water or air in respect to which men are largely dependent on plants.

I. MEANS OF TRANSPORT BY LAND

Transport by land was carried on in chariots, carts, and waggons. Chariots were of primitive use in India, they being mentioned in the Vedas⁵. The R̥gveda tells us of *three* kinds of chariots, namely, *ratha*, *syandana*⁶ and the bridal chariot⁷. As described there a chariot had one wheel⁸, or two or more wheels⁹, the axle (*akṣa*) was made of *arāti* wood¹⁰; the chariots had three seats each. They were

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 145 (on Suttanipāta 816).

² *Loc. cit.*, IV, 8. 3.—*hatthiyānaṃ assayānaṃ thale thalayānaṃ jale jalayānaṃ deveṣu devayānaṃ manussesu manussayānaṃ etc.*

³ *Dīgha Nikāya*, I, 6; *Dīgha N. Comm.* I, 82.

⁴

चतुष्पदश्च द्विपदं विपदञ्चैव त्रिपदकम् ।

चतुर्विधमिदोद्दिष्टं यानं भूमिभुजो मतम् ॥ ४८

गजाश्वादि चतुष्पादं दोलादि द्विपदमेवम् ।

नौकाद्यं विपदं ज्ञेयं रथाद्यं त्रिपदकम् ॥ ४९

बोमवानं विमानं वा पूर्वमासीन्महीभुजात् ।

यथानुगुण-सम्पन्नानेतानाः सुचप्रदान् ॥ ५० ॥ अथ यानम् । p. 7, Cal. ed. 1917.

⁵ R.V., i, 20, 3; iii, 15, 5; iv, 4, 10; 16, 20; 36, 2; etc.; A.V., v, 14, 5; x, 1, 8; Ait. Brāh., vii, 12, 3; etc. For details see Vedic Index, II, pp. 201-203.

⁶ R.V., iii, 53, 19.

⁷ R.V., x, 85, 20.

⁸ R.V., i, 164, 4.

⁹ R.V., i, 130, 9; 155, 6; 164, 2, 11, 13; iv, 1, 3; etc.

¹⁰ R.V., viii, 46, 27.

drawn by horses—two, four, five, seven or more¹, by oxen, ass², mule³, who were controlled by reins and urged on by whip (*kaśā*) by a *Sārathi*⁴. A few of the relevant tests are quoted here :

- 'Come Aswins, with your three columned triangular car'—I, 47, 2.
- 'May your elegant and rich car, swift as a hawk, come, Aswins, to our presence'—I, 118, 1.
- 'Come to us, with your tri-columner, triangular, three wheeled and well constructed car'—I, 118, 2.
- 'We have placed you, Dasras, in your golden, three shafted chariot '—I, 139, 4.
- 'Showerers of benefits, harness the car which has three benches, three wheels, '—I, 183, 1.
- ' like a hostile chariot (cf. battle of chariots in ix, 91, 1) (going round) all the regions (of the battle field)'—IX, 94, 3.
- 'Ascend Surya, the chariot made of good *kimsuka* wood and of *sālmali*, multiform, decorated with gold, well covered, well wheeled, '—X, 85, 20.

The Arthaśāstra mentions six types of chariots, namely, *devaratha* (chariots for gods), *puṣyaratha* (festal chariots), *saṃgrāmika* (battle chariots), *pāryānika* (travelling chariots), *parapurabhiyānika* (chariots used in assailing an enemy's strongholds), and *varṇayika* (training chariots)⁵.

Hemchandra also in his vocabulary mentions *syandana* for battles, *puṣyaratha*⁷ for pleasure trips, *marudratha* for gods, *yogyaratha* for high officials like magistrates, *parighātika* for travelling, *karnī* for fighting and *rathagarbhaka* for ascending in air.⁸

¹ R.V., i. 164, 4; Śat. Brāh., v, 1, 4, 6; 4, 3, 8; ix, 4, 2, 11.

² Ait, Brāh., iv, 9, 4.

³ Ait Brāh., iv, 9, 1; Chānd. Up., iv, 2, 1; v, 13, 2.

⁴ R.V., i, 55, 7; 144, 3; ii, 19, 6; vi, 20, 5; 57, 6; x, 102, 6; A.V., xv, 2, 1.

⁵ English translations—Wilson ed.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, Bk II, Ch. 33, 139: The Supdt. of Chariots. Eng. transl., pp. 175-176.

⁷ Cf. *phussaratha* (state carriage), Jāt., III, 238; VI, 30, sq.

⁸ युवाचे चक्रवर्तुयाने मत्तान्नः क्षान्दो रथः ।

संज्ञीतार्थः पुष्यरथो देवार्थस्तु मरुद्वयः ॥

सोमो रथो वैनायिकोऽथ रथः परिवातिकः ।

कर्णीरथः प्रहरणं वयनं रथमर्भकः ॥

चक्रवर्तु मरुदोऽथ क्षान्दोऽथो वयसिवाह्वकः ।

वय वयसिवाह्वकाद्यासौक्ष्मेः परिहृये रथे । वेमचन्द्र ।

Amarsimha refers also to same kinds of chariots : (*yāne cakrini yuddhārthe*) *śatāṅgaḥ syandano rathah* (a war chariot), *puṣparatha* (any other car for travelling), *karnīratha*, *pravahanam* (a covered car for the conveyance of women), *śakataḥ*, *gantrī* (a carriage drawn by oxen), *śīvikā*, *pālki*, *dolā*, *preñkhā* (a litter)¹.

The Milinda Pañha gives us a detailed list of the different parts of a *ratha*. They are : *īsa* (pole—A. IV, 191), *akkha* (axle), *cakka* (wheels—Vism. 238, Petavatthu Comm. 65), *rathapañjara* (frame work, body—V. Vatthu 83, Jāt. II, 172; IV, 60; Dham. Comm. I, 28), *rathadaṇḍaka* (ole), *yuga* (yoke—Jāt. VI, 42), *rasmiyo* (reins), *patadolatthi* (goad) and *attharaṇa* (cover or a rug for a chariot—Dīg. N. I, 7; Vin. I, 192; II, 163).² We also learn from other Buddhist texts that the *ratha* used to be kept in a *rathasālā* (cart-shed—Dham. Comm. iii, 121), and there were *rathakāras* (car-builders, shoe-makers—Vin. IV, 9), the chariot fighters were called *rathikas* (Majjhima I, 397).

Description of a typical chariot is to be found in the Brahma-vaivarta Purāna³ which runs thus : ' It was a most excellent car, made of gold, mounted with mirrors, made of crystals, covered over with jewels, furnished with posts made of precious jewels, having white *yak*-tail *chauris* hanging from different places, lined with cotton pure as fire, bedecked with garlands of Pārijāta flowers, mounted on a hundred uniform wheels quick moving like thought and most charming ' ³.

Another description also runs thus : ' The posts should be made of ivory mounted with showy golden ornaments, and set with rubies and other jewels. The car of the goddess should have seven

¹ Amarakoṣa, Kṣatriya Varga, 51-53; Colebrook ed. Bk. II, Ch. viii, sec ii, p. 204.

² ' Kin nu kho mahārāja isā-akkho-cakka-rathapañjara-rathadaṇḍayuga-rasmi-patodaṇṇ ratho ti? Isañca paṭicca akkhañca paṭicca cakkhañca paṭicca rathapañjarañ ca paṭicca rathadaṇḍakañ ca paṭicca ratho ti sañkhā,' etc. p. 27.

³ *Loc. cit.*, Srikrishnanjanma Khandā, Ch. 18 :

एतस्मिन्नकरे तत्र शतकुम्भरथं वरं ।

× × × × × × ॥

रत्नदर्पणसंयुक्तं रत्नसारपरिष्कृतं ।

रत्नसुशोभितवदद्य सद्गलकलसीमन्वसं ।

श्वेतचामरसंयुक्तं वक्रिशुद्धाशुकाश्रितं ।

पारिजातप्रसूनानां मासुजासुविराशितं ॥

भतचक्रसमायुक्तं मनोवायि मनोहरं ।

Quoted in Sabdakalpadruma.

magnificent storeys, with curtains of silk cloth, and mountings of crescents, and decorated with bells, large and small, gongs, *chāmaras*, rings, pennons, flags and looking-glasses. Such a car should first be worshipped, Indra, with flowers of the jasmine tribe, and the *pārijāta*, with agallochum and sandal paste, with the aroma of fragrant pastiles, and then the image of the goddess should be placed in it.¹

Chariots constituted a department of military defence like the cavalry and the navy. A reference is made to this department by Megasthenes and a detailed description is given in the Arthaśāstra. From the Vedic to the Maurya is a long period of time. Throughout the whole of this intervening period there must have been plenty of fighting in ancient India in which chariots were certainly used as a means of conveyance.² They were, so to say, the ancient counter parts of military motors, armoured cars, etc. The human heroes, gods and goddesses, both of history and legend, are described as using chariots both for civil and military purposes. (Cf. the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata). Rajyavardhana, elder brother and predecessor of Harshavardhana, is credited as the first Hindu ruler who dispensed with the use of chariots in battles. It now exists as a sacred relic used in connection with the great Car-festival at Puri and other places.

The Amarakoṣa gives the following number of chariots of a complete brigade: every *vāhinī* (battalion) of 405 soldiers in-

¹ Devipurāṇa; Rathayātrāvidhi mähātmyam, Ch. 39. Eng. transl. Indo Aryan, I, p. 345. The text runs thus:

इतिइत्तमयैर्दृष्टैर्देववहैः सुशोभनैः :
 विचित्रपद्मरागाद्यैर्मन्त्रिभिश्चपशोभितैः ॥
 रथनैः कारयेद्देव्याः सप्तशतं मनोरमं ।
 दुकूलवस्त्रसञ्चलनार्जुनोपशोभितं ॥
 षष्ट्यधिकविंशत्याद्यं चामरैः कटकान्वितं ।
 पताकाध्वजशोभाद्यं दर्पचैश्चपशोभितं ॥
 तं रथं पूजयेत्कृत्वा जातौकुटुम्बमङ्गिकैः ।
 पारिजातकपुष्पैश्च यच्चकर्दमचन्दनैः ॥
 सुगन्धधूपितैः कृत्वा देवीं तत्र निवेशयेत् ॥

For different types of gods' chariots, see Kūrmapurāṇa, Chs. 38 & 40.

² Cf. battles of Kurukṣetra, that of Poros against Alexander; (V. Smith's Hist. for illustration of the battle-field); Dhana Nanda, Emperor of Magadha, had 2,000 war chariots (Diod. xvii, 93; Curtius, ix, 2; Plutarch Alex. 62—quoted in Buddhist India, p. 267).

cludes 81 cars and 243 horses; three such *vāhinīs* form a *prtanā*; 3 *prtanās* a *camū*, 3 *camūs* constitute an *anīkinī* and 10 such *anīkinīs* an *akṣauhini*, or a complete brigade thus includes 21,870 cars, the same number of elephants, 65,610 horses, and 10,09,350 foot soldiers.¹

We have already seen that besides chariots, waggons, palanquin, *dolā*, etc, also come under land vehicles, or as means of transport by land. They are still in use among the Indians. The waggons are next in importance to the chariots. They are called *śakata* in Pali² and Sanskrit. Throughout the Ṛgveda and other Vedic literature we find waggons being used as a means of bringing harvest from the field. But Buddhist literature of the 6th century B.C. is full of references about merchants conveying their goods and merchandise right across the country in carts drawn by bullocks, travelling in caravans. These caravans, long line of two-wheeled bullock carts, as many as 500 in number, were a distinctive feature of the times (see Jātaka stories). There were cart-ferries (*nāvā-tittha*) for crossing large rivers (Jāt. III, 230), and land-pilots (*thalaniyāmaka*,) to pilot the caravans across the desert in safety. (Jāt, Fausböhl, no 2). In the description of a *śakata* in the Milinda Pañha (IV, 6, 6), we get such terms as nave of the wheel, its spokes and the circumference, and the axle-tree³. Like chariots waggons were also used to be employed during battles, and the waggon array was known as *śakata-vyūha* (Jāt., II, 404; IV, 343; Vism. p. 384).

II. MEANS OF TRANSPORT BY WATER

Under this heading come ships, boats and canoes. In the Vedic texts we find mention of *nāu*⁴ (ships), and *plava*⁵ (boats). A few relevant texts from the Ṛgveda are quoted here :

- '... as (merchants) covetous of gain crowd the ocean (in vessels), on a voyage'—I, 56, 2.
- '... as those who are desirous of wealth (send ships) to sea'—I, 58, 3.
- '... sailing in a hundred oared ship'—I. 116, 5.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, War chariots, II, viii, 2, 46, p. 210—Colebrook ed.; see also Indo Aryan, I, p. 350.

² *Śakata*—cart, waggon; Digha N., II, 110, 234; Vin. III, 114; Jāt. I, 191; Jāt II, 296; Miln. 238; Petavatthu Comm. 102.

³ 'Nābhi pi tassa phaleyya, arā pi tassa bhijjeyyūm, nemī pi tassa opateyya, akkho pi tassa bhijjeyyā ti'. Cf. also Vessantara Dilemma I, 173 (IV, 1, 37).—Rhys Davids and Stede.

⁴ R.V., i, 31, 2; ii, 39, 4; viii, 42, 3; 83, 3; A.V., ii, 36, 5; V, 19, 8.

⁵ R.V., i, 182, 5; A.V., xii, 2, 48. Eng. transl. are from Wilson's edition.

'...you constructed a pleasant, substantial, winged bark, borne on the ocean waters for the son of Tugra...'
—I, 182, 5.

Carpentry, at that early age, was a regular profession. They (carpenters) made chariots, boats, waggons, etc. They were called *tvastṛ* (R.V. X, 119, 5). It is mentioned in the Rgveda (IX, 112, 1) that various are the occupations of men: the carpenter desires timber, the physician disease, and so on.

Coming to Buddhist literature, we come across, innumerable references to ships, boats, etc., and navigation. In the Dīgha Nikāya (I, 222, Dialogues of the Buddha, I, 283), and Aṅguttara (3, 368), we hear of sea voyages out of sight of land. In later documents, such as the Jātakas, the mention of such voyages is frequent. In the earlier Saṃyuttas, we find mention of voyages lasting over six months made in *nāvā*. 'The later texts' of the 3rd century B.C. speak of voyages down the Ganges, from Benares to the mouth of the river and thence across the Indian Ocean to the opposite coast of Burma, and even from Bharukaccha round Cape Comorin to the same destination'².

From the Milinda Pañha³ we get the following information about the ship (*nāvā*), the pilot (*niyyāmakō*), the sailor (*kammakaro*) and the port (*nāvā-sañcaraṇa*):

The ship—it conveys many folk across (*nāvā bahavidhadāru-saṅghāta-samavāyena bahum pi janam tārayati*); can bear the onslaught of various thundering waves, etc. (*nāvā bahavidha-umi-tṭhanita-vegavisāṭa-m-āvattavegam sahati*); and journeys over a perilous sea⁴ (*nāvā aparimita-m-ananta-m-apāram-akkhobhita-gambhīre mahatimahāghose timi-timingala-makara-maccha-gaṇākule mahatimahāsamudde carati*).⁵

¹ Benares to Burma (Jāt. IV, 15-17); Champā to Burma (Jāt. vi, 32-35); journey to Babylon (Jāt. III, 126, 189); traffic with China first mentioned in the Milinda (pp. 127, 327 and 359).

² Buddhist India pp. 95-96.

³ Loc. cit., S.B.E. Vols. 35 and 36; Original text—edited by V. Trenckner.

⁴ Cf. Divyavadāna, p. 228ff; Avadānakalpalatā, No. 89; Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, Pl. XXXIV, 2. For description of the Bharhut Sculpture, see Barua—Barhut Jātaka Scenes, pp. 78-80.

⁵ Milinda, vii, 2, 8; cf. also Vin. III, 49; Saṃyutta, I, 106 (*eka-rukkhikā*), III, 155=A, iv, 127 (*Samuddāka*—a 'liner'); Aṅg, II, 200; III, 368; Jāt. I, 239; II, 112; III, 126; 188; IV, 2, 21, 138; V, 75 (with 500 passengers), VI, 160 (*nāvā-canal* ?); Miln, 261 (100 cubits long), etc. etc.

The pilot—He should test a shore he has not yet arrived at and so guide the ship¹; he puts a seal on the steering apparatus lest any one should touch it.²

The sailor—he is not lazy, he zealously navigates his ship.³

The port, i.e., the place for the traffic of boats.⁴

By the fourth century B.C. it seems that transportation and means of conveyance were much better and more advanced than ever before, probably because the foundation of a strong central government needed these things both for civil and military purposes. Navy was a regular department of the Government, supervisors regulated traffic. It can easily be conjectured that Chandra Gupta with his vast military forces scattered over his whole empire required a large number of boats, waggons as well as chariots for transportation of troops in case of need. We are told in the Arthaśāstra with regard to the naval force: It was under the Nāvādhyakṣa, the naval force was considerable and the Superintendent of ships had to perform multifarious duties. The State maintained both big sails (*mahānāvah*) controlled by captains (*śāsakah*), steersmen (*niyāmakah*), and expert keeper of the sail and rigging; and small boats (*kṣudrakah*). The Officials and the Nāvādhyakṣa had not only to protect the coastal regions, or rivers from enemies, or to put down piracy (*himsrka nirghātayet*), but they were also in charge of administering the maritime and waterway regulations and those relating to markets and harbours' (*paṭṭanadhyakṣanivandham paṇya paṭṭanacāritram*).⁵

There is a significant passage in the Arthaśāstra, namely, 'they (the villagers living on the banks of rivers) shall provide themselves with wooden planks, bamboos and boats. They shall by means of bottle-gourds, canoes, trunks of trees, or boats rescue persons that are being carried off by floods. Persons neglecting rescue

¹ 'Niyāmako rattindivam satatam samitam appamatto yattapayatto nāvam sāreti,' etc. p. 378; S.B.E. 35, p. 272.

² 'Niyāmakassa yam kiñci mahāsamudde kalyānam vā pāpakam vā sabban tam viditam hoti; niyāmako yante muddikam deti: mā koci yantaṃ āmasithā ti, p. 379; S.B.E. Vol. 36, p. 301.

³ 'Kammakaro-bhaṭako aham, imāya nāvāya kammaṃ karomi, imāyāham nāvāya vāhasā bhattavetaṇam labhāmi, na me pamādo karaṇiyo, appamādena me ayam nāvā vahetabbā ti'-p. 379.

⁴ 'Yathā mahārāja sadhano nāviko paṭṭane suṭṭhu katasuṅko mahāsamuddam pavisitvā Vangam Takkolaṃ Cinam Soviram Surattham Alasandam Kolapaṭṭanam Suvannabhūmim gacchati aññam-pi yam kiñci nāvāsaṅcaranam evam eva', etc. Milinda 359.

⁵ Bk. II, Ch. xxvii, 126-128; Eng. transl. pp. 156-159. See, also for details Kauṭilya—Narayan Banerjee, pp. 187 sqq.

with the exception of those who have no boats, etc., shall be fined 12 panas¹.

The author of the Yuktikalpataru² divides *Vipada yānam* (footless, water conveyances) into *two* classes, namely, *sāmānya* (ordinary) and *viśeṣa* (special). On the basis of measurement *Sāmānya* boats are again divided into *ten* subdivisions, viz., *kṣudrā*, *madhyamā*, *bhīmā*, *capalā*, *paṭalā*, *abhayā*, *dīrghā*, *patrapuṭā*, *garbharā* and *mantharā*; of these *ten* the first *four* were for inland purposes, and the others were oceanic (*tāsāmevāmbudhau gatiḥ*)—92-95.

On the basis of their bottom being covered with copper plate or with iron plate *Viśeṣa* boats (ships) were classed into two types, namely, *dīrghā*, and *unnatā*; *dīrghā* again was divided into *ten* sub-classes, viz., *dīrghikā*, *tarāṇi*, *lolā*, *gatvarā*, *gāminī*, *tarī*, *janghālā*, *plāvini*, *dhāriṇī* and *veginī*³.

Then we have boats with cabins (*sagrhā*) and without cabins, differently named on the basis of the position of the cabin in the front (forepart), rear, or the whole of it (*sarvamadhyāgramandirāḥ*). The first was meant for kings and queens, the second for the use of the sovereigns during the rainy season, and the third for military expedition⁴. These cabins were used to be made of woods and metals, the former being conducive to happiness and prosperity, the latter giving pleasure and ease⁵.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, Bk. IV, Ch. iii; Eng. transl. p. 262; cf. Yuktikalpataru, *Atha Jaghanyaajalayānāni* which include —*dronī*, *ghaṭī*, *phalayānam* (tumbi, etc.), *carmayānam*, *vrkṣayānam*, and *jantuyānam*.—pp. 229-230.

² *Loc. cit.*, *Atha Yānam*, p. 7. (Cal. 1917).

³ लौहतावादिपनेष कान्तलोहेन वा तथा ।
दीर्घा वैभोजता चेति विद्येते द्विविधा भिदा ॥ ९१ ॥
दीर्घिका तरचिलोहा मलरा गामिनी तरिः ।
जङ्घाहा हाविनी वैव धारिणी वेजिनी तथा ॥

⁴ Both the Manu Samhitā and the Raghuvamśa refer to boats used in war, thus :

स्यन्वानैः सने युद्धेनूपे नोद्विपैस्तथा ॥ Manu, vii, 192.
वज्रा नृत्वाय तरसा नेता नौ सविनोद्यमान् ।
जिचक्षान जयस्तन्मान् महावीतोऽम्बरेषु सः ॥ Raghu, iv, 36.

Cf. Veda—हुर्गाणि विद्या मावेव सिन्धुस् ॥ Quoted in the Yuktikalpataru.

⁵ सट्टहा त्रिविधा प्रोक्ता सर्वमध्यायमन्दिरा ॥ १०
सर्वतो मन्दिरं यच्च सा ज्ञेया सर्वमन्दिरा ।
रात्रां केशाक्षमारीणां वानमच प्ररक्षते ॥ ११

Boats as a pleasant means of conveyance reached a finished perfection by the time Kālidāsa's immortal epic, the Raghuvamśa, was composed, for we are told therein of a seven storied boat used for pleasant trips. Thus :

स गौविमानादवतीर्थं रेमे विलोलद्वारः सहस्राभिरसु ॥ XVI । ६८

We are told in the Mahābhārata of ships driven by machine. Whether the fact belongs to history or to legend is a moot point to decide. The vividness of description surely deserves more than a passing notice.

The requisite passage runs thus :

ततः स प्रेषितो विद्वान् विदुरेण नरस्तदा ।

पार्थान् सन्दर्शयामास मगोमाहृतगामिनीम् ॥ ५ ॥

सर्ववातसहस्रां नावं यन्त्रयुक्तां पताकिणीम् ।

शिवे भागीरथीतीरे नदौर्विम्बिभिः ह्यताम् ॥ ६ ॥ Māhā. I, 143.

The Yuktikalpataru also gives us the types of wood out of which ships and country boats were used to be made together with the effects following on the employment of each :

' According to the Vṛkṣāyurveda there are four kinds of timber : the first, or the Brahmana, class comprises wood that is light and soft and can be easily joined to any other kind of wood ; the second, or the Kṣatriya, class of wood is light and hard and cannot be joined to any other classes ; the wood that is soft and heavy belongs to the third, or the Vaiśya class ; while the fourth, or the Sūdra, class of wood is characterized by both hardness and heaviness. There may also be distinguished wood of the mixed (*dvi-jāti*) class in which are blended properties of two classes. According to Bhoja, a ship built of the *Kṣatriya* class of wood brings wealth and happiness. It is these ships that are to be used as means of communication where the communication is difficult owing to vast water. Ships on the other hand which are made of timbers of different classes possessing contrary properties are of no good and not at all comfortable. They do not last for a long time, they soon rot in water, and

मध्यतो मन्दिरं यत्र सा ज्ञेया मध्यमन्दिरा ।

राज्ञां विश्वास याचादि(सं) वर्णास्तु च प्रशस्तये ॥ ११

अधतो मन्दिरं यत्र सा ज्ञेया अधमन्दिरा ॥

चिरप्रवास याचाचां रवे काले जनात्यये ।

मन्दिर(रा)नामं जीका प्रशस्त यचार्यं भागतो न्यूनम् ॥ १२

they are liable to split at the slightest shock and to sink down.¹ Care should be taken that no iron is used in holding or joining together the planks of bottoms intended to be sea-going vessels, for the iron will inevitably expose them to the influence of magnetic rocks in the sea, or bring them within a magnetic field and so lead them to risks. Hence the planks of bottoms are to be fitted together, or mortised by means of substances other than iron'².

As to the materials out of which country boats were used to be made we have the testimony of Herodotus and others who tell us that a kind of reeds was used by the Indians for their construction. According to him (iii, 98) one section of this reed would make a boat. Ktesias (66) also notes this unusual reed. Diodoros mentions of a king of India who built 4,000 boats of reeds which grew about the rivers. Pliny (vii. C(2), and xvi, C(37) 65) speaks of this reed as of so prodigious a length that sections between two . . . can make a canoe, capable in some instances of holding three men. He says that this reed was used in their temples. The plants were distinguished into male and female and had short leaves. Dr. Bale says that this plant might be either a cocoanut, the date palm or the palmyra palm³. But it appears from the above description that the reeds in question refer to toddy palm which are even now used as canoes in lower Bengal.

¹ Cf. Milinda Pañha (IV, 2, 32) where it is said that 'a ship pieced together with timber of all sorts is broken up by the force of the violence of the waves' (nāvā pi nānādārusanghatitā ūmivegasampahārena bhijjati)—S.B.E. 35, p. 227.

²

सद्यु यत् कोमलं काष्ठं सुघटं ब्रह्मजाति तत् ।
 दृढाङ्गं सद्यु यत् काष्ठमघटं क्षयजाति तत् ॥ ८४
 कोमलं गुह्य यत् काष्ठं वैश्वजाति तदुच्यते ।
 दृढाङ्गं गुह्य यत् काष्ठं शूलजाति तदुच्यते ।
 सद्युयद्द्वययोगेन द्विजातिः काष्ठसंपदः ॥ ८५
 क्षयिककाष्ठैर्घटिता भोजनते सुखसम्पदं नौका ।
 अन्ये सद्युभिः सुदृढैः विदधति जलदुष्यदे नौकाम् ॥ ८६
 विभिन्नजातिद्वयकाष्ठजाता न त्रेयसे जापि सुखाय नौका ।
 नैवा चिरं तिष्ठति पच्यते च विभिद्यते वारिषि मज्जते च ॥ ८७
 न शिन्नुगाद्यार्चति सौख्यवन्तं, तन्नोच-कानैः श्रियते चि सौख्यम् ।
 विपद्यते तेन जलक्षेपु नौका ; गुणेन चन्वं निजगाद् भोजः ॥ ८८, p. 224.

English translation from Indian Shipping—Mookerjee, pp. 20-21.

³ Proc. Roy. Irish Aca., 2nd Series, Vol. II, 6, pp. 201-203.

Strabo refers to the existence of pine, fir, cedar, oak, pitch-pine and various other trees as timber employed by the Indians for ship building¹.

The Amarakoṣa gives us almost a complete list of the accessories of a boat: *uḍupa*, *plava*, *kola* (a raft or float), *kupaka*, *gunavr̥kṣaka* (the mast)², *kṣepani* (the oar), *aritra*, *kenipātaka* (the rudder), *abhri*, *kāṣṭhakuddāla* (a scraper, or shovel), and *secana* (bucket).³

III. MEANS OF TRANSPORT THROUGH AIR

The Yuktikalpataru⁴ distinctly includes the flying conveyances (*vyomayāna*, *vimāna*) in the list of *five* kinds of vehicles. The Samarāṅgana Sūtradhāra⁵, ascribed to king Bhoja, speaks of two varieties of flying machines: one meant for solo flight, and the other for carrying passengers.

The first kind is described as follows:—

‘A huge bird-like flying machine should be constructed with light wood, its parts being neatly and firmly joined. In its hold should be placed a mercury engine (turbine?) with a fire place below it. The aviator is carried up in it by the current of air produced by the movement of two wings which are propelled by the mercury apparatus (turbine?) within, and makes various figures as he flies far up in the air’⁶.

As for the construction of the second kind, the prescription is—‘In the same way (as described above, even) a heavy wooden machine, built like a temple, flies in the sky. The clever aviator should place, according to rules, stronger and larger jar-shaped boiler (*āṛḍhakumbhān*) containing mercury within it. The machine

¹ Ancient India,—Mc Crindle, Sec. II–IV, 29, and Sec. IV, XI, vii, 2.

² Cf. Milinda.—mast (*kūpo rajjuṅ ca varattaṅ ca lakaraṅ ca dhāreti*—S.B.E. 36, p. 300); anchor—it fastens the ship and brings it to rest. (*nāvālanakaraṅ bahu umijālākulavikkhobhita salilatale mahati-mahāsamudde nāvam laketi ṭhapeti, na deti disāvidisaṅ haritum. nāvālanakaraṅ hatthasate pi udake nāvam laketi ṭhānaṅ upaneti*, etc.), S.B.E. 36, p. 299.

³ Colebrooke edition, I, ii, 3, pp. 62–63; Pātālavarga, 25–28.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 7, Calcutta 1917.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, Ch. 30, Gaekwad’s Oriental Series, Baroda, Vol. I, pp. 175–177.

⁶ अणुदाबनयं महाविचित्रं दृढमुस्त्रितनुं विधाय तस्य ।

उदरे रक्षयन्मनाद्भीतं ललनाधारमधोऽस्य चा(ति?प्रि)पूर्वम् ॥

तथाकठः प्रवृत्तस्य पञ्चदशोपास्य प्रीतिमतेमामिसेन ।

सुप्तस्थानः पारदस्यास्य शय्या चित्रं कुर्वन्नमरे याति दूरम् ।

(moves) with a start and rises up in the air by the energy of the mercury (*rasarājasaktyā*) which whizzes when slow heat is applied to those stronger and larger boilers (containing mercury), from a fire burning in an iron pot. That iron propeller (*āyasa yantra*) fitted with mercury (boiler) and well adjusted in the plane roars like a lion when it flies up in the air'.¹

This matter of fact description of two kinds of flying machines in the Samarāṅgana Sūtradhāra is not to be confounded with the poetical description of the Puṣpakas of the Epics, and the *Phussa-rathas* of the Jātakas. Nor can it be reasonably maintained that the ślokas containing descriptions were a later interpolation. A similar but earlier description of flying machines may as well be traced in the Suttanipāta commentary², which is to be dated as early as to the 5th century A.D. In the Pali story the credit of first invention of such machines is given to a renowned head of an ancient institution of carpenters and wood-carvers near about the city of Benares. The required materials mainly consisted in timbers of the fig (*udumbara*) and such other light wood (*appasāra-rukkhā*). The shape and the size are described. The machine in its completed form looked like a wooden bird (*kaṭṭha-sakuna*) and resembled a flying eagle in its majesty (*supanna-rājā viya*). The machine was fitted with an engine or apparatus inside (*yantram pūresi*). The upward movement, the progress of the flight and the manner of the surprising descent are described. The necessity for invention arose from acutely felt difficulty in maintaining the institute of carpenters by the sale of timbers, or by the execution of occasional orders. The story speaks of a regular fleet of such machines which might be made use of for the satisfaction of the love of conquest, or the spirit of world domination.

The *yantra* (apparatus) was, according to the Sanskrit treatise, a mercury engine (? turbine—*rasa-yantra* or *pārada-yantra*) which was made in the shape of a water jar (*kumbha*), with an arrangement

1

रत्यनेव सुरमन्दिरतुल्यं सञ्चलत्यस्युदावविमानम् ।

आदधीत विधिना अतुरीकस्यस्य पारदधतान् दृढकुम्भान् ॥ ९७

अयःकषास्त्राहितमन्दवक्रिप्रतप्ततक्कुम्भमुवा गुणेन ।

योक्त्री ऋगित्याभरत्त्वमेति सन्तप्तगर्जद्रसराजस्यत्या ॥ ९८

दृढसन्धितमथायसयन्त्रं तद् विधाय रसपूरितमन्तः ।

उच्चदेहविनिधापिततप्तं सिंहादादसुरजं विदधाति ॥ ९९

² Paramatthajotikā, Vol II, Part 2, pp. 575-577.

for heating the mercury by a fire-place (*jvalanādhāra*) under it. The sound of the boiling mercury according to variations in the heat produced is vividly described. The timbers of a fig-tree, mentioned in the Pali story, are no more than an example in point of *laghu dāru* (light wood) recommended in the Sanskrit work¹.

¹ For other points of detail, see 'Flying machines in Ancient India', an article in the Calcutta Review by Barua and Majumdar, Dec. 1933, pp. 287ff.

THE THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

By S. K. DE

I

It is difficult to give a proper exposition of the philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism without a detailed reference to the sacred texts which are cited throughout as revealed and indisputable and on which indeed the faith elaborately bases its philosophical ideas. The whole system is built up on a direct explication of its own peculiar sectarian texts ; and absolute faith in their interpretation by its acknowledged theologians is essential for an acceptance of their truth. Such entire reliance upon verbal authority and verbal interpretation makes it difficult in any exposition to steer clear of the texts which are quoted at every step, but it also impairs the value of its theology and philosophy as an independent system of thought. The usual procedure is to make a dogmatic statement, and then support it not so much by argumentation, which is held at discount, as by a compilation of authoritative texts, chiefly derived from the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata Purāna*, and by interpretation of those texts in the light of the peculiar dogmas and doctrines of the school. The basic theory of the threefold Śakti of the supreme being, for instance, is founded upon a text of the *Viṣṇu-purāna*, amplified by other texts ; while its other fundamental doctrine of the threefold aspect of the deity as the Brahma, Paramātman and Bhagavat is entirely based upon a system of interpretation of a single text of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*. The same remarks apply to its central postulate of the highest and exclusive divinity of Kṛṣṇa ; while its doctrine of Bhakti is deduced from a peculiar theory of emotional realization which is based entirely upon a series of devotional texts and dogmatic statements.

It is true that in some older systems of Indian philosophy mere Tarka or discursive reasoning is deprecated as a means of attaining ultimate truth ; and in most systems, belief in Śruti or revelation and interpretation of revealed texts are at least theoretically accepted as the proper mode. But in the speculations of the Bengal school this attitude of reverence for infallible authority appears to have been carried to its extreme limit. The Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism, believing that everything is revealed by grace of a personal god,

theoretically rejects all Pramāṇas excepting Śabda or revealed word, but Śabda as a source of belief has a peculiar significance in this school. We shall have occasion later on to explain its theory of Pramāṇa, but, briefly speaking, the appeal is not to reason but to a system of scriptural authority. It is true that theoretical homage is paid to Śruti or the Vedas in the wider sense of Indian philosophy, but the term Śabda in practice denotes other kinds of sectarian scriptures which, as Smṛtis, are hardly admitted by older philosophical schools. The Pramāṇa is practically circumscribed to a few Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas and other sectarian texts ; but it is curious to note that these texts are regarded as revealed or authoritative chiefly on the strength of statements to that effect in these texts themselves. Older Śruti texts, when convenient, are indeed cited with respect, but we are told that the sense of the earlier Śrutis is unfathomable, and that the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, which can explain them properly, are the only kind of revelation which are accessible at the present decadent age. In the compilation and exposition of the Purāṇa and Smṛti texts, again, the same dogmatic attitude is prominent. Non-Vaiṣṇava texts are rejected as *tāmasika* and untruthful, and even among Vaiṣṇava texts the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* alone is regarded as the quintessence of all Śāstras and as possessing the supreme authority. Other schools of Vaiṣṇavism have propounded their doctrines by writing elaborate commentaries on the *Vedānta-sūtra* and interpreting it in their own way ; but the Bengal school regarded the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* as Vyāsa's own commentary on his *Vedānta-sūtra*, and therefore confined itself to an interpretation of this Purāṇa in its own light, instead of composing a separate commentary on the Sūtra. They therefore proceed almost entirely on an explication of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. If some of the texts cited from this or other sources are apocryphal, this fact makes no difference so long as they fall in with the peculiar doctrines of the school. Even of Vaiṣṇava texts there is a careful selection and arrangement of those which are favourable, and inconvenient texts are sometimes quietly forgotten or glossed over or sometimes twisted in an ingenious way to suit its particular views. These methods are not unfamiliar to students of sectarian religious literature, but they possess little philosophical interest. The details of such a method may prove interesting and valuable to the faithful devotee, but they hardly appeal either to the general reader or to the critical enquirer.

It would appear, therefore, that as it is chiefly a system of mystical-emotional dogmatics, the strictly philosophical views of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism are intimately mixed up with the details of its devotional theologism and its emotional erotic

mysticism which are set forth in its pious text-books of legend and fancy. Its purely speculative thought, therefore, cannot be easily disentangled from its sentimental and mythical envelopment. The Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, no doubt, presents itself as a deliberate historical religion promulgated by a definite founder, but in the practical working out of the system the direct intuitive realisation or the teachings of the Master hardly find a place. Except the usual obeisance and homage to Caitanya and general passages testifying to his identity with the supreme deity, there is nowhere in the extensive works of Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva any direct reference to his personal views and teachings. These theologians and philosophers are chiefly concerned with the godhead of Kṛṣṇa and his Līlā as revealed in their older scriptures, and Kṛṣṇa in their theory is not an Avatāra but is alone the supreme deity himself (*svayam bhagavān*). They are almost entirely silent about Caitanya-līlā and its place in their devotional scheme, and it is somewhat strange that in presenting a system of religion in his name they rely upon older sources and do not refer at all to his direct realisation of spiritual truths. The divinity of Kṛṣṇa as the exclusive object of worship is elaborately established, but the divinity of Caitanya, which is implicitly acknowledged in Namaskriyās and other devotional verses, is hardly ever discussed. It is said in one of the Bengali lives of Caitanya that these works themselves were not only inspired but were directly communicated to these disciples by Caitanya himself, but even then there is no direct acknowledgment of this fact by the Gosvāmins themselves, nor is there any devotional interpretation of the divinity of Caitanya or Caitanya-līlā, as there is of Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa-līlā. There cannot be any doubt that the devout life of Caitanya inspired these faithful disciples, but in the building up of their systems of theology and philosophy there is no reference to the life, personality or views of the Master himself. There is, on the other hand, an entire dependance upon a complicated system of text-interpretation, rather than upon any direct and vivid spiritual illumination. It must be admitted that in these treatises we reach a high level of the emotional Bhakti doctrine in the setting of a vital and practical system of religious beliefs, and the life and personality of Caitanya must have been to his devout followers a powerful exemplification of these beliefs and doctrines ; but we still move in an indefinite haze of mythology, sentiment and speculation, derived from Purānic tradition ; while the intellectual seriousness or the ethical nobility of the tenets is hardly propounded with the force of direct realisation, inasmuch as they are completely merged in a floating mass of uncertain myths, legends and traditional beliefs.

Having regard to this peculiar method and standpoint of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism, it will not be possible for us to refer in detail to the large mass of cited texts which are not always of general interest ; nor would it be profitable for us to enter into the more or less scholastic disquisition on words and phrases. All that we can do here is to give a rapid résumé of the main dogmas and doctrines, and indicate only generally the way in which these are sought to be established. As our object is chiefly historical, we shall as far as possible avoid criticism and discussion, and confine ourselves to a descriptive exposition of the essential features of its philosophical and theological ideas. Historically, however, Bengal Vaiṣṇavism derives a great deal, in an eclectic spirit, from previous Vaiṣṇava systems, especially from the doctrines of the Rāmānuja sect ; but with our limited object in view it will be necessary for us to avoid all comparative observations and maintain an attitude of descriptive objectivity. We shall also limit ourselves to an account of the subject chiefly derived from the theological and philosophical Sanskrit works of Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, excluding its further development in Bengali devotional works and in the much later Sanskrit works (18th century) of Viśvanātha Cakravartin and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa.

The main theological presuppositions of the school are set forth in Sanātana's *Bṛhad-Bhāgavatāmṛta*, and its supplement *Samkṣepa-* or *Laghu-Bhāgavatāmṛta* written by his brother Rūpa, but most of their implications find a place in the *Samdarbhas* of their nephew Jīva, more especially in the latter's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-samdarbha*. We have already given elsewhere¹ an account of some of the principal doctrines of the *Bhāgavatāmṛta* ; in this article we shall confine ourselves to a brief survey of the professedly philosophical six *Samdarbhas* of Jīva Gosvāmin.

The Samdarbhas of Jīva Gosvāmin

These works give us the entire philosophy as well as theology of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism in a systematic form. They consist of six *Samdarbhas*, viz., *Tattva-*, *Bhagavat-*, *Paramātma-*, *Śrīkṛṣṇa-*, *Bhakti-*, and *Prīti-*²; there is also a supplementary work on the

¹ Contributed to the projected Kuppusvami Commemoration Volume.

² Our references are to the following editions of the texts : *Tattva, Bhagavat, Paramātma*, Radharaman Press edition, Murshidabad, B.S., 1317, 1324, 1335 respectively ; *Śrīkṛṣṇa*, edited by Prāṇagopāla Gosvāmin, Navadvīpa, B.S. 1332 ; *Bhakti*, edited by Śyāmalāla Gosvāmin (along with the five other *Samdarbhas*), Calcutta, Śaka 1822 ; *Prīti*, edited by Prāṇagopāla Gosvāmin, published from Noakhali (no date) ; *Sarva-saṃvādinī*, edited by Rasika Mohana Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya

first three *Samdarbhas*, called *Anuvyākhyā* and named *Sarva-samvādinī*, which contains explanatory comments on obscure points and dilates upon topics which have been imperfectly dealt with in the original texts. Jīva Gosvāmin also wrote a running commentary on the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, but since these *Samdarbhas* profess to give an exposition of the speculative ideas of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism chiefly by a direct explication of texts, skilfully selected and arranged from that work according to the philosophical design of the cult, they constitute in reality a sectarian commentary on a considerable portion of the *Bhāgavata*; and the general name of this collection of *Samdarbhas* is therefore appropriately given by its author as *Bhāgavata-samdarbha*. The word *Samdarbha* means a systematic stringing together or collection, and the work in question, though considerably original in its outlook and presentation, is deliberately designed to possess that characteristic. After acknowledging the inspiration of the work to Rūpa and Sanātana, the author informs us that a Bhaṭṭa friend of theirs belonging to the South (*dākṣiṇātya bhaṭṭa*), had already composed a work on the subject, compiling it from the treatises of old Vaiṣṇavas (*vyḍḍha vaiṣṇava*). This acknowledgment is repeated at the commencement of each of the six *Samdarbhas*; and we are told that from this original, the present *Samdarbhas* were composed on the same lines but in a more orderly form and sequence. Jīva Gosvāmin himself explains in his *Sarva-samvādinī* that the phrase *vyḍḍha vaiṣṇava* includes what is written by old Vaiṣṇava writers like Rāmānuja, Madhvācārya, Śrīdhara-svāmin and others, and that there is nothing in his work which is a figment of his own imagination. Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa informs us that this *Dākṣiṇātya Bhaṭṭa* was Gopāla Bhaṭṭa who was one of the six Gosvāmins and associates of Rūpa and Sanātana. Rūpa and Sanātana, again, not only preceded Jīva in life and thought but were also his acknowledged preceptors in the Vaiṣṇava doctrine and practice. In spite of this customary appeal to old authorities and modest disclaimer of originality, the work, however, is not a mere compilation but betrays a systematic plan and execution, as well as originality in its ideas and methods, which in spite of considerable affinities cannot be regarded as belonging to the same schools of thought as those of Rāmānuja or Madhva. To Jīva Gosvāmin belonged the whole heritage of Vaiṣṇava philosophical thought, upon which, as a matter of fact, he freely draws, besides utilizing Śruti (chiefly Upaniṣadic) and Purāṇa texts; and no important

Pariṣat, Calcutta, B.S. 1327=1920 A.D. The *Krama-samdarbha* has been printed along with the text (and the commentaries of Śrīdhara and Viśvanātha Cakravartin) by the Radharaman Press, B.S. 1310 (=1903 A.D.).

proposition is laid down which is not supported by some such texts. But the system which he builds up on this foundation is essentially his own and deserves independent consideration. As the work, however, consists chiefly of a string of *Bhāgavata* quotations and of a system of interpretation of that authoritative text, it is in appearance at least a series of *Samdarbhas* or systematic collections.

The scope and object of the work are indicated by the author himself in the *Tattva-samdarbha*, which informs us that they are identical with those of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, of which his own work is merely an exposition. He states accordingly that the main *Tattva* or principle to which his work, like the *Bhāgavata*, is related (*sambandha*) is *Kṛṣṇa-tattva*, which is higher than any other *Tattvas*; that its subject-matter (*abhidheya*) is *Bhakti* or the devotional attitude by which alone that *Tattva* is attainable; and that its motive (*prayojana*) consists of *Prīti*, or love for *Kṛṣṇa* as a means of worship. The six *Samdarbhas* are consequently arranged on this *Śāstric* plan. The first four are devoted to the *Sambandha-tattva*, and are intended to establish *Kṛṣṇa* as the highest deity and the most exclusive object of worship; the *Bhakti-samdarbha* deals with the *Abhidheya-tattva* which is *Bhakti*; while the last *Prīti-samdarbha* is concerned with the *Prayojana-tattva* which is *Prīti* considered as the best way of divine worship. In other words, *Jīva Gosvāmin* is concerned, in the first *Samdarbha*, with a theory of knowledge (*Pramāṇa*) which leads on, in the next three *Samdarbhas*, to a theory of ultimate reality (*Tattva*), while the last two *Samdarbhas* are devoted to a theory of *summum bonum* (*Niḥśreyasa* or *Puruṣārtha*) and the means of attaining it. In the survey we propose to make in the following pages we shall generally follow this order of treatment, and give a brief résumé of the successive works with a view to setting forth the main doctrines in their general outline; but for convenience and continuity of treatment we shall occasionally have to gather together and deal in one place our author's remarks on various topics which are sometimes scattered over the different books. The method which *Jīva Gosvāmin* follows of laying down principles by the explication of texts naturally involves a great deal of repetition and digression. We shall try to avoid them as far as possible, although in any faithful account of his works they are to a certain extent unavoidable.

The Tattva-samdarbha

The *Tattva-samdarbha*, which is preliminary, deals chiefly with *Pramāṇa* or proof, and concludes with a general discussion of the *Prameya* or subject to be proved, this last topic being further elucidated and elaborated in the succeeding *Samdarbhas*.

Jīva Gosvāmin's theory of Pramāṇa, which is widely accepted by the school, is very simple. He rejects without much ceremony the conventional six or eight Pramāṇas, viz., Perception (Pratyakṣa), Inference (Anumāna), Revelation (Śabda), Analogy (Upamā), Supposition from circumstances or implication (Arthāpatti), Non-recognition (Abhāva or Anupalabdhi), Equivalence (Sambhava) and Tradition (Aitihiya), on the ground that they are all, with the exception of Śabda, defective and unreliable. In his *Sarva-samvādinī*¹ he discusses the question at some length,² and takes pains to show the limitations of each of these Pramāṇas, except Śabda. Besides, the ordinary man is naturally liable to four kinds of error, viz., Bhrama (error due to wrong perception of one thing for another), Pramāda (error due to heedlessness), Vipralipsā (error due to the wish to deceive) and Karaṇāpātava (error due to the insufficiency of the senses). The Pramāṇas are also not capable of comprehending the incomprehensible and superphysical. His analysis easily leads him to the conclusion that the other Pramāṇas being defective and insufficient, Śabda or Revelation alone as a Pramāṇa is valid ; for, in his opinion, Śabda is free from these defects and is independent of the other Pramāṇas, which can never supersede it. Moreover, Śabda can touch things

¹ Here he speaks of ten Pramāṇas, adding Ārṣa (i.e. knowledge derived from the sayings of gods and Ṛṣis) and Ceṣṭā (i.e. knowledge derived by physical effort, e.g. by lifting a thing) to the above eight ; but Ārṣa may be included in Śabda and Ceṣṭā in Pratyakṣa. The Ceṣṭā is accepted by Tāntric writers.

² Of the ten Pramāṇas with which Jīva Gosvāmin is concerned here, the Pratyakṣa or Perception is said to be of five kinds, based respectively upon the five senses, but to these is added Mānasa Pratyakṣa or internal perception, which is independent of the sense-organs. Apart from the fact that each of these six kinds of Pratyakṣa may be either *sa-vikalpa* or *nir-vikalpa*, the Pratyakṣa may also be either *vaiduṣa* or *avaiduṣa* according as it belongs to the learned or the non-learned. While the former is free from error and becomes the basis of Śabda itself when it is the Pratyakṣa of the great seers, the latter is liable to error and is thus very defective as a Pramāṇa. The so-called universal Pratyakṣa, which is supposed to consist of what is perceived by all, can never be discovered as the standard of truth, because it is not possible to bring together the whole of the perceiving world. The Pratyakṣa can be accepted as a Pramāṇa only when (as in the case of Vaiduṣa) it involves Śabda, and not otherwise. The Anumāna, again, is essentially syllogistic, but syllogistic inference does not always lead us to truth. The validity of the Anumāna depends on that of the Vyāpti, but Vyāpti is not invariable. The existence of fire cannot invariably be inferred from the existence of smoke, for smoke may also arise where the fire is just extinguished. The Vyāpti is only probable and never certain ; the Anumāna therefore is at best only a source of probable knowledge. The other Pramāṇas hardly require detailed consideration. They are not independent Pramāṇas at all but are valid in so far as they involve Pratyakṣa, Anumāna or Śabda, and can be accepted as Pramāṇas only to that extent. These minor Pramāṇas can never give us the knowledge of higher realities.

which the other Pramāṇas cannot. It must, however, be noted that the other Pramāṇas are not absolutely rejected, but they are rejected only as *independent* sources of knowledge. They may be employed as Pramāṇas subsidiary to Śabda. Thus, Inference is not altogether rejected as a Pramāṇa, and the author himself largely employs argumentation. But Inference, according to the Vaiṣṇava theory, is not a Pramāṇa if it is independent of the scriptures. If it is based on the scriptures, the inferential process is a valuable aid to knowledge. It is clear, however, that even this attitude, by making the other Pramāṇas subordinate, exalts Śabda as the chief and infallible Pramāṇa.

It is concluded, therefore, that as a source of knowledge the only authentic and reliable Pramāṇa is Śabda, which is the source of all superphysical knowledge and which consists of revealed words (*apṛākṛta-vacana-lakṣana*). This position, in the opinion of our author, is supported by the Vedānta-sūtra-kāra by the Sūtras ii, 1, 11 (*tarkāpratiṣṭhānāt*), i, 1, 3 (*śāstra-yonitvāt*) and ii, 1, 27 (*śrutis tu śabda-mūlatvāt*), as well as by the Vaiṣṇava scriptures. This is indeed the general position of the Vedānta, but the earlier Vedāntists appear to have believed not in Śabda in general but in Śruti, which denoted pre-eminently the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. But in later sectarian schools the word Śabda came to be employed in an extended sense so as to indicate other kinds of scriptures, which the earlier philosophers regarded as Smṛti but which now came to be recognized as of equal value with the Śruti. It is argued that the Vedas in the present decadent age are difficult to master and understand, and the sages who interpret them do not agree. The scriptures which can rightly determine this obscure sense of the Vedas are the Itihāsa and Purāṇa, which therefore constitute the only kind of Śabda that is practically more valuable to us, and, being of equal authority, the only authentic source of knowledge in the present age. The Purāṇas were brought into existence, for this specific purpose of rendering the unfathomable sense of the Vedas comprehensible to the ordinary mortal, by the great sage Vyāsa, who was himself the apportioner of the four Vedas and an incarnation of the supreme being for that purpose. The Purāṇa is so called because it completes or fulfils (*pūrana*) the sense of the Veda. It is argued that a complement cannot be different from that which it completes; the defective parts of a gold bangle can be made good by gold alone and not by any baser metal. It is further stated that those topics of the Veda which are called Ākhyāna, Upākhyāna, Gāthā and Kalpa are elaborately dealt with in the Purāṇa; and in this sense also the Purāṇa elucidates and amplifies what is vaguely or implicitly contained in the Vedas. Thus,

those who know the four Vedas with the Upaniṣads and the Vedāṅgas, but do not know the Purāṇas cannot, in the opinion of our author, be regarded as truly learned men. The two sets of scriptures, the Veda and Purāṇa, are both revealed and are ultimately identical in purport, but they are sometimes regarded as different because of the use of accent (*svara*) and some peculiarities of arrangement (*krāma-bheda*) in the earlier texts. But, apart from its greater intelligibility and accessibility, the Purāṇa is even superior to the Veda, because it can be studied not only by the twice-born male but also by women and Śūdras and does not suffer from the limitation of caste, sex or age. By this indication the denotation of the word Śabda as a Pramāṇa is not confined to the Śruti alone, but is extended to the Itihāsa and Purāṇa, which must be regarded as a part (and in practice the most authentic part) of the Veda. This position is supported by a skilful compilation of texts, but as the texts are mostly selected from the Purāṇas, we have the curious method of establishing their authenticity chiefly on the strength of statements made by themselves.

Of the Itihāsa and Purāṇa, again, the Purāṇa is to be preferred as a source of knowledge. But we are told that in the present age the individual Purāṇas are not all available in their completeness, and they celebrate different gods. Hence the average poor mortal is too puzzled by their diversity to understand their real sense. The doubt regarding the admissibility of some of them naturally arises from the fact that the different Purāṇas appeared at different periods of time, and that though they were suitable for the epoch for which they were composed, they are not all suitable for the present age. We find, therefore, the classification of Purāṇas into Sāttvika, Rājasika and Tāmasika groups. Verses from the *Matsya-purāṇa* are quoted to explain that the Sāttvika Purāṇas deal with the greatness of Kṛṣṇa, the Rājasika with that of Brahmā, and the Tāmasika with that of Śiva. There is a fourth miscellaneous kind (*Samkīrṇa*) which speaks of Sarasvatī, the Pitṛs and other deities or semi-divine beings.¹ In his *Bhagavat-saṃdarbhā* (p. 143) Jīva Gosvāmin points out that Purāṇas like *Skanda* are sometimes full of errors (*skandāḍau kvacid bhrāmakam asti*), and states that such Purāṇas as deal with the glory of Śiva and other gods should not be accepted by Vaiṣṇavas (*tathāvidham śivādi-pratipādakam sāstram ca na vaiṣṇavair grāhyam*). It is Sāttvika Purāṇas alone, which are devoted to Kṛṣṇa, that should be regarded as authentic. In other words, Jīva Gosvāmin

¹ The words ascribed to the Buddha are not regarded as valid Śabda-pramāṇas: for the scriptures which ascribe divinity to him also state his words were meant to delude the demons (*Sarva-saṃvādinī*, p. 5).

would make us accept only those Purāṇas which are explicitly or implicitly Vaiṣṇava ; for, like most other sectarian apologists, he believes that the Purāṇas of his own school alone are capable of revealing the entire truth to be found in the Vedas, the other Purāṇas either failing to understand or misrepresenting the import of the Śruti.

Even among the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas the highest place of authority is assigned to the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, which can on no account be superseded. It may be objected that since Vyāsa composed his *Brahma-sūtra* with the special view of determining the sense of all Veda, Itihāsa and Purāṇa, why should the *Bhāgavata* be taken as authoritatively final ? In reply it is stated that the *Brahma-sūtra* has not been accepted by the followers of other sages who have composed other Sūtra works. Moreover, the Sūtras are brief and cryptic, and have been differently interpreted. Hence it is held more reasonable to accept one great available Purāṇa, which is revealed scripture, which gives us the essence of all Veda, Itihāsa and Purāṇa and which forms in reality Vyāsa's own commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*. Such a Purāṇa, it is maintained, is the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, which is accepted as the one supreme authority and the greatest of all Pramāṇas (*sarva-pramāṇa-cakravartībhūtam*), although our author very conveniently forgets that the *Bhāgavata* also, like the *Brahma-sūtra*, is not acknowledged on all hands.

This exclusive authority of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* is maintained on the supposition that Vyāsa himself, after having composed the *Brahma-sūtra* and having brought the different Purāṇas into existence, was not completely satisfied ; he therefore composed the *Bhāgavata* which he obtained through Samādhi or spiritual meditation. In this final work he found a synthesis of all Śāstras, and it forms the only genuine commentary of his own Sūtras (*nija-sūtrāṇām akṛtrima-bhāṣya-bhūtam*). The work proceeds with an exposition of the Gāyatrī, which forms the essence of the Vedas ; but the chief reason of its authoritativeness is found in the fact recorded by itself that it was revealed to Vyāsa in his spiritual meditation. Because of this direct revelation by the Bhagavat (*sākṣād bhagavatodita*), it is the most Sāttvika of all the Purāṇas, dear to the Lord and desired by all his devotees. The theory of the school thus believes that the themes of the *Brahma-sūtra* and the *Bhāgavata* respectively are identical, for what appeared to Vyāsa's mind in a subtle form and was expressed by him in the form of brief Sūtras, is alleged to have been amplified in the *Bhāgavata* in the form of an extensive Bhāṣya on these Sūtras. To demonstrate the correctness of this belief Jīva Gosvāmin makes several attempts to show directly that some of the *Bhāgavata* verses have the same meaning as some

of the Sūtras of Vyāsa ; in his *Paramātma-saṁdarbha*, pp. 257f, for instance, he gives a detailed exposition of the first verse of the *Bhāgavata* as containing the entire gist of the *Brahma-sūtra* and the *Gāyatrī*. As the *Bhāgavata* is thus taken to be the only genuine and original Bhāṣya of the *Brahma-sūtra* written by Vyāsa himself, the other commentaries written by later scholars according to their limited light, have to be rejected in its favour. It is for this reason that the *Bhāgavata* is studied with belief and devotion by those who desire to realize spiritual truths, for this work has undoubtedly attained the position of the lord of all scriptures (*sarva-sāstra-cakravarti-padam āptam*). The extensive popularity of the work, which has been widely accepted, praised and commented upon, also testifies to this position. A series of commentaries written by great scholars and devotees exists, and Jīva Gosvāmin gives a brief enumeration of those which he found most noteworthy, viz., *Tantra-bhāgavata* (mentioned in the *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra*), *Hanumad-bhāṣya*, *Vāsanā-bhāṣya*, *Saṁbandhokti*, *Bṛhat-Kāmadhenu*, *Tattva-dīpikā*, *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā*, *Paramahansa-priyā*, and *Śuka-hṛdaya* ; besides these, there are works on the *Bhāgavata* such as *Muktāphala*, *Harilīlā* and *Bhakti-ratnāvalī*, all of which are worthy of consideration.

One might ask in this connexion as to why the great Śaṁkara did not accept the *Bhāgavata* as the original Bhāṣya of the *Brahma-sūtra*. This question is answered by a pious appeal to a mythical legend. We are assured that Śaṁkara did not entirely disregard the *Bhāgavata*, but for a special reason he only concealed his own predilection for the superior teaching of Bhakti and preached deliberately a doctrine of non-duality which tended to obscure it. This special reason is found in the pious legend recorded in the *Padma-purāna* that Śaṁkara was an *Āvatāra* of Mahādeva, who in *Vaiṣṇava* scriptures is a devotee of the Bhagavat, and was entrusted with the mission of making men disbelievers in order that the progress of the world might be continued.¹ Śaṁkara, however, is taken to have given expression to his true personal views on the matter in such works of his as the *Govindāṣṭaka*, which is concerned with *Kṛṣṇa-līlā* as described in the *Bhāgavata*. He has thereby implicitly subscribed to doctrines to which he appears to be explicitly indifferent in his other works. Even if he did not comment on it, Śaṁkara thus recognized the value of the *Bhāgavata* by writing hymns

¹ The verse occurs in the *Padma-purāna*, *Uttara-khaṇḍa*, Ch. 62, 31 and is cited in the *Paramātma-saṁdarbha*. It purports to be an address of the Bhagavat to Śiva : *svāgamaiḥ kalpitais tvaṁ hi janān mad-vimukhān kuru | māṁ ca gopāya yena syāt sṛṣṭir eṣottarottarā ||*

inculcating Bhāgavata ideas. Moreover, Madhvācārya, who was a direct pupil (*sākṣāc chiṣyatām prāptaiḥ*¹) of Śaṅkara, wrote a commentary on the *Bhāgavata* in order to combat wrong views promulgated by such other pupils of Śaṅkara as Puṅyāranya, who advocated Śaṅkara's Advaita-vāda.

Having thus established the superiority of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as the chief, original and unerring source of revelation and as the best of all Pramāṇas, Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to state that in his own *Samdarbhas* he has only explained the drift of the *Bhāgavata* for determining the highest truth. This description is correct in so far as he proceeds to build up his doctrines on a system of interpretation chiefly of that religious text. It does not indeed mean that he has given us the true sense of the *Bhāgavata*. He may or may not have done so ; but it certainly means that his own elaborate system is entirely based upon a direct explication of the *Bhāgavata* in the light of the peculiar tenets of his school. Other schools have also attempted explanation of the *Bhāgavata*, but they have hardly gone to this extreme limit of basing their fundamental doctrines solely on the interpretation of that text. No doubt the Bengal school, by this method, has attempted to secure for itself the authority of one of the greatest and most universally revered religious works of mediæval times ; but this gain has been counter-balanced by the fact that its doctrines stand or fall according as the *Bhāgavata* is accepted as possessing such exclusive authority or not. Indeed, the unquestioning acceptance of the *Bhāgavata* must be regarded as one of the fundamental postulates of the school ; and even if there may be other interpretations of that text, the peculiar doctrinal interpretations of its own theologians must also be unquestionably accepted. In this respect the commentary of Śrīdhara-svāmin is acknowledged by this school in so far as it relates the Bhakti-doctrines. Referring to this commentary, which attempts to reconcile the Advaita-vāda of Śaṅkara with the Bhakti-vāda of mediæval Vaiṣṇava sects, Jīva Gosvāmin explains, in

¹ These words are omitted in some editions of the text (e.g. in editions by Nityasvarūpa Brahmācārī and by Satyānanda Gosvāmi), possibly to avoid an historical error on Jīva Gosvāmin's part. The words, however, occur in the Berhampore edition, as well as in the manuscripts of the *Tattva-samdarbha* which we have consulted in the Dacca University collection. That the words must have occurred in the original is clear from the fact that otherwise the word *antara* in the immediately following sentence (*ta-cchiṣyāntara-puṅyāranyādi-rītika-vyākhyā-praveśa-śāṅkayā*) would be meaningless. It appears that in Jīva's opinion Madhva in his commentary followed what Jīva considered to be the real teaching of Śaṅkara as embodied in such works as *Govindāṣṭaka* and thereby counteracted the evil effects of commentaries written by Śaṅkara's other disciples like Puṅyāranya, who followed the Śaṅkara-bhāṣya at Kṛṣṇa's bidding to serve a particular purpose of the deity.

accordance with the belief of his school, that the real object of Śrīdhara was not to effect such a reconciliation but to teach the doctrine of Bhakti. If the great commentator diversified this teaching with Advaita-vāda it was done in order that the Bhakti-vāda might be acceptable to the Advaita-vādins. The exposition of Śrīdhara, who is called a Parama Vaiṣṇava, is therefore accepted by this school in so far as it follows the pure Vaiṣṇava tradition. The Bhāṣya of Rāmānuja in the same way is accepted with great respect as coming from the South, which was a great stronghold of Vaiṣṇavism, although it cannot be said that, in spite of occasional borrowings, the peculiar tenets of Rāmānuja and his sect have been accepted in their entirety. As to the Advaita theory of Śaṅkara, Jīva Gosvāmin does not think it necessary to refer to it in detail in his work, as it is fairly well known. We are also informed that all the Vedic and Purāṇic texts cited are given as he found them himself in the original works ; but some texts, which he himself had not seen, are derived from previous works of such Mādhva writers of Vijayadvaja, Brahmātīrtha and Vyāsātīrtha, who have written commentaries respectively on the *Bhāgavata*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Brahma-sūtra*.

Having stated his theory of Pramāṇa, his sources and his method, Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to indicate briefly the chief Prameya or object to be proved in his work. In this connexion he states the Saṁbandha, Abhidheya and Prayojana of his work, which we have indicated above, and which, the author himself informs us, is identical with those of the *Bhāgavata*. They are respectively the Bhagavat-tattva or Kṛṣṇa-tattva, dealt with in the first four Saṁdarbhas, the Bhakti-tattva and the Prīti-tattva elaborated successively in the two succeeding Saṁdarbhas. In connexion with this statement of the scope and object of his work, Jīva Gosvāmin tells us about the origin of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, which arose from the extraordinary illuminating Samādhi (or Īśvara-praṇidhāna, as the *Yoga-sūtra* puts it) of Vyāsa, in the course of which he obtained a complete revelation of the highest spiritual truths described in the work. Jīva Gosvāmin, by way of indicating the central themes, now discusses the character of that beatific vision and details some of the principal truths revealed to Vyāsa. This Samādhi is described in the *Bhāgavata* I, 6, 4-11, which is now quoted and its chief implications considered. Vyāsa had a vision not only of the two partial aspects of the supreme being, viz., Brahma and Paramātman, but also of the Bhagavat who represents the most complete manifestation as the Perfect Person. This distinction, to be explained fully later on, forms one of the fundamental doctrines of the Bengal school, but the authority for this doctrine is found in the *Bhāgavata* itself, of which

it is supposed to form the Sambandha-tattva. Vyāsa also realised the essential difference or duality as well as identity between the Jīva and the Parameśvara, which forms the very foundation of his inspired work ; for, from Vyāsa's own words it appears that although the Jīva consists of pure consciousness (*cid-rūpa*) it is yet overpowered by the Māyā-śakti, which is the cause of Saṃsāra ; while Māyā being an extraneous Śakti of the Bhagavat, the Bhagavat is superior to it and is untouched by its influence. Hence the Jīva and the Bhagavat are perceived as different in essence (Svarūpa) and capacity (Sāmarthya). In this connexion our author takes some pains to refute the view of the Advaita-vādins that the difference is not real but is due to a difference in attributes (Upādhi), by means of which the unconditioned Brahma conditions itself (Pariccheda-vāda) or ephemerally reflects itself (Pratibimba-vāda) as the Jīva. As the implications of these theories are discussed more fully later on, it is not necessary to linger over them here. Our author does not in the same way believe in the theory that the Brahma is the only one so-called Jīva (Eka-jīva-vāda). He maintains, on the authority of the *Bhāgavata*, that there is a plurality or Jīvas. Each of the individual Jīvas, as pure consciousness, forms a part of the highest being, but it is also an agent and enjoyer of its own action. This capacity for activity, however, does not make the Jīva independent of the Lord, for the Jīva, as a subordinate or servant, merely carries out the will of the Master. This relation of master (Sevya) and servant (Sevaka) of the Paramātman and the Jīvātman is a real eternal distinction, and it continues even when the bondage, which, due to the Māyā-śakti of the Lord, is removed and his grace is obtained. As Bhakti or devotion to the Lord, is the highest good, Mokṣa or emancipation is indeed a small matter, and the Jīva in its duality continues as a separate worshipping entity even after emancipation. In this way is established the Abhidheya of the *Bhāgavata*, viz., the necessity of worshipping the Bhagavat (Bhagavad-bhajana or Bhakti).

From the same indications is also affirmed the necessity of divine love or Prīti as the Prayojana or motive of the *Bhāgavata*, for the removal of the fetters of Māyā is possible only by this means. The *Bhāgavata* was specially composed to induce and direct deluded Jīvas to such worship as lead them to Bhakti, which is the sole way of salvation. The means of worship, of course, relate to Sādhana-bhakti, i.e. Bhakti which arises from direct instruction of the Śāstra (*upadeśāpekṣa*), but Sādhana-bhakti is the first step to Prema-bhakti which arises only from the grace of the deity (*tat-prasādāpekṣa*). Even Jñāna or divine knowledge, such as the Advaita-vādins speak of, is not possible without Bhakti (*jñānādes tu bhakti-sāpekṣatvam*

eva). Thus the Bhakti-tattva consists of the Upāsya (the deity to be worshipped), the Upāsaka (worshipper) and the Upāsanā (worship). The object of the *Bhāgavata* is to establish clearly that the only Upāsya is Kṛṣṇa, who is not an Avatāra but the Bhagavat or supreme deity himself. That the attainment of divine love (*bhagavat-prema*) is a higher bliss than the bliss of attaining Brahma (*brahmānanda*) or Mokṣa-nirvāṇa is also shown by the fact that Vyāsa composed the *Bhāgavata* with the express purpose of teaching it to Śuka, who had already attained Brahmānanda, and leading him further to Bhagavat-prema. The case of Śuka also indicates that it is possible to worship the Bhagavat even after the so-called emancipation on the attainment of Brahma.

Jīva Gosvāmin then proceeds to show from the *Bhāgavata* that the spiritual truths or Tattvas which Vyāsa attained in his Samādhi are such as have been accepted by all Tattvajñas or philosophers, for they are testified to by the experience of all emancipated devotees (*sarvātmārāmānubhavena sa-hetukam*). The highest of all these Tattvas, which forms the central theme of the *Bhāgavata*, is stated briefly in i, 1, 2, and i, 2, 11 to the elucidation of which, as a fundamental principle, Jīva Gosvāmin now turns his attention. In the first of these verses it is stated that the reality or Vāstava Vastu can be known only from the *Bhāgavata*, while the second verse describes what this Reality or ultimate principle is in the following terms :

vadanti tat tattvavidas tattvaṃ yaj jñānam advayam ।
brahmeti paramātmēti bhagavān iti śabdyate ॥

‘ The Tattva which the knowers of reality call *advaya jñāna* is expressed by the designations of Brahma, Paramātman and Bhagavat ’.

This verse is said to sum up the concept of absolute reality as propounded by the *Bhāgavata*, of which it forms, as it were, the main Sūtra. At any rate, it is accepted as such by Jīva Gosvāmin who practically deduces his whole philosophy on its basis ; for the Advaya-jñāna-tattva, referred to in the first line of this verse, is now explained in the rest of his *Tattva-saṃdarbha*, while the three aspects of the divinity, embodied in the three concepts of Brahma, Paramātman and Bhagavat and mentioned in the second line of the verse, are dealt with in the three succeeding Saṃdarbhas. A preliminary analysis of the verse, therefore, is important from this point of view. In the first line of the verse the ultimate reality or Tattva is spoken of as Advaya-jñāna-tattva, while the second line designates three stadiums or gradations of the same reality as Brahma, Paramātman and Bhagavat. It will be necessary to understand at the outset what is signified by the main concept

Advaya-jñāna, which is the pivot round which the Vaiṣṇava concept of absolute reality propounded by Jīva Gosvāmin revolves. The rest of the *Tattva-saṁdarbha*, therefore, is devoted to the elucidation of this fundamental Tattva, from which fact the Saṁdarbha itself receives its name.

The term Advaya-jñāna does not signify Nirguṇa Advaita-jñāna of the monistic idealists of the Advaita school, but a dualistic Saḡuṇa interpretation is given of the phrase. The term Jñāna is explained as consisting of pure consciousness (*cideka-rūpam*) which is self-luminous (*sva-prakāśa*) ; but the word Advaya does not mean 'sole' or 'without a second', but it signifies 'that like which there is no second Tattva or Reality'. The ultimate reality is called *advaya* because there is no other self-existent conscious or unconscious principle which is similar to it (*svayamsiddha-tādrśātādrśa-vastvāntar-ābhāvāt*). The Jīva is no doubt a conscious principle similar to it, but the Jīva is not self-existent inasmuch as it is subordinate to the Paramātman as the ultimate conscious principle. Nor is there any other self-existent unconscious, i.e. material, principle which is similar to it ; for such principles as the phenomenal world, time, space, etc. are not in their turn independent of the ultimate principle. Thus, there is nothing equal to it, as Jīva Gosvāmin further explains in his *Sarva-saṁvādinī*, in the same (*svajātīya-bheda*) or different (*vijātīya-bheda*) category. In itself also (*svagata-bheda*) the ultimate reality is *advaya*, because it is an indivisible substance in which there is no difference between the essence and the form, such as is found between the conscious principle and the organic body in a human being. It is also called *advaya* in the sense that its own infinite Śaktis or Energies are the only things which accompany it (*sva-śaktyeka-sahāyatvāt*), but which cannot exist without its ultimate existence (*tena vinā tāsām asiddhatvāt*). But the ultimate reality as the *advaya* is not mere consciousness ; it is a unity of consciousness, existence and bliss. In other words, the word *tattva* or essential principle indicating the highest good (*parama puruṣārtha*), implies by the qualification of *advaya* the unity of highest knowledge or consciousness (Jñāna) and the highest bliss (Parama Sukha), as well as of eternal reality (Nityatva). The Advaya-jñāna-tattva is finally identified with the Bhagavat as the highest and most perfect manifestation of the Absolute ; and as such it forms the essential theme of the *Bhāgavata*.

It is necessary to understand the true nature of the Jīva as a conscious principle in order to realize the nature of the Paramātman of which it is a part, and with which, as an eternal, pure and indivisible conscious principle, it is identical. But as this subject of the relation of the Jīva to the Paramātman is dealt with in more

detail in the *Paramātma-saṁdarbha*, we shall advert to it later in that connexion. But since the Paramātman far transcends the Jīva and forms its ultimate support, it has been designated the Āśraya or the ground by the *Bhāgavata* (ii, 10, 1-2). In this connexion it is pointed out that the Purāṇa deals with ten topics, viz., Sarga, Visarga, Sthāna, Poṣaṇa, Ūti, Manvantara, Īśānukathā, Nirodha, Mukti and Āśraya. These terms are explained in the *Bhāgavata* ii, 10, 3-5; Jīva Gosvāmin discusses them but shows that of these the last is the most important. This theory of Āśraya, however, is established by the mystical conception of the three kinds of Puruṣa. It is shewn that the Ādhyātmika Puruṣa or Jīva is identical with the Ādhidaivika Puruṣa (e.g. Sūrya), while the Ādhibhautika Puruṣa is the visible body, the word *puruṣa* in the last case meaning only the Upādhi of the Jīva. None of these can be the ultimate ground or Āśraya, as they are dependent on each other. It is the Paramātman who is self-existent (*svayam-siddha*) and independent of every other Āśraya (*ananyāśraya*); he alone can be the Āśraya of these as well as of everything else. If the Jīva is sometimes called Āśraya, it is only because the Jīva is a part (*aṁśa*) of the Paramātman. Throughout the *Bhāgavata*, especially in its tenth book, Śrīkrṣṇa as the Paramātman is described as the sole Āśraya.

PISCHEL ON CHARACTERISTICS OF PRAKRIT LANGUAGES *

By BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

§1. Indian grammarians and rhetoricians include under the designation Prākṛta a number of literary languages, and they consider their derivation from Sanskrit as their common characteristic. Therefore they as a rule derive the word *prākṛta* from *prakṛti*: 'element,' 'basis,' and Sanskrit is considered to be this basis. Thus says Hemacandra 1, 1: *prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛtam, tatrabhavaṃ tata āgataṃ vā prākṛtam*: 'The basis is Sanskrit. That which has its origin in it, or is derived from it, is called Prākṛit.' Similarly Mārkaṇḍeya, fol. 1: *prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛtam, tatrabhavaṃ prākṛtam ucyate*; Dhanika on Daśarūpa 2, 60: *prakṛter āgataṃ prākṛtam*; Siṃhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 2, 2: *prakṛteḥ saṃskṛtād āgataṃ prākṛtam*; Prākṛtacandrikā in Peterson, Third Report 343, 7: *prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛtam, tatrabhavatvāt prākṛtam smṛtam*. Cf. Narasiṃha, Prākṛtaśabda-pradīpikā, p. 1: *prakṛteḥ saṃskṛtāyās tu vikṛtiḥ prakṛtī matā*, and Prākṛtasamjivani in Vāsudeva on Karpūramañjarī, ed. Bomb. 9, 11: *prākṛtasya tu sarvam eva saṃskṛtam yoniḥ*. For other etymologies see §16.

§2. The Rasikasarvasva in Nārāyaṇa on Gītagovinda 5, 2 lays down: *saṃskṛtāt prākṛtam iṣtam tato 'pabhraṃśabhāsanam*: 'It is assumed that the Prākṛit is derived from Sanskrit, and the Apabhraṃśa-language is derived from Prākṛit.' A quotation by Śaṅkara on Śakuntalā 9, 10¹ makes it further specific: *saṃskṛtāt prākṛtam śreṣṭham tato 'pabhraṃśabhāsanam*. Māhārāṣṭrī (§12) is considered to be the 'best Prākṛit' according to Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarśa 1, 34: *Māhārāṣṭrāśrayām bhāṣām prakṛṣṭam prākṛtam viduḥ*. This is explained by the fact that Māhārāṣṭrī was considered to be most closely related to Sanskrit. When the Indians speak of Prākṛit in general, they understand by it almost always the Māhārāṣṭrī.² It is considered to be the language which lies at the root of the other Prākṛit languages,³ and in the works of the native grammarians it occupies the first place. The oldest grammarian Vararuci devotes to Māhārāṣṭrī 9 chapters with 424 rules, and to the three other languages dealt

* Abbreviations as in Pischel.

¹ In Pischel, De gr. Pr., p. 1. ² Lassen, Inst., p. 7, 11f.; Muir, OST. 2², 43ff.

³ Mārkaṇḍeya, fol. 4. Somewhat differently Vararuci 10, 2; 11, 2; cf. however Muir l.c.

with by him he devotes 14, 17, and 32 rules respectively, and declares at the end (12, 32) that all that has not been mentioned specifically should follow from Māhārāṣṭrī: *śeṣam Māhārāṣṭrīvat*. The other grammarians proceed in the same way.

§3. Opinions of the Indians vary considerably as to what should be understood by Prākṛit in the wider sense. Vr. considers as Prākṛit the Māhārāṣṭrī, Paisācī, Māgadhī, and Śaurasenī. He includes moreover the Ārṣa (§16), the Cūlikāpaisācika and the Apabhraṃśa. Herein he is followed by Trivikrama, Simharāja, Narasiṃha, and Lakṣmīdhara, with the difference that Trivikrama excludes the Ārṣa, and Simharāja, Narasiṃha and Lakṣmīdhara do not mention it at all. Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 2ff., divides the Prākṛit into four classes: *bhāṣā, vibhāṣā, apabhraṃśa, paisāca*. Among the *bhāṣāḥ* he includes: Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Prācyā, Avantī, and Māgadhī, and polemising against an unmentioned author¹ he excludes the Ardhamāgadhī, which is said to be only a Māgadhī not much different from Śaurasenī, the Dākṣiṇātyā, which has no particular distinguishing feature, and the Bāhlikī, which belongs to the Māgadhī. As *vibhāṣāḥ* he mentions: Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, Ābhīrikī, Śākkī, rejecting Oḍrī and the Drāviḍī from this category. He traces back the 27 kinds of Apabhraṃśa to 3, namely *nāgara, vrācaḍa* and *upa-nāgara*, and the 11 Paisācī-dialects to the three *nāgaras*: Kaikeya, Śaurasena, and Pāñcāla.² Similarly teaches Rāmatarkavāgīśa.³ Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, and Paisācī are considered to be Prākṛit languages by all grammarians.

§4. Vr. does not mention the Apabhraṃśa at all (§3). It would be wrong however to infer from it like Lassen⁴ that the language is later than Vr.⁵ It would be equally unjustifiable to accuse Vr. of superficiality and inaccuracy as Bloch⁶ has done. The reason is that along with others Vr. too does not consider the Apabhraṃśa to be Prākṛit. As Namisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśāstrakāra, 2, 11, remarks, some authors postulated three languages, Prākṛit, Sanskrit, and Apabhraṃśa: *yad uktam kaiś cid yathā, prākṛtam saṃskṛtam caitat apabhraṃśa iti tridhā*. To them belongs Daṇḍin, who in

¹ This author is not Bharata, as can be inferred from the fact that the verse on the Vibhāṣāḥ is almost identical with Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra, 17, 49. All other verses differ from Bharata. The quotation is found also in the Prākṛtacandrikā of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita in Peterson, Third Report, p. 346f. Cf. also Rāmatarkavāgīśa in Lassen, Inst., p. 21.

² The text has been partly published by Aufrecht, Cat. Oxon., p. 181.

³ Lassen, Inst., p. 19-23; cf. Kramadīśvara, 5, 99 and Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra, 17, 48ff.

⁴ IAlt. 2², II69.

⁵ Weber, IStr. 2, 57; Pischel, KB. 8, 145.

⁶ Vararuci und Hemacandra (Gütersloh 1893), p. 14f. = KZ. 33, 332f.

Kāvyaḍarśa 1, 32, differentiates between four kinds of literary works : those which are composed in Sanskrit or Prākṛit or Apabhraṃśa, and those in which more than one of these languages have been used (*miśra*).¹ By Apabhraṃśa understands Daṇḍin according to 1, 36 the languages of the Ābhīras, etc. when they are used in artificial poetry (*kāvyeṣu*) ; in the manuals (*śāstreṣu*) everything that is different from Sanskrit is called Apabhraṃśa. Mārkaṇḍeya, fol. 2, mentions in a quotation the language of the Abhīras among the *Vibhāśāḥ* (§ 3) as well as among the Apabhraṃśa-languages, of which 26 more are mentioned, such as the Pāñcāla, Mālava, Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kālingya, Kārṇāṭaka, Drāviḍa, Gurjara, etc. According to this view therefore popular languages of Aryan or non-Aryan origin are called Apabhraṃśa. Rāmatarakavāgīśa remarks on the other hand that the *vibhāśāḥ* should not be called Apabhraṃśa, when they are used in dramas, etc. Only the languages actually spoken by the people are Apabhraṃśa. Thus in his opinion Māgadhī as literary language is a *bhāśā*, and an Apabhraṃśa as popular language.² Ravikara quoted by Bollensen on Vikr., p. 509, differentiates between two kinds of Apabhraṃśa. One is derived from Prākṛit and differs but slightly from it in flexion, composition, and word-formation. The other however is the popular language (*deśabhāśā*).³ While Sanskrit and Prākṛit follow the rules laid down about their form, the Apabhraṃśa is dominated by the usual speech of the people. The older Vāgbhaṭa too knows this definition of the Apabhraṃśa. In Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra 2, 1, he accepts four languages, Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa and Bhūtabhāśā, i.e. Paisāci, and in 2, 3 he remarks that Apabhraṃśa is the pure language of the respective countries : *apabhraṃśas tu tac chuddham tattaddēseṣu bhāṣitam*. The younger Vāgbhaṭa in Alāṃkāratilaka 15, 3, distinguishes between Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa and Grāmyabhāśā. In an inscription from Valabhī, it is said in praise of Guhasena that he was an adept in composing works which were written in three languages, Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa (IA, 10, 284). Rudraṭa, Kāvyaālaṃkāra 2, 12, assumes six languages : Prākṛit, Sanskrit, Māgadhābhāśā, Piśācabhāśā, Sūrasenī, and Apabhraṃśa, each of which according to the country concerned is further divided into numerous sub-varieties : *ṣaṣṭho'tra bhūribhedo deśaviśeṣād apabhraṃśaḥ*. Amaraçandra,

¹ He is followed by Kavicaṇḍra in the Kāvyaçandrikā as quoted by Lassen, Inst., p. 32. The number is doubtful in Bhojadeva, Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharāṇa, 2, 7ff. p. 56.

² Lassen, Inst., p. 21f. ; cf. Muir, OST. 2², 46.

³ Saṃskṛtam, Prākṛtam, and Deśabhāśā are also for Somadeva, Kathāsarit-sāgara, 6, 148, the *bhāśātrayaṃ yan manuṣyeṣu saṃbhavet*. Cf. Kṣemendra, Bṛhat-kathāmañjarī 6, 47. 52.

Kāvyaikalpalatāvṛtti, p. 8, similarly teaches the sixfold variety of languages.

§5. We have accordingly to consider the popular dialects of India as Apabhraṃśa. Without doubt literary works of every kind were composed in them in times much earlier than that of the literary monuments preserved to us. This is proved in the case of dramas by the Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17, 66, inasmuch it allows the actors the use also of a provincial language besides the Śaurasenī, the proper language of the dramas: *śaurasenam samāśritya bhāṣā kāryā tu nātake | atha vā chandataḥ kāryā deśabhāṣā prayoktibhiḥ*. In this connection we should not however think of the artificial dramas of the classical period, but rather of folk-theatres of the kind of Yātrā in Bengal,¹ the musical plays of Hindūstān,² of popular theatres of Almora,³ and Nepal,⁴ of which we possess a specimen in the Hariścandranṛtyam.⁵ This Apabhraṃśa has never been called Prākṛit but Apabhraṃśa, which, according to Daṇḍin, was used in artificial poetry, and was but slightly different from Prākṛit (§4) according to Ravikara. For this reason it was also popularly considered to be derived from Prākṛit (§2). We find it in the Apabhraṃśas dealt with by the Prākṛit grammarians, in Piṅgala, and in other works (§29). By Prākṛit languages the Indians always understand literary languages. Prthvidhara in the introduction to his commentary on Mṛcchakaṭikā, p. v, ed. Stenzler = p. 493 ed. Goḍabole⁶ says expressly: *Māhārāṣṭryādayaḥ kāvya eva prayujyante*. Hc., 2, 174, p. 68, speaks of words which had not been used in Prākṛit by ancient poets (*pūrvaiḥ kavibhiḥ*) and which therefore should be avoided. Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarśa, 1, 35, says that the Śaurasenī, Gauḍī, Lāṭī, and other dialects of this kind were used in conversation under the designation Prākṛit, and Rāmatarkavāgīśa forbids the practice of calling the *vibhāṣāḥ* Apabhraṃśa when they are used in theatres, etc. (§4). We have therefore to distinguish between a Śaurasenī-Apabhraṃśa, the old popular speech of Śūrasena, the continuation of which constitutes the modern Gujarātī or Mārvarī,⁷ and a Śaurasenī-Prākṛit, the artificial language, which is used as Śaurasenī

¹ Wilson, Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, 2^d, 412ff.; Nisikānta Chattopādhyāya, Indische Essays (Zürich 1883), p. 1ff.

² F. Rosen Die Indrasabhā des Amānat (Leipzig 1892), Introduction.

³ See v. Oldenburg, Zapiski vostočnago otdělnija Imperatorskago Russkago Archeologičeskago Obščestva, 5, 290ff.

⁴ Klatt, De trecentis Cānakyae poetae Indici sententiis (Halle 1873), p. 1ff.; Pischel, Katalog der Bibliothek der DMG. (Leipzig 1881) 2, 5ff.

⁵ Das Hariścandranṛtyam. Ein altnepalesisches Tanzspiel. Herausgegeben von A. Conrady (Leipzig 1891).

⁶ Lalitadikṣita's quotation in Goḍabole, p. 1, comes from there.

⁷ Pischel, Academy 1873, p. 398; Hoernle, Comp. Gr. p. XXV.

in the prose of the dramas and in all its characteristics resembles Sanskrit. The Śaurasenī-Apabhraṃśa however was used also in the lyric poems and was afterwards remodelled after the fashion of Māhārāṣṭrī, the Prākṛit of lyric poetry and artificial epics (Kunst-epos), for song and recitation, although the chief characteristics of the dialect were left untouched. An example is given by Hc. 4, 446 : *kaṅṭhi pālambu kidu Radīe*, which in Śaurasenī-Prākṛit would have been *kaṅṭhe pālambam kidam Radīe*, becomes however *kaṅṭhe pālambam kaam Rāie* in Māhārāṣṭrī with the dropping of *d*. Hc. wrongly declares that the Apabhraṃśa as a rule follows the Śaurasenī (§28). Similarly there was a Mahārāṣṭra-Apabhraṃśa, of which the modern Marāṭhī is the continuation,¹ and a Mahārāṣṭra-Prākṛit, the Māhārāṣṭrī of the grammarians ; a Māgadha-Apabhraṃśa (§4), which through the intermediary step of the Lāṭ-dialect continues to live up to the present day principally in the language of Bihār and of Western Bengal,² and a Māgadha-Prākṛit, the Māgadhī of the grammarians.³ For Paisācī s. §27, for Ārṣa §16.

§6. The Prākṛit languages are therefore literary languages (Kunstsprachen), in so far as they have been considerably changed by the poets for literary purposes. But they are not artificial languages, if thereby it is meant that they are pure inventions on the part of the poets.⁴ It is just the same with them as with Sanskrit, which indeed is neither itself the general language of daily intercourse among the cultured classes in India, nor is even based upon the same,⁵ but is certainly derived from a dialect spoken by the people, which was raised to the status of the general literary language on political or religious grounds.⁶ The difference however

¹ Garrez, JA. vi, 20, p. 203ff. (Paris 1872); wrongly Hoernle, Comp. Gr. p. XXII.

² Hoernle, Comp. Gr. p. XXIV. In Academy l.c. I have wrongly designated Pāli as Māgadha-Apabhraṃśa, against which E. Kuhn, Beiträge zur Pāligrammatik (Berlin 1875), p. 8. I corrected the mistake already in Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1875, p. 316.

³ The theory postulated by me in the Academy 1873, p. 379f., has been here improved upon on various points. Hoernle, Comp. Gr. p. XVIIff. is essentially in agreement with me. I differ from him however in numerous details, as is shown by the following paragraphs. Shankar Paṇḍurang Paṇḍit has confused Apabhraṃśa with Prākṛit in Gaiḍavaho, p. LVff.

⁴ Beames, Comp. Gr. I, 201. 223 ; Sørensen, Om Sanskrits Stilling i den almindelige Sprogudvikling i Indien (Köbenhavn 1894), p. 220ff. Pischel, De gr. Pr. p. 30ff. should be corrected accordingly.

⁵ Franke, BB. 17, 71. I doubt whether there was ever *one* living language for all the cultured people of the whole of Āryāvarta. Cf. also Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. p. XLII, note 7.

⁶ In GGA. 1884, p. 512 I gave out the suggestion that the Classical Sanskrit is based on the dialect of Brahmāvarta. Cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. p. XXVI, note II.

lies therein that it is quite impossible to derive all the Prākṛit languages from one and the same source. Least of all can they be all derived from Sanskrit, as the Indians mostly assume (§1), and with them Hofer,¹ Lassen,² Bhāṇḍārkar³ and Jacobi.⁴ Every Prākṛit dialect has a number of grammatical and lexical peculiarities in common with the Vedic, which distinguish it sharply from Sanskrit. Such points of contact are: the looser rules of Samdhi; the passage of intervocalic *ḍ*, *ḍh*, into *ḷ*, *ḷh*; the suffix *-ttana*=Ved. *-tvana*⁵; the Svarabhakti; the gen. sg. of femin. in *-āe*=Ved. *-āyai*, the instr. pl. in *-ehim*=Ved. *-ebhiḥ*; the imperative *hohi*=Ved. *bodhi*; *tā*, *jā*, *ṛttha*=Ved. *tāt*, *yāt*, *itthā*; *te*, *me* as accusative; *amhe*=Ved. *asme*; Prākṛit *pāso* 'eye'=Ved. *paś*⁶; AMg. *vaggūhim*=*vagnubhiḥ*, *saddhim*=*sadhrīm*; A. *dive* *divē*=Ved. *divé* *dive*; JŚ. A. *kiha*, AMg. A. *kiha*=Ved. *kathā*; *māim*=Ved. *mākim*, *nāim*=Ved. *nakīm*; AMg. *viū*=*viduh*⁷; Mg. *-āho*, *-āhu*, A. *-ahō*=Ved. *-āsah*; M. JM. A. *kunāi*, JŚ. *kunadi*=*krṇoti*; AMg. JM. *sakkā*=Ved. *śakyāt*; A. *sāhu*=Ved. *śasvat*; AMg. *ghimsu*=Ved. *ghraṁsa*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *khambha*=Ved. *skambha*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rukha* (tree)=Ved. *rukṣa*; future *sōccham* from Ved. *śruṣ*; the AMg. infinitives in *-ae*, *-ttae*=Ved. *-tavai*; the A. absolutives in *-ppi*, *-pi*, *-vi*=Ved. *-tvī*, in *-ppinu*=Ved. *-tvīnam* and others, which have been dealt with in this grammar in proper places. This alone is sufficient to render it impossible to consider Sanskrit to be the only source of Prākṛit.⁸

§7. Not less close is the relation of the Prākṛit languages with the Middle Indian and New Indian languages than with Vedic. The inscriptions of Aśoka give us information about at least four Middle Indian popular dialects. The inscriptions from second century B.C. to third century A.D., which are found in caves, on Stūpas and grants etc., prove that there was a popular language which was understood in widely distant parts of India. Senart has called the language of these monuments 'prākṛit monumental'.⁹ This designation is however misleading, for it suggests that the language was purely an artificial one. There is as little reason to accept this view as

¹ De Prakrita dialecto §8.

² Inst. p. 25f.; I Alt. 2², II63, note 5.

³ JBoAS., 16, 315.

⁴ KZ. 24, 614, where he says 'Pāli and Prākṛit on the whole are only a later form of Sanskrit.'

⁵ v. Bradke, ZDMG. 40, 673.

⁶ Pischel and Geldner, Ved. Stud. I, p. XXXI, note 2.

⁷ Ved. -Stud. 2, 235f.

⁸ Weber goes too far when he (IS. 2, 111) sees in the Prākṛit languages nothing but degenerated Vedic dialects. Cf. 9.

⁹ Les inscriptions de Piyadasi 2, 488. He is followed by Sørensen, l.c. p. 187.

to agree with Kern¹ that Pāli is an artificial language, even though, like the Ārṣa (§16), both might have undergone various transformations as vehicles of literature. As most of these inscriptions are found in caves, I suggest that this dialect should be called *Leṇa*-dialect according to the word *leṇa* = Skt. *layana* 'cave', which often occurs in the inscriptions. The designation *Lāṭa*-dialect from *lāt* = Pkt. *latthi* = Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'pillar' furnishes a parallel to this. All these dialects are continuations not of Sanskrit, but of sister-languages of same, and most of their peculiarities are met with again in the Prākritis. A few examples in connection with the first edict of Aśoka will be sufficient here. From *likh* we find in the first edict the participle of the causative Gīrnār *lekhāpitā*, Shāhbāzgarhī *likhapitu*, Jaugaḍa *likhāpitā*, Mansehra [*l*] *ikhapita*,—a form, which is shown also by the pillar inscriptions (Senart 2, 597). Similar forms from consonantal roots are seen in the *Leṇa*-dialect: *ba(m)dhāpayati*, *kīdāpayati*, *pīdāpayati*, *va[m]dāpayati* (Hāthigumphā Inscription, pp. 155, 158, 160, 163),² as well as in the Pāli *likhāpeti*, and these forms are of very frequent use in Prākrit (§552). Aśoka's *likhāpita* corresponds to JM. *lihāvīya* (Erz. 63, 31), Aśoka's *likhāpayisaṃ* (Gīrnār 14, 3) to Mg. *lihāvaiṣṣaṃ* (Mṛcch. 136, 21).—Gīrnār *prajūhitavyaṃ* from *hu* (to sacrifice) with *pra*³ shows an extension of the present-stem, as is the usual practice in Pāli and Prākrit.—In Gīrnār *samājamhī* and *mahānasamhī* the pronominal locative ending has been used in the case of nouns; Shāhbāzgarhī and Khāslī have *mahanasasi*, *mahānasasi*, i.e. *mahānasamsi*,—a form which is found regularly in the pillar-edicts and the separate-edicts. In the *Leṇa*-dialect is found *Ja[m]budipamhī* (Karle Inscription, No. 1),⁴ *thuvamhī* = *stūpe*,⁵ *Anugāmimhī* (Nāsik No. 6^a),⁶ *Tiraṇhumhī* (Nāsik No. 11^b. 19),⁷ as well as *Tiraṇhumi*, i.e. *Tiraṇhummi*.⁸ To this corresponds in Prākrit the locative M. JM. JŚ. AMg. in *-mmi*, AMg. *-msi*. Further to be noticed is the use of *asti* in plural, like Prākrit *atthi* (§498), and of *se* which is used exactly in the same way in AMg. From the *Leṇa*-dialect I shall further point out only the declination of *i*- and *u*-stems, of which the gen.-sg. ends in *-no* and *-sa*, i.e. *-ssa* as in Prākrit, just as the gen.-sg. also of *n*-stems ends in *-sa*. In all these points, as also in many others, the Prākrit

¹ Over de Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten (Amsterdam 1873) p. 14f.

² Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (Leiden 1885) 3, 2.

³ Pischel, GGA. 1881, 1323f.

⁴ Inscriptions on the Cave-Temples of Western India. By Jas. Burgess and Bhagwanlal Indraji (Bombay 1881), p. 28.

⁵ Senart, l.c. 2, 472.

⁶ Arch. Survey of Western India, 4, 101.

⁷ Arch. S. of W. I. 4, 106. 114.

⁸ Arch. S. of W. I. 4, 99.

corresponds to the Middle Indian popular dialects, and nothing corresponding to them can be found in Sanskrit.

§8. On account of the analytical character of the New Indian languages the relationship of Prākṛit with them cannot be proved from the flexional systems. But this relationship is all the more frappant in phonology and morphology, as also in the case of Middle Indian. Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya I, p. 5, 21f., says that of every word there are many incorrect forms (*apabhraṃśāḥ*), as, for instance, of the word *gauḥ* (cow), there are the *Apabhraṃśāḥ gāvī, goṇī, gotā, gopotālikā*.¹ Of these forms *gāvī* is very much in use in Prākṛit; of JM. *goṇī* the masculine form is *gono* (§ 393). On Pāṇini, I, 3, 1 (p. 259), Kātyāyana mentions *ānapayati*, to which Patañjali adds *vattati* and *vaddhati*. On Pāṇini, 3, 1, 91 (2, 74), Patañjali adds *supati*, and Kaiyaṭa expressly says that such verbs are *apabhraṃśa*.² *Ānapayati* is found in the inscriptions of Aśoka (Senart 2, 559) and the Leṇa-dialect (Arch. s. of W.I. 4, 104, 110), to which corresponds Ś. Mg. *ānavedi* (§ 551), whereas the Pāli has *āṇāpeti*. Already Kielhorn has noticed that there are homonymous forms for *vattati, vaddhati, supati* also in Pāli. In Prākṛit they are M.AMg. JM. *vattai*, JŚ. Ś. *vattadi*, M. AMg. JM. *vaddhai*, Ś. *vaddhadi* (§289, 291), M. *suvaī, suai*, JM. *suyai* (§ 497).

Indian grammarians and writers on poetics divide the vocabulary of Prākṛit into three classes: (1) *saṃskṛtasama* 'same as in Sanskrit' (C. 1, 1; Sr. in Pischel, De gr. Pr. p. 40), usually *tatsama* 'like it (i.e. Sanskrit)' (Triv. in Pischel, l.c. p. 29; Mk. fol. 2; Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarśa 1, 32; Dhanika on Daśarūpa 2, 60), as well as *tattulya* (Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 2, 2) and *samānaśabda* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 3); (2) *saṃskṛtabhava* 'derived from Sanskrit' (Sr.), usually *tadbhava* (Triv.; Mk.; Daṇḍin; Dhanika), but also called *saṃskṛt-ayoni* (Hc. 1, 1; C.), *tajja* (Vāgbhaṭa) and *vibhraṣṭa* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 3); (3) *deśya* (Hc.; Triv.; Sr.; Mk.; Vāgbhaṭa) or *deśī* (Deśin. p. 1, 2; Daṇḍin; Dhanika), as well as *deśīprasiddha* (C.) and *deśimata* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 3).³ The *tatsamas* are words which have the same form in Prākṛit as in Sanskrit, e.g. *kara, komala, jala, soma*. The *tadbhavas* are divided into the classes of *sādhyamānasamskṛtabhavāḥ* and the *siddhasamskṛtabhavāḥ*. To the first category belong the Prākṛit words which still presuppose the Sanskrit word, from which they are derived, in its unfinished form

¹ Weber, IS. 13, 365.

² Kielhorn, ZDMG. 39, 327. Cf. Sørensen, l.c. p. 180f.

³ Cf. also Beames, Comp. Gr. 1, 11ff.; Pischel, De gr. Pr. p. 30f.; BB. 3, 235; Hoernle, Comp. Gr. p. XXXVIIIff. Bhuvanapāla in Weber, IS. 16, 59 mentions as the fourth class the words which occur in the *sāmānyabhāṣā*.

without affix and suffix. In this connection the flexional systems have to be particularly taken into consideration in which the word assumes its finished form according to the rules of grammar (*sādhyamāna*). Beames has fittingly called them 'early *tadbhavas*'.¹ They are the more independent part of Prākṛit. The second category includes the Prākṛit words which are derived from grammatically complete (*siddha*) Sanskrit forms, e.g. AMg. *vandittā*=Skt. *vanditvā*.² As a large portion of *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words are found in all the New Indian languages, it is incorrect to assume that all such words might have their origin only in Sanskrit. For it does not even require to be proved to-day that all the New Indian languages are not based on Śanskrit.

§9. The Indians include within the class of *deśya* or *deśī* very heterogenous elements. They consider as such everything of which the form or meaning cannot be derived from Sanskrit. In proportion to their erudition in Sanskrit and their dexterity with etymology they declare a particular word to be *deśya* which is considered by others to be *tadbhava* or *tatsama*. Thus there are found among the *deśīs* words which, although clearly traceable to a Sanskrit root, have yet no exactly corresponding form in Sanskrit, such as *pāso* (eye; Triv. in BB. 6, 104) or *pāsam* (Deśin. 6, 75) from AMg. *pāsai*=Skt. *paśyati*; or *sivvī* (needle; Deśin. 8, 29; Triv. in BB. 3, 260) from Skt. *sivvyati*. Moreover compounds, the component parts of which are Skt., but the special meaning of which cannot be found in Skt., such as *acchivadaṇam* (to close the eyes; Deśin. 1, 39 with commentary; Triv. in BB. 13, 5)=*akṣi*+*patana*; or *sattāvīsamjoano* ('moon'; Deśin. 8, 22; C. 1, 1 p. 39=Simhadevaganin on Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 2, 2)=*saptāvīṃśati*+*dyotana*.³ Then also those words for which there is no root in Skt., such as *joḍam* ('star'; Deśin. 3, 49), *joḍo* (Triv. in BB. 13, 17f.); or *tuppo* ('anointed'; Pāiyāl. 233; Deśin. 5, 22; Hāla 22 v. 1. 289, 520), which is connected with Marāṭhī *tūpa* ('clarified butter, ghee').⁴ Finally, words in which somewhat unusual phonetic laws are in evidence, such as *gaharo* ('vulture'; Pāiyāl. 126; Deśin. 2, 84; Triv. in BB. 6, 93), which has been rightly connected with *gṛdhra* by Trivikrama; or *vihunduo* ('Rāhu'; Deśin. 7, 65; Triv. in BB. 3, 252)=*vidhumtudah*.⁵ Very numerous among the Deśī words are the verbs which are designated Dhātuvādeśa 'root substitute' and occupy a large portion of the Indian grammars (Vr. 8, 1ff.; Hc. 4, 1ff.; Kī. 4, 46ff.;

¹ Comp. Gr. 1, 17.

² Pischel on Hc. 1, 1.

³ Not=*yojana*. The 27 *nakṣatras* are meant.

⁴ Weber, ZDMG. 28, 355.

⁵ Cf. Deśin. 1, 3; Bühler, Pāiyalacchī, p. 11ff.; Sörensen l.c. 225ff.

Mk. fol. 53ff.). Here more frequently than in any other part does Skt. fail to render adequate help, and agreement with the New Indian languages becomes most striking.¹ As the name suggests, we have to understand 'provincialisms' by Deśī. In Hc.'s *Raṣyaṇāvālī* (§ 36), the greatest of the collections of Deśīs preserved to us, the Dhātva-deśas have not been mentioned in the text (Deśīn. 1, 3), and Hc. (1, 4) expressly excludes all provincialisms which have not been used in Prākṛit. Many such Deśīs from Prākṛit or Apabhraṃśa have been taken into the Sanskritic dictionaries² and Dhātupāthas.³ It is possible that now and then non-Aryan words have crept into the Deśīs. The main body of them however is the age-old linguistic legacy of the Aryan races, for which we seek in vain in Sanskrit. Namisādhu on Rudraṭa, *Kāvya-lamkāra* 2, 12 gives an etymology of *prākṛita*, according to which the basis (*prakṛiti*) of Prākṛit and Sanskrit is the natural medium of intercourse of all men which is not supported merely on the rules of grammar, or Prākṛit itself is this medium (§ 16). This is however wrong, as is shown above. Sanskrit answers for a large portion of the words in individual Prākṛit dialects, particularly in the Māhārāṣṭrī of artificial poetry, as of Gaṇḍavaho and Rāvaṇavaho, which are composed exactly after the model of the corresponding *genre* of poetry in Sanskrit. The number of Deśīs is therefore quite insignificant in them,⁴ although in JM. they are very numerous. I am absolutely of Senart's⁵ opinion, that all the Prākṛits have their roots in popular speech, and all their essential elements were originally taken from living speech; but those dialects, which were raised to the status of literary language, just like Sanskrit, underwent various far-reaching changes.

§10. In the inscriptions there are preserved for us in Prākṛit: donatory grants of the Pallava King Śivaskandavarman, those of the queen of the Pallava Yuvarāja Vijayabuddhavarman,⁶ the Ghaṭayāla-Inscription of Kakkuka, and the fragments of Somadeva's

¹ Many examples are to be found in the translation of Hc. and in Weber's notes on Hāla.

² Zachariae, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie* (Berlin 1883), p. 53ff. Cf. also Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.* p. L1ff.

³ Benfey, *Vollständige Grammatik* §140, 2; Pischel, *BB.* 3, 236. 264; 6, 84; Bühler, *WZKM.* 8, 17ff.; 122ff.; Franke, *ibid.* 321ff.

⁴ Pischel, *GGA.* 1880, p. 326, where it was remarked that in the notes on the Rāvaṇavaho there is much valuable material. Shankar P. Paṇḍit, *Gaṇḍavaho*, p. LVI.

⁵ *L'Épigraphie et l'histoire linguistique de l'Inde. Extrait des Comptes rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris 1886), p. 17ff.; *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi* 2, 530ff. Senart has not however everywhere taken Prākṛit in its strictly correct sense, as already pointed out in §7.

⁶ Published by Fleet, *IA.* 9, 100ff. Hardly usable. Cf. Bühler, *EI.* 1, 2, note.

Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka. The first has been edited by Bühler, EI. I, 2ff. ; a few corrections were suggested by Leumann, *ibid.*, 2, 483ff. and Pischel, GN. 1895, 210ff. (I shall use the abbreviation PG. for Pallava-grants). Bühler has pointed out that several peculiarities are met with in this inscription which otherwise are found almost only in literary Prākṛit. Thus the change of *ya* into *ja* in *kāravējjā*, *vaṭṭeja*, *hoja*, *jo*, *saṃjutto* ; the more frequent transformation of dental *na* into cerebral ; appearance of sonants in the place of surds, such as *Kassava*, *anuvatthāveti*, *vi*, *bhaḍa*, *kaḍa* ; reduplication of consonants in orthography, such as *aggiṭṭhoma*, *assamedha*, *dhamma*, *savattha*, *ratthika*, etc.¹ All these peculiarities are found scattered in one or another inscription in the Leṇa-dialect.² But all of them together and in such large quantities occur in no other inscription, in so far as the language concerned can be at all regarded as Prākṛit. But it is no pure Prākṛit at all. At the side of *ja* there is *ya* ; *na* is often retained ; surds mostly remain unchanged ; reduplicated consonants are also written single, as in *Sivakhaṃdavamo*, *gumike*, *vadhanike*, etc.³ Gross irregularities for Prākṛit are : *Kaṃcīpurā* (5, 1) for *Kaṃcīpurā* ; *Ātteya*° (6, 13) for *Atteya*° ; *Vatsa*° (6, 22) for *Vaccha*° ; *cāttāri* (6, 39) for *cattāri* ; unusual are *vitārāma* (5, 7) for *vitārāmo* ; *dūḍha* (6, 31) for *duddha* ; °*dattam* (6, 12) for °*diṇṇam*, *datā* (7, 48) i.e. *dattā* for *diṇṇā*. It can be seen quite clearly that the language is an artificial one.⁴ For the history of Prākṛit the inscriptions are not without value and interest, and they have been therefore regularly used in this grammar throughout, whereas the Leṇa-dialect and the so-called Gāthā dialect⁵ are beyond the compass of this grammar. The inscription of Kakkuka (KI.) has been published by Munsiff Debiprasād, JRAS, 1895, pp. 513ff. It is written in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 20).

§II. The fragments of Somadeva's Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka are to be found on two basalt-plates discovered in Ajmer. They have been published by Kielhorn, IA. 20, 201ff. and again GN. 1893, 552ff. In them occur three Prākṛit-dialects : Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, and Māgadhī. Konow⁶ has shown, as I remarked immediately after the first look at the Prākṛit,⁷ that on the whole the Prākṛit forms agree accurately with Hemacandra's rules. But

¹ Bühler, l.c. p. 2ff.

² Senart, Piyadasi 2, 489ff. 518ff.

³ Bühler, l.c. p. 2ff.

⁴ To it applies even more accurately what Senart l.c. 2, 494 says of the Leṇa-dialect : cette langue n'est donc ni purement populaire ni entièrement réglée.

⁵ Senart, l.c. 2, 469f., justly says that this designation is inaccurate. His suggestion, on the other hand, to call the language 'Sanskrit mixte' would however meet with little approval. Further literature in Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. p. XXXIXf.

⁶ GGA. 1894, 478ff.

⁷ IA. 20, 204.

Hc. was hardly the authority according to which Somadeva directed his course. Hc. 4, 271, permits in Ś. the absol. in *Śdūna*, but Somadeva has *-ūna*, the Māhārāṣṭrī form. Hc. 4, 280, requires *yjeva*, but Somadeva has *jjeva*. Somadeva has ś in consonant groups of Māgadhī, where Hc. 4, 281 demands s. He has *sta* for *rtha*, instead of the *sta* of Hc. 4, 291, and *śka* for *hka*, *śka* of Hc. 4, 296, 297.¹ Of these the absol. in *-ūna* may be a mistake which was committed by Somadeva himself; *-dūna* too may be a mistake (§ 584); *sta* for *sta* may be again a mistake, for in 566, 9 we find *yahastam* = *yathārtham*. But *śka* for *hka*, *śka* may be hardly regarded as a slip on the part of the mason, as Konow² thinks, for the examples are too numerous. Of course, it is not permissible to attach more value to the inscription than to a single manuscript. It is full of gross mistakes regarding the rules of the dialects concerned, like any manuscript of a drama. To the mistakes pointed out by Konow, l.c., p. 479, I add: Ś. *tujjha* (554, 4; see § 421); *jjeva* (554, 4; 555, 18) for *jeva* after anusvāra; *ñimmāya* (554, 13; see § 591); the passives *viloijjanti*, *ṭṭekkhijjanti* (554, 21. 22), *kijjadu* (562, 24), *jaṃṭijjadi* (568, 6), which at all events are permitted by Hc., for *viloianti*, *ṭṭekkhīanti*, *kariadu*, *jaṃṭiadi* (§ 535); *kitti* (555, 4) for *kiṃ ti*; *rayanāim* (555, 15), *raaṇa* (560, 19) for *radanāim*, *radana*; *gihida* (560, 20) for *gahida*; *eārisam* (563, 3) for *edārisam*. The dialectical inaccuracies of Mg. are: *ṭṭeškiyyamdi* (565, 13) for *ṭṭeškīanti*, *ṭṭeškiyyasi* (565, 15) for *ṭṭeškīasi*; *yāṇiyyadi* (566, 1) for *yāṇiadi*; *pačakkhikadam* (566, 1) for *pačcaški*³; *yahastam* (566, 9) for *yadhastam*; *nijjhala*, *yujjha* (566, 9. 11) for *niyyhala*, *yuyyha* (cf. § 280. 284); *eva* (567, 1) for *jeva*. All these are mistakes which occur continually also in the manuscripts, just as *tamapasara* (555, 11), *pačakkhāim* (555, 14), *śśalūvam* (565, 9). Most of them would certainly have disappeared if we had still other manuscripts of the drama at our disposal. A few, such as the absolutives in *-ūna* and passives in Ś. *-ijja-*, Mg. *-iyya-*, may be due to mistakes on the part of the author, as also Rājaśekhara (§ 22) and later poets often mix up the dialects. The spelling with *n* instead of *ṇ* and the interpolation of *y*⁴ indicate Jaina influence. A second fragment discovered in Ajmīr, that of Harakelināṭaka, is ascribed to Vighraharājadeva himself, and is dated in 22nd November, 1153⁴; Hemacandra's grammar 'would have been finished at the earliest towards the end of the Vikrama-year 1197',⁵ that is to say, in 1140 A.D. Somadeva and Hc. were therefore contemporaries. In spite of all the mistakes, these frag-

¹ Konow, l.c. p. 481.

² l.c. p. 482.

³ Konow, l.c. p. 480.

⁴ Kielhorn, IA. 20, 201.

⁵ Bühler, Über das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra (Wien 1889), p. 18.

ments are of the greatest importance for Māgadhī, which is handed down to us only here in a form which agrees with the rules of the grammarians (§ 23).

§12. The Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 2), which has derived its name from Mahārāṣṭra, the land of the Marāṭhās, is the language meant when one speaks of Prākṛit in general, and it is also considered to be the best Prākṛit. Garrez has shown (§ 5) that it has unmistakable points of contact with the language of the Marāṭhās.¹ No other dialect has been phonologically altered to such an extent for artificial purposes. The dropping of consonants has assumed such proportions as nowhere else, so that phonetically quite different words have often coincided with each other. Thus M. *kaa*=*kaca* and *kṛta*; *kāi*=*kati*, *kapi*, *kavi*, *kṛti*; *kāa*=*kāka*, *kāca*, *kāya*; *gaā*=*gatā*, *gadā*, *gajāh*; *maa*=*mata*, *mada*, *maya*, *mṛga*, *mṛta*; *vaa*=*vacas*. *vayas*, *vrata*, *pada*; *sua*=*śuka*, *suta*, *śruta*, etc.² Beames has therefore not unreasonably called the M. 'emasculated stuff'.³ As was perceived long ago, its phonetic structure was largely determined by the fact that the M. was above all used in musical stanzas. Such stanzas are the Gāhās=Skt. *Gāthās*, which are collected in the Sattasāi of Hāla and the Vajjālagga of Jayavallabha,⁴ and are scattered in the writings of authors on rhetorics and are grafted also in the dramas. They are expressly designated as *Gāhā* 'poem', 'musical stanza' for instance in H. 3, 500, 600, 698, 708, 709, 815. Vajjālagga 3, 4, 9, 10; p. 326, 6. The stanza in Mudrār. 83, 2. 3, composed in the purest M., which is addressed to the minister Rākṣasa by Virādhagupta appearing as a snake-charmer and Prākṛit-poet, is called by him *Gāthā*, and Viśvanātha, Sāhityadarpaṇa 432, says that women not of lowly origin should speak Śaurasenī in drama, but in their songs (*āsām eva tu gāthāsu*) they should use Māhārāṣṭrī. The stanza in Śakuntalā, 55, 15. 16, is called a *gīdaam*=*gītakam* by Priyaṃvadā in 54, 8, and Śakuntalā in 55, 8, called it a *gīdiā*=*gītikā*. The verses of the spy in Mudrār. 34, 6ff. are *gīdāim* according to 35, 1. The actress sings (*gāyati*) her stanzas in M., e.g. Śak. 2, 13; Mallikām. 19, 1; Kāleyak. 12, 6 (*vināṃ vādayanti gāyati*); Unmattar. 2, 17; cf. Mukund. 4, 20ff. Of the stanzas which are sung behind the stage it is said

¹ I do not agree with E. Kuhn (KZ. 33, 478) that the oldest form of Māhārāṣṭrī-Prākṛit is to be found in Pāli.

² Some instances are given by Shankar P. Paṇḍit, Gauḍavaho, p. LVI. LVIII.

³ Comp. Gr. I, 223.

⁴ Bhāṇḍārkar, Report, 1883-84 (Bombay, 1887), p. 17. 324ff. The proper designation is *Vajjālagga* (3. 4. 5; p. 326, 9), from which *Vajjālaya* (p. 326, 5) is derived. The word consists of *vajjā*=*vrajyā* (B.-R. s.v.; Weber, Hāla², p. XXXVIII; Pischel, Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena (Göttingen 1893) p. 30f.) and *lagga* (sign; symbol; Deśin. 7, 17)=Skt. *lagna*. The translation *Paḍyālaya* is wrong.

nepathye gīyate, e.g. Śak. 95, 17 ; Viddhaś. 6, 1 ; Kāleyak. 3, 6 ; Kārṇas. 3, 4. This application of M. in lyrical poems destined for musical purposes is doubtless the oldest, and the dropping of consonants in such large proportions is primarily to be attributed to this cause.¹

§13. For our knowledge of M. the most important work is the *Sattasaī* of Hāla. The first 370 stanzas were published by Weber already in 1870. *Über das Saptaçatakam des Hāla*. Leipzig, 1870.² Additions and corrections were given by Weber in ZDMG. 26, 735ff. ; 28, 345ff., which were followed by a complete edition with German translation and word-index : *Das Saptaçatakam des Hāla* ; Leipzig, 1881 ; Weber, IS. 16, 1ff. dealt with Bhuvanapāla's commentary 'Chekektivicāralīlā'. Durgāprasād and Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍurang Parab have moreover given us another edition which is indispensable on account of the complete commentary and many good readings : The *Gāthāsaptasatī* of *Sātavāhana* ; with the commentary of Gangādharabhattacha ; Bombay, 1889 (= *Kāvya-mālā* 21). Weber dates the collection 'at the earliest in the third century A.D., at all events however earlier than the seventh century', and he has dealt at length on the six different recensions—that of Bhuvanapāla being the seventh—in the introduction to his complete edition (p. XXVIIff.). It is clear from the *Sattasaī* that there was a very rich literature in M. Originally the name of the particular composer was appended to every stanza (H. 709). Of these names however only a small portion has come down to us,—many of them moreover in corrupt form, and the tradition varies a great deal with regard to the assignment of the verses. The commentators of the vulgata mention 112 names ; Bhuvanapāla mentions 384, considering *Sātavāhana* (*Śātavāhana*, *Śālivāhana*, *Śālāhaṇa*) and Hāla to be one and the same person. Two of these poets, *Hariṽṛddha* (*Hariuḍḍha*) and *Pōṭṭisa* are mentioned also by *Rājaśekhara* in *Karp.* 19, 2, where moreover are mentioned *Nandiuḍḍha* = *Nandivṛddha* and Hāla, and in the var. lec. *Pālitaa*, *Campaarāa* and *Malaasehara*.³ Of these poets *Pālitaa* is mentioned by Bhuvanapāla as the composer of ten verses of this anthology. If, as Weber⁴ suggests, *Pālitaa* = *Pādalipta*, he would be identical with the *Pādaliptacārya*, who is referred to by Hc., *Deśin.* 1, 2, as the author of a manual of *Deśī* (*deśīśāstra*). The actual name of the poet who has been mentioned last can now be inferred with certainty from the var.

¹ Weber, IStr. 3, 159f. ; 279 ; Hāla², p. XX.

² Garrez published an important review of it in JA. VI, 20, 197ff.

³ Fischel, GGA. 1891, 365 ; v.l. of *Karp.* 19, 2.

⁴ IS. 16, 24, note 1.

lec. Mallasehara in Konow's edition and Malayāṣeṣara, i.e. °śekhara in Bhuvanapāla. The full name of Abhimāna, the composer of H. 518 according to Bhuvanapāla, is Abhimānaciḥna, who was perhaps, like Pādalipta, the author of a Deśīśāstra which contained a *vr̥tti* on the *sūtras* in which Abhimāna gave his own examples (Deśin. 1, 144 ; 6, 93 ; 7, 1 ; 8, 12. 17). The same is true of Devarāja, the composer of H. 220, 369 according to Bhuvanapāla, and a writer on Deśī according to Deśin 6, 58, 72 ; 8, 17, as well as of Sātavāhana himself who is mentioned among the sources of Hemacandra on Deśī in Deśin. 3, 41 ; 5, 11 ; 6, 15. 18. 19. 112. 125. Aparājita, whom Bhuvanapāla mentions as the composer of H. 756, is different from the Aparājita who, according to Karp. 6. 1, wrote a Mṛgāṅkalekhākathā and was a contemporary of Rājaśekhara. Whether this younger Aparājita did not at all use Sanskrit cannot be decided with certainty, for Rājaśekhara might have translated the quoted stanza into Prākṛit, and a Sanskrit strophe of him has been cited in the Subhāṣitāvalī 1024. Sarvasena, who is the author of the stanzas H. 217, 234 according to Bhuvanapāla, composed according to Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka 148, 9 a work called Harivijaya, out of which one stanza is cited in 127, 7, which is quoted also by Hemacandra,¹ Alamkāracūḍāmaṇi fol. 7^b (MS. Kielhorn, Report (Bombay, 1881), p. 102, Nr. 265). Of well-known poets Pravarasena is mentioned in both the lists, and Bhuvanapāla mentions also Vākpatirāja. None of the quoted stanzas can however be found in Rāvaṇavaho or Gaūḍavaho. As Vākpatirāja composed a second artificial poem, -aa the *Mahumahavia*, according to G. 69, and the *Madhumathanavijaya* according to Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka 152, 2, Someśvara, Kāvyaḍarśa fol. 31 (MS. Kielhorn, Report p. 87, No. 66), Hemacandra, Alamkāracūḍāmaṇi fol. 7^b, the two stanzas ascribed to him might be derived from the latter. But the lists are often at variance with other and cannot be relied upon. Yet the fact remains untouched that the Sattasāi presupposes a very rich literature in Prākṛit in the formation of which women too took active part. Whether or not some of the stanzas were scattered only occasionally in Sanskrit works, as in the dramas, can be decided only in future.²

§14. A rich literature in Prākṛit is presupposed also by the second anthology, the Vajjālagga of Jayavallabha (§12), a Jaina of the Śvetāmbara sect. According to Bhāṅḍārkar l.c. p. 17, it contains in 48 sections 704 stanzas, of which the authors unfor-

¹ Pischel, IDMG. 39, 316.

² The two editions of Weber have been distinguished as H¹ and H² where necessary. H. always designates the second edition.

tunately have not been mentioned. Stanza 2=H. 2 ; of the stanzas 6-10 given on p. 325 none however can be found in H., and the immediate publication of the Vajjālagga is very much to be desired. In the Vikrama-year 1393=1336 A.D. Ratnadeva wrote a Chāyā on it. The actual name of the collection is moreover Jaavallahaṃ according to p. 324, 26. A large number of stanzas in M. is further quoted by the writers on poetics. Of the 67 stanzas which Weber has collected in his supplements to H.¹ p. 202ff. out of Dhanika's commentary on Daśarūpa, Kāvyaṣprakāśa and the Sāhityadarpaṇa, 32 are found in the various recensions of the Sattasaī, so that Hāla² p. 509ff. leaves a remainder of 35. Of them 968 *de ā pasia* is quoted also in Dhvanyāloka 22, 2, Alamkārac. fol. 4^b and elsewhere ; 969 *annaṃ laḍahattanaṃ* (so to read) in Ruyyaka, Alamkārasarvasva 67, 2 ; Alamkārac. fol. 37 etc. ; 970 in Jayaratha, Alamkāravimarśinī fol. 24^b (MS. Bühler, Detailed Report Nr. 230) ; 971 in Śobhākara, Alamkāraratnākara fol. 20 (MS. Bühler, Det. Rep. Nr. 227), and in this way also the others by one writer on poetics or another. The stanzas 979 *jo* (so to read) *pariharium*, 988 *taṃ tāna*, the oft-quoted 989 *tāta jāanti* and 999 *homi vahatthiareho* are derived from Ānandavardhana's *Viṣamabāṇalīlā*, a poem which Ānandavardhana himself quotes in Dhvanyāloka 62, 3 ; III, 4 ; 152, 3 ; 241, 12, 20, and which, according to 241, 19, was written for the instruction of poets (*kavivvyutpattaye*). Cf. 222, 12 with the commentary of Abhinavagupta. The origin of stanza 979 is given by Someśvara, Kāvyaḍarśa fol. 52 (MS. Kielhorn, Report, 1880-81, p. 87, No. 66) and Jayanta, Kāvyaṣprakāśadīpikā fol. 65 (MS. Bühler, Det. Rep. Nr. 244), both of whom designate the poem here as Pañcabāṇalīlā. Ānandavardhana himself quotes 988 and 989 in Dhvanyāloka, p. III, 62¹ ; stanza 999 is quoted by Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 152, 18 (quite mutilated in the printed text) ; that it is out of the *Viṣamabāṇalīlā* is remarked by Someśvara l.c. fol. 62 and Jayanta l.c. fol. 79. Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka 241, 13 quotes out of it also the stanza *na a tāna ghaḍaī*. The stanza 243, 20² proves that he wrote poems also in Āpabhraṃśa. Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka, p. 223, 13, cites also a Prākṛit stanza of his teacher Bhaṭṭendurāja, who has been well-known as a Sanskrit poet for a long time.³ Of all the works on poetics the Sarasvatikaṅṭhābharāṇa of Bhojadeva contains the largest number of Prākṛit stanzas,—according to

¹ Stanza 989 is quoted also by Jayanta l.c. fol. 25 ; cf. Pischel, BB. 16, 172f.

² It has been very much mutilated in the Kāvyaṃālā edition. On the evidence of the MSS. it has perhaps to be read : *mahu mahu tti bhaṇantiāho vajjai kālu jaṇassu | to vi na deu Jaṇaddanaī goarihoi maṇassu |*

³ Aufrecht, Cat. Cat. I, 59 s.v. Indurāja Bhaṭṭa.

Zachariæ¹ about 350, of which about 150, according to Jacob² 113, are derived from the Sattasaī, about 30³ out of the Rāvaṇavaho, and further stanzas in M. from Kālidāsa, Śrīharṣa, Rājaśekhara etc., and many from other sources which are as yet unknown. Borooh's⁴ statement that among these unknown sources there was a particular poem called Satyabhāmāsamvāda 'or a similar poem on the same subject', is apparently based on the stanzas *kuviā ca Sacchāmā* 322, 15 and *surakusumehi kalusiam* 327, 25, which are addressed to Rukmiṇī by Satyabhāmā according to the following elucidation. Cf. also 340, 9; 369, 21; 371, 8. According to all that we know at present, the stanzas may be derived also from Sarvasena's Harivijaya or Vākpatirāja's Madhumathanavijaya (§ 13). It has been already mentioned above that also the dramas contain Gāthās in M.

¹ GGA. 1884, p. 309.

² JRAS. 1897, p. 304. Aufrecht in Weber, Hāla², p. XLIII, note 1 has identified no. 78.

³ Zachariæ l.c.

⁴ In his edition (Calcutta 1883), Preface, p. IV f.

ASPECTS OF NIRVĀNA

By B. C. LAW

To contemplate the *dhamma* (doctrine) as propounded and promulgated by the Buddha is to contemplate *nibbāna*, while to contemplate the *dhamma* as propounded and promulgated by Aśoka is to contemplate *svaga* (*svarga*), rather *vipula svaga* (unmeasured heavenly joy)¹. Nirvāna is the *ne pas ultra* of the *dhamma* expounded by the Buddha, the *summum bonum* (*sabbadhammānaṃ uttamatt̐hena varam*) of Buddhism,² the ultimate of all that a Buddha taught or would teach. Thus Buddhism is in essence a proclamation of the truth of nirvāna, a clear statement of the truth about nirvāna, a search for *nirvāna* (*nibbāna-pariyesanā*), and a tried path leading to nirvāna (*nibbānagāminī paṭipadā*).³ The *Netti-pakaraṇa*, which as a Pāli work of exegesis and analysis is allowed by tradition to rank in both antiquity and authority with the very oldest of the Buddhist canonical texts, declares to the same effect :—

‘ Svakkhāto Bhagavatā dhammo sandit̐hiko akāliko ehipassiko opanāyiko paccattam veditabbo viññūhi, yad idam madanimmadano pipāsa-vinayo alayasamuggahāto vattupacchedo suññato atidullabho taṇhākkhayo virāgo nirodho nibbānam.’⁴

‘ Well expounded by the Master is the doctrine which bears the desired fruit here and now, which has “Come and See” for its motto, which assuredly leads to the goal, the truth whereof is to be experienced by the wise, each individually for himself, namely, the one which consists essentially in subduing the haughty spirit, the perfect control of thirst, the upsetting of the very storage of creative energy, the arrest of the course of *samsāra* as regards the fate of an individual, the rare attainment of the state of the void, the waning out of desire, the dispassionate state, the cessation of all sense of discordance, the *nibbāna*.’

To the very same effect the Buddha is represented in the *Ariya-pariyesana-sutta* as saying :—

‘ Nibbānam pariyesanam ajātam anuttaram yogakkhemam nibbānam ajjhagamam ajaram abyādhiṃ amatam asokam asaṅ-

¹ M.R.E., all copies.

² *Khuddakapāṭha-commentary*, p. 193.

³ *Khuddakapāṭha*, *Ratana-sutta*, V. 12 : *dhammavaram adesayi, nibbānagāminim paramaṃhitāya*.

⁴ *Netti*, p. 55.

kiliṭṭhaṃ Adhigato kho me ayam dhammo gambhīro duddaso duranubodho santo paṇīto atakkāvacaro nipuṇo paṇḍita-vedanīyo.’¹

‘In seeking for “salvation” I reached in experience the *nibbāna* which is unborn, unrivalled, secure from attachment, undecaying, unailing, undying, unlamenting and unstained This condition is indeed reached by me which is deep, difficult to see, difficult to understand, tranquil, excellent, beyond the reach of mere logic, subtle and to be realized only by the wise (each individually for himself).’

The Vevacana-hāra of the Netti which had served as a literary model for the Pāli lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā catalogues various words or terms, uncritically called synonyms, that bring out different aspects of nirvāṇa as conceived and described in early Buddhism.² The Netti-commentary explains these terms as follows :—

Nirvāṇa is called asaṅkhata (uncompounded, absolute) because it is not accounted for by any known causal factor (na kenaci pacayena saṅkhatam), *ananta* (endless, infinite) because it does not come to an end or knows no extermination (n’atthi etassa anto vināso), *anāsava* (stainless) because the influxes of sin have no hold on it (āsavaṇaṃ anārammaṇato), *sacca* (true, real) because it is not of a nature to be other than what it is (aviparitasabhāvattā), *pāra* (the other shore) because it makes for the further shore of the ocean of existence through (*samsāra*, *samsārassa paratīrabhāvato*), *nipuna* (subtle) because it is accessible only to a subtle cognition as well as because it is in itself of a subtle nature (*nipunañāṇa-visayattā sukhuma-sabhāvattā*), *sududdasa* (very difficult to see) because it cannot be apprehended save and except by the instrument of a gradually matured knowledge (*anupacitañānasambhārehi datṭhum na sakkā*), *ajajjara* (unimpaired) because it is not affected by any process of decay (*uppādajarāhi anabyāhatattā*), *dhuva* (immutable) because it is in itself for ever (*cirabhāvena*), *apalokita* (not vanishing) because it does not disappear on account of decay and death (*jarāmaranehi apalujjanato*), *anidassana* (invisible) because it is not perceptible to the eye, common or divine (*maṃsacakkhunā dibbacakkhunā ca apassitabbattā*), *nippapañca* (not subject to ramification) because of the absence of the ramifying action of passions (*rāgādipaṇicābhāvena*), *santa* (tranquil) because of the total stoppage of the mischievous actions of sin (*kilesābhisaṅkhārānaṃ vupasama-hetutāya*), *amata* (undying) because it is of an immortal nature and it is not liable to disruption (*amatahetutāya bhaṅgābhāvena*), *paṇīta* (excellent) because it is of a supreme kind and it is self-suffi-

¹ Majjhima-Nikāya, I, 167.

² Netti, p. 55.

cient (uttamatthena anappanatthena ca), *siva* (safe) because there is no effect on it of baneful consequences of sinful deeds (asivānaṃ kammakilesavipāka vaṭṭānaṃ abhāvena), *khema* (secure) because it is secure from the four fetters (catūhi yogehi anupaddavabhāvena), *taṇhakkhaya* (attenuation of desire) because desire is attenuated to nil therein (taṇhā khīyati ettha), *acchariya* (wonderful) because it is rarely to be seen even by those who are virtuous (kapaṇṇehi pi kadācid eva passitabbattā), *abbhuta* (marvellous) because it is unprecedented (abhūtapubbattā), *anītika* (unimpeded) because there is no obstacle in its way (anantarāyattā), *anītikadhamma* (not risky) because it is not of a nature to run any risk (anantarāyabhāvahetuto), *ajāta* (unborn) because it is not subject to birth (anibbatti-sabhāvato), *abhūta* (not subject to becoming, uppādarahita), *anupaddava* (undisturbed) because it is not troubled by any disturbing factor (kenaci anupaddutattā), *akata* (uncreated) because it is manipulated by any known cause (na kenaci paccayena kataṃ), *asoka* (unlamenting) because there is no sorrow in it (n'atthi ettha soka), *visoka* (sorrowless) because there is no cause for sorrow (sokahetuvigamena), *anupasagga* (uncomplicated) because it is not complicated by any complication (kenaci anupasajjitabbattā), *anupasaggadhamma* (not of a nature to suffer from any complication), *gambhīra* (deep) because it is only within the reach of profound intuition (gambhīrañāṇa-gocarato), *duppassa* (difficult of perception) because it is difficult to perceive, difficult to obtain without the right path (sammāpaṭipattim vinā passitum pattum asakkuṇeyyattā), *uttara* (transcendental) because it lies beyond the whole of the mundane world (sabbalokaṃ uttarivā ṭhitan ti), *anuttara* (unsurpassed) because there is nothing beyond it (n'atthi etassa uttaran ti), *asama* (unequaled) because there is nothing equal to it (samassa sadisassa abhāvena), *appaṭisama* (matchless) because there is no counterpart of it (paṭibhāgābhāvena), *setṭha* (summum bonum, uttamatthena), *jetṭha* (supreme) because it is the best thing for praise (pāsaṃsatamattā), *lena* (habitat) because it is the abode where persons afflicted by worldly sufferings can lie down (saṃsāradukkhāṭṭhitena letabbato), *tāna* (protection) because it protects from worldly sufferings (tato rakkhaṇato), *araṇa* (hitchless) because there is no hitch in it (raṇābhāvena), *anaṅgaṇa* (spotless) because of the absence of any spot (aṅgaṇābhāvena), *akāma* (innocent, niddosatāya), *vimala* (unimpure) because all impurities due to passion and the rest are got rid of (rāgādimalāpagamena), *dīpa* (island) because it is not subject to inundation on account of the four kinds of flood of sin (catūhi oghehi anajjhottharaniyato), *sukha* (ease) because of the complete subsidence of the unease of *samsāra* (saṃsāravupasamasukhatāya), *appamāṇa* (unmeasured,

immeasurable) because there is nothing else to measure its worth (pamānakoradhammābhāvato, pamānaṃ gahetuṃ etassa na sakkā ti), pattitṭhā (support) because it is the stand to prevent sinking into dangerous waters of *samsāra* (samsārasamudde anosidana-tṭhānatāya), *akiñcana* (having nothing by way of attachment and possession, *rāgādikiñcanābhāvena pariggahābhāvena ca*).

The list of synonyms of *nirvāna* in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* which is substantially the same as that in the *Netti* contains such new terms as follows :—

mukha (*mukhya*, supreme) ; *arūpa* (incorporeal) ; *amutta* (*amūrta*, formless, unformed) ; *saraṇa* (ultimate refuge) ; *akkhara* (imperishable) ; *abyāpajjha* (hitchless) ; *anālaya* (without any stay for desire) ; *vivatta* (end of the course of *samsāra*) ; *kevala* (kaivalya, a thing in itself, oneness, independence) ; *apavagga* (*apavarga*, abandonment of the things of the world) ; *virāga* (*vairāgya*, detachment) ; *accuta-pada* (immutable state) ; *mutti* (liberation) ; *visuddhi* (purity) ; *vimutti* (emancipation) ; *asañkhatadhātu* (element of the absolute) ; *suddhi* (holiness) ; *nibbuti* (*nirvṛti*, blessedness).

The multiplication of these so-called synonyms of *nirvāna* and the philological explanation of them which is, more or less, fancied and fantastic are of little help in appreciating the Buddhist conception of *nirvāna* or in distinguishing the same from the Jaina or the Brahmanical conception. The only sure and scientific way of attacking the problem of *nirvāna* would be to consider it from the different points of view. Our approaches to the subject should not only be logical and mystical,¹ but also historical, eschatological, poetical or popular psycho-ethical.

Historical Aspect :—The wide popularity of *nirvāna* as a distinct term of Indian religious thought is undoubtedly due to the greatest importance attached to it in early Buddhism, by the Buddha, his immediate disciples, and his later followers. It is somewhat astonishing that the term occurs nowhere in any of the Vedic or Brahmanical texts that may be definitely assigned to pre-Buddhistic dates. An exception is sought, of course, to be made in favour of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* accounting grammatically or etymologically for the formation of the word *nirvāna* by the aphoristic rule : *Nirvānovāte* (8. 2. 50.) Pāṇini's date, if it is at all earlier, cannot be far removed from that of the rise of Buddhism. Secondly, it is yet to be ascertained if this particular aphorism belonged actually to Pāṇini's own organon.

¹ It is mainly from the logical and mystical points of view that Dr. B. M. Barua has considered the question of *nirvāna* in his Bombay lecture 'Universal Aspect of Buddhism'.

Even if it did belong, it is still to be seen whether with Pāṇini the word *nirvāna* was any more than a popular expression. In popular usage the word *nirvāna* was employed either in connection with a burning fire or in connection with a burning lamp, and in both cases it meant nothing but extinction: *pajjotass' eva nibbānam* (Dīgha, II, p. 157) like the extinction of a burning fire or lamp; *nibbanti dhīrā yathāyāṃ padīpo* (Suttanipāta and Khuddakapāṭha, Ratana-sutta, V, 14), the wise pass away just in the same way as this burning lamp extinguishes; *nibbuto gini* (Suttanipāta, Dhaniya-sutta, V, 2), the fire has been extinguished, *nibbuto* standing in contrast to *āhito* meaning 'properly kept up'; *purato aggi nibbāyeyya, ayam mi purato aggi nibbuto* (Majjhima, I, 487), if this fire before me were to extinguish, if this fire before me were extinguished.

As regards Jaina literature, the term *Nirvāna* is met with in the texts of the Āgama,—such authoritative texts as the Kalpa-sūtra, the Sūtrakṛtāṅga, the Uttaradhyāyana, and the rest. But the Jaina predilection, as may be gathered from the Jinakalpa section of the Kalpasūtra, is to employ the term *nirvāna* to denote the final liberation of human soul (mokṣa) from all kinds of bondage, which is not possible before the demise of a Tirthaṅkara. In other words, with the Jainas, *nirvāna* is the same term as *parinirvāna*. The nine main terms (nava-tattva) of Jainism which became current and widely known as early as the time of the Buddha, include *nijjarā* and *mokkha*.¹ The Kalpa-sūtra describes Mahāvīra's demise in these terms: 'Mahāvīra died, went off, quitted the world, cut asunder the ties of birth, old age and death; became a siddha, a Buddha, a mukta, a maker of the end (to all misery), finally liberated, freed from all pains' (Jaina Sūtra, S.B.E., Part I, p. 264).

It would be going against historical truth to suppose that *nirvāna* as a final term of Indian religious thought was altogether an innovation or invention on the part of the Buddha. The very first discourse in the Majjhima-nikāya, appropriately called *Sabbadhamma-mūlapariyāya*, clearly indicates that already at the time of the rise of Buddhism *nirvāna* came to be recognized as the final term or 'ultimate category' of Indian religious thought. In this most important discourse, the Buddha is recorded as distinguishing his own attitude towards *nirvāna* from that which had passed as

¹ Devadaha-sutta, Majjhima-nikāya, II, p. 214 :—

'*purāṇānaṃ kammānaṃ tapasā vyantibhāvā, navānaṃ kammānaṃ akaraṇā āyatīṃ anavassavo, āyatīṃ anavassavā kammakkhayo, kammakkhayā dukkhakkhayo, dukkhakkhayā vedanākkhayo, vedanākkhayā sabbāṃ dukkhāṃ nijjīṇṇaṃ bhavissati.*'

Here the term *nijjarā* occurs instead of *nijjīṇṇa*.

the prevalent attitude. One may readily agree to think that ' this difference in the two attitudes or thought-positions implies a difference in two conceptions or notions : nirvāṇa from the cosmological or ontological point of view, and nirvāṇa from the logical or epistemological point of view, the difference being set forth in the original text as follows :—

- (1) *Idha bhikkhave assutavā puthujjano Nibbānaṃ nibbānato sañjānāti, nibbānaṃ nibbānato saññatvā nibbānaṃ maññati, nibbānaṃ nibbānato maññati, nibbānaṃ me ti maññati, nibbānaṃ abhinandati ; (M.N., I, p. 4).*
- (2) *Tathāgato pi bhikkhave arahamaṃ sammāsambuddho nibbānaṃ nibbānato abhijānāti, nibbānaṃ nibbānato abhiññāya nibbānaṃ na maññati, nibbānaṃ na maññati, nibbānato na maññati, nibbānaṃ me ti na maññati, nibbānaṃ nābhinandati. (M.N., I, p. 6.)*

This may be taken to suggest two different modes of thinking, one, the Brahmanist mode, by which was developed the idea of *Brahma-nirvāṇa*, and the other, the Buddha's mode, by which was developed the Buddhist idea of *nirvāṇa*. With the Brahmanist of all ages *nirvāṇa* is *Brahma-nirvāṇa*, whether Brahman is *saguṇa* or *nirguṇa*. That is to say, with the Brahmanist thinker, precisely as with the Jaina, the problem of *nirvāṇa* is approached from the point of view of *ātman*, whilst with the Buddha or Buddhist thinker the approach is from the view-point of *anātman*.¹

Eschatological Aspect :—The belief already gained ground among the people of India at the time of the rise of Buddhism that true salvation of man consists in evolving into an eternal personality exhausting all possibilities of rebirth,—of reappearing in the mother's womb as they would put it.² The whole chain of reasoning is : To be subject to birth is to be subject to decay and death. The world of life is so ordained that there is no escape from decay and death for one who has been brought into existence by the natural process of creation,—by the parental union in the case of all higher forms of earthly beings.³ The very possibility of such an escape is denied by the daily experience of things or events happening

¹ Vide *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*.

² *Metta-sutta, Khuddakapāṭha and Sutta-nipāta : na hi jātu gabbhaseyyamaṃ punar eti.*

³ *Majjhima, I, p. 266 : Idha mātāpitaro ca sannipatitā honti, mātā ca utunī hoti, gandhabbo ca paccupaṭṭhito hoti . . . evaṃ tiṇṇaṃ sannipatā gabbhassāvakkanti hoti.*

around and at all times.¹ Even a Buddha or Tathāgata cannot escape it in spite of his universally admitted and unrivalled greatness and perfection.² And *Samsāra* for an individual is nothing in common parlance but the painful necessity of undergoing the repeated process of birth and death,—of passing through the cycles of birth and death, running in the course of transmigration of soul,³ or finding somehow the concatenation of individual existence through the repeated natural process of birth and death.⁴

It is the consciousness of the 'contingent character' of *samsāra*, the world of life and existence, and the bitter experience of its 'unpleasantness' or 'unsatisfactory sequel' that is at the back of the religious quest of a permanent ground of existence and experience,—a permanent feature or element of reality, some sort of an Absolute. So Buddha is represented as saying: 'Having been myself subject to the contingency of birth and experienced its unpleasantness, I sought for Nirvāṇa which is without such contingency,—which is unsurpassed and secure from all worldly yoke, and obtained it. Subject to the contingency of decay, the contingency of disease, death, sorrow, and sin, I sought for Nirvāṇa which is without such and such contingency,—which is unsurpassed and secure from all worldly yoke, and obtained it. The knowledge with the vision arose: 'Sure is my final emancipation, this is the last birth, there is no longer the 'possibility of rebirth'. Then this thought occurred to me: 'I have reached this element of things which is deep, difficult to see, difficult to understand, tranquil, excellent, not within the access of mere logic, subtle and to be experienced only by the wise, each for himself. The multitudes find delight in the home, they are attached to the home' and rejoice over it. It is difficult indeed for them to apprehend this position (of *samsāra*), namely, the casual determination of all occurrences in fact,—of all becoming,—to apprehend also this position (of

¹ Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta, Dīgha, II, p. 158: *yam taṃ-jātaṃ bhūtaṃ saṅkhatam palokadhammaṃ taṃ māpalujjiti n'etaṃ tṭhānaṃ vijjati.*

Cf. The Mohamudgara verse:—

Yāvaj jananaṃ tāvaṃ maraṇaṃ,
tāvaj janani-jāthare śayaṇaṃ.

² So Brahmā Sahampati declares (Dīgha, II, p. 157):—

Sabb'eva nikkhipissanti bhūtā loke samussayaṃ
yathā etādiso Satthā loke appaṭipuggalo.

Even the Buddha himself is recorded as saying (Majjhima, I, p. 82): *Aham kho pana etarahi jīṇho vuddho mahallako addhagato vayo anuppatto, asītiko me vayo vattati.*

³ The idea is Brahmanical as well as Jaina.

⁴ The Buddhistic way of expressing it.

Nirvāṇa), namely, that it is the subsidence of all predisposition towards the form of creation, the relinquishment of all ideas of belongings, the extinction of desire, the dispassion, the cessation, the ultimate.¹

The authoritative utterance or verbal testimony (aññā, āññā) of all the Early Buddhist Brethren and Sisters is to this effect: 'I have lived the holy life, done all that I was to do, and am now free from all attachment. Completely destroyed is the cause of birth through cycles of existence, there is no longer the possibility of any rebirth'.²

But is this a genuine feeling felt in the innermost depth of one's being or self-consciousness, or an actuality? The question was raised by many an interested inquirer in Buddha's time, and it still remains: What happens to a Tathāgata (Perfect Man) after death? Does he continue to exist or does he cease to exist, Does he both exist and not exist, or does he neither exist nor not exist?³

Buddha felt constrained to remain silent whenever such an inquiry was pressed. He was always reluctant to commit himself to any statement in reply to any of the above four queries. The real reason is that he was not prepared to admit any of the questions, —to entertain the inquiry in that form. With the inquirers, however, those were the question of questions, the question that vitally concerned them.

In the Cūḷa-Māluṅkya-Sutta (Majjhima, I, p. 432), Māluṅkyāputta is advised by Buddha to treat his *abyākata* (point in regard to which he did not commit himself to any one-sided statement whatsoever) as *abyākata*, and his *byākata* as *byākata*. The inquiry referred to above is to be counted among Buddha's *abyākatas*. Seeing that another inquirer, Aggi-Vacchagotta, got rather puzzled than enlightened when he was told in all stages of inquiry, 'Vaccha,

¹ Majjhima, I, p. 167: So kho ahaṃ attanā jātidhammo samāno jātidhamme ādinavaṃ viditvā ajātaṃ anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ nibbānaṃ pariyesamāno ajātaṃ . . . ajaraṃ . . . abyādhiṃ . . . amataṃ . . . asokaṃ . . . asaṅkiliṭṭhaṃ anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ nibbānaṃ ajjhagamaṃ. Nānañ caṇa me dassanaṃ udapādi: akuppā me vimutti, ayaṃ antiṃā jāti, n'atthi dāni punabbhavo ti. Tassa mayhaṃ etad ahoṣi: Adhigato kho me ayaṃ dhammo gambhiro duddaso duranubodho santo paṇito atakkāvacāro nipuṇo paṇḍitavedaniyo Ālayarāmāya kho pana pajāya ālayaratāya ālayasammuditāya duddasaṃ idam ṭhānaṃ yadidaṃ idappaccayatā paṭiccasamuppādo, idam pi kho ṭhānaṃ duddasaṃ yadidaṃ sabbasaṅkhārasamatho sabbūpādhipaṭinissaggo tanhakkhayo virāgo nirodho nibbānaṃ.

² Theragathā and Therīgāthā: Vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, katakiccaṃ anāsavaṃ. Vikkhīno jāti-samsāro, n'atthi dāni punabbhavo.

³ Majjhima, I, pp. 426 foll.: Kin nu kho hoti . . . na hoti . . . hoti ca na ca hoti, . . . n'eva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā?

the inquiry in this form does not suit me, is not fitting (na upeti)', Buddha felt it necessary to explain his own position thus :—

'Just as it is not possible to know whither the fire is gone which was so long burning before a man after once for all it is extinguished on the exhaustion of all materials of burning,—the fuel, in the same way it is not possible to represent a Tathāgata after he has passed away on the complete exhaustion of all materials of bodily existence and of all prerequisites of representation of an individual as commonly known.'¹

To say that Buddha attained *parinirvāna* (sambuddho parinibbuto) is the same as to say in ordinary language that he died (kālam akari muni).² In his own words, to attain *parinirvāna* is to see 'the fire of life extinguished in that elemental condition of extinction which allows no residuum of possibility for re-ignition' (anupādisesa-yanibbānadhātuyā parinibbuto).³ The manner in which Buddha attained *parinirvāna* is said to have been described by Thera Anuruddha in the following terms: 'There was then no process of respiration to be noticed in the organism of the great saint whose mind was then unshaken, steadily concentrated that it then was on its peacefulness, when he expired. With an unper-turbed mind he did bear the pangs of death. Just as fire extinguishes on the exhaustion of all materials of burning, in the same way his consciousness became completely emancipated'.⁴

In the Ratana-Sutta, the Disciples of Buddha who experience or realize the bliss of *nirvāna* are praised as personages who 'expire like a burning lamp (on the exhaustion of oil and wick)'.⁵ Whilst they live, they live enjoying the bliss of peace obtained without having to pay any price for it.⁶

¹ Majjhima, I, pp. 487-488. The statement is summarized for the sake of brevity: Yena rūpena... yāya vedanāya... vāya saññāya... yehi sañkhārehi... yena viññānena Tathāgataṃ paññāpayamāno paññāpeyya taṃ viññānaṃ Tathāgatassa pahīnaṃ ucchinnamūlaṃ tālavatthukataṃ anabhāvakataṃ āyatiraṃ anuppādadhammaṃ... viññānasañkhāvimutto kho Vaccha Tathāgato gambhīro appameyyo duppariyogāho seyyathā pi mahāsamuddo, upapajjati ti na upeti, na upapajjati ti na upeti.....

² Dīgha, II, p. 140.

³ Dīgha, II, p. 157.

⁴ Dīgha, II, p. 157 :—

Nāhu assāsa-passāso t̥hitacittassa tādino,
 anejo santim ārabba yaṃ kālam akari muni.
 Asallinena cittaena vedanaṃ ajjhavāsaya :
 Pajjotass' eva nibbāṇaṃ vimokho cetaso ahūti.

⁵ Nibbanti dhīrā yathāyaṃ padīpo. (Khuddakapāṭha, p. 5.)

⁶ Laddhā mudhā nibbutim bhujjāmanā. (ibid., p. 4.)

Such is, in short, the Buddhist description of *parinirvāna* which is the natural end of life of those gifted men who realize *nirvāna* in their present conscious existence (*ditṭh'eva dhamme*).¹

With the Jaina, too, *parinirvāna* is the last fruit or final consummation of the highest perfection attained by a man or attainable in human life.² But with him *parinirvāna* is the same term as *nirvāna*³ or *mokṣa* meaning final liberation that comes to pass on the complete waning out or exhaustion of the accumulated strength or force of *karma*.

With the Jaina, however, *nirvāna* or *mokṣa* is not a dreadful or terrible term like the Buddhist *parinirvāna* which suggests at once an idea of the complete annihilation of individuality of a saint after death by the simile of the total extinction of a burning lamp on the exhaustion of the oil and the wick. So the point is discussed in the Jaina *Mokṣasiddhi*: 'Would you really think (with the Buddhist) that *nirvāna* is a process of extinction of human soul which is comparable to the process of extinction of a burning lamp (on the exhaustion of the oil and the wick)?'⁴ The hearer is advised not to think like that. For with the Jaina *nirvāna* is nothing but a highly special or transcendental condition of human soul, in which it remains eternally and absolutely, free from passion, hatred, birth, decay, disease, and the like, because of the complete waning out of all causes of *dukkha*.⁵

The *Milindapañha* definitely says that after the attainment of *parinirvāna* the Buddha is no longer in that condition in which he is able to receive any offering made in his honour, though the offering itself as an act of worship is not fruitless on that account, so far as the worshipper is concerned. Thus the Buddhist description of

¹ Cf. *Dīpo yathā nirvṛtimabhyupeto*
naivāvaniṃ gacchati nāntariḱṣam,
diśaṃ na kāñcit vidiśaṃ na kāñcit
snehakṣayāt kevalameti śāntim.
Jīvas tathā nirvṛtimabhyupeto
naivāvaniṃ gacchati nāntariḱṣam,
Diśaṃ na kāñcit vidiśaṃ na kāñcit
kleśakṣayāt kevalameti śāntim.

(Saundarananda Kāvya.)

² *Kalpasūtra* (Jacobi's edition), 120: *Tassa naṃ anuttareṇaṃ nāṇenaṃ . . .*
daṃseṇaṃ . . . caritṭeṇaṃ . . . āhaenaṃ . . . vihāreṇaṃ . . . viriṇeṇaṃ . . . ajjaveṇaṃ
. . . maddaveṇaṃ . . . lāghaveṇaṃ . . . anuttarāe muttie guttie tuṭṭhie buddhie,
anuttareṇaṃ sauva-saṃjama-tavasucariyā sovaciya-phala-parinirvāṇa.

³ *Kalpasūtra*, 189: *Tasmiṃ samae Mahāvīro nivvuo, Nivvuo = Pāli parinibbuto.*

⁴ *Mannasi kiṃ divassa ca nāso nivvāṇaṃ assa jivassa?* Quoted in the *Abhidhāna-rājendra, sub voce Nibbāna.*

⁵ *Sato vidyamānasya jīvasya viśiṣṭā kācid avasthā. Kathambhūtā? Rāga-dveṣa-janma-jarā-roḡādī duḥkhakṣaya-rūpā.*

Buddha's parinirvāṇa leaves no room for the popular belief in the possibility of resurrection of the bodily form or even the spiritual form, of a saint.¹ Is it, nevertheless, a complete cessation of personality, even if that personality is made up of pure consciousness? According to the Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra, there is then *lakṣaṇa-nirodha* (cessation of all signs of manifestation), but no *prabandha-nirodha* (cessation of process of *viññāna* in its own pure or transcendental mode).²

In all stages of evolution of religious thought in India the description of the ultimate goal of the higher path of religious effort carried with it the dread of extinction of the individual after death. In the opinion of such ancient law-givers as Bodhāyana and Āpastamba, the *devayāna* leading the traveller by an onward journey to the pure realm of infinity beyond the solar region led really but to the funeral ground *śmaśāna*, and those who travel by that path 'alone', in disregard of *pitṛyāna* become ultimately 'dust and perish' (*rajo bhūtvā dhvaṃsate*).³

Ṛṣi Yājñavalkya's statement of the fate of the soul after man's death caused puzzlement to the simple-minded Maitreyī: 'Verily I say unto thee the soul is complete in itself, within and without. As a mass of intelligence (or consciousness), it emerges out of these (five) elements and loses its form of manifestation with their disintegration. There is no cognizance of it after man's death'.⁴ He offered an explanation, the tenor of which went to establish that as the soul after man's death passes beyond all duality, it does not admit of any representation in the current terms of thought. It then becomes the whole or infinity, and the whole or infinity is its own description.⁵

Similarly Buddha's persistent reluctance to answer any of the four questions put to him regarding the fate of the Tathāgata after death caused puzzlement to his interlocutor, Aggi-Vacchagotta.⁶

¹ Note the description of emergence of an effulgent miniature form of the sage Śarabhaṅga out of burning fire to which he offered himself as an oblation. *Vide Rāmāyana, Aranyakāṇḍa.*

² *Vide Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra* (Nanjio's edition).

³ Barua, *History of pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, pp. 247-249.

⁴ Bṛhad Ār. Upa., Chap. II, Vs. 12 and 13: *ātmānantaro bāhyaḥ kṛtsah prajñānaghan (=viññānaghana) evaitebhyo bhūtebhyaḥ samutthāya tānyevānuvinaśyati na pretya saṃjñāsttyare bravīmi hovāca Yājñavalkyaḥ. Sā hovāca: Atraiva mā Bhagavān mohāntam āpipanna.*

⁵ Bṛhad Ār. Upa., Chap. II, V. 14: *Yatra hi dvaitam iva bhavati taditara itaram abhivadati... vijānāti yatra tvasya sarvam ātmaivābhūt tat kena kaṃ śṛṇuyāt...?*

⁶ Majjhima, I, p. 487: *Ettāhaṃ bho Gotama aññāṇam āpādiṃ, sammoham āpādiṃ.*

Buddha, too, offered an explanation, the purport of which was to indicate that the condition of Tathāgata after parinirvāna was incapable of description in all convenient terms of description : *rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhārā* and *viññāna*.

An illuminating description of the state or condition of existence reached by a person on the attainment of *parinirvāna* is met with in the Udāna, and it has been put into the mouth of Buddha himself. The same is quoted below in the original with its translation :—

‘Yattha āpo ca paṭhavī tejo vāyo na gādhati, na tattha sukkā jotanti ādicco na ppakāsati, na tattha candimā bhāti tamo tattha na vijjati. Yadā ca attan āvedī muni monena brāhmaṇo atha rūpā arūpā ca sukhadukkhā pamuccatīti.’

‘Where water, earth, heat and air do not find footing, there no light burns and the sun does not shine, the moon does not shed her radiant beams and darkness does not exist there. When a sage who is a brāhmaṇa has realized the truth by silent concentration, then he becomes free from form and formlessness, happiness and suffering.’

Poetical Aspect :—*Nirvāna* or *Parinirvāna* as an abstract idea, or as a transcendental sphere of man’s existence, cannot have a true and lasting appeal to the popular mind which demands for its satisfaction the conception and description of something more positive and tangible. The process of poetry and myth becomes, therefore, active, to create that something more positive and tangible,—a paradise in its highest glory. The beginning of this process of poetry and myth can be clearly traced in a group of verses known by the name of *Accharāgāthā* (*Samyutta*, I, *Sagāthavagga*). In these verses Buddhism is described as the safest and fittest vehicle (*yāna*) carrying all men, women, recluses and householders, to *Nirvāna* which is the destination. The progress of the Buddhist aspirant towards this goal is poetically described in terms of a noiseless and fearless and steady procession or chariot-march by a straight road and with an unerring aim.¹

The account of Buddha’s Great Decease in the *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta* makes it evident that it was too much for average men to brook the idea that a great Buddha, too, failed to overcome death, in spite of his unrivalled greatness and enviable perfection. This fact was dreadful to them as it went to furnish them with the last proof of man’s inability to overcome death, of which the whole of sentient creation is mortally afraid. To say that one cannot

¹ *Ujuko nāma so maggo abhayā nāma sā disā, ratho akūjano nāma dhammacakkehi samyutto.* Cf. *Prākṛit Dhammapada* by Barua and Mitra, p. 18.

possibly overcome death after being once in the grip of birth, but one can surely overcome the fear of death, is no answer to the real yearning of their heart. The belief gradually gained ground among certain Buddhists that the Buddhas as superhuman personalities exist in all quarters (*Sabbā disā Buddhā tiṭṭhanti*).¹

The *Milinda-pañha* gives at the same time an exaggerated poetical description of Dhammanagara or ideal Buddhist city as it came to prevail within a few centuries after Buddha's demise.² Even in a somewhat earlier stage of Buddhist poetic fancy, one has in the *Pāli Apadāna*³ a charming romantic description of Buddha-khetta (The Realm of Buddha) in which all Buddhas, all Disciples, and all followers and worshippers, find their place. No birth, no death. No sorrow, no lamentation. A ceaseless scene of peaceful worship and religious conversation in the midst of the very best of natural surroundings. A full heart and a serene mind in a world of plenty.

The same process of poetry and myth continued to produce at last the Sanskrit *Sukhāvati-vyūha*, a Mahāyāna work giving a highly romantic or imaginative description of a Buddhist Paradise, the realm of Amitābha, Amitaprabha. The *Sukhāvati* is the infinite world of light, brilliance and effulgence. The Amitābha, as it may be easily guessed, is no other than Buddha in his infinite glory after his demise,—the mahāparinibbāna.

A similar poetic imagery about nirvāṇa lingers in the metaphorical expression *nirvāṇa-nagara* or *nirvāṇapura* which is met with in Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* and some of the later Jaina works.

Logical Aspect :—If it be assumed that *samsāra*, as commonly understood, is something which has the contingency of birth, development and death (*jāta, bhūta, mata*), the inquiry may pertinently arise if there is something else which has no such contingency (*ajāta, abhūta, amata*). This inquiry was once pressed by certain inquirers among Buddha's immediate disciples. When the issue was thus pressed, Buddha gave a reply, the tenor of which went to convince the inquirers that they simply begged the question in pressing such an inquiry. The argument indeed was: 'The very fact that you have been striving after that something else which is without such contingency is sufficient to prove that you have been tacitly all believers in its possibility and were you not tacitly

¹ *Kathāvatthu*, II, 608.

² *Milinda-pañha*, pp. 332-345.

³ *Apadāna*, I, pp. 1-6: 'Sāvakā buddhe pucchanti buddhā pucchanti sāvake, aññamaññañ ca pucchanti aññamaññañ byākaronti te. Buddhā Paccekabuddhā ca sāvakā paricārakā evaṃ ratīsu rammānā pāsāde'bhīramanti te.'

believers in its possibility, you would not have cared to strive after it'.¹

According to *Nāgārjuna*, *Samsāra* and *Nirvāna* are two relative ideas, and as such, there can be difference but no absolute distinction between the two (*samsārasya ca nirvānasya nāsti kiñcit viśeṣatā*). If the significance of one term is dependent on the significance of the other, both stand on the same footing in respect of each other. There cannot be any conception of a relation between the two even in apposition, if there be not a common point of reference which is without differentiation or characterization, and from which ultimately each derives its significance. By implication, this common point of reference is no other than *pratītyasamutpāda*, *dharmatā*, *tathatā*, or *śūnyatā*, which is introduced in the very opening verse of *Nāgārjuna*'s *Kārikā*. The *pratītyasamutpāda*, viewed and interpreted as a law of sequence of causal antecedents and consequents, —as causally determined continuity (*santati*), explains the essential nature of *samsāra*. The same, viewed and interpreted as 'novelty' (*uppādamatta*², *khaṇapaccuppanna*³) without any idea of temporal or spatial relation associated with it, expresses the essential nature of *Nirvāna* or Infinity. In plain terms, the *pratītyasamutpāda* in its *samutpāda* aspect is *samsāra* and the same in its *nirodha* aspect is *Nirvāna*.⁴ The Canonical authority to be cited in this connection is Buddha's statement in the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (*Majjhima*, I. p. 167).

By the dialectical process of reasoning employed in the *Mūla-pariyāya-Sutta* (*Majjhima*), Buddha sought to show that *Nirvāna* cannot but be the final term or last category of thought. If the first sources of knowledge be perception or intuition (*diṭṭha*), tradition (*suta*) and inference (*muta*), all that is derived from these three sources may be comprehended and made significant by the term

¹ *Udāna*, pp. 80-81.

² According to *Buddhaghosa*, *uppādamatta* cannot be a valid interpretation of *paṭiccasamuppāda*. (*Visuddhimagga*, II, p. 519.)

³ For the term, see *Atthasālinī*, pp. 420-1 :—

Paccuppannaṃ nāmetam tividhaṃ :
 khaṇa-, santati-, addhā-, Santati-
 paccuppannaṃ c'ettha aṭṭhakathāsu āgataṃ,
 addhā-paccuppannaṃ sutte. Tattha keci
 khaṇa-paccuppannaṃ cittaṃ cetopariyañāssa
 ārammaṇaṃ hoti ti vadanti. Kiṃ kāraṇā ?
 Yasmā iddhiṃ parassa ca ekakkhaṇe
 cittaṃ uppajjissati ti idaṃ ca tesam
 opammaṃ.

⁴ *Vide* my paper, *Buddhist Conception of Dhamma*, *Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 13.

viññāta (the known, i.e., knowledge). The first three terms cannot exhaust the meaning of *viññāta* which is something more than what is comprehended by them, jointly or severally. If *ekatta* (unity) be the next category to express the essential character of knowledge (*viññāta*, the known), yet another category—*nānatta* (plurality) is needed to cover the residual of meaning not covered by *ekatta*. To comprehend the meaning of both *ekatta* (unity) and *nānatta* (plurality), yet another category is called forth, namely, *sabba* (the all, universality) which is something more in meaning than what is comprehended by both *ekatta* and *nānatta*. Even *sabba* (the intellectual universality) is in itself inadequate to comprehend the whole of reality which is constituted not only of cognition, but also of volition and feeling, to comprehend all of which yet another category is required, and it is *Nirvāṇa* (the Ideal, Ideality). It is not an experience that one may identify oneself with it or think that either one is *Nirvāṇa*, or one is in *Nirvāṇa*, or one is from *Nirvāṇa*, or *Nirvāṇa* is one's own.¹

Psychical Aspect:—Here psychical is just another term for mystical. The mystic, as distinguished from *saddhāvīmutta* (devotee) or *paññāvīmutta* (intellectualist), aspires to be a *Kāyasakkhi*² or personal witness to, to be face to face with, to have a direct perception of, to come in immediate contact with, in short, to realize *nirvāṇa* by himself and for himself. It is after such realization that he begins to utter the joy of self-expression (*udānaṃ udāneti*), to give an expression to self-mastery (*aññā*), and to teach the way of realizing *nirvāṇa* to others (*abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti*). With him *nirvāṇa* is at once a vision, an experience, a feeling, and a self-state,—the highest, the best, the most real of all that he knows of, thinks of, or speaks of. As an element of experience, it is inalienable, because the wise are to experience, each in himself by himself and for himself (*paccattaṃ viññūhi veditabbaṃ*); it cannot be communicated to others, because its nature, as experienced by each individual, is indescribable in words. The message or personal testimony must be worthy of trust, the individual bearing it must be in a perfectly sound condition of body, mind, intellect, and spirit. The vision of *nirvāṇa* dawns upon consciousness, the realization of *nirvāṇa* is possible in that stage of *samādhi* (trance, self-concentration) which is aptly called *saññā-vedayitanirodha*. According to Buddha's claim, this is the ninth stage of *samādhi* reached for the first time by him, one step ahead of eight *samāpattis*

¹ Majjhima, I, p. 6.

² See for the explanation of these terms, Barua's 'Faith in Buddhism' in B. C. Law's *Buddhistic Studies*, pp. 329-349.

(attainments, first stages of *samādhi*) mastered by other contemporaries in India already before his advent.¹ The *Satipaṭṭhāna* is the well-tryed grammar to be followed by the aspirant in assuredly reaching and mastering all the nine stages of *samādhi*, the ninth being truly called *nirvikalpa* (without any excogitation) and *nirābhāsa* (without any illusion or hallucination). Without going into details here it may suffice to quote the following short but intelligible description of the psychical mode :—

‘ In accordance with the mystical or psychical mode, the process of meditation is to proceed from one plane of experience or one level of consciousness to another. The highest state of trance... reached by Buddha is called *saññā-vedayita-nirodha*. This is a state of trance when outwardly the man who reaches it is as good as dead,² there being nothing but warmth (*ussā*) as the sign of life.³ In this state, a level of consciousness (*citta*) is reached where consciousness is ultimately thrown back on itself, completely void (*suñña*), being devoid of the subject-object relation (*grāhya-grāhaka-bhāva-rahita*).⁴ In the same state, a plane of religious experience is reached where there is no longer any longing for this or that object of sense. This is the highest psychical state where consciousness appears to be face to face with reality.⁵

Ethical Aspect:—The ethical aspect of *nirvāna* is too well-known to need much elucidation here.⁶ Let it suffice to say that the main ethical term to express the nature of Buddhist *nirvāna* (and *ā posteriori*, that of Jaina)⁷ is *Visuddhi* or Purity. From the ethical point of view, to realize *nirvāna* is to attain the highest purity of one’s own self,—of one’s own nature (*visuddhim attane*). Thus the method of realization of *nirvāna* necessarily involves a

¹ Ariyapariyesana-Sutta, Majjhima, I, pp. 163-6.

² When on the eve of the Great Decease Buddha remained lost in the *samādhi* called *saññāvedayita-nirodha*, Ānanda thought he was already dead and gone. See Dīgha, II, p. 156 : ‘ Parinibbuto bhante Anuruddha Bhagavā ti ? Na āvuso Ānanda Bhagavā parinibbuto, saññā-vedayita-nirodham samāpanno ti.’

³ Dr. N. Dutt (Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its relation to Hinayāna, pp. 129 foll.), has attempted an elaborate description of the *jhāna* and *samādhi* stages, which is not, however, so illuminating and clear and psychological as that in Shwe Zan Aung’s Introductory Essay, Compendium of Buddhist Philosophy.

⁴ *Madhyāntavibhāgasūtrabhāṣyaṭīkā* of Sthiramati, Part I, p. 10 ; *Sā ca* (*sūnyatā*) *grāhya-grāhaka*-(*bhāva*)-*rahitatā*.

⁵ Barua, Bombay Lecture, Universal Aspect of Buddhism.

⁶ Childers, Art. on Nibbāna in Dict. of the Pāli Language ; Nibbāna in the Pāli-English Dict. by Rhys Davids ; Views of Dr. L. Vallee Poussin, Prof. Theodore Stcherbatsky, and Prof. Berriedale Keith about Nirvāna.

⁷ *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 1, 2, 27 (Jaina Sūtras, Part II, p. 243) : ‘ by purity of the heart one reaches Nirvāna ’.

process of perfect self-examination, self-purification, self-restraint and self-culture. If the experience of *nirvāṇa* consists in the feeling of peacefulness, tranquility or harmony in the whole of one's being and in the whole of nature by which one is surrounded, it is not possible without the practice of self-alienation from all that is not one's own. Thus the process of a self-alienation involves a method of viewing things as they are (*yathābhūtaṃ, bhūtaṃ bhūtato, thetaṃ thetato*). From one point of view, the twofold ethical end of Buddhism is negative: (1) to keep off the hindrances (*nīvaraṇas*), and (2) to put away the fetters (*samyojanas*) or to destroy the *anusayas* (the sinfulness that lies deep in our nature). From another point of view, the end is positive, namely to attain a perfect healthy condition of self. The rough scheme of self-culture through purity is set forth in the Rathavinīta-sutta (Majjhima, I, pp. 147-8) and it includes the following main items for consideration:—

Sīla-visuddhi: Purity of conduct, purity of behaviour, purity of livelihood, purity of motive, purity of morals, purity of character.

Citta-visuddhi: Purity of mind, purity of all things, mental, purity of mental attitude, purity of mental vision, purity of mental development, etc.

Diṭṭhi-visuddhi: Purity of faith, purity of thought, purity of intellect.

Kaṅkhāvitarāṇa-Visuddhi: Purity of faith by the removal of doubt.

Maggāmaggañānadassana-visuddhi: Purity of the path by the true understanding of what is and what is not the path.

Paṭipadāñānadassana-visuddhi: Purity of the intellectual perception of the true path.

Ñānadassana-visuddhi: Purity of knowledge and insight.

The main items are really three: *Sīlavissuddhi* (Purity of morals), *Cittavissuddhi* (Purity of mind), and *Paññāvisuddhi* (Purity of knowledge).

The rough sketch of the Buddhist system of Purity was developed by *Buddhadatta* in his *Abhidhammāvatāra*, and more fully by *Upatissa* in his *Vimuttimaggā*. The final development of the system took place in *Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimaggā*. There is no other Buddhist work which bears comparison with *Buddhaghosa's Path of Purity* in respect of thoroughness and painstaking analysis.

A General Buddhist View:—*Nirvāṇa* means the annihilation of passion, hatred, and delusion. It is the waning out of all evils—

rāga, *dosa*, and *moha*,—the diminishing of the vicious and the weak in the man which is the negative aspect of his positive advance in becoming (Mrs. Rhys Davids, *The Minor Anthologies*, I, p. xix). According to Childers, it means (1) the state of blissful sanctification called Arhatship, and (2) the annihilation of (worldly) existence in which Arhatship ends (*Dict. of the Pāli Language*, p. 266). In its negative aspect, it means the going out of greed, ill-will, and dulness, and also freedom from these; it may be variously described as 'comfort, end to ill, end of becoming, or life, end of craving and the rest'. In its positive aspect, and as subjectively considered, it means 'mental illumination conceived as light, insight, state of feeling happiness, and cool and calm and content (*sītibhāva*, *nibbuti*, *upasama*), peace, safety, and self-mastery'. Objectively considered, it means 'truth, the highest good, a supreme opportunity, a regulated life, communion with the Best, and bringing congenial work'.¹

According to the *Khuddakapāṭha*, *Nirvāṇa* is immortality (*amata*) and the bliss of emancipation (*nibbuti*). It is the tranquil state (*santaṃ padam*).

According to the *Dhammapada*, *Nirvāṇa* is immortality, the opposite of which is death. The path of action is the path to immortality, and the way of indolence is the way to death (*appamādo amatapadam*, *pamādo maccuno padam*). It is secure from the worldly contact, and unsurpassed in its reach. The path that leads to gain is one, and the path that leads to *Nirvāṇa*, another (*aññā hi lābhūpanisā*, *aññā nibbānagāminī*). The Buddhas declare the *Nirvāṇa* as the highest condition (*paramam*). It is the greatest happiness (*paramam sukham*). With the vision of *Nirvāṇa* the sinful nature vanishes for ever (*attham gacchanti āsavā*). Without knowledge there is no meditation, without meditation there is no knowledge; he who has knowledge and meditation is near unto *Nirvāṇa* (*yamhi jhānañ ca paññā ca, sa ve nibbānasantike*).

It is distinctly stated in the *Sutta-Nipāta*, that *Nirvāṇa* is a matchless island which possesses nothing, grasps at nothing and which is the destroyer of decay and death (pp. 211-12). The world is bound by pleasure and by leaving desire *Nirvāṇa* can be attained (*Ibid.*, pp. 214-215).

According to the *Alīnacitta Jātaka* (II, p. 17), one who possesses strong will, cherishes all good, takes to the Refuge and follows the path leading to *Nirvāṇa*, is capable of destroying all ties by slow degrees. The *Mora Jātaka* (II, p. 26) describes *Nirvāṇa* as the only everlasting thing, and says that all other things being composite

¹ The characterization is based on *The Psalms of the Early Buddhist Brethren and Sisters*.

in their nature, are unsubstantial, transient, and subject to living and death. The Gaṇḍatindu Jātaka (V, p. 55) says that zeal is the way to Nirvāṇa.

According to the Visuddhimagga (Vol. II, p. 612) Nirvāṇa is the extinction of five Khandhas. The attributes of Nirvāṇa consist of absence of passion, destruction of pride, getting rid of thirst, freedom from attachment and destruction of all sensual pleasures. It is the cessation of all sufferings. It can be attained through meditation, wisdom, precept, steadfastness, and the rest.

According to the Atthasālinī (p. 409), Nirvāṇa means that from which the arrow of desire is gone away (*taṇhā saṅkhātaṃ vānaṃ niggaṭaṃ vā tasmā vānāti nibbānaṃ*). It is freedom from all sins and final release from lower nature.

In the Sumaṅgalavilāsini (I, 217) Buddhaghosa says that a person obtains Nirvāṇa making himself free from the wilderness of misdeeds. It is described here as the state of bliss.

In the Kathāvattupakaraṇa aṭṭhakathā (p. 178) Nirvāṇa is described as a void.

According to the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, Nirvāṇa is so called because it is a departure from that craving which is called *vāna*, lusting or craving. It is to be realized through knowledge belonging to the four paths. It is the object of those paths and their fruition. It is supramundane or transcendental (*lokuttara*). It is excellent, uncreated, and free from lust.

According to Nāgasena's view in the Milinda, an Ariyasāvaka does not take pleasure in the senses and their objects. Inasmuch as he does not find delight in them, in him craving ceases, and by the cessation of craving (*taṇhā*) grasping (*upādāna*) ceases, and by the cessation of grasping, becoming (*bhava*) ceases, and when becoming has ceased, birth ceases, and with its cessation, birth, old age, and death, grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow, and despair cease to exist. In this sense cessation is Nirvāṇa.

Just as those whose hands and feet have not been cut off know how sad a thing it is to have them cut off, by hearing the sounds of the lamentation of those whose hands and feet have been cut off, even so, it is by hearing the pleasing words of those who have seen Nirvāṇa that they know how happy a state it is.

Nirvāṇa being uncaused, there is a cause that will bring about the realization of Nirvāṇa, but there is no cause that will bring about Nirvāṇa itself. A man by his ordinary power can go up from a certain place to the Himalayas, the king of mountains, but he cannot bring the Himalayas to his place. So is the case with Nirvāṇa. Further, Nirvāṇa is uncompounded, not made of anything, yet it

exists. It is perceptible to the mind. By means of his pure heart, refined and straight, free from the obstacles, free from low cravings, the disciple of the Noble One can realize Nirvāṇa. Just as wind exists, though it cannot be shown by its colour, or its form, whether as thin or thick, or short or long, even so Nirvāṇa exists, though it cannot be shown in colour or in form.

The supposed purity of infant mind is no comparison for the purity of consciousness in Nirvāṇa. The mind of one under seven years of age is powerless and weak, mean, small, slight, obscure and dull, whereas the condition of Nirvāṇa is transcendental, important, weighty, wide-reaching and extensive. The infant with imperfect mind is unable to grasp an idea so great.

Nirvāṇa is all bliss though the process seeking after it is painful. It is bliss unalloyed. When it is suggested that Nirvāṇa is painful, it is simply meant that the process of seeking after Nirvāṇa is painful, while Nirvāṇa itself is bliss, pure and simple, and there is no pain mixed with it.

Just as it is impossible to tell the measure of the water in the sea or the number of creatures dwelling therein, though, after all, the sea exists, so it is impossible to tell the form or figure or duration or measure of Nirvāṇa, though, after all, it is a condition that does exist. These are some of its characteristics. It is untarnished by evil dispositions. It is cool and assuages the fever arising from all evil dispositions. It does allay the thirst of the craving after lusts, the craving after future life, and the craving after worldly prosperity. It is the refuge of beings tormented with the poison of evil dispositions. It does put an end to grief. It is ambrosia. It is mighty and boundless, and fills not with all beings who enter into it. It is the abode of all 'good men'—the Arahats. It is all in blossom, as it were, with the innumerable and various and fine flowers of purity, of knowledge, and of emancipation. It is the support of life for it puts an end to old age and death. It does increase the power of *iddhi* or supernormal powers. It puts a stop in all beings to the suffering arising from evil disposition. It overcomes in all beings the weakness which arises from hunger and every sort of pain. It is not born, neither does it grow old, it does not pass away, it has no rebirth, it is unconquerable, thieves cannot carry it, it is not attached to anything, it is the sphere in which *arahats* move, nothing can obstruct it, and it is infinite. It satisfies every desire. It causes delight. It is full of lustre. It is hard to attain to. It is unequalled in the beauty of its perfume. It is praised by all the Noble ones. It is beautiful in righteousness. It has the pleasant perfume of righteousness. It has a pleasant taste. It is very exalted. It is immoveable. It is inaccessible to

sinner. It is a condition in which no evil dispositions can grow. It is free from desire to please and from resentment.

Nirvāṇa is neither past, nor future, nor present, nor produced, nor not-produced, nor producible.

Lastly, Nirvāṇa is to be known by freedom from distress and danger, by confidence, peace, calm, bliss, happiness, delicacy, purity and freshness. He who orders his life aright realizes that nibbāna. He who gains the highest fruit of Arahatsip, may be said to have seen Nirvāṇa, face to face.

A layman also can attain Nirvāṇa. A close study of the Guhaṭṭhaka-Sutta (p. 58) and the Jarā-Sutta (p. 129) of the Mahāniddeśa together with their commentaries by Dhammapāla helps up to look for the *munis* both among the householders and the recluses. The *munis* are defined as persons who have attenuated their sins and have seen Nirvāṇa and as to householders, they are represented as persons who are over-burdened with all household duties. No other discrimination is sought to be made between the Āgāramunis and the Anāgāramunis than this, that while the former keep to household life, the latter do not. As for the attainment, both are held out as equally competent to win the highest state, which is Nirvāṇa.¹ In the Aṅguttara Nikāya, we find mention of 21 lay arahats.² Rhys Davids in his introduction to the Sāmaññaphala Sutta, calls them laymen *arahats* (S.B.B., II, 63 fn.). In the Kathāvatthu (P.T.S., Bk. IV, p. 268), we find Kulaputta Yasa, householder Uttiya and young Brahman Setu attained arahatsip in all the circumstances characterizing the life of the laity.³ Referring to this point S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids have inferred

¹ Āgāram majjhe vasantā āgāramunino pabbajjūpagatā anāgāramunino satta-sekkhamunino arahantā asekkhamunino paccekabuddhā paccekamunino sammāsambuddhā munimunino. Āgāramunino—Āgārikā ti kasigorakkhādi āgārika-kamme nijuttā, ditṭhapadāti ditṭhanibbānā, viññāta sāsanaṭi viññātam sikkhattayasānaṃ etesanti viññāta sāsanaṃ. Anāgārā ti kasigorakkhādi āgāriyakammaṃ etesaṃ natthīti, pabbajjitā anāgārā ti vuccanti. (Commentary on the Mahāniddeśa, Siamese Edition, p. 218, Guhaṭṭhaka Sutta and Jarā Sutta.)

² Chahi bhikkhave dhammeli samannāgato Bhalliko gahapati... Sudatto gahapati Anāthapiṇḍiko... Citto gahapati Macchikāsaṇḍiko... Hatthako Ālavako... Mahānāmo Sakkō... Uggo gahapati Vesāliko... Uggato gahapati... Sūro Ambaṭṭho... Jivako Komārabhacco... Nakulapitā gahapati... Tavakāṇṇiko gahapati... Purāno gahapati... Isidatto gahapati... Sandhāno gahapati... Vijayo gahapati... Vajjiyamahito gahapati... Meṇḍako gahapati... Vāseṭṭho upāsako, Ariṭṭho upāsako, Sāraggo upāsako Tathāgate niṭṭham gato amataddaso amatam sacchikatvā iriyati. (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. III, p. 451; Cf. Vinaya, I, 17; Samyutta Nikāya, V, 94; The Questions of King Milinda, II, 57, 96, 245; Dhammapada Commentary, I, 308, etc.)

³ Yaso kulaputto, Uttiya gahapati, Setu mānavo gihissa byañjanena arahattam pattā, tena vata re vattabbe 'Gihī' ssa Arahā ti'.

that a layman under exceptional circumstances may attain arahatship but to keep it he must give up the world (Points of Controversy, p. 158 fn.). Rhys Davids and Mrs. Rhys Davids in Part III, p. 5 of the Dialogues of the Buddha (S.B.B., Vol. IV) have raised this question ; who in the oldest period could be an *arahat* ? The answer is : Anyone—men or women, old or young, lay or *religieux*. It is distinctly mentioned in the Milindapañha that whether he is a layman or a recluse, he who attains the supreme insight, to the supreme conduct of life, he too will win his way to the excellent condition of *arahatship* :—

‘Gihī pi mahārāja sammā-paṭipanno ārādhako hoti nāyam dhammaṃ kusalaṃ, pabbajito pi mahārāja sammā-paṭipanno ārādhako hoti nāyam dhammaṃ kusalaṃ.’

It is clear from this that the householder if he leads a religious life, may attain to *arahatship* which is nirvāṇa. The Milindapañha further points out that whosoever has attained, as a layman, to *arahatship* one of the two courses is left to him and no other—either that very day he enters the order, or he dies, for beyond that day he cannot last (The Questions of King Milinda, II, p. 96).

All persons who as laymen, living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of senses, realize in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good Nirvāṇa—all of them had in former births accomplished their training, laid the foundation, in the practice of the thirteen vows, had purified their walk and conduct by means of them ; and so now even as laymen, living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of senses, they do realize in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good Nirvāṇa (Ibid., II, p. 253).

MISCELLANEA

‘ALĀ-UD-DĪN KHALJĪ’S DECCAN EXPEDITIONS

Prof. S. K. Aiyangar has dealt in some detail with the history of the Muhammadan invasions of the Deccan.¹ His conclusions with regard to the invasions of ‘Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī may be briefly summarized, for he holds that these were little more than plundering raids.² Thus, during the reign of his uncle ‘Alā-ud-dīn is said to have desired to ‘carry himself to a higher position than that of a governor’. We are told that he invaded Devagiri only to procure money, ‘the one essential required for the fulfilment of this’ desire. The second expedition to Devagiri was intended, we are assured, to strengthen the Exchequer, in order that ‘Alā-ud-dīn might create a big and efficient standing army capable of suppressing internal rebellions and resisting the continual aggressions of the Mughals. ‘Alā-ud-dīn is said to have ‘considered it bad policy to go on extending his empire by adding territory at great distances, which would only mean so many distant centres for disturbance and rebellion’. Again, the object of the expedition against Warangal is supposed to have been ‘Alā-ud-dīn’s desire to ‘fairly fleece’ the Hindu king ‘of all his wealth and treasure, and even all the elephants’. The expedition against Dvārasamudra and the Pāndya kingdom was actuated, it is said, by Malik Kāfūr’s desire to possess himself of the good elephants found on the coast of Ma’bar.

This narrow view of ‘Alā-ud-dīn’s policy is hardly justifiable. To place him in the same category with Sultān Māhmūd of Ghaznā, so far as his relations with the Hindu kingdoms in the Deccan are concerned, does not appear to be an adequate interpretation of the data at our disposal.

If ‘Alā-ud-dīn ‘considered it bad policy to go on extending his empire by adding territory at great distances’,³ how can we explain his annexation of Gujarāt? There is no doubt that the province as a whole was annexed to the empire of Delhi and governed by provincial satraps appointed by and responsible to the Sultāns.⁴

¹ *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders.*

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 74-6, 82-4, 86, 90-1, 123.

³ Cf. similar remarks of Sir Wolsley Haig in *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 114.

⁴ Sir E. C. Bayley, *Gujarat*, p. 38; J. Bird, *Political and Statistical History of Gujarat*, pp. 160, 163; Briggs, *Rise of Muhammadan Power*, Vol. I, p. 328; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 205-7, 217.

So far as the first expedition is concerned, 'Alā-ud-dīn's real motive is somewhat obscure. Baranī (who is particularly trustworthy in this respect, inasmuch as his uncle, 'Ala-ul-Mulk, was one of the most intimate followers of 'Alā-ud-dīn) says that Jalāl-ud-dīn thought that 'Alā-ud-dīn was so troubled by his wife and mother-in-law that he wanted to conquer some country wherein he might stay and never return home'.¹ Firishta says that his object was 'to establish an independent power'.² If this is true, 'Alā-ud-dīn must have later on changed his mind. He may have found it impossible, owing to political and military difficulties, to establish himself as an independent king in the Deccan; or, the enormous wealth which he obtained at Devagiri may have strengthened his self-confidence and induced him to try for the imperial throne itself. Be that as it may, that 'Alā-ud-dīn cared for something more than mere plunder is shown by the fact that he demanded the cession of Elichpur and its dependencies.³

The second expedition against Devagiri was rendered necessary by the neglect of the Hindu king to pay his tribute for three years.⁴ This clearly proves that he owed allegiance as a tributary ruler to the Sultān of Delhi. He was taken as a prisoner to Delhi, where the Sultān treated him well. 'The Rāi was ever afterwards obedient, and sent his tribute regularly as long as he lived.'⁵ Later on, when Malik Kāfūr was sent against Warangal, the king of Devagiri 'was as dutiful as any *raiyat* of Delhi'.⁶ What more did Akbar receive from the Rajput princes who submitted to him?⁷

Baranī says that when Malik Kāfūr was sent against Warangal, he was instructed to capture the fort and to overthrow the king; but the king was not to be pressed too hard if he consented to surrender his wealth and become a tributary prince.⁸ According to Prof. Aiyangar, 'Alā-ud-dīn ordered his general to be satisfied with gold because he was unwilling to annex the territory.'⁹ But Baranī makes it clear that 'Alā-ud-dīn was cautious because the king of Warangal might prove too strong to be vanquished, and

¹ Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 149. Cf. B. De, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 145.

² Briggs, Vol. I, p. 304.

³ Briggs, Vol. I, p. 310.

⁴ Amīr Khusrav, *Tarikh-i-'Alāi* (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 77); Baranī's account (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 200).

⁵ Baranī's account (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 200-1).

⁶ Baranī's account (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 201-2).

⁷ Cf. the treaty concluded by Akbar with Rāo Surjan of Bundi. Tod's *Rajasthan*, edited by W. Crooke, Vol. III, pp. 1482-3.

⁸ Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 201.

⁹ *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 87.

that he asked Kāfūr to do his best to overpower the king if he refused to come to an arrangement. 'Alā-ud-dīn's aim was to reduce Warangal to the position of a tributary kingdom,¹ and not merely to 'fleece' the king 'of all his wealth and treasure'. He succeeded. Both Baranī² and Firishta³ say that the king promised to pay an annual tribute, and Amīr Khusrav says that he consented to send *jizyah* annually to Delhi.⁴

Prof. Aiyangar wants us to believe that Kāfūr's last expedition was intended merely to supply the royal stable with some of the good elephants of the extreme south. Amīr Khusrav says that the aim of the 'world-conquering king' was to 'spread the light of the Muhammadan religion' in 'that distant country'; and his eloquent description of the destruction of idols and temples and the slaughter of idolaters may appear to lend some support to this view.⁵ But Baranī, who was by no means less orthodox than the celebrated poet, does not say that the Sultān was inspired by a crusading zeal, nor does he refer to the great general's desire to get hold of huge elephants.⁶ Two things appear to be clear: one is that the king of Dvārasamudra was compelled to submit⁷; the other is that a fratricidal war in the Pāndya kingdom made it easy for Kāfūr to devastate Ma'bar.⁸ Prof. Aiyangar himself tells us that a Muhammadan garrison continued to live in Madura.⁹

It appears to be clear, therefore, that 'Alā-ud-dīn's Deccan expeditions should not be regarded as mere plundering raids. His aim was to reduce the then existing Hindu kingdoms to the position of tributary states, and in this respect his success is undeniable.

ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE.

¹ Briggs, Vol. I, p. 371.

² Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 203.

³ Briggs, Vol. I, p. 372.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī* (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 84).

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 85-6, 91.

⁶ Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 203-4.

⁷ Baranī (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 203-4) and Firishta (Briggs, Vol. I, p. 373) say that he was defeated and taken prisoner. Amīr Khusrav (*Tārīkh-i-'Alāī*, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 89) says that he agreed 'to swear allegiance to the mighty emperor' without resorting to war, and that he offered all his treasures.

⁸ Baranī's account (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 204); Amīr Khusrav, *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī* (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 88); 'Abdullah, Wassāf, *Tazjīyatul Amsārwa Tajrīyatul Āsār* (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 49-50).

⁹ *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 123. Cf. Sir Wolseley Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 116.

NOTES ON THE MĀLAVAS

Mr. Adrish Chandra Banerji and Dr. B. C. Law have written two interesting articles on the Mālavas in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXI, pp. 218-219, and *Ancient Indian Tribes*, Vol. II, pp. 37-42, respectively. We shall give here some more information about them. Mr. Banerji's materials are mostly collected from the foreign writers, while ours are exclusively from the Sanskrit literatures.

For purposes of drama, dancing, painting, and astrology, the Hindus made minute studies of the movements, habits, features, dress, abode, etc. of all males and females. Their results are recorded in books like Bharata's *Nāṭya-Śāstra*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* (Part III),¹ *Bṛihatsamhitā* (Chaps. 68 and 69),² Bhoja's *Samarāṅganasūtra*, *Śukra-nītisāra*, etc. Mankind has been divided into two main groups, viz. Mahāpuruṣas (nobility) and Saṁkīrṇas (common people). All kings belong to the first and their subordinates to the second group. These two groups again are classified into five types each ; i.e. the Mahāpuruṣas into Haṁsa, Śaśa, Rucaka, Bhadra, and Mālavya and the Saṁkīrṇas into Vāmana, Jaghanya, Kuvja, Maṇḍalaka, and Sāmī. We shall here confine ourselves to the main details of the Mālavyas only. For minute details the original books should be consulted.

The stretch (measurement of chest with outstretched arms, from tip to tip of middle fingers) of the Mālavya is 108 digits (*Bṛihat°*), 104 in terms of his own digits (*Viṣṇu°*). The height is the same as the stretch. The arms of the Mālavya resemble the trunk of an elephant, reaching up to the knees. His joints are fleshy ; body, smooth and beautiful ; waist, slender ; face, oblong ; with height of 13 digits and breadth up to ear 3 digits less ; eyes, radiant ; cheeks, comely ; teeth, white and evenly set and the lips, not too fleshy.

Having by his valour obtained wealth, he will, residing in the recesses of mount Pāriyātra, reign as a wise king over Mālava, Bharukaccha, Surāṣṭra, Lāṭa, Sindhu, and so forth. He will live 70 years.

The Mālavyas were served by the Jaghanya type of the Saṁkīrṇas. (*Bṛihat°*.)

For detailed measurements of the different parts of the body of males and females, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* may be consulted. Dr. Kramrisch has given them in a tabular form in her translation.

¹ Vide Translation by Dr. Kramrisch, published by the Calcutta University.

² Ditto by Kern (J.R.A.S., Vol. III, 1875, pp. 93-97).

'Kinnaras, Rākṣasas, Nāgas should be of the size of a Mālavya.'
(*Viṣṇu*^o.)

'Women of good family should be made bashful and of the size of a Mālavya, wearing ornaments and not very showy dresses.'
(*Ibid.*)

The colour of the Mālavya was *Syāma* like the *mudga* pulse (kidney bean). (*Ibid.*)

The Mālava women used to drink. Vāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* says: 'Then, with heat soft as a Mālava woman's wine-flushed cheek, the day faded itself up.' (Cowell's Translation, p. 77.)

The people of Avanti, Vidiśā, Surāṣṭra, Mālava, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Ānarta, Arbuda, Daśārṇa, and Mṛttika have got the same *pravṛtti*, i.e. dramatic tendencies as that of Avanti. (*Nāṭya*^o.) This shows that these people had similarities in *deśa* (country), *veśa* (dress), *bhāṣā* (dialect), *āchāra* (custom), and *vārtā* (profession).

The maidens of Avanti and of Vaṅga used to wear ringlets of hair. (*Ibid.*)

Bharata prescribes Āvanti dialect for the rogues and gamblers (*dhūrta*).

Rājaśekhara says that the people of Avanti and Pāriyātra with Daśapura speak *Bhutabhāṣā*. (*Kāvya-mimāṃsā*, Chap. X, p. 51.)

Mālava is the name of a tribe, a country, a surname (Mālavya), and a mode of music (Mālavī).

We have seen that the original home of the Mālavya was Pāriyātra, which according to Baudhayana's *Dharmasūtra* formed the southern boundary of the Āryāvarta; their dialect *Bhutabhāṣā* (Paiśāchī ?); colour, brownish dark, and their size, like the Kinnaras and Nāgas. Their women used to drink. In the *Mahābhārata* we find this practice among the Madra women, who were Bāhikas. All these tend to show that they were other than the Aryans, probably Bāhikas.

Like the Mālavas, the Bhadras, another of the five types mentioned above, have given name to a tribe. The Uttamabhadras mentioned in the Nasik cave inscription of Uṣavadata (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 44) were probably a section of the Bhadras. Bhadra is the name of three countries (*Bṛihat*^o); a surname and also a type of buildings. We invite the attention of the Anthropologists to these descriptions. Let them see if this classification into types has anything to do with the ethnic grouping of men.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

MAHĪPĀLA OF THE CHAṄḌAKAUŚĪKAM

Scholars hold different views about the identification of king Mahīpāla mentioned in the *Chaṅḍakauśikam* by Ārya Kṣemīśvara. Some think that he was Mahīpāla I of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, while the others say that king Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal has been referred to. Let us see if we can find out any clue to the right solution of the problem.

Kṣemīśvara in the prelude to his drama makes the following mention of his patron :—

*'Yah samśritya prakṛti=gahanām=ārya=Chāṅakya= nītim
Jitvā Nandān Kusumanagaram Chandragupto jigāya |
Karnāṭatvam dhruvam=upagatān=ādya tān-eva hantum
Dordarṣ-āḍhya sa punar=abhavac=chrī-Mahīp āladevah ||'*

Here the poet says that Chandragupta, by having recourse to the policy of Chāṅakya, defeated the Nandas and conquered Kusumanagara, was born again as Mahīpāladeva to chastise the Nandas, who were born as Karnāṭas.

To ensure the right identification of Mahīpāla, one very important point has to be noted here. Although the poet distinctly says that Chandragupta was born as Mahīpāla, and his adversaries, the Nandas, as the Karnāṭas, he is silent about two other points, viz. the person who helped Mahīpāla and the name of the place, this king conquered by defeating the Karnāṭas. Under the circumstances, would we be wrong in assuming that the names of Chāṅakya and Kusumanagara were common, both to Chandragupta and to Mahīpāla? So this Mahīpāla must satisfy the points that he re-occupied Kusumanagara by driving away the Karnāṭas with the help of his minister Chāṅakya.

Let us first see how far the Gurjara-Pratihāra Mahīpāla I satisfies these conditions. There is no evidence in history that this king had a minister named Chāṅakya, or ever conquered Kusumanagara. So he cannot be the king referred to by the poet. On the other hand we find that the Pāla king Mahīpāla meets all the points. He was unquestionably the lord of Kusumanagara. It is also on record that his throne was usurped by the intruders, who had no right to it, but he regained it (*E.I.*, Vol. XIV, p. 326). Tāranātha supplies us with the information that this Mahīpāla had a minister named Chāṅaka or Chāṅakya. He says that when Mahīpāla's father died he was only 7 years old. His maternal uncle Chāṅaka administered the country for him for 29 years (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 366).

Now the only point remains to be found out is who these Karnāṭas were. It is said that there was no Karnāṭa invasion in

the reign of Mahīpāla of Bengal. For Karnāṭas we need not look for their invasion from outside Bengal. For there was no dearth of them in Bengal at that time. From the time of Dharmapāla down to the time of Vīgrahapāla III most of the Pāla charters contain the mention of the Karnāṭas as the *rāja-pād-opajīvinah* or dependents (*E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 304 ff. and Vol. XV, p. 297). The Sena kings of Bengal called themselves Karnāṭa-Kṣatriyas (*Beng. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 113). Again, from the Naihāṭi grant of Vallālasena (*Ibid.*, p. 76) we learn that many Karnāṭa princes were living in Rāḍha, in whose family was born Sāmantasena, the grandfather of Vijayasena (1088-1158 A.D.).¹ Not only Karnāṭa-Kṣatriya princes but Karnāṭa-Brāhmaṇ princes also settled in Bengal. The well-known Vaiṣṇava saints Rūpa and Sanātana were descended from a Brāhmaṇ prince in Karnāṭa (*Laghutoṣinī* by Jīvagosvāmī). These Karnāṭas were probably soldiers of fortune. Some of whom might have taken the advantage of the weak government, in the early part of the reign of Mahīpāla, and invaded Kusumapura (Pāṭalīputra) and drove him from there. There is reason to believe that the Karnāṭas also lived in Vaṅgāla.² Tāranātha also speaks of the

¹ The Bodh-Gayā inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Tuṅga Dharmāvaloka (D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscrs. of N. India*, No. 1668) also bears testimony to the fact that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas or Karnāṭakas existed in Bengal. King Nānyadeva of Mithilā appears to have been the brother of Kīrtirāja, the father of the Tuṅga Dharmāvaloka (*Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. I, p. 57).

² King Gopichānd, the hero of the legends of Nāthism, is identified with King Govindachandra of Vaṅgāla-deśa, mentioned in the Tirumalai rock-inscription (1025 A.D.) of Rājendra Chola (*E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 233). The Bengal version of the legends place Gopichānd's home, kingdom and relations in Gauḍ-Vaṅgāl. But according to Punjabi version of the story, he was the king of Ujjain, but his home was in Gauḍ-Vaṅgāl (*Proc. Sixth Orient. Confer.*, p. 267). According to the same and the Hindusthani versions the sage king Bhartṛhari was his maternal uncle (*Ibid.*, pp. 267-8). Tāranātha also says the same thing, with the additional information that Bhartṛhari 'descended from the family of the ancient kings of Mālava' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 365). According to the Gujarati version, Gopichānd, in company with his *guru* Jalandhari-pāda, visited his sister in the city of Dhārā (*Proc. Sixth Orient. Confer.*, p. 269). Again, according to Durlabhamallika's Bengali account Dhārīchandra was the grandfather of Gopichānd. This Dhārīchandra is probably a corruption of Dhārāchandra (moon of Dhārā). So the traditions persistently connect Gopichānd's and his mother's family with Mālava, Ujjain, and Dhārā. This leads us to think that they originally came from Mālava. If so, let us see when they possibly came to Bengal.

In about the beginning of the ninth century A.D., Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III made vast conquests, including Mālava, and appointed Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes to rule them. In this way Rāṣṭrakūṭas or Karnāṭakas found their way to Mālava. Paramāra king Siyaka II by defeating Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Khaṭṭika in 972 A.D. became independent in Mālava. Some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes in Mālava might have sided with Khaṭṭika and were consequently driven away by Siyaka. Next

Vaṅgāla invasion of Magadha in the early part of Mahipāla's reign (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 366). The recently published Nālandā inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 97-101) also lends support to this. We have dealt with it in a separate note.¹

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

PĀṆINI AND THE YAVANAS

It is now unquestionably settled that Pāṇini, the grammarian, flourished before Alexander, and it is no use saying this day in many words that the theories of Böhrtlingk, Weber, Hopkins, and others, who endeavoured to place the celebrated grammarian long after Alexander, have proved to be wholly ineffective. But who the people exactly were in the mind of Pāṇini, when he taught us the formation of the word 'Yavanānī' from 'Yavana' (IV. I. 19), still remains a moot point. There is, however, no doubt that the native of Sālātura, in Gāndhāra, derived his knowledge of the Yavanas from some Yavana settlement near about Gāndhāra. The valuable piece of evidence furnished by Arrian's work places it above all question that there was a Hellenic settlement in Nysa, on the Kabul river and near Jalālābād, previous to the invasion of Alexander (Carmichael Lectures, 1921, D. R. Bhandarkar, p. 32; Hindu Polity, K. P. Jayaswal, Calcutta, 1924, part I, p. 33 and foot-note). But the settlement appears, it should be noted, to have been one of the Thracians, for the deputies of the City State of Nysa waiting on Alexander told him that their city was founded by Dionysos, which means, and can only mean, that these people were worshippers of Dionysos, and Dionysos was after all a Thracian god. The numismatical researches of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar have also revealed that the Greeks *did* conquer some region near the N.W. Frontiers long before Alexander. But we cannot, we must admit, satisfactorily explain the term 'Yavana' as in Pāṇini's grammar, until we have the evidence of a genuine Ionian colony planted not far away from

year saw the fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire in south in the hands of Chaulukya Tailapa (*Hist. of Dekkan*, p. 132, 3rd Edn.). So these princes probably took refuge in Bengal, where the Pālas, with whom the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had matrimonial connections, and eventually became their feudatories in Eastern and Northern Bengal. Gopichānd's and his maternal uncle's families were probably these Rāṣṭrakūṭas or Karnātakas referred to by Ksemīśvara.

¹ *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 292.

Gāndhāra, for there is no proof whatever that before the coming of Alexander the term 'Yavana' had already been in India as general an epithet as to denote one and all that in subsequent times came under the denotation of the word 'Greek'.

Fortunately, however, the existence of such a colony of Ionians is not unknown, and they are the so-called 'Branchidæ'. 'These people', the account runs (Ind. Ant., IX, 1880, pp. 68-71, Rev. S. Beal), 'claimed to be a sacred gens, descended from Branchos, the mythic founder of the temple of Apollo, near Miletus in Ionia. Their forefathers had yielded up the treasures of their temple to the Persian king, Xerxes, one hundred and fifty years before (the invasion of Alexander). Their surrender brought on them so much odium that when the dominion of Alexander was overthrown on the coast, they retired with him into the interior of Asia'. Xerxes 'transported them to a small town in Sogdiana, between Balkh and Samarkhand, where their descendants were found by Alexander. They were now a bilingual and partially dishellenized race, yet still attached to their traditions and origin.'

For the deed of their forefathers, these Ionians were all, not excluding women and children, cruelly massacred 'without arms or attempt at resistance' by the Macedonian hero; 'their walls were ordered to be levelled and their sacred groves cut down', etc. etc.

It is not unlikely that Pāṇini of Gāndhāra obtained his knowledge about the *true* Yavanas from the Ionians of Sogdiana, in which case, however, his time falls between 479 B.C., the date of Xerxes' retreat from Greece, and 327 B.C., the date of Alexander's invasion.

Tradition as embodied in the Kathā-sarit-sāgara of Somadēva, as also in the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā of Rājaśekhara, has it that Pāṇini had been a student of Pāṭaliputra. There is one further source of information to lend support to it, viz. Tāranātha, the Tibetan chronicler, who looks to have got the story from any other source than either of the above two (Ind. Ant., IV, 1875, pp. 102-3). Instead of rejecting the tradition off-hand because of its late character, we are, on the contrary, required to set a good value to it, because that explains best his knowledge of the eastern as also south-eastern tracts and cities of India. Particularly significant is his reference to 'Gauḍa-pura' (VI. 2. 100), being probably the earliest mention of it in Sanskrit, including Vedic literature. In the epics, there is, so far as my knowledge goes, no mention of 'Gauḍa', although 'gauḍī' (wine) is mentioned at least once in the Rāmāyaṇa (Bālakāṇḍa, ch. 53), and a good many times in the Mahābhārata, while, on the other hand, 'Gauḍa' is known to Kauṭilya (Arthasāstra, 86).

Pāṭaliputra (Kusumapura) was founded by Udaya, the grandson of Ajātaśatru, the contemporary of the Buddha, and the reign

of Udaya has been fixed at 483-467 B.C., taking 544 B.C. as the year of the Buddha's *Mahā-parinirvāna* (J. B. O. R. S., 1915, pp. 114-16. The foundation of Pāṭaliputra by Kālāśoka, alias Kākavarṇa, does not arise at all into question). The newly founded city must have taken a long time, not less than half a century, to win an all-India fame as a seat of learning. This is apt to bring the date of Pāṇini in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C., or later. Again, the mention of Gauḍa first in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and then in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* also indicates that these two were not separated from each other by an interval of centuries. Pāṇini could thus very well refer to the Ionians of Sogdiana as the Yavanas in his grammar.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.

KOLĀNCHA, THE FATHERLAND OF THE RĀḌHĪ AND THE VĀRENDRA BRĀHMAṆAS

The earlier *kulaji* books of the Rāḍhī and the Vārendra Brāhmaṇas say that the five forefathers of these Brāhmaṇas, of the *gotras* of Śāṇḍilya, Bhāradvāja, Kāsyapa, Vātsa, and Sāvārṇi, came to Gauḍa in Bengal at the invitation of king Ādiśūra from KOLĀNCHA.¹ Nobody can say where this Kolāncha is or was. Late MM. H. P. Śāstrī writing about it says: 'Its identification is not certain. Various theories have been put forward, none of which are trustworthy.' (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, p. 405.) We shall in this note try to find out its locality.

It appears that these Kolāncha Brāhmaṇas were well known in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. Hitherto six charters have come to light from different provinces, viz., Bihar (D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of the Inscription of Northern India*, No. 1555), Orissa (*Ibid.*, No. 1700, and Vinayak Misra's *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 52-56), Bengal (*Ibid.*, No. 1632), Assam, (*Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvalī*, p. 155), and Mālava (charter exhibited at the 150th anniversary of the Asiatic Society, Bengal), recording land-grants to the Brāhmaṇas from Kolāncha. The time of these inscriptions ranges from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. In the Bengal grant the name Kolāncha has been sanskritized into Kroḍānchi, while in

¹ According to the current tradition they are said to have come from Kanauj. Strangely enough, there is still a village named Kanauj in the Rajshahi district in North Bengal.

the Assam grant it has been made Kroḍāñja. The editor of the latter incorrectly read it 'Krosañja'. All other charters have got Kolāñcha.

The Assam plate supplies something more than the name Kolāñcha, which has given us a clue to find out its location. It writes :— '*grāmah Kroḍāñja-nām-āsti Śrāvastyām*' i.e. there was a village named Kroḍāñja in Śrāvasti. Where could have been this Śrāvasti? We have already pointed out that this Śrāvasti of the Brāhmaṇs is different from Śrāvasti or modern Sahet Mahet, which was pre-eminently a place of the Buddhists and much earlier. (*I.A.*, Vol. LX., pp. 14-18). This Brāhmaṇ Śrāvasti of Bengal does not figure in epigraphy before the tenth century.

A corroborative evidence of our theory has recently been found. In the latest issue of the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. XX.) has been published an inscription of the Gupta period by Dr. Radhagovinda Basak. It has been found in a village named Vai in the district of Dinajpur. The inscription contains the name of a village called Vāyī, which name also occurs in the Damodarpur copper-plate No. 3 of the same district. (*E.I.*, Vol. XV., p. 136.) There can be no doubt that this Vāyī and Vai are identical. The Vaigrama plate also contains the name of Pañchanagara. A village of the same name still exists in the Baṅgshihari police station of the Dinajpur district. Now the donee of another charter of Assam is stated to have come from the village of Vai in Śrāvasti (*Sāvathyām-asti Vai-nāma grāmo dhāma dvi-janmanām*). (*Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvalī*, p. 137). Now as the village of Vai is in Bengal, Śrāvasti must also have to be located there. Does not this conclusively prove that there was a Śrāvasti in Bengal? Similarly Śrāvasti and Tarkkārīkā of the Silimpur inscription (Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 1727) have also to be placed in Bengal. In many other plates we find mentions of Brāhmaṇs from villages in Śrāvasti. Some of these again can be traced in Northern Bengal. We hope, we can now confidently place the Brāhmaṇ village of Kolāñcha also in this Śrāvasti of Bengal. There is a village named Kularch or Kularchya in the Bogra district. We are indebted to Mr. K. N. Dikshit for pointing out this village in the map. This village is colloquially known as Kuloch. The same district also contains a village named Kālañja. One of these two villages may be the old Kolāñcha.

After this can we place any credence to the current tradition that the forefathers of the Rāḍhī and the Vārendra Brāhmaṇs of Bengal came from the ancient province of Kānyakubja?

BENGALI POET LAKṢMĪDHARA AND BHOJADEVA

Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharjee must be thanked for bringing to the notice of scholars the Bengali poet Lakṣmīdhara and his *mahākāvya* named the *Cakrapāṇivijaya* in the April number of this *Journal*. The poet speaks of his native village as *Gauḍeṣu Bhaṭṭāṅkita-Kośal-ākhyā*. This Dr. Bhattacharjee translates as 'the village of Bhaṭṭa Kośala in Gauḍa'. We, however, think that the name of the village was Kośala, which was *āṅkita* i.e. marked or well-known by the residence of Bhaṭṭas or learned Brāhmanas. This may be the same as the modern village of Kushaila, in *thānā* Panchbibi of the district of Bogra (*Village Directory of Bogra*).

In the portion containing the accounts of the poet's family, the poet simply mentions Śrī-Bhojadeva without specifying the country. Dr. Bhattacharjee, naturally enough, has identified this Bhojadeva with the famous royal poet and patron of learning, Śrī-Bhojadeva of Dhārā. We, for reasons given below, wish to differ from him.

Poet Devadhara, the composer of the Baṭeṣvara stone inscription of the Chandella king Paramardideva of the Vikrama *Samvat* 1252 (1195 A.D.), gives the following account of his family :—

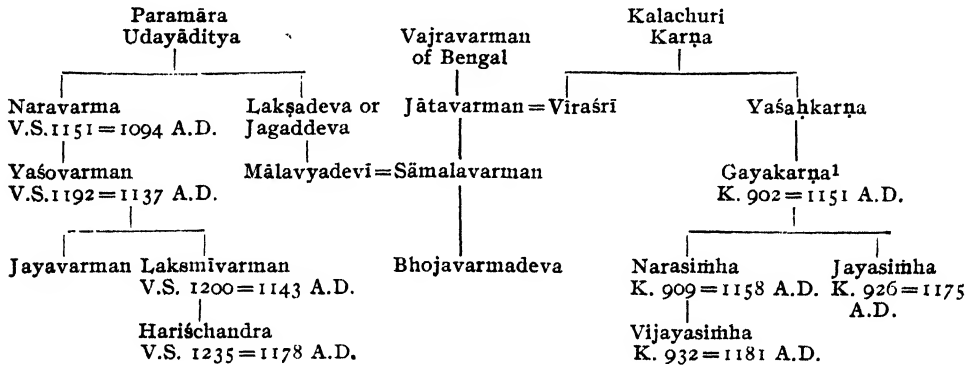
“गौडान्वयैकतिलकस्य गदाधराख्यो लक्ष्मीधरस्य तनयो कवि-चक्रवर्ती ।
विद्यावतां स परमः परमर्हिदेव संधान-विग्रह-महासचिवो बभूव ॥
तस्यात्मजो देवधरः कवीन्द्र प्रशक्तिमेताम् अनुलासकार ।
अस्यानुजो धर्मधरश्च घोरः कुतूहलात् बालकविल्लिखे ॥”

(*Ep. Ind.* vol. I. p. 207).

From the above, we learn that the poet Devadhara's grandfather was Lakṣmīdhara. His father *Kavicakravartī* Gadādhara was the prime minister of King Paramardideva. His younger brother *Bālakavi* Dharmadhara wrote the *praśasti*. They hailed from the country of Gauḍa. The date of the inscription is V.S. 1252 = 1195 A.D. As both Devadhara and his father Gadādhara were contemporaries of Paramardideva (c.V.S. 1223-1258), Lakṣmīdhara's time may approximately be fixed as V.S. 1202-27. We want to identify this *Gauḍānvaya* Lakṣmīdhara with Lakṣmīdhara, the author of the *Cakrapāṇivijaya*, who also hailed from Gauḍa. If there is any truth in our identification, he cannot be a contemporary of the King Bhoja of Dhārā (c.V.S. 1067-1112).

If the Paramāra King Bhoja was not the patron of our Lakṣmīdhara, we shall have to look for a King Bhoja who reigned about V.S. 1202-27, i.e. about the second half of the twelfth century

A.D. Such a King, we think, was the King Bhojavarmadeva of Bengal. We do not know the exact date of this king, but the matrimonial connections of the family will help us to arrive at it. From the Belāva plate of this King (*Beng. Inscrp.* Vol. III. pp. 14-24), we learn that his father Sāmalavarmadeva married Mālavadevī, the daughter of the Paramāra King Jagaddeva. His grandfather Jātavarman married Vīraśrī, the daughter of the Kalachuri King Karṇa. A glance at the following genealogies will at once give an approximate idea of the time of King Bhojavarmadeva :—



From the above table, we can say with pretty certainty that Bhojavarmadeva lived sometime between 1137 A.D. to 1181 A.D. Thus the poet Lakṣmīdhara was his contemporary, whose time, we have already seen, was about V.S. 1202-27 = 1145-1170 A.D.

Another Bengali poet, who flourished about the same time as the poet Devadhara (V.S. 1252 = 1195 A.D.) was Rājaguru *Bālasarasvatī* Madana. He graced the courts of the Paramāra Kings Arjunavarman (c. 1199-1215 A.D.) and his successor Devapāla (c. 1215-1232 A.D.). He wrote a drama named *Pārijātamañjarī* or *Vijayaśrī* and also some other works. His royal disciple Arjunavarman quoted verses from the latter in his commentary on the *Amaruśataka*. He also composed three inscriptions of King Arjunavarman (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. V. p. 378 and *J.Am.O.S.*, Vol. VII. pp. 25 and 33), and one of King Devapāla (*E.I.* Vol. IX. p. 103). In the *Pārijātamañjarī*, he describes himself as '*Gaudānvaya-Gangā-pulīna-rā(jaharṇ)śasya (Gaṅgādha)rāyane(rMadanasya rā) ja-guroh . . .*' (*E.I.* Vol. VIII. pp. 101-2). For all these we are tempted to think that he also belonged to the same family as Devadhara.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

¹ Gayakarṇa married Alhaṇadevī, daughter's daughter of Paramāra Udayāditya (*E.I.* Vol. II. pp. 10ff).

FURTHER HISTORICAL DATA FROM PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

Pāṇini's Sūtra, II. 2. 18, (Kugati-prādayaḥ), is the subject of interesting glosses by Patañjali. These glosses arise out of a Vārttika added by Kātyāyana. The implied meaning of this Vārttika, according to Patañjali, was elaborated in a series of other Vārttikas added by the Saunāgas. These supplementary Vārttikas have been cited by Patañjali. One of these is as follows ; 'Nirādayaḥ Krāntādyarthe pañchamyāḥ'—'the prefix *nih* is added to denote departure from a place to be mentioned in the fifth case.' Patañjali illustrates this Vārttika by the following two examples : (1) *Nish-Kauśāmbiḥ*, 'one who has travelled beyond Kauśāmbī' (2) *Nir-Vārānasiḥ*, 'one who has travelled beyond Vārānasī'.

These two comments of Patañjali may be considered along with those on another Sūtra of Pāṇini, III. 3, 136, which are given below :

1. Yo'yamadhvā ā-Pāṭaliputrād gantavyastasya yadavaram Sāketāditi—'Of the measure of distance to be travelled up to Pāṭaliputra, for that portion which is nearer to Sāketa, the tense should be *sāmānya-bhavisya*, as in *bhokshyāmahe*.'
2. Yo'yamadhvā ā-Pāṭaliputrād gantavyastasya yatparam Sāketāditi—'For the portion of the journey away from Sāketa but nearer to Pāṭaliputra the tense should be *anadyatana-bhavisya* as in the form *bhoktāsmāhe*.'

A comparative consideration of all these comments of Patañjali will lead to the interesting conclusion that that part of India with which Patañjali was familiar was marked by an important trade-route or highway running from Sāketa to Pāṭaliputra and touching at two important intermediate stages or stations, the two cities of Kauśāmbī and Vārānasī. A traveller who has passed from Sāketa beyond Kauśāmbī would be a *Nish-Kauśāmbiḥ* and must use the form *bhokshyāmahe*. But, if he has proceeded farther, and beyond Vārānasī, and is definitely a *Nir-Vārānasiḥ*, on his way towards Pāṭaliputra, he is to use the other form, *bhoktāsmāhe*.

It is also interesting to note that while Patañjali mentions Sāketa as one end of the journey and Pāṭaliputra the other end, the *Kāśikā*, retaining Pāṭaliputra as the other end of the journey, mentions Kauśāmbī in place of Sāketa as its starting-point. There may be a personal and psychological reason involved in this difference between the two grammarians. Each was perhaps thinking of

his own native city forming the centre of his geographical horizon. At any rate, India in which Patañjali had lived and moved, the Śuṅga empire of the second century B.C., had its four chief cities, Pāṭaliputra, Vārāṇasī, Sāketa, and Kauśāmbī, forming stations in frequented trade-routes of the times.

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI.

INDRAMITRA AND BRAHMAMITRA

A Reply to a Rejoinder

Mr. Jyotish Chandra Ghatak has published a fresh note on Indramitra and Brahmamitra (*Indian Culture*, July, 1935, pp. 171-173). This is a rejoinder to my reply to his original note which appeared in a previous issue of this journal (January, 1935, pp. 506-507). Mr. Ghatak has been 'provoked to a reply' by a 'young friend' of his who, he thinks, 'still continues to be a member of the Archæological Department'. The actual age is not stated. But that is immaterial.

Mr. Ghatak considers my reply to be 'a deplorably weak defence of Dr. Raychaudhuri'. Apparently my defence of Prof. Rapson was not so weak. The query about Brahmamitra has also not been repeated. He maintains discreet silence on these points.

In regard to Dr. Raychaudhuri Mr. Ghatak, I am sorry to say, has tried to mislead the reader by wrong quotations. Thus the reference to Marshall to which I drew attention (*I.C.*, April, 1935, p. 696) concerns not pp. 271f. of Dr. Raychaudhuri's text (3rd edition), as I am wrongly represented by Mr. Ghatak as saying (*I.C.*, July, 1935, p. 172), but pp. 270f. Again the said reference is found on p. 442 of Dr. Raychaudhuri's book and not on p. 270 as I am again wrongly represented as suggesting. The passage in Dr. Raychaudhuri's book (p. 442) containing the reference in question is quoted below :—

'Marshall, Sir John, 39, 270f., 281, 290, 300f., 304f., 309, 314f., 318f., 320, 373'.

It is clear from this that the authority of Sir John Marshall is cited for pp. 270f. (and not pp. 271f.) of the text, and Mr. Ghatak himself knows that 'if any scholar turns to p. 270 of Dr. Raychaudhuri's book, he no doubt finds the statement that 'names of two Mitra kings, Brahmamitra and Indramitra, are

found engraved on two rail pillars at Bodh Gaya . . .'. I trust the substitution of pp. 271f. for 270f. was not made *deliberately* to convey a wrong impression to the reader, as may be suspected from a perusal of the sentence 'On p. 271 there is no mention of Brahnamitra and Indramitra by Dr. Raychaudhuri'.

Marshall is cited as an authority by Dr. Raychaudhuri (on p. 442) for pp. 270f. in the same way as Fleet, Smith, and Allan are mentioned (on p. 128) as well-known authorities for the Gupta period. The further fact that the names of these scholars are found repeated in the body of the book or in the foot-notes in connection with particular topics like the Besnagar Inscription, does not imply that cases where foot-notes etc. are not given on a particular page are not covered by the prefatory or supplementary references. No author is under an obligation to give every reference, however pedantic or unnecessary, only on a particular page of the text, and not in prefatory passages or bibliographical lists, for the benefit of *dilettante* readers. No publisher will view with unconcern any unnecessary increase in the bulk of a book. Few readers like an unnecessary multiplication of foot-notes.

Now as to the name Indramitra. Mr. Ghatak has not explained why he omitted to mention the name of Marshall while writing his original note (*I.C.*, January, 1935, pp. 506-07). Is it because Marshall is actually referred to by the author of the *Political History of Ancient India*? Having realized that Lüders' list is not the last word of wisdom in Indian Epigraphy, he now consoles himself with the conjecture that Sir John Marshall's *Indramitra* is a *misprint* for *Indrāgnimitra*. If it is a *misprint*, why is it repeated in two chapters of the *Cambridge History* published more than a decade after the *Report* for 1907-08? Further Mr. Ghatak is careful not to mention the fact that even Bloch, who is now his authority in place of Lüders, identifies the king on the Bodh Gaya *pillar* with Indramitra of the coins, thus admitting that the form *Indramitra* for the royal name is not excluded. Mr. Ghatak has failed to understand the true import of my statement, 'Bloch's reading of the name on the *pillar* as Indrāgnimitra is at least doubtful'. It is doubtful because the only legible letters in the name on the *pillar* are *Im . . . tra*, and the same scholar who identifies *Im . . . tra* with Indrāgnimitra of the Coving Stone, also identifies him with Indramitra of the coins. Students who are really conversant with ancient Indian history know that many royal names have variants, e.g. Harshavardhana and Harshadeva, Nāgabhaṭa and Nāgāvaloka, Devaśakti and Devarāja, Mahendrapāla and Mahendrāyudha etc. If Harshavardhana and Harshadeva can be referred to simply as Harsha, if Aśokavardhana can be mentioned as Aśoka, why cannot *Im . . . tra*

of the *pillar* who is actually identified with Indramitra of the coins by Bloch as well as Marshall and Rapson, be referred to as Indramitra by Dr. Raychaudhuri? The latter never said that the name *Indramitra* is found on *Coping Stones*.

Mr. Ghatak speaks of my bad taste in referring to a certain editor of this journal, long connected with the Archæological Department, for his failure to point out the references in the *Archæological Survey Reports*. If 'B.M.B.' was acting on behalf of the whole editorial board why did he not mention the fact as he does on p. 153 of the July (1935) issue of this journal? It is not a little curious that no reference to Marshall and the *Archæological Survey Report* for 1907-8 occurs even in B.M.B.'s otherwise illuminating note.

As to the question of sincerity, relevancy and taste Mr. Ghatak shows admirable regard for all these virtues by dragging the name of a scholar who is no longer in the land of the living to defend himself. Blunders and other short-comings I believe, are not the monopoly of any one employee or ex-employee of certain well-known institutions, as a perusal of *J.R.A.S.*, 1926, p. 123 (January), *Modern Review*, 1923, September, pp. 340 f., the preface to Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity*, p. vi, etc. will show.

The reference to the 'Patna Statues' is another instance of Mr. Ghatak's relevancy and good taste. Will he kindly quote the passage in the *Political History* where these statues are mentioned as '*being exhibited*' in the Bharhut Gallery of the Indian Museum? On pp. 145 and 149 Dr. Raychaudhuri examines certain opinions and statements of *another writer*. The reference is to the nomenclature and position of the statues in question at the time when those statements were made by *that writer and his critics*. The author may be pardoned if he refuses to bewilder the student who wants to follow that controversy by giving a history of the recent peregrinations of 'historic' and 'pre-historic' 'artifacts' in the different sections of the Indian Museum when such details are not relevant to the question at issue. These may be left to employees and ex-employees of the Museum and of the Archæological Department who are known experts in the subject, or to those who can easily acquire a special knowledge of the same.¹

ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE.

¹ With this reply from Mr. A. C. Banerji the controversy is closed.—B. C. L.

THE CUSTOM OF PRIVILEGED THEFT IN INDIA

Dr. Kleiweg has shown that the custom of privileged theft is wide-spread among various aboriginal peoples living apart from each other in distant countries like Africa, Tamor, Soemba and New Guinea. Reference has been made in this connection to the practice prevailing among these peoples of permitting boys and girls on the attainment of puberty (e.g., on the occasion of circumcision in the case of a boy and first menstruation in the case of a girl) to steal with impunity things belonging to their neighbours.¹ It is supposed that belief in taboos is at the bottom of this custom; for boys and girls who during the period of their puberty celebration are regarded as impure and untouchable, can do anything they like without being caught.

Dr. J. J. Modi² has drawn attention to some practices prevalent in India and bearing some resemblance to those described by Dr. Kleiweg. He has pointed out that on the occasion of a marriage ceremony among some classes of people in India, things belonging to the bride or the bridegroom are secretly removed by their close relatives to be returned, in cases, on receipt of some money or present. Affectionate theft (*prem cori*) is the name given to this form of theft. This is said to be committed to avert the evil influences of persons who are on the look out of doing harm to the couple by stealing things belonging to them.

It is proposed to bring here to the notice of scholars some more instances of privileged theft—ceremonial or otherwise—as prevalent among the people of India.

As regards acts of theft for the purpose of magic or charm mention may be made of the practice followed in some parts of Bengal of burying in the earth an article belonging to a neighbour, as a charm against excessive rain. This is specially done by the mother of the bride or bridegroom when the marriage ceremony of her child is drawing nigh to avert rain on the occasion of that celebration.

In some cases the act of stealing is permitted simply for the sake of amusement which of course occasionally entails a good deal of loss to the victim though valuable things are never allowed to be stolen on these occasions. Thus on the night of the *naṣṭa-candrā* day (the fourth day of either fortnight in the month of

¹ Dr. J. J. Modi has described the custom in the *Journal of the Bombay Anthropological Society* (Vol. XIII, pp. 34ff) on the basis of a paper by Dr. J. P. Kleiweg de Zuan in *Revue Anthropologique* (1923).

² *Op. cit.*

Bhādra or August-September) youngsters in villages in Eastern Bengal have a merry time of it, as they are permitted to annoy their neighbours by stealing things, principally articles of food, from their houses and thus enjoy a good deal at their cost.¹ These youngsters run about from house to house, remove articles of food, take away fruits from trees belonging to the householder and manage to run away as soon as they are detected by the householders who try to keep a vigilant watch on these people during the whole night.

Wooden things of every form and description, including articles of furniture, door-posts, doors off their hinges, bullock-carts, etc. are stolen by youngsters in some parts of India and burnt in a big bonfire that forms part of the *Holi* festival.²

From these instances of playful thefts we may turn to cases of theft perpetrated for personal benefit and material gain. These though allowed in ancient times would no longer be tolerated by the people. It is noticed that some of the minor articles for the performance of religious rites (e.g., flowers for worship and wood for sacrificial fire) as well as grass for the maintenance of a cow were allowed to be stolen with impunity.³ According to some, these could be taken away only from the forests, which were apparently unclaimed, where no one would be affected; while according to the *Mitākṣarā*, the celebrated commentary on the

¹ The practice which was highly popular even 20-30 years back has almost gone out of use at the present day. Notice may be taken in this connection of similar practices in Europe. Perpetration of all sorts of mischievous deeds including thefts was allowed in England on particular days of the year, e.g. Paul Pitcher's Day (January 24th), Guy Fawke's Day (November 5th) and Eve of May-Day (May 1st) otherwise known as 'Mischief Night' (*Calcutta Review*, October, 1932, p. 61-2).

² R. Manohar Lall—*Among the Hindus*, Minerva Press, The Mall, Cawnpore, 1933, pp. 46-7.

³ 'देवाद्यर्थेन कुसुममख्येयं ममुरप्रवीत्'

(*Manusamhitā* quoted in the *Śabdakalpādruma* under *puṣpa*.)

'द्विजसुवैधःपुष्याधि चर्भतः खवदादरेत्' (*Yājñavalkyasamhitā* in *loc. cit.*)

तत्र काष्ठं फलं पुष्यं प्रकारं वै चरेदुधः ।

धर्माच्चैव विप्राश्चान्यथा पतितो भवेत् ।

(*Kārmapurāṇa*, *Uparibhāga* Section, XVI. 9.)

वानस्यत्वं सुखफलं दार्ढ्यप्रार्थं तथैव च ।

तत्रच गोष्ठीं घासाद्येनख्येयं ममुरप्रवीत् । (*Manusamhitā*—VIII. 339.)

गोऽप्रार्थं तत्रनेधान् वीरद्वन्द्वसतीनाञ्च पुष्याधि खवदाददीत फलानि चापरिहतानाम् ।

(*Gautamadharmasūtra*—II. 3. 25.)

Yājñavalkyasamhitā, these could be taken even from lands known to be belonging to others.¹ There were some law-givers, however, who vehemently opposed the practice and prescribed the mutilation of the hand as a punishment for stealing even grass, wood, flower or fruit.²

Small amounts of articles of food were allowed to be stolen for one's own maintenance under extreme circumstances when no other means of livelihood was available and when for want of food there was the risk of losing one's life.³ Thus a member of the 'twice-born caste' on travel when he had exhausted his stock of provisions was allowed to steal two pieces of sugarcane, two radishes, a handful of pea, rice, wheat and so forth⁴ without incurring any punishment. But he is thereby in no way relieved of his moral obligation and has to undergo religious penances for his offence.⁵ This shows that the act was not favourably looked upon or encouraged but was treated with the contempt it so richly deserved.

In this connection a reference may be made to the Bāgaris⁶ who were thieves by profession—a profession that, they asserted, was assigned to them by the goddess Durgā whose cows these people

¹ *Daṇḍaviveka* of Vardhamāna (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), pp. 41-2.

² दण्डं वा यदि वा काष्ठं पुष्यं वा यदि वा फलम् ।

अनाश्रयश्च हि मृकानो वस्तुच्छेदनमर्हति ॥ (Quoted in *Daṇḍaviveka*, p. 42.)

³ *Daṇḍaviveka*, p. 40 : चौर्यादौ निश्चितेऽपि तत्कारणं यदि यद्योक्तः प्राजात्ययेतुरवधार्यते तदा तस्य न दोषः, आत्मानं गोपायीत' इति विधिदर्शनात् नित्यस्यास्य विधेरतिव्रतमायोगात् ।

⁴ द्विजोऽध्वगः क्षीयतिर्द्वाविशु द्वे च वृक्षके ।

आददानः परेष्वेवान्न दण्डं दातुमर्हति ॥ (*Manusamhitā*—VIII. 341.)

अपुषोर्वाचके द्वे द्वे तावन्मात्रं फलेषु च ।

शकं श्लोकप्रमाणेन मृकानो नैव दुच्यति ॥

(*Matsyapurāna* as quoted in the *Daṇḍaviveka*, p. 40.)

तिस्रसुद्रव्यादीनां मुष्टिर्प्राज्ञा पश्चिन्नितैः ।

सुधार्त्तैर्नान्यथा विप्र विधिवद्विरिति स्थितिः ॥—

Kūrmapurāna, *Uparibhāga* Section, XVI. 10.

⁵ चौर्याधिकारे ब्राह्मणमुपक्रम्य गौतमवचनम्—'अहन्तौ प्रायश्चित्तौ च' इति । तथाहि तदयमर्थः—अन्येन प्रकारेण जीवनानुपपत्तौ ब्राह्मणो न दण्डः किन्तु प्रायश्चित्तं कार्यमिति । (*Daṇḍaviveka*, p. 40.)

⁶ An account of these people, as also a reference to the steps taken for civilizing them, are given in the old Bengali newspaper, *Samācārādārpaṇa*, May 11, 1822. (Quoted in Brajendra Nath Banerji's *Samvādpatre Sekāler Kathā*, Vol. III, Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat, Series No. 82, p. 181.)

are stated to have tended. The original habitation of the Bāgaris was Marwar whence they migrated to Malwa and Bhopal.

The present note may be concluded by making a reference also to what may be called privileged lying. It is stated in the *Gautamadharmasūtra* (III. 5. 29) and the *Mahābhārata* (as quoted in the *Vācaspatya* under *anṛta*) that uttering a falsehood was not objectionable for the sake of a Brahmin and on occasions like marriage, sexual intercourse and under extreme difficulties.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

REVIEWS

BADLĀPUR-ĀMCAGĀM, by Nārāyana Govinda Cāpekar. 8½×5. iv+506+iv+xxvi+2 maps+illustrations+tables. Printed at the Āryasaṃskṛiti Mudraṅālaya, Poona, Śaka 1855 (A.D. 1933). Price Rs. 6. Calico bound.

Our rural centres have generally nothing attractive about them. Irksome roads, dilapidated houses, humanity that is physically hungry and mentally famished, and nature that looks apparently niggardly—these greet us everywhere evoking our sympathy and succour. But few have either the time or the inclination to bestow them on our country-side.

Among these few is Mr. Cāpekar who, with singular skill, deep insight into human nature, and extraordinary patience, has raised a spot in the rural area into an object of interest and study. The object of his investigations is a tiny village—Badlāpur—forty-two miles from Bombay on the Bombay-Poona railway line. Historically it is barren of interest save for a skirmish which took place between the English and the Marāṭhās in A.D. 1779, a few details of which are given on pp. 369ff. But with a humane touch the entire locality rises out with its congress of communities, every one of which comes in for its share of treatment at the hands of the learned author.

A detailed description of these social sections makes up one part of the work ; the other being devoted to such topics like cultivation (pp. 283ff), birth and death rate (pp. 295ff), vices (p. 309), village gods (p. 319), bazar (p. 322), forest (p. 326), diseases (p. 335), literacy (p. 342), and reptiles (p. 347). Then comes a chapter on some historical details (pp. 351ff) followed by another one on various social questions like dowry system, widow remarriage, etc. (pp. 436ff). Two sections—one on the fields (p. 497) and another on the water works (p. 503)—bring this assiduous study to a close.

Throughout the narrative there runs an enlightened vein : it is that of a patient enquirer who asks the question : We are only 2,300 men in all ; what for do we live ? (p. 9). An answer to this query transforms this book from a mere catalogue of sociological data compiled from the official gazetteers into a fascinating survey of rural humanity in all its manifold aspects. That is the opinion one forms whether one follows the author down the fields (p. 16), or listens to the bridal songs of the Bōyis, (pp. 51ff), the Vāṇis (pp. 113-4), and of the Mahars (p. 170), or witnesses the Kātakari dance (p. 133), or stands by the holy man among the Śīndhes (p. 59), or hears the story of the Bādshah and Birbal (p. 261), or watches the charm-experts among the Mussulmans—whose curious customs are given in some details on pp. 258ff—using the spells (p. 349), or notes the method by which liquor is distilled (p. 309).

Well-informed the author certainly is, here and there he has given expression to views which are rather inadmissible. For instance, he identifies the Guravas with the Liṅgāyats (p. 221). The present-day practice by which the Guravas wear *liṅgas* is insufficient to identify them—who were known to ancient Indian history as *Goravarū*—with the Liṅgāyats.

While describing the importance of the word *māmā* or uncle in his highly interesting chapter entitled *Sāmājika*, the industrious author remarks that the words *māmā* and *māmi* are to be found in the Tamil language ; that *māmā* is the only word that is used in the Tamil for mother's brother ; and, that, therefore, the word *māmā* is to be traced to a Tamil origin (p. 452). But in the very next sentence the author confesses that *māmi*, according to prākṛit grammarians, is a *dēśi* word ! If the Prākṛit

grammarians trace the word *māmī*—and with it *māmā* as well, we may presume—to a *dēśi* origin, we have to look for the *dēśa* where Marāṭhi was born and nurtured. And that was the Karnāṭaka, and not the Tamil land. In Kannaḍa too *māmā* means uncle. Karnāṭaka has profoundly influenced not only the Marāṭhi language but Marāṭha culture as well. This fact is either ignored by or unknown to scholars.

Notwithstanding these minor discrepancies, we acknowledge with pleasure the patient industry of Mr. Cāpekar and the remarkable success which has crowned his efforts.

B. A. SALETORE.

HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT: Vol. I, BENGAL (From Rammohun to Dayānanda 1821-84), by Bimanbehari Majumdar, M.A., Professor of Economics and Lecturer in History, B. N. College, Patna. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1934. xii+509 pages.

In this volume the author claims to have 'made an attempt to discover the original contribution of the Bengali thinkers to the political thought of the world.' A list of the chapter heads will give an idea of the contents of the book: (I) Political Thought of Raja Rammohun Roy; (II) The Philosophical Radicals; (III) Political disciples of Raja Rammohun; (IV) The Liberal School of Political Thought; (V) Critics of the Liberal Thought; (VI) Political thought of Sisir Kumar Ghosh; (VII) Muslim School of Political Thought; (VIII) Political Thought of Bankim Chandra; with two appendices.

This book, certainly a very laudable attempt, is frankly the first of its kind, and is a notable example what patient and careful historical research is capable of achieving towards the making of a history of Bengal in the nineteenth century. A glance at the long bibliography detailing a classified list of sources utilized will show the laborious search the book has entailed, and the variety of topics and subjects the author had to cover. But the book lacks a background. His account begins suddenly with Rammohun and proceeds to evaluate the contribution of our political leaders of the 19th century, one by one. Personally, the reviewer feels that our nineteenth century political ideas and ideals have not evolved directly out of our own store of thought and experience in this particular sphere of life; they are more or less echoes of English or western political thought.

NIHARRANJAN RAY.

DHOLĀ-MĀRŪ-RA-DŪHĀ—an old Rajasthani Love-ballad, critically edited with different readings, notes, glossary, appendices and introduction by Thakur Ram Singh, Surya Karan Pareek and Narottamdas Swami with Forewords by M. M. Rai Bahadur Gouri Sankar Ojha, etc.; Published by the Nagri Pracharini Sabha, Benares. Demy 8vo, pp. 16-214-664 with 3 plates. Price Rs. 4.

It is really a matter of credit for Hindi that its literary wealth is steadily progressing and its scholars are fully awakened to the needs of the age. It is a happy augury that the western standards of literary advancement have their imperceptible effect on our men of literature resulting in a complete and scientific treatment of the work in hand.

The Nagri Pracharini Sabha of Benares, the premier institution of research and publication in Hindi, has just published this volume under review, of old Rajasthani poetry the *Dholā-Mārū-ra-Dūhā*. This collection of an old love-ballad is of more

than passing interest to scholars of the Indian languages, antiquity, poetry and culture. It is a big volume of about nine hundred pages with three coloured blocks of the old Rajput School of painting and the commentators who have already attained good reputation in the art and scholarship of editing old MSS. according to the modern method, should be congratulated for such an up-to-date production.

The love-story of Dhōlā, the brave and loving prince of Narwara and the princess of Pūgala Māravanī—the ideal of beauty, is a popular romance of Rajputana. Its tradition echoed from the harp-strings of the remote itinerant songsters or many a times orally related by the wandering minstrels or the prose chroniclers, is a household word. The story primarily aims at the realization of the union of love, after a difficult ordeal of pangs of separation and of self-abnegation. This romantic poem has travelled in its various provincial forms down to the present age. Later corrupt versions of the story are still available in the Punjab, Sind, Malwa, Gujarat and Central India. The epithets Dhōlā and Māravanī even to-day are commonly understood by the public in Rajputana as symbols of ideal hero and heroine in love.

The original poem was composed in the Dūhā metre—the most popular metre of the Apabhramsha period. As is generally the case with other folk-literature, this poem had to pass through many stages in the course of which a good number of additions and alterations crept into it. Finally many of the original dūhās were forgotten and the thread of the story was broken. This necessitated a well-meaning venture on the part of a poet Kusala-lābha, a Jain monk of the time, to fill up the gaps by *choupāis* of his composition about V.S. 1617, which preserved in tact the sustained narrative of the story through later centuries.

Kusala-lābha says :—

दूहा तथा पुराणा चहर
चतुपर बंध कियत मंद पर

i.e. the dūhās are very old and I have composed the choupāis afterwards.

Even at a modest reckoning we find that the original dūhā version must have been at least a century older than Kusala-lābha's time as vouchsafed by him. Thus we can safely place the ballad in the 14th century A.D., if not earlier.

The poem in its present MS. form is found in various versions, the important of them are the following :—

- (1) The original Dūhā Version,
- (2) Dūhā and Choupāi version of Kusala-lābha,
- (3) Dūhās intermixed with prose narrative, and
- (4) Dūhās intermixed with choupāis and prose.

As stated above the original Dūhā version was gradually lost in the memory of the people but fortunately it was not totally lost and its manuscripts are found in several Bhandars of Rajputana. Five of them exist in the manuscript library of the Bikaner state and the editors have taken great pains to secure more manuscripts from other places the details of which are given in the Appendix.

The editors have been carrying on research work in the field of Rajasthani language and literature for many years and they have not spared any pains to make the present volume worthy of their reputation. Different readings, literal translation in simple Hindi useful to the students and scholars alike, glossary of Dingal words, philological, historical and explanatory notes are important features of the work. The introduction deals with historical background of the story as well as the discussions of the date and the author.

Besides, this beautiful old national ballad of Rajasthan is an interesting reminiscence of the social customs, life and rich imagery of Rajputana in the early

medieval times. The main characters of the poem are said to be historical personages who lived about 10th century A.D. and the original ballad was probably composed by some contemporary bard or poet. The learned editors have compared the language of the poem with that of Kavira and have tried to show that the latter is predominantly Rajasthani in form. They hold that about the time of Kavira there existed in Northern India, a language which with slight variations was the literary language of the whole country from Sourashtra to Kashi and that was the language from which the modern vernaculars, e.g. Guzrati, Vrajabhaś, Rajasthani and to some extent Panjabi were derived.

It may be noted here that even after the late Pandit Chandradhar Guleri, very little effort has been made by scholars to trace a detailed and a clear development of the origin and progress of Hindi language from its early sources. The sad neglect in this direction was responsible for missing this rich heritage and the present editors are, therefore, entitled to the esteem of Hindi scholars for setting up a strong link between the glorious past and bright future of Hindi.

PURAN CHAND NAHAR.

A BUDDHIST BIBLIOGRAPHY compiled by A. C. March, Editor, Buddhism in England, Published by the Buddhist Lodge, London, 37, South Eaton Place, pp. 1-257, 1935.

Mr. March is to be congratulated upon the production of such an useful book. The book under review contains two alphabetical lists of authors and an alphabetical subject index. It is evident that the author had to labour much to compile this very useful Bibliography with great skill and ability. No doubt we have the 'Bibliographie Bouddhique', but Mr. March's Bibliography is an equally good book, if not superior. The author assures us to keep this Bibliography up to date by annual supplements. We strongly commend this book to any one interested in Buddhism.

B. C. LAW.

EARLY BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES—A Selection, translated and edited by Dr. E. J. Thomas and published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Tubner & Co. Ltd., London, 1935, pp. xi-xxv, 1-232.

This book is undoubtedly a good selection 'drawn up with the intention of presenting the main doctrines as impartially as possible, as they were understood by the compilers of the Canon'. It is no doubt a good companion to a history of Buddhism. The book opens with an introduction in which a brief survey of the Tripiṭaka has been given. Dr. Thomas has not only selected pieces from Pāli literature but from such books of the Sarvāstivāda School as Lalitavistara, Divyāvadāna, Avadānaśataka, etc. He has arranged the pieces under different heads: (1) Biographical, (2) The disciple's career, (3) Nirvāna, (4) Special doctrines, (5) Buddhology, (6) Discourses to laymen, (7) Other Schools and (8) the Monastic organization. The pieces selected are very important and in order to understand Buddhism, all these pieces should be properly studied. Dr. Thomas has very ably translated the pieces with notes wherever necessary, and he has given an useful index at the end for the convenience of readers. We strongly recommend this book to every student of Buddhism.

B. C. LAW.

THE WILD TRIBES IN INDIAN HISTORY, by Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, Sir Parashurambhau College, Poona, Published by Motilal Banarsi Das, Lahore, 1935, pp. 1-163.

The book consists of five chapters. The first chapter deals with the policy of the Hindu rulers towards the wild tribes. The second, third, fourth and fifth chapters deal with the Kirātas, the Śabarās, Beḍars, and the miscellaneous tribes including the Pulindas, Niśādas, Daśārṇas, Mātāṅgas, Puṇḍras, Lāmbakārṇas, Karnapravarṇas and the Ekapādas. The Yakṣas and the Kinnaras are also well treated in this book. The treatment is, on the whole, satisfactory, and the author has shown much industry and scholarship in giving us a connected history of these tribes. The style in which the book is written is simple and quite suitable for historical books. An useful index has been given at the end. References collected here are full and exhaustive. Unfortunately we notice some mistakes, e.g., *Boddisatta* (pp. 128, 129, 130, 131, 134, etc.); *Dhammādhamma Putta Cariyama* (p. 130). *Bodhisatta* is the right word in Pāli, which means 'One who is destined to become a Buddha,' and *Dhammādhammadeva-putta-cariya* is the right title. Surely these minor inaccuracies do not detract from the book its intrinsic value and we can strongly recommend this book to students and scholars interested in the history of ancient Indian tribes. Are the Yakṣas and Kinnaras counted as tribes?

B. C. LAW.

DIRECTIONAL ASTROLOGY OF THE HINDUS AS PROPOUNDED IN VIMSHOTTARI DASA, by Dr. V. G. Rele, L.M. & S., F.C.P.S., Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, Second Edition, 128 pages, Price Rs. 3.

The book contains two parts termed 'Theoretical' and 'Practical'.

Part I.—This consists of a learned thesis 'An exposition of Directional Astrology of the Hindus as propounded in Vimshottari Dasa'. In this the author has made great efforts to trace the origin and fix the date of 'Vimshottari Dasa' system. So far as application of rationalistic principles is concerned, he has succeeded to a large extent and his conclusions are as intelligent as they are accurate. But evidently his western education, which resolves all knowledge to observations by the five senses, has stood in his way to further progress. He has himself stated at p. 37 'Perhaps there may be some other and better way of explaining the mystery of Vimshottari Dasa. If this exposition of mine incite some one to provide a better exposition, he will be proving the *scientific* basis of the Directional Astrology of the Hindus'. We are afraid no one will be able to prove the 'Scientific' basis of Directional Astrology of the Hindus if by the word 'Scientific' is meant the basic principle of knowledge of western civilization. The solution of mystery lies elsewhere. The ancient Rishis did not depend upon knowledge through five senses. They knew full well the limitations of such knowledge and so by a process of culture (Yoga) they developed their inner senses (Antarendriyas) to a superhuman pitch and acquired what is known as 'Dibya Dristi' or Divine vision. Their knowledge was more or less revealed. Even a cursory student of Hindu Shastra or even literature cannot but be struck by the stupendous knowledge acquired by those ancient sages and must at any rate take them to be superhuman beings. Even the 'Pāṇini' grammar cannot fail to inspire awe in the minds of the readers as to the gigantic conception and all-embracing genius of the author. The explanation of the mystery surrounding Vimshottari Dasa as well as the entire science of Directional Astrology lies in the acceptance of theory of revealed knowledge to some supermen who attained unthinkable powers of observation and judgment by process of culture now well-nigh forgotten.

It appears that the author intends his book for study mainly by Westerners as he has omitted the Hindu names of planets, Rishis, etc., almost in entirety. In spite of his belief in the Hindu system, his mind cannot obliterate the effects of his western education. He has omitted to allot a house to Rahu (Dragon's Head) following the western method, although the Hindus had long before invested Rahu with the dignity of a full-fledged planet उचं रघुस्यं षडभं त्रिकोणं कन्यास्यं etc. His observations on the application of Vimshottari Dasa to Sayana horoscope are very learned and intelligent and solve a long standing controversy in a very simple way. The two charts in this part are very useful.

Part II.—This part opens with a very simple method of converting a 'sayana' horoscope to Nirayana (Ayanamsa) and is very clear and lucid. The rest of the book deals with the periods of the planets in Vimshottari Dasa, their subperiods and interperiods and gives results in some details. This part is illustrated with charts where necessary and follows the Hindu System very closely. The exposition is very full, accurate and intelligent but here again under the heading 'Casting of Horoscope' he has again betrayed the great hold that the western system has upon him. In p. 55 he says 'That ancient colossal work Bhrigu-Samhita—written by a sage named Bhrigu makes no mention of it (Bhaba Chalita Chart) and yet we can form personal experience to testify to the accuracy of predications given in it from the simple original chart of birth'. As a matter of fact Bhrigu did take into consideration the Bhaba Chakra in making the predictions although it is not stated in the readings. The ancient sage could probably foresee that a decadent race would be following and it would not be possible for them to follow the reasonings, etc., that was why only the results were given. Bhrigu Samhita, whether you believe it or not, claims to give the results not of a particular chart but of an individual whose birth chart it was as would be found from the reference in every reading of the previous incarnation of the person in question. When we come across वाही सद्योदये अन्नस्यस्ये च दिवाकरः विप्रबंधे भवोद्वासः सर्वस्यस्यस्युत्तरः etc., it does not mean that in birth charts where a man is born in Vrischeek Lagna with the sun in the sign, he will have the result given; but it gives the results of a particular man born in a particular degree of the Lagna. For in the next (Kundalai) it states 'विचनुम-कुले जातः etc.' This shows that the prediction is made after consideration of the position of the Lagna and the planets in it as also in other houses. Similarly 'जिधने सूर्येग्रनुच पूर्वाय वेदशास्त्र' does not mean that in the birth chart in which Saturn happens to be in the 8th house, the maximum age the man will attain is 64 but that in that particular chart the result is such. Instances may be multiplied. Any way the book is a very learned exposition of the Vimshottari Dasa and its defence and the author deserves our congratulations for creating interest in this dying branch of human knowledge.

We would be glad if he goes into the subject further and let us have a similar exposition of Astottari Dasa also as that system is more in vogue in Bengal and will greatly benefit eager students. On a close study he will find that although the two great systems apparently differ so widely, the results when calculated to Pratyantar dasa do not materially differ—there is real unity underlying the apparent diversity.

We strongly recommend the book to the students of Directional Astrology.

P. C. RAY.

THE KATHA UPANIṢAD : An Introductory Study in the Hindu Doctrine of God and of Human Destiny, by Prof. J. N. Rawson, Serampore College.

This admirable edition of the Kathopaniṣad, belonging to the special genus of Hindu sacred books indicated by the name Upaniṣad, discloses a thoroughly honest and diligent attempt of a capable scholar to interpret with considerable lucidity the religious conceptions of those sages of old who were defenders of faith in God and in Eternal Life. The Introduction to the work which runs over 53 pages is by itself an interesting essay, very informing in character.

The sub-title of the work under review clearly indicates the ambitious design of the learned editor to ascertain or determine the 'Hindu Doctrine of God', and the present work with its discussions and dissertations is but a step in aid of the execution of that object. It will be no doubt quite premature to make reflections on this declared object of Prof. Rawson, taking merely his first step into consideration, but as the 'Hindu Doctrine of God' of the sub-title signifies, in the singular number, one well-defined general doctrine of the Hindus or rather of the old Indian Aryans who were not unbelievers or agnostics, a word relating to the object of the editor seems called for. It is certainly not known, or rather it cannot at this stage be known, whether the capable scholar will to attain his object pursue an anthropological study on the materials provided by the Upaniṣads, or by bringing into focus the philosophical or metaphysical speculations of old days, but it is exceedingly doubtful if by pursuing any method one doctrine relating to God can be formulated for all God-believing Hindus of old, seemingly united in one faith.

It has to be noted in the first place that not to acquire social opprobrium or not to be socially ostracised, the Hindus of old days had only to eat correct food and to marry correctly; they were, however, quite free unlike many other peoples of the world to speculate independently and to express their non-orthodox views publicly relating to the nature of God or to the origin and destiny of life. Such a large number as sixty-three eschatological theories propounded by the ritual-bound Hindus have been discussed by Buddha as recorded in the Nikāyas. Again, metaphysical speculations of various sorts are met with in some noted works which are regarded as so many systems; the learned pundits may favour or may be wedded to this or that system, but the Hindus in general did not, and do not, form their notions by referring to any sort of learned speculation of the philosophers.

What has been said above will be abundantly clear, if a bit of anthropological study be made of the various religious notions that have been preserved in the Upaniṣads. Elaborate discussion on the point is both irrelevant and unsuitable here; only one fact of much prominence in the Upaniṣads is referred to below to suggest what difficulties are in the way of the learned editor. What the anthropologists have tentatively set down as primitive notions relating to life and its Destiny by studying the religious beliefs of various peoples of lower culture, are found significantly intertwined with many highly evolved ideas in the Upaniṣads. It will be noticed what high value has been assigned to *dreams* in realizing the conception of God, which dreams once played an important part in coming to the notion of the immortal 'double' or soul of man. That the soul of spiritual substance is but the replica of the material body, has been taught by some Rīṣis of the Upaniṣads by making the disciples look at their reflected images; again, that the man-like form reflected on the retina of the eyes to be the real *puruṣa* inhabiting the body is another idea; the immaterial soul of the size of a thumb residing in the cavity of the heart has been spoken of to give another idea of the soul. These are different primitive notions of various existing tribes and they are all found as living notions in the Upaniṣads of higher culture. It need hardly be pointed out that notions relating to God depend for their growth very much upon the notions formed of

life. A suggestion merely is thrown out here : how difficult it is, if not impossible, to get at one unified doctrine of God if even the research be confined to the Upaniṣads alone.

It is hoped Prof. Rawson will excuse the reviewer for his pointing out that in his learned reflections and dissertations he has not as yet explained (as is very desirable to do to ascertain the special characteristics of the Upaniṣads) why the name Upaniṣad in the Hindu world has been a name to conjure with, though in this class of literature we get only authoritative statements or declarations of truth without there being any attempt at any rational explanation of them. There are in many Upaniṣads very fanciful explanations of some such forms as Sâma, Udgitha and so forth, disclosing bad grammar and worse idiom and yet the grammarians who did not accept them as correct, did not say anything about them. Again, the later philosophers in propounding their own systems by resorting to reasons have quoted some utterances of the Upaniṣads, each putting his own interpretation upon them in making his philosophy acceptable. This peculiar attitude of reverence for the Upaniṣads has to be ascertained and stated, and the reviewer hopes that the learned editor will do this before long to help the readers to understand the Hindu moods of mind of the old days.

The criticism just set forth in no way detracts from the book its value, which, on the whole, is a most thoughtful and meritorious production.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

A PAGEANT OF ASIA : A Study of Three Civilizations, by Kenneth Saunders, published by the Oxford University Press, London, pages 452, price 21 shillings net, 1934.

Dr. Kenneth Saunders, who had hitherto been known to us as an eminent student of Buddhist religion and culture only, has now imposed upon himself here in this book, the ambitious task of presenting to the lay world at large, the magnificent story of the superb and colossal civilizations of India, China and Japan. These three of the most important regions of Asia, where cultures of profound interest and beauty blossomed forth in very early times, have played a glorious role in the history of humanity. Early transcending all limits of insularity, the civilizations that flourished in these regions, spread far and wide,—penetrating far afield even to flavour and colour the cultures of Judæa and Greece. Tremendously interesting therefore, is the story of the achievements of the children of these three 'soils' of Asia, unfolded here by a sympathetic student of Asiatic cultures like Dr. Kenneth Saunders. Well-read in the literature of these regions, and widely travelled there to gain first hand knowledge of the cultural and secular lives of these peoples, Dr. Kenneth Saunders may be justly considered as one peculiarly qualified to give us a panoramic survey of the achievements of these peoples ; and rightly, indeed, he evaluates these achievements not so much in terms of politics, as in those of art, religion, literature, philosophy and culture. But politics he does not eschew altogether. He, indeed, describes political conditions,—but only when they are necessary to present a perspective against which to conjure up the story of the cultural developments of a particular period. He not only lays open the philosophy and humanity of the cultures depicted, but brings out very clearly their individual personality as well. A writer of beautiful prose, he describes the similarities and differences among these cultures, sometimes with the sublime touch of a master artist. For instance, how in a nutshell says he : ' If India is mystical and metaphysical, China is rationalist and humanist, Japan is at once utilitarian and poetical.

All have elements of Mysticism and of a deep æsthetic and poetic genius, and all have produced men of action as well as men of vision. Yet it remains true that the Indian ideal is the Rishi—the Yogi—the Mahatma—men of transcendental vision : the Chinese ideal is the man of affairs who is also a scholar, and the Japanese ideal is the Samurai, or loyal servant of the Emperor and overlord, faithful to death, stoic in endurance, touched to finer issues by a sad sense of the transiency of the world and its joys and sorrows. And in all Buddhism has quickened the native æstheticism, and taught ideals of compassion and contemplation.'

Organized into three parts, devoted respectively to India, China and Japan, Dr. Saunders has attempted here a veritable cavalcade of the glorious and glamorous civilizations of Eastern Asia, from the earliest times down to the coming of the European in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With his uncanny power of describing things in picturesque manner, the author presents us here in this book a richly colourful interpretation of the spirit of ancient Asia as expressed through the achievements of the men and women who designed and wove the civilizations of these three divinely chosen regions of the world. The first part on India opens with a brief description of the wonderful civilization recently unearthed at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Then come for treatment the Aryans in the Panjab. We have here vivid glimpses not only of their nature cults, but also of the Vedic society in its glad moments of work and play and at the solemn hours of death. Steadily the naive naturalism of the Rg Veda is superseded by the religiosity of the Brāhmanas and then again by the mystic teachings and the grand intuitions of the Upaniṣads. Then we find ourselves amidst the secular civilizations of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana. Then suddenly out of the dark jungle and the weird mists of the early Indian history, and towering head and shoulder above the great rishis of her first religious visions, the stupendous figure of the greatest of India's sons, Gautama Buddha, soars serene, clear-cut and majestic. What he sowed, we reap in the time of the Maurya Aśoka. Then follows a period of history somewhat chaotic and obscure, which lasts till the coming of the Guptas who herald another Golden Age of India, manifesting the spirit and genius of the age in diverse fields of human accomplishments ranging from exquisite music, painting, poetry and drama to astronomy, mathematics and the military arts. Then come for record the achievements of the Southern Kingdoms, followed (of course with a quick jump) by the fascinating story of Akbar and the Great Moguls. And here leaves the author his Indian trail.

Then commences the story of China, which unlike India begins her traditional history with great men of affairs, idealized as symbols of a golden age—the three August Ones, and the Five Sovereigns, who represent the Five Elementary Virtues radiating Peace and Harmony. We see how out of the fusion of Shang and Chou evolves the Classical Chinese civilization, the foundation of all culture and beauty, the mighty prototype throughout the ages. Then the master minds of China, representing many types—from Kung Fu-tse, moralist and preserver of tradition to Chuang-tse, rebel and mystic, and from Mo-tse the theist to the atheist Chen Tuan, make their processional appearance on the stage of history. Very soon we have a Chinese parallelism to Indian history. Like Chandragupta Maurya, there comes to usurp the decadent House of Chou, a man of uncertain parentage named Chin-shih Huang-Ti, helped like the Indian Chanakya, by his unscrupulous minister Li Sze. He was a man of immense energy and brilliant gifts—a strong and purposeful iconoclast, who believed that the feudal system and its literature hung together and must go together. China owes to him the realization of her ideal of unified statehood. His successors owe him a magnificent lead, for he heralded what is known in Chinese history as the Han Era. After having here a detailed acquaintance with the achievements of the Han Era and its after-math, we pass on to the splendour of

the Tang period. The cultural achievements of Tang are such as almost to blind us to the corruption and superstition of the Court and the sufferings of the masses, who groaned under heavy taxation in land and salt, and under forced labour. Cultures of Tang China stand on a par with that of Guptan India and that of Europe of Charlemagne. Indeed, its indebtedness to Guptan India was not inconsiderable. Coomaraswamy has rightly observed: 'Almost all that belongs to the common spiritual consciousness of Asia, the ambient in which its diversities are reconcilable, is of Indian origin in the Guptan period'. The Buddhists of the Age brought a new artistic and spiritual impetus. While the dreaded Turks poured into Europe and battered upon the gates of India, and while Christians equally resolute, sought by force to win a pagan world, forgetting their Greek heritage in their zeal for their Semitic one, Buddhists bowed to the storm of persecution and became missionaries of the cross-fertilization of cultures. The contemporary literature, philosophy and art of China reveal how greatly Indian culture had stimulated the Chinese. But the House of Tang collapsed as all royal houses do with the turn of the wheel of destiny, and half a century of chaos and disorder following the same, China passed on to the hands of a virile series of kings beginning with Tai-Tsu, with whom there inaugurated another great era, the Augustan Age of Chinese literature and philosophy—an age of experiment and freedom, of revolt against the trammels of tradition, of romanticism rather than classicism, but also of scientific materialism and naturalism. In this period as well we find unmistakable influence of India on Chinese culture. The thread of Chinese history in the book under review breaks with the Mongol conquest of China under Kublai Khan.

The last part of the book deals with Japan. Here we are given glimpses not only of the royal personalities, but also of the revered scholars and artists of Japan. The story of cultural fusion and adaptation is very ably delineated to show how if Japan had imitated she had done it well, and had adapted what she had borrowed with amazing skill and tenacity.

It is obvious that in an ambitious work like this there would be sins of omission and commission. Excepting one or two typical ones, it is of course difficult on account of limited space at the reviewer's disposal to cite them all here. For instance, on page 9, it is stated that Atharva Veda is a mere compilation from the Rg Veda. Again, 'Vedic' has been given as the name of a script.

Apart from these imperfections, the book under review forms on the whole an excellent introduction to the study of Indian, Chinese and Japanese cultures. Here, indeed we have history infused with the life-spirit of the imaginative intellect, and not reduced to the mere skeleton of a chronicle of events.

ATUL K. SUR.

THE HILL BHUIYAS OF ORISSA, by Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A. Published by 'Man in India' Office, Ranchi. Pages 360, with some illustrations and a Map of the Bonai, Pallahara and Keonjhar States, 1935. Price Rs. 8.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy of Ranchi, to whom we owe so much for detailed knowledge of the aboriginal tribes of the Central Hill Belt of India, puts us once more under a deep debt of gratitude and obligation by furnishing us with an excellent monograph on the Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa. He is one of the very few Indians, who have made a close study of the primitive peoples of this country *in situ*. Indeed, the last twenty-five years of his life he has devoted mainly to the study of the primitive peoples of the Central Hill Belt of India, and we have the results of the same incorporated for our use and benefit, in some five invaluable monographs including the present one.

The Bhuiyas, who form the subject-matter of study of the volume under review, are an interesting people, having regional distribution covering over half a dozen provinces of India. They represent every grade and form of culture, ranging from the more or less primitivity of those who live on the hills to the regular Hinduised cultures of those Zeminder families who live in the plains and now lay claim to the pretension of having a Rajput or Kshatriya descent. In the book under review, as is obvious from the title, the Rai Bahadur studies that branch of the Bhuiyas who dwell on the hills of Orissa. But as well he takes care to refer now and then to sundry points of difference in the customs and beliefs of the Hill Bhuiyas, not only with their kinsmen, the Hinduised Bhuiyas of the plains, but also with some of the Munda tribes of the Central Hills.

The book is divided into some twelve chapters in each of which by turn the author discusses with his characteristic erudition, the racial and cultural affinities of the Bhuiyas, their habitat, physical and mental characteristics, economic life and social organization, kinship usages, marriage and inheritance rules, birth, childhood, puberty and funeral customs, religious and magical beliefs and practices, folklore, omens and superstitions. The book is appended with (1) a statistical analysis of one hundred adult Pauri Bhuiyas, and (2) local accounts of the Plains Bhuiyas of the Orissan State of Gangpur.

The work is of considerable interest and value to all those interested in Indian anthropology. Coming as it does from such a lifelong and devoted student of anthropology as the Rai Bahadur is, the book leaves hardly anything to be desired so far as the treatment of the subject is concerned. It is well-got up and properly indexed.

ATUL K. SUR.

THE BṚIHADĀRANYAKA UPANIṢAD, by Swami Madhavananda, published by Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas, pages 960.

Swami Madhavananda of Ramkrishna Math, Belur, has done a genuine service to the learned world by removing the long-felt want of a reliable and complete English translation of Śaṅkara's commentary on the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. Many eminent scholars had attempted the same task previously, but none could bring it to a finish. Swami Madhavananda gives in the book under review a list of such unsuccessful previous attempts, which undoubtedly indicate how much we really owe him for bringing out this complete edition of the work. The present translation is meant for those students of Vedānta, whose knowledge of the Sanskrit language is not so perfect as to enable them to follow the original. Swamiji observes that 'some passages of both text and commentary have been omitted in the translation to suit the exigencies of modern taste'. But we do not think that to be a right method. The true follower of the Upaniṣads has to remodel or to rectify his taste by reading the book. Let the reader follow the book, and the book should not follow the reader.

The introduction to the book which is from the pen of a revered scholar of great reputation, Prof. Kuppaswami Shastri, gives a good deal of information of inestimable value for the students of Vedānta Philosophy. Besides, there is a short note in which an account of the Vedas is given. But we believe that a few words were necessary also as to why the Vedas and Upaniṣads should be regarded as the only infallible proof for the unknown and the unknowable, without which conception the study of Upaniṣads is fruitless in the eyes of a Hindu scholar.

The translation portion of the book no doubt commands admiration. The style is simple and lucid and also accurate. The philosophical intricacies of the

Commentary have been reduced to a minimum—an aspect which is very rare even in the works of highly eminent writers on the Nyāya system of Indian thought. If, however, any criticism is to be made, then we are to point out that in the next edition of the book the author should exercise a little more care in translating such words as *agre* which he renders by 'in the beginning' (on page 15), instead of simply 'before' or 'previously'. If *agre* is rendered 'in the beginning', then one would be inclined to think that the creation has a beginning, though according to the doctrine inculcated in the commentary—the creation has no beginning. If the phrase 'in the beginning' is urged, then it would have been better to say 'in the beginning of this cycle of creation'. In the same page, the force of *eva* is overlooked. *Mytyunā eva idam-āvṛtam-āsīt* is translated by 'it was covered by Death (hiraṇyagarbha) or Hunger'. Would it not have been better, if it was said 'it was covered by Death (hiraṇyagarbha) above Hunger'. We are afraid 'or' here is ambiguous.

By dividing the dialectical portions into groups, under the heads: 'objection' and 'reply', the subject-matter of discussion has been charmingly simplified. We are of opinion that there are places where auxiliary notes were necessary. But the author has failed to furnish us with such notes. Then another point of improvement, we are tempted to suggest for the future edition of the book, is to put the analytical headings of the discussions of philosophical truths along with contents of the same. We further wish to see the historical portions of Śāṅkara's philosophy from the quotations made by him.

We hope and feel sure that the book will be highly appreciated by all students of Indian philosophy.

RAJENDRA NATH GHOSH.

THE PADYĀVALI OF RŪPA GOSVĀMĪ, edited by Prof. Sushil Kumar De, Dacca University Publication, pp. 296+cxliv.

Prof. De is to be sincerely congratulated for his critical edition of the *Padyāvalī*, an anthology of Sanskrit verses by the celebrated Vaiṣṇava poet-philosopher Rūpa Gosvāmī, which is based upon no less than sixteen different manuscripts. He has enhanced the value of the edition by appending notes on the authors cited in the text so far as they can be traced. The critical apparatus with which the work has been edited is calculated to be of undoubted value to scholars.

The *Padyāvalī* is a collection of Vaiṣṇava verses in Sanskrit, some of which take us back to a date which is much older than the age of Chaitanya. It is, therefore, needless to say that the study of these verses is likely to throw light on the growth and development of Vaiṣṇavism as a widespread creed. Rūpa Gosvāmī compiled 386 verses from over 125 poets (according to Dr. De's reckoning) with a view to illustrating the principles of the creed which he along with his elder brother and nephew was among the first to develop and expound. With this object in view, Rūpa introduced some minor changes into the verses in order to bring them into line with his creed, while keeping their sense, poetry and rhythm intact.

Prof. De in his learned introduction has very properly undertaken an enquiry into the essentials of the new theory of *Rasa* which seeks to identify religious feeling entirely with the sentiment of love which is pre-eminently a human passion. We owe this new theory together with all its corollaries which were subsequently developed in the Vaiṣṇava school to the inspiration of Chaitanya and to the untiring zeal of his immediate disciples. The general attitude of Prof. De towards Chaitanya and his movement is one of appreciation and sympathy. But there are certain statements that either need correction or remain open to criticism, not to say, objection.

One may take exception, for instance, to his statement that Mukunda was the father of Rūpa and Sanātana (p. xlv). Here the name of the grandfather has been substituted for that of the father. Mukunda was not the father but the grandfather of Rūpa and Sanātana according to the *Vaiṣṇava toshaṇī*. Mukunda's son Kumāra was the father of the scholarly brothers.

Secondly, on p. xviii : ' His (Chaitanya's) studies, however, appear to have been chiefly confined to Sanskrit grammar, especially *Kalāpa Grammar* and possibly to some literature and rhetoric to which allusion is made'. According to the *Charitāmṛta*, he was well-versed in various branches of learning and defeated Vēdāntins, Sāṁkhyavādins, and Buddhists in discussion. According to Jayānanda, Chaitanya obtained mastery over all the sciences.

Thirdly on p. lxxvii : ' The six Gosvāmins at any rate do not countenance the *Parakīyā-Vāda* which developed at a later period in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism'. If Prof. De had said that they did not openly profess it, the statement would have been nearer the mark. For the conception of love which we find in the philosophy and poetry of these Vaiṣṇava saints is certainly not that of post-nuptial love.

Rūpa Gosvāmī in his *Ujjvala Nīlamanī*, distinctly mentions **पारतन्त्रादियुक्तयोः** which means that the lovers are separated by reason of their being under the influence of others. They are not independent ; possibly they are prevented by others from meeting each other. Of course, Śrī Jīva Gosvāmī supported the *Svakīyā-vāda* and tried to explain the phrase **पारतन्त्रादियुक्तयोः** according to his own favourite doctrine in his *Locana-rocanī*, a commentary on the *Ujjvala Nīlamanī*.

The theory of *Parakīyā-Rasa* was no doubt developed later by Śrīnivāsa Āchārya and Narottama Ṭhākura, the former, a disciple of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, one of the six Gosvāmins, and the latter, a disciple of Lokanātha Gosvāmī, and both of them receiving their education direct from Śrī Jīva Gosvāmī. (See *Prēm Vilāsa*.)

Fourthly, according to Prof. De, Chaitanya ' absorbed in his ecstasies, hardly ever sought to build up a cult or a sect'. ' A man of his great emotional capacity was hardly ever fit for serious or sustained intellectual effort.' ' The death of his first wife had something to do with his sannyāsa '.

Lastly, Prof. De characterizes Vaiṣṇava view of devotional sentiment as ' erotic mysticism'. In Europe, a theory like this was developed which found expression in the conception of ' the bride of Christ'. But with the Vaiṣṇavas, it is a vicarious enjoyment, the ideal of which is to serve God purely from a spirit of disinterested love. The doctrine of love as conceived by the Vaiṣṇavas requires it that every devotee, irrespective of sex, should regard himself or herself as the handmaid of love which is personified as Rādhā. The proximity of the handmaids to Rādhā is determined by his or her capacity for love and the corresponding *Sādhanā*. This is no secret cult nor is there any secret form of worship attached to it as in the ancient Orphic mysteries of the Greeks or in some of the Sahajiyā forms of worship prevalent in Bengal down to the modern times.

KHAGENDRA NATH MITTER.

**A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS
IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,
Vol. VII, Kāvya Manuscripts, by M.M. Haraprasāda Shāstri, C.I.E., M.A.,
D.Litt., F.A.S.B. Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1934. Pages 653.**

The present volume was prepared by M.M. Haraprasāda Shāstri and he saw the whole of it in proof in various stages of progress. He died suddenly in November, 1931, and in March, 1933, Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti was entrusted with the

task of seeing through the press the remaining portions of the present volume. This Catalogue of Sanskrit Poems has been prepared on the same method as was followed in the previous volumes. We find notices of poems by such eminent poets and scholars as Kālidāsa, Bhartṛhari, Bhāravi, Bharata Mallika, Brajasundara, Jayadeva, Halāyudha, Sanātana Gosvāmī, Rūpa Gosvāmī, Raghunāthadāsa, Daṇḍin, Jagannātha Paṇḍita, Nilakaṇṭha, etc. Further we find notices of MSS. under dramatic literature written by Kālidāsa, Śrīhara, Bhavabhūti, Āryakṣemīśvara, Kāvī Rājaśekhara, Amareśvara, Rūpa Gosvāmī, Jagadīśvara and Anantadeva did not escape the attention of the author.

Under prose romances the author has collected such pieces as Pañcatantro-pākhyāna, Daśakumāracarita, Vāsavadattā, Kādambari, Damayantikathā, Bṛhat-kathā, Kathāsaritsāgara, Hitopadeśa, Mādhavanalakathā, Ānandavṛndāvana-campuh, Gopāla-campuh, Saṅgrahakathā, etc.

Under Anthologies the author has mentioned the manuscripts of Kavindra-vacana-samuccaya, Subhāṣitāvalī, Padyasaṅgraha, Padyāvalī, etc.

Under Nīti, such works as Śukranīti, Cāṅkya-śloka, Cāṅkya-śatakam, Kāmandakiya-Nītisāra and some other works of anonymous writers are mentioned. The author has also given an account of manuscripts on riddles, e.g., Vidagdhamukha-maṇḍanam, Prahelikā-sāra, Samasyārṇava.

Under short religious poems, the author has collected such works as Śānti-satakam, Stava-mālā, Stavāvalī, Padyapuṣpāñjali, Gaṅgāmāhātmya, Trivenīstotraṁ, Śrī-rāma-stotraṁ, Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāmāvalī, etc.

The author has spared no pains to mention miscellaneous hymns, such as Navaratnamālikā, Maṅgalastotraṁ. He concludes his catalogue with notices of some of the Prakrit Kāvya, such as Gāthāsaptasati, Vimalagāhakoṣa. Mr. Chakravarti has added a concise introduction in which a list of some of the more important of the works described in the volume has been given. Besides, he has given a list of rulers and Zemindars who are mentioned as patrons and authors of works described in it. It is a laudable work, extremely informative and exceedingly illuminating, prepared by one of the greatest scholars of India, a scholar of worldwide reputation who is no more in this world. Mr. Chakravarti has done an immense service to the literary world by completing the task left unfinished by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya.

This Catalogue will prove very useful to scholars and students interested in the Kāvya literature of India. The indexes drawn up by Mr. Chakravarti, one of titles and one of authors, will be very much appreciated by those interested in the subject.

KALIRANJAN MUKHERJEE.

Obituary Notice

The Indian Research Institute has lost its Founder-President Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, Kt., C.I.E., C.B.E., O.B.E., M.A., B.L. (Calcutta), LL.D. (Aberdeen), LL.D. (St. Andrews), Suri-Ratna, Vidyaratnakar, Vidyasudhakar, Bangaratna, Jnan-Sindhu, Advocate and Solicitor. Sir Deva Prasad's was an eventful life of multifarious activities. He was born in 1860 in the village of Maju, Hooghly District. He was educated at the Howrah and Hare Schools, Sanskrit College and Presidency College. He was a Fellow of the Calcutta, Dacca, Benares, and Delhi Universities. He served Calcutta University as its Vice-Chancellor for two terms. He was a member of the Council of State, Indian Legislative Assembly and Bengal Legislative Council, Corporation of Calcutta and of other bodies. He was also a member of the Lytton Committee (London) and Paddison Committee (South Africa). He once represented the Government of India at the League of Nations (Geneva), and twice represented the University of Calcutta at the Congress of the Universities of Empire held in England. He was also the President and Member of the Sanskrit College and Bengal Sanskrit Association, the President of the Incorporated Society of Law for several years, Calcutta University Institute, and Vice-President of the Indian Association and National Council of Education, Asiatic Society of Bengal, etc. He was also closely connected with many philanthropic and charitable institutions. During the last days of his life he used to take keen interest particularly for two institutions—the Indian Research Institute and the Refuge. He made his mark in all the different spheres of activities. He was also a devout Vaishnava, and was the author of a few publications—'Notes and Extracts', 'Three months in Europe', 'Prabash Patra', 'Travels in South Africa', etc.

In his death Bengal has lost one of her distinguished sons. May his soul rest in peace.

IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1935.

1. Some Ethical Ideals of the *Tso-chuan* by Arthur Morley.
2. Recent Finds near An-Yang by W. Perceval Yetts.

Here the author has attempted to give a general survey of archaeological events since 1899 at An-Yang in the north of Ho-nan province.

3. The Date of Bhūti Vikramakēśari by K. A. Nilakantha Śāstri.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Vol. VII, pt. 4, 1935.

1. Die Stellung der Munda-Sprachen by P. W. Schmidt.
2. Notes on the Arabic Materials for the History of the Early Crusades by H. A. R. Gibb.
3. Iranian Words in the Khoros̄thi Documents from Chinese Turkestan, II by T. Burrow.
4. Modern Maltese Literature by C. L. Dessoulavy.
5. Dated Chinese Manuscripts in the Stein Collection by Lionel Giles.

These articles are all useful and contain many new and interesting matters.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 55, No. 2, June, 1935

1. Political Theology in Early Islam by Julian Obermann.

It is an interesting paper dealing with Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī's treatise on Qadar who was more a legendary figure than a historical personality, born in the year 21 A.H.

2. Is the Boomerang Oriental? by D. S. Davidson.

Le Monde Oriental, Vol. XXVI-XXVII, 1932, 1933.

Beiträge zur indischen Wortkunde by Jarl Charpentier.

This is a very thoughtful, useful, and informative paper. Many important terms have been well treated in it.

Indologica Pragensia, 1929.

1. Ānvīkṣikī und Ātmavidyā by M. Winternitz.
2. Ein Yoga-Prahasana by O. Stein.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, 1935.

A well-known Rajput miniature by O. C. Ganguly.

In this paper the author has analysed the Quasi-Moghul illustration of the *Kakubhā rāḡiṇī* in the Collection of Professor F. Sarre. The author has also considered a very old piece of example very familiar to students of Indian painting.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series), Vol. II, Nos. 1-2, 1935.

1. *Gotra and Pravara in Vedic Literature* by P. V. Kane.

It is a very interesting paper. The author has discussed the original meaning of the term 'pravara', which was closely connected with domestic matters such as marriage, etc. He has shown that *ārṣeya* and *pravara* are used in the same sense in which the sūtras employ them.

2. *Materials for an Ismaili Bibliography: 1920-1934* by Asaf A. A. Fyzee.

Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIV, pt. I, April, 1935.

Yavana and Pārasika by Dines Chandra Sircar.

In this paper Mr. Sircar discusses as to the real meanings of *Yavana and Pārasika*. *Yavanas* have been distinguished from the *Pārasikas* as pointed out in this paper on the authority of *Viśākhadatta's Mudrārākṣasa*.

Review of Philosophy and Religion, Vol. V, No. 2, March-Sept., 1934.

1. *Some Fundamental Problems in the Upanishads and Pāli Ballads* by S. M. Katre.

2. *The Development of the Doctrine of Anekāntavāda in Jainism* by Jagadish Chandra Jain.

It is a very useful paper on Jain Philosophy so far as the fundamental doctrine of Anekāntavāda or many-sidedness is concerned. On this doctrine depend the other doctrines of the Jainas. The development of this doctrine finds an important place in the Jain literature. This doctrine leads us to understand the truth comprehensively and at the same time shows the liberal and all-compromising spirit of Jainism.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXI, Pt. I, March, 1935.

The Revenue Administration of Mir Qasim in Bihar and Bengal (1760-63) by Nandalal Chatterjee.

It is a very informative paper dealing with Mir Qasim's revenue administration which forms the background for the revenue administration of the East India Company in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa.

Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. IV, No. 1, January, 1935.
 War in Ancient India by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar.

Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. III, No. 2, July 1935.

1. Some Ancient Relics found in North Lakhimpur by Sarveswar Barua.

This paper contains an account of some old relics of historical interest in different parts of North Lakhimpur Sub-division.

2. Stemming of the Tide of Muslim Conquest in Eastern India by K. L. Barua.

Karnatak Historical Review, Vol. II, No. 11, January, 1933.

Socio-Political Compacts in Vijayanagara by B. A. Saletore.

Journal of the Madras Geographical Association, Vol. 10, No. 1, April, 1935.

A Study of Place Names in the Anantapur District by Chilakur Narayana Rao.

This is an interesting paper giving a cursory treatment mainly confined to the Anantapur District.

Prabuddha Bhārata, Vol. LXXXIX, No. 6, June, 1934.

Original Buddhism as a Philosophy of Life by Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

In it the learned authoress has discussed such topics as Bhava, Bhūforms, Dharma, etc.

Vedanta Kesari, Vol. XXI, No. 9, January, 1935.

The Goal in Early Buddhism by Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

It is a very useful paper containing many important dissertations on Nirvāṇa, attha, etc.

Asiatic Review (New Series), Vol. XXXI, No. 107, July, 1935.

1. The Story of the Indian Lion by R. I. Pocock.

It is an interesting paper especially to naturalists and sportsmen. The Indian lion has always been an object of special interest. This topic has been very ably treated with reference to the manes, size, colour, and pattern of cubs with a beautiful illustration of an Indian lion cub. The sections on hunting Indian lions and the cause of extermination of lions teach us many new lessons.

2. Rural Economics in India and South Africa: A Comparison by Sir Alan Pim.

3. The Course of Indian Evolution by Stanley Rice.
4. The Rubber Plantation Industry : A Survey by J. G. Hay.

Science and Culture, Vol. I, No. 3, August, 1935.

1. The March towards Absolute Zero by M. N. Saha.
This is really an interesting and thoughtful paper written in a popular style.
2. A Century of Progress in Scientific Thought by J. C. Ghosh.
3. On Storage and Use of Radium in Radio-therapy by D. M. Bose.

Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XI, No. 2, June, 1935.

1. The Harmikā and the Origin of Buddhist Stūpas by J. Przyluski.
In this paper the author has tried to show that the tomb of the early converted laics was probably similar to the pre-Buddhistic tombs and that at the time when the northern influence began to exert itself the stūpa developed into its real form. According to the author the big stūpas built prior to the advent of the Christian Era appear as hybrid monuments revealing different influences.
2. Kingship and Nobility in the 13th Century by Anil Chandra Banerjee.
3. Mir Quasim's Army by Nandalal Chatterjee.
4. The Smṛti Chapters of the Kūrma Purāṇa by Rajendra Chandra Hazra.
5. The Birthplace of Bhavabhūti by V. V. Mirashi.

Jaina Antiquary, Vol. I, No. 1, June, 1935.

1. Ancient South Indian Jainism by B. Seshagiri Rao.
The paper deals with ritualism, a practical religion and discipline. The author gives an outlook of Jaina Siddhāntācāryas and shows the influence of Jainism on Jinas or conquerors.
2. Nāyakumāracariu by Hira Lal Jain.
According to the author this is an Apabhramśa work of the 10th century, first discovered in the year 1924. The author of this work is Pupphayanta or Puṣpadanta. It relates the story of Nāyakumāra who had to spend the period of exile, full of adventures.

Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. III, Part VI, May, 1935.

1. Hymns to Indra by the Viśvāmitras (R.V. III. 30-53)—translated into English and briefly annotated by H. D. Velankar.

2. Sauraseni Prākṛit by A. M. Ghatage.

The linguistic nature of the various Prākṛit dialects is a point of much confusion and uncertainty. In this paper the author views the whole problem from a historical point of view and attempts to decide the linguistic nature of Sauraseni with the help that can be derived both from the grammarians and the existing literature found in it.

3. Aśvins as Historical Figures by G. L. Chandavarkar.

The author has made an attempt to investigate data in the Ṛgveda, if there be any, that point to germs of history in the myths connected with the Aśvins. He has tried to arrive at the truest possible interpretation of the mythological existence of the twin gods. He says that among the gods of the Ṛgveda the Aśvins possess a unique character. Not only do they, like some other deities, betray traits which would point to a historical germ in the origin of their conception as deities, but in many places they appear as possessed with powers and functions which do not rise above the powers and functions of the finite human being.

INDIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

1. *Vedic Series*—

R̥gveda-Saṃhitā edited by a board of eminent scholars. It consists of :—

- (1) The Text, with the accent marks, Sākalya's Padapāṭha, Sāyaṇācārya's Commentary, extracts from other ancient Indian commentators, viz. Skandaswamin, Venkatamādhava, Gunaviṣṇu, Ānandatīrtha, etc. (most of which are not available in the market), explanatory and critical notes in Sanskrit, and variant readings.
- (2) English translation (in the light of Sāyaṇa's commentary), critical notes embodying, among others, different interpretations of great European and American Vedic scholars, viz. Roth, Pischel, Langlois, Geldner, Ludwig, Rosen, Grassmann, Bloomfield, etc., together with a synopsis of the results of historical, geological, archæological, and philological researches of eminent Indologists.
- (3) Hindi translation (in the light of Sāyaṇa's commentary) with short explanatory notes and viewpoints of other interpreters, viz. I v i da Saraswati, etc.
- (4) Bengali translation (in the light of Sāyaṇa's commentary) with requisite explanatory notes.

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

2. *Fine Arts Series*—

- (A) 'Barhu.'—by Dr. Beni Madhav Barua, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.).
 Book I—Stone as a Story-Teller .. Rs. 5 or 7s. 6d.
 Book II—Jātaka Scenes. .. Rs. 7 or 12s.
 Book III—Art and Illustrations. (Under compilation) Rs. 6
 Prepublication price Rs. 15 for the three books.
- (B) 'Gayā and Buddha Gayā'—by Dr. Beni Madhav Barua, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.), in 2 vols. with more than 40 plates .. Rs. 12 or 20s.

3. *Indian Positive Science Series*—

- (a) **Upavana-Vinoda**—by Prof. G. P. Majumdar, M.Sc., B.L. A Sanskrit treatise on Arbori-Horticulture with elaborate notes, introduction, etc., and Sanskrit Texts (with a Foreword by Dr. Sir I. N. Seal) Rs. 2/8 or 4s. 3d.
- (b) **Ve'āṅga Jyotiṣa**—(Under compilation).

4. *Indian Lexicon Series*—

- Baṅgīya Mahākoṣa**—An Encyclopædia in Bengali under the distinguished editorship of eminent scholars and general editorship of Prof. A. C. Vidyabhusana.
 Price of each fasciculus As. 8

(Parts I–IV published).

Books of the Buddhistic Series, Jaina Series, etc., are under compilation.

For further particulars, please refer to—

The Honorary General Secretary,
 Indian Research Institute,
 55, Upper Chitpore Road,
 Calcutta (India).

This Book must be
returned to the Library
on or before



1
2
3
4

5
6
7
8
9
0

1
2
3

